

C&A

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

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Quarterly Periodical of the Celtic League
in English & Celtic Languages

Dochas agus Imcheist am Measg nan Gàidheal

le Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich (Gilleasbuig Lachlainn
'Illeasbuig)

Thòisich *Niall MacFhachairn* à Tir-iòdh (Ceann-suidhe a' Chomuinn Gàidheal-aich) anns an co-chruinneachadh "A' Ghàidhlig agus am Media" leis an rabhadh nach robh na Romanaich no na Lochlannaich nan nàimhdean againn cho dona riamh ris an nàmhaid nuadh eagalach a tha a' tighinn a steach an diugh troimh na ballachan againn gus an teallach againn thein . . . cò an nàmhaid dhiabhlaidh seo ach an TV agus an rèidio sa Bheurla . . . ach ma bhios ùine fhreagarrach againn dhiubh sa Ghàidhlig, bithidh iad nan deagh chairdean dhuinn.

Dh'aontaich co-chruinneachadh nan Gàidheal seo leis a sin agus iadsan anns an Leabharlann Mitchell ann an Glaschu, air feadh Di-Sathurna 27mh den Ghiblein 1985.

Mar a bha an latha a' dol seachad nochdadh dhuinn gun robh màthairadh-bhar gheur-leanmhainn nan Gàidheal agus Albha uile gu leir a thaobh TV agus rèidio ann an Roinn Rùnaire an Rìoghachd (Home Office), Lunnain. A bhàrr air sin tha dhà chleas a-mhàin aig Rùnaire na Rìoghachd (Home Secretary). Tha an darn cleas aige d'am b'ainm "cluiche-nan-àireamh" agus an cleas eile "a' chosgais".

Bha an talla luma-làn de Ghàidheil agus chòrd na thuir *Niall Frisear* ruinn an deidh fhìr-an-taighe *Niall MacFhachairn*, mata chòrd na thuir iad le chèile ruinn. Tha am Frisearlach na cheannard air craobh-sgaoilidh BBC Ghàidhlig.

Thuir *Niall Frisear* còir gun robh co-obreachadh anns an obair agus anns na stiùideo aig a' BhBC Grampian TV agus STV feumail ma bhios 22 uairean TV Gàidhlig againn fhathast. Bha co-obreachadh eadar TV Harlech agus TV BBC ann am bunait a' chraobh-sgaoilidh TV4 sa Chuimris . . . dha thar fhichead uairean a h-uile seachdain sa Chuimris. Bha *Niall* lan chinnteach gum biodh co-obreachadh gu leoir eadar BBC TV, Grampian agus STV mar an ceudna.

Tha trì fichead 'sa còig uair a' thide aca san Chuimris air rèidio cuideachd. Gun teagamh 's urrainn duinn gu leoir a dh'ionnsachadh o na Cuimrich. Cluinnidh sinn mòran timcheall orra a risd.

Mata, an deidh sin, fhuair sinn fios a bha gar toileachadh agus a' cur dragh oirnn cuideachd.

Ann an 1982, tàinig do Fred MacAmhlaidh, thòisich comhairle a rann-sachadh na bhios am BBC comasach a thoirt dhuinn a thaobh na Gàidhlig air rèidio agus TV. Dà mhios seo chaidh bha an t-iomradh aca deiseil. Chomhairlich iad a dhèanamh coltach ris na Cuimrich agus air an adhbhar sin thòisicheadh sa chiad dol a-mach le leasachadh an rèidio agus an deich sin leis an TV bhon a bha na ceistean aig an TV fada nas cudromaiche.

Chomhairlich iad gun robh 35 uair a' thide sa Ghàidhlig air rèidio agus dhà uair a' thide air TV comasach a h-uile seachdain thar còig bliadhnaichean.

Dh'aontaich a' Chomhairle Ghàidhlig BBC agus an deidh sin dh'aontaich a' Chomhairle Alba BBC gu aon-intinneach . . . glé mhath gus a seo. Fhuair Fred coir eul-taic à Sasunnach (mac easbuig) d'am b'ainm Pat Ramsay, a tha 'na dhuine mhóir sa BhBC agus leis a sin dh'aontaich am BBC Lunnain ris a' chosgais . . . dà mhuilleon nota air sgàth na h-aitreabh, uidheam nan stiùideo agus nan oifis . . . agus, a bharrachd air sin . . . muillion nota gach bliadhna a thaobh na cosgais bhliadhna! Leis a sin, bhiodh seirbhis cho farsaing is a tha feumail do na Gàidheil air na naidheachdan agus dè tha a' dol (à Inbhir Nis) agus ceòl clasaiceach (classical) agus dealbh-cluichean (ged a tha iad uamhasach daor) agus dealbhan aithrisich agus an diadhachd agus an spòrs.

Ach duilich ri ràdh, sguir an theadhan òga a dh'èisdeachd ri rèidio an ceart uair.

Air an adhbhar sin, feumaidh rèidio BBC an tàladh, ag innseadh dhaibh agus a' toirt gàire orra agus mar sin gan stiùireadh air ais don rèidio BBC.

Mu dheireadh thall, chruinnich am BBC gach cosgais a thuig iad gur robh ro fheumail agus chuir iad an cunntas aca gu Rùnaire an Rìoghachd (Home Secretary). Ach bheàrr Seansailear Roinn an Airgid cunntas a' BhBC gu cruaidh agus, leis a sin, chuir e leasachadh na rèidio agus TV Gàidhlig ann an cunnart.

Gus a seo bha a' ghrian a' deàrsadh san talla, ach, leis an fhios seo dh'fhas gach duine ro fheargach air eagal nach biodh leasachadh na rèidio agus TV Gàidhlig ann. Ach cha toir am BBC Lunnain breith gus an tig an samhradh agus mar sin tha beagan de thide againn fhathast sgriobhadh chuca. Mar mhaireas an leasachadh seo bithidh e air a grabadh (restricted) ri taobh na mara (maritime area) — 'se sin ri ràdh An Cuan Siar no An Tabh . . . na h-Eileannan, Roinn na Gàidhealtachd an Iar, Farraghàidheal, Ile agus leis a sin a steach do Ghlaschu, sa chiad dol a mach An deidh sin ruigidh an t-seirbhis nuadh Dun Fideann agus, mu dheireadh thall, ruigidh i càch, feadh na h-Alba gu leir.

Tha an t-seirbhis Albannach seo feumail, ach, aig an aon àm, is uamhasach doirbh i ri dheanamh, tainig don tìr-eòlas (geography) againn. Chan eil àite feadh na Roinn Forpa cho doirbh a thaobh a' chraobh-sgaoilidh na Alba. Ach is docha gum biodh e fada nas saoire nuair a thigean an saideal (satellite). Co dhiu cha bhì lùghdachadh den Ghàidhlig an àite sam bith gus an tig an leasachadh an rèideo agus TV gus an t-àite sin.

Ach bithidh ar cànan Albannach ann an cunnart mur eil an leasachadh rèidio agus TV ann. Gu mì-fhortanach chan eil na Gàidheil sna h-eileannan agus an tìr nam beann briatharach, agus fèargach gu leoir. Fhuair na Cuimrich Amar TV4 sa Chuimris oir bhagair Gwynfor Evans BP gun thrasgaidhe-fhèin gu bas mur biodh TV4 sa Chuimris. Air an adhbhar sin dh'aontaich an Riaghaltas agus tha 22 uair a' thide TV sa Chuimris aca. Leis a sin chì sibh gum bheil cion na Gàidhlig air rèidio agus TV na rud poileataiceach. A nis chan eil ach 12-15 uair a' thide TV a' tighinn a-mach à Alba gu leir ann an cànan sam bith gach seachdainn, an BhBC no ITV.

A nis chan eil ach fichead uair a' thide sa TV Gàidhlig a h-uile bliadhna!

Leis an leasachadh seo agus co-aontachadh eadar am BBC TV, Grampian TV agus STV, bhiodh TV sa Ghàidhlig dà uair a' thide a h-uile seachduinn. An deidh PROSBAIG bhiodh programan air sgath an fheadhan òga roimh aois sgoile. Feumaidh sinn co-obreachadh ris na Cuimrich air son a h-uile program TV Gàidhlig a bhith air an aon Amar TV, coma co as a thàinig e . . . as a BhBC no Grampian

no STV.

An sin chihmhich am Frisealach air an tadhal a rinn e air an Fhéis Cheilteach sa Bhreatainn Bhig o chionn ghoidid far an d'fhuair e mach far an robh teirce luchd-bruidhinn na cànan agus far an robh am feum nas mó s'ann a bha an dochas ri fhaighinn fada nas lugha ... bu mhór am beud.

San àite mu dheireadh fhuair Niall Friseal a-mach gun robh trì rudan feumail a thaobh na cànan:

'*Sa Chiad Aite* anns gach sgoil teagasg a bhith troimh na Gàidhlig anns a h-uile cuspair, agus roimhe sin uile gu leir troimh na Gàidhlig anns a' bhun-sgoil.

'*San Darna Aite* bha eaconomaidh co-fhulangach feumail ... agus an slugh a chumail anns an aon àite.

agus *Anns an Treas Aite* ... rèidio agus TV gu leoir 'sa chànan!

An deidh sin thuir *Rob Mac a Phearsan* (STV) gun robh e cinnteach gum biodh STV deonach program-ionnsachaidh coltach ris BEAGAN GHÀIDHLIG chraobh-sgoileadh ma bhios elasan-ionsachaidh gu leoir ann feadh na tìr mar cul-taic ris.

Tha dealbh aig *Aonghus Pádraig Caimbeul* ri fhaicinn ann an GAIRM gu tric fo sanas-reic aig Grampian TV far a bheil e ag obair. Bhruidhinn e fìor mhath. Nochd e dhuinn nach robh Gàidheal ann a bha na ard-chomhairleache air TV. Mar an ceudna, a thaobh Alba gu leir, an deidh còig bliadhna air fhichead chan eil Amar TV againn fhathast. A h-uile seachduin bha gu ìre bhig seachd fichead (140) uair a thide air BBC no ITV. Leis a sin cha mhór nach eil sia fichead uair a thide co-ionnan ri dusan (abair dusan a-mhàin) uair a thide à Alba. Bhon nach eil cothrum na Feinne againn chan eil ach am meadhanas (mediocrity) aig na programan à Alba. Theireadh iad a thaobh a h-uile program againn — An reic e gu dùchasail? Se sin ri ràdh, do na Sasannaich! Mur eil, diultaidh iad am program!

Chan eil an rèidio fada nas fheàrr. Chan eil Rèidio Alba againn fhathast an deidh leth-chiad bliadhna. Chan eil Alba ach na dùthaich ceannsaichte. Mur hi an rioghachd againn fhèin a ris bithidh sinn meadhanach gu brath!

Anns an co-dhùnadh thuir trìuir gu

goirid na bha feumail. (1) *Coinneach MacCuairidh*, Muileach, (BBC) — Sgrìobh tuilleadh litrichean, barrachd litrichean dhuinn, BBC agus ITV le chèile, fada nas mo, arsa esan, a thaobh nam program agus a h-uile cail a dhith ort.

(2) *Màrtainn Domhnullach*, Spitheanach, (BBC) — Sgrìobh do Rùnaire an Rìoghachd (Home Secretary) cuideachd. Theannaich na Guimrich e! agus (3) *Mac Gille Chliar*, Peairteach, (CLI) — Cleachd agus cuir fuaim agus thog dealbhan air CASSETTE agus VIDFO. Thuig e gun robh am BBC agus ITV a' toirt iasad dhuibh cuideachd, air son foghlum na cànan.

Bha barrachd gnothach againn ri dhean-amh re an latha ainmeil ud, ach dh'ionnsaich sinn gu math gun robh am blàr seo a thaobh rèidio agus TV cho doirbh ri cath riamh an aghaidh nan Lochlannaich, no na Romanaich no na Sasannaich. Ach ma chailleas sinn an cath seo, theid sinn leis an t-sruth.

(This article gives an account of the sessions on radio and TV of a recent Conference "Gàidhlig and the Media").

Spring '85 — Thatcher Re-emphasises Scottish Subserviance

Carn readers must be looking for signs from Scotland that there is some resistance to alien Tory policies after the gloomy winter of 1984-5. Indeed the Tories have come unstuck over a number of issues which discriminate against the Scots. While the cold climate allowances, now to be abolished, was paid only in the South, a revaluation of the rates was implemented in Scotland and put the middle classes and business interests in a spin. The English revaluation was postponed in election year 1983 but the Scottish Office felt that they could do what they liked and impose massive rates rises in Scotland. Like the furore over proposed rises in student grants around Xmas the government had to react. Not a U-turn but £75 million rates relief for domestic and business rate payers to bribe the Tories natural supporters back into the fold and the promise of abolition of this anachronistic property tax as soon as possible.

But to the majority of Scots the economic and social war waged against them by late-capitalist Toryism is unabated. Private hospitals, however, are slow to take off, the Lower Clyde Shipyard, privatised last year into the hands of Daily Express owners, Trafalgar House, is in as much technical trouble as the originators of the BP oil rig which is being built there to a new design. In their home ground of the London to Bristol "sun belt" the Tories are on firmer ground

They have reaped the benefits of successive governments' policies to modernise the road and rail network and to replace 95% of the defence research establishments in the UK in that area. Spending much more per head on infrastructure and direct government investment, anathema in the hard hit Celtic nations, there is full employment, solid Tory support, and prosperity the likes of which the rest of Britain can only dream of.

Two other significant issues have suddenly heightened the differences between Scotland and England. English football hooliganism, allied to the neo-fascist underworld in the Thatcherite heartland, and manifest in violence against places where the English play abroad, has prompted the government with unerring arrogance to divert attention from the real causes of its problems to force the annual England v. Scotland match to be switched from Wembley to Glasgow, so that any trouble can be excluded from London on a bank holiday weekend. The "Sun", Rupert Murdoch's rightwing tabloid, helped to hide the English football disease by claiming that the Scots fans had a disgraceful record which speaks for itself. This palpable untruth passes for objective English comment. Scots fans at home have been much more civilised than in the drunken free-for-alls of the past while the Scots abroad have an exemplary record. Scots passions have been aroused, with demands for compensation for hotel booking in London and suggestions that the Scots Tory conference should be transferred to Wembley to avoid denying the citizens of Perth access to half of their city due to security arrangements required to protect the most unpopular Prime Minister and government the Scots have yet witnessed.

A large teachers demonstration was applauded by the public as it marched through Perth streets to protest at the Tory

refusal to grant an Independent Pay Review to Scots teachers whose increased workload and relatively poor pay has united the teaching force as never before against a crudely cost-cutting government who think that teachers can be beaten back like the miners. Tory parents in the constituencies of government ministers in Scotland have had to endure weeks of three day strikes which have targeted them for the brunt of the teachers action. The united opposition of all Scots MPs, including some Tories is in marked contrast to the English and Welsh teachers action where the Alliance in particular is split and the unions less united. In Scotland the Educational Institute of Scotland which represents over 80% of Scots teachers has pledged to fight on till the next General Election if needed. This is undoubtedly a part of the wide realisation that only a change of government can aid Scots and how the lack of even the weak Assembly as voted for by Scots in 1979 would have been at the spearhead of Scottish demands and aspirations.

In the next issue of Carn the political prospects for Scotland will be reviewed in the light of Alliance gains in the English and Welsh local elections and of the fundamental refusal of Scotland's biggest party, Labour to accept the Scottish mandate won at a string of General Elections. On a visit to Britain in December 1984 the Russian leader, Mr. Gorbachev, was taunted about human rights in Russia, he replied, "I can quote a few facts about human rights in the UK. For example, you persecute entire communities, nationalities." It wasn't just the present London government he meant

ROB GIBSON

The price of *Am Mabinogi*, given by Frang MacThòmais on page 3 of the Spring issue as £9.50, is actually £6.96. With direct orders to the publisher another £0.50 should be added to cover postage etc.

SCOTTISH RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

On 27th April 1985 the Scottish National Liberation Army (SNLA) claimed responsibility for a fire which caused serious damage to the British Ministry of Defence headquarters in London. This was only the latest in a long series of attacks carried out by or attributed to the SNLA in a campaign which has now lasted for over three years.

In general Scottish nationalism has been a constitutional and non-violent movement although, over the years, a number of small "military" groups have appeared e.g. the Army of the Provisional Government, the Scottish Republican Socialist League. However, these groups were all relatively ineffectual, being unable to mount sustained campaigns or preserve secrecy, with the inevitable result that these groups' activities achieved little more than the imprisonment of their own members followed by the disappearance of the groups themselves. The SNLA is a much more effective organisation having shown a capability to campaign systematically over a period of years.

But who and what are the SNLA? Its activities have gained considerable publicity but little is known of the organisation itself, and its aims and political affiliations have been the subject of a great deal of debate and speculation.

The SNLA made its first public appearance on 1st March 1982, the third anniversary of the referendum on Scottish devolution, when a series of bomb scares disrupted road and rail traffic in that part of Edinburgh which surrounds the former Royal High School building, the site of the proposed Scottish Assembly. The date and place of the incidents have an obvious significance and the SNLA claimed that the refusal of the English to establish a Scottish Assembly, when the Scottish people had voted for one, was not only a signal that nothing could ever be achieved by constitutional means but, according to the SNLA communiqué, was also a mandate for armed struggle to further Scottish aspirations.

More SNLA attacks followed in rapid succession. A claim sent to the Press Association in November 1982 listed seven more attacks: a letter bomb sent to John Nott M.P., Secretary of State for Defence, which failed to explode; letter bombs to SDP offices in Glasgow and Edinburgh; a letter bomb defused inside the Crown Office in Edinburgh while, only a few yards away, the MPs of the Scottish Grand Committee debated "law and order" (!); an "inert device" which was blown up by the Army outside Scottish Tory HQ in Edinburgh, and a similar device at Tory HQ in London; a letter bomb sent to the Queen at Buckingham Palace (the "authorities" denied this attack for two years until a spokesman for Buckingham Palace admitted to a reporter that the attack had, in fact, taken place). During the same period the SNLA also

carried out an arson attack which badly damaged part of Redford Army barracks in Edinburgh and, also in November 1982, arson attacks badly damaged the Labour Party's Scottish HQ and the Tory Party's HQ in Glasgow while yet another letter bomb was sent to English Cabinet Minister, Patrick Jenkin.

In 1983 the SNLA placed two "inert devices" (i.e. hoax bombs) in pillar boxes to protest at Mrs. Thatcher's visit to Glasgow. At the beginning of February a "suspicious parcel" was planted at British Steel HQ in Glasgow and, later in the month, a letter bomb exploded in the office of Glasgow's Lord Provost as he was preparing to welcome Princess Diana on her first official visit to the city. His secretary was slightly injured and a fire in the office was put out with a fire extinguisher, but more damage was caused to royal dignity and prestige. The royal visit, planned as a triumphal extravaganza, was completely overshadowed by the incident which was seen as a propaganda victory for the SNLA. A second royal visit to the city was hurriedly arranged as a face-saving exercise, and this took place three weeks later amidst tight security.

The police force during this period had been unable to make a single arrest. To make matters worse for them they had to deal with an epidemic of hoax bomb scares, many initiated by cranks and others by SNLA sympathisers. They were also forced to deal with many false alarms when "suspicious" parcels were reported by genuinely concerned individuals, and bomb disposal units were kept busy blowing up harmless objects all over Scotland! Additionally, of course, the police were now providing "security" for Unionist Party offices and other threatened premises.

SNLA attacks continued throughout 1983 with letter bombs to Mrs. Thatcher, a London Army Careers office, the chairman of a Conservative Candidates Conference, Tory HQ in London, Home Secretary Leon Brittan, George Younger MP, Norman Tebbit MP, the manager of a threatened Scottish colliery, Tom King MP, Tory peer Lord Mansfield and Michael Heseltine MP. Several of these devices exploded although the police denied that any injuries or damage had been caused. An attempt to blow up a Tory office in Glasgow was unsuccessful when a gas cylinder failed to ignite and, on the same day, an SNLA bomb warning which disrupted the start of

the CBI conference was dismissed as a "hoax". An arson attack on premises owned by a person alleged to be a police informer was claimed by the SNLA, but media reports that the group were involved in bombing Army barracks in London were denied by the SNLA.

Two men were arrested in connection with the campaign. David Dinsmore, aged twenty, was arrested and charged with sending a letter bomb to Lord Mansfield in May 1983. Dinsmore, released on bail, fled to Ireland where he was arrested on an extradition warrant. Appealing against extradition, Dinsmore admitted to SNLA membership and claimed that his alleged offence was political. Freed on bail by the High Court in Dublin, his present whereabouts are unknown. A second man, twenty-eight year old Thomas Kelly, was arrested and convicted of a letter bomb offence on the evidence of a "Supergrass", receiving a ten year sentence, but Kelly is believed to have acted on his own initiative or with the encouragement of an agent provocateur (see Carn 47) and is not thought to have been an SNLA member.

In various interviews and in communiqués to the media the SNLA has made its position known. It claims that, although small in numbers, it is an effective force aiming by "armed struggle and subversion" to create "a totally independent Scottish Scotland". According to its spokesman it was formed at a meeting in a nationalist club in Edinburgh in December 1980 and was financed by an Edinburgh publican (now dead) and by "expropriations" (i.e. robberies) carried out by its members.

The SNLA accuses the police and the media of deliberately suppressing information about attacks which, it claims, have not been fully reported or falsely reported. It claims that attempts have been made to link it with political groups in Scotland (e.g. Siol nan Gàidheal and the Scottish Republican Socialist Party) even although "no such links have ever existed", and, in particular, it rejects the idea that it has links with the INLA although "the SNLA fully supports the Irish Republican Movement and all other anti-Imperialist struggles". The SNLA states that, in attempting to link it to the INLA, the media is attempting to deny its "essentially Scottish identity and thereby deprive the SNLA of support among the Scottish people".

The SNLA points out that its members are "drawn from every section of the Scottish National Movement", and ridicules the idea of links with Siol nan Gàidheal. It also points out that although the media has "sedulously cultivated" the idea of links between the SNLA and the Scottish Republican Socialist Party (which the SNLA describes as "a small group of pseudo-revolutionaries"), the SNLA rejects "fraudulent electioneering and constitutional politics", seeing these as collaboration with the English State.

In regard to its attacks, the SNLA claims that these have been more effective than the State has been willing to admit. For example, the letter bomb which exploded in

Continued on page 21

BREIZH

DAREMPREDOÙ GEVELLED

Da vare Pask ec'h adkrog an dud da veajiñ ha da dreizhañ ar morioù etre hor broioù. Tro am eus bet evel-se e-pad an nevez-hañv da welout meur a strollad Iwerzhoniz o vont da Vreizh da weladenniñ ar c'herioù gevellet gant o re, ha meur a strollad Bretoned o kemer an hent kontrol en hevelep amboaz.

Ar gevelladurioù — se a c'hellfe lakaat niveroù bras a dud da dommañ ouzh an traoù keltiek hag, en ur harpañ war an etrekeltiegezh, atizañ en o zouez an emskiant vroadel buanoc'h eget na vele CARN e-tailh da ober drezañ e-unan. A c'hellfe, a lavaran, met daoust hag e reont? Talvoud a ra ar boan teurel ur sell war an eskemmoù-se hag en em c'houlenn petra a zegasont d'an emskiant keltiek. Ar pezh a lavaran zo diazezet war ma skiant-prenañ. Da re all da ziskleriañ o sonj.

Ober a ris anaoudegezh gant un Iwerzhonad a rae un tammig war-dro ar seurt darempredoù etre e barrez, e kornog Iwerzhon, hag ur ger vihan a Vreizh-Izel gevellet ganti. Ur brogarour e oa hennezh hag en dedennet gant traoù Breizh. Deut e oa da c'houlenn diganin komzoù "Bro Gozh ma Zadoù". Evel-se e voen pedet da zont d'ur gouel aozet en e barrez evit degemer un dileuriadur eus Breizh. Ar Vretoned-mañ ne oa ket kalz brezhonegerien en o zouez. Ne gavis nemet daou anezho, ur vaouez peuz kozh, hag ur paotr vaouankoc'h na blije ket dezhañ komz "e vezh" — gouez dezhañ — (Pezh na oa ket souezh. F'l lid-degemer war blasenn kreiz-ker e voe kanet "Amhrán na bhFiann" (kanenn vroadel Iwerzhon), ar "Vro Gozh" neuze'ta, hag ar "Marseillaise". Me'n dare perak ar "Marseillaise"? Ha rei-proñs eo klevout honnezh pa vez degemeret ur skipailh tud o tont eus ar Stad C'hall? Ha dismegañset e vefent ma ne vefe ket graet?

Ma! Diwezhatoc'h en noz-se ez ejomp da sal-gouelioù ar barrez. Fichet e oa bet gant bannieloùigoù paper un tamm e pep lec'h: triliv Iwerzhon ha triliv Bro-C'hall. Ha ma Iwerzhonad da estlammiñ: "gallet o dije lakaat ar Gwenn-ha-Du memestra!"

Traouigoù, a lavaro lod. Ya, traoùigoù marteze, met gant traoùigoù evel-se e krouer un aergelc'h, un aergelc'h breizhat pe c'hall. Ha ne oa ket Gallaoued vat eus ar Vretoned-se evel ma lavaras, dipitet, ma mignon Iwerzhonat? Anat eo, en na oa ket o c'hortoz Gallaoued. Hag ober a rae goulennoù outo diwar-benn Breizh hag ar brezhoneg, o klask dihumañ en o c'hreiz un tamm emskiant vreizhek.

"Ha kavout a ra deoc'h e teu ho kenbarrezianiz da vezañ emskiantekoc'h eus o iwerzhonadelezh da genver seurt eskemmoù?" a c'houlennis-me ouzh un nebeut Iwerzhoniz.

— "Ne gav ket deomp, Iwerzhoniz a zo Iwerzhoniz hag her gouzout a reont".

— Ha ne plaskont ket, e degouezhioù a-seurt-se, diskonez o deus ur sevenadur dezho o-unan ha n'int ket Saozon evel ma kav alies da dud an douar-bras? emezon.

Amañ ne voe ket an holl a-du, lod o lavarout: "Gouzout a reont n'int ket Saozon ha n'o deus ket ezhomm d'hen diskouez". lod all er c'hontrol o respont e klaskent-i diskouez d'ar Vretoned — ha da Iwerzhoniz'zo — o doa ur vezh hag ur sevenadur dibar, ha ne oant ket saoznegerien nemetken. Hag ezhomm zo da lavarout e oa saoznegerien digas ouzh vezh ar vro eus ar re gentañ, hag iwerzhonegerien lore'h enno eus ar re all? E-keit-se e oa ar Breizhad hag a oa e penn an dileuriadur o seniñ tonioù parizian-rik gant e akordeons!

Petra hor boa aze neuze: darempredoù etrekeltiek pe eskemmoù gall-ha-saoz? Gouzout a ran n'eo nemet ur skouer, ha difore'hoù bras a zo sur-a-walc'h eus an eil ker d'eben. Me gav din evelato e c'hellfe traoù henvel c'hoarvezout e lec'h all.

Breizh-Iwerzhon* eo anv ar gevredigezh a ra war-dro ar gevelladurioù-kerioù-se ha n'eo ket Bro-C'hall-Iwerzhon. Ur vent etrekeltiek a dle bezañ dezho eta. Petra ober neuze evit reiñ ur roll bouezusoc'h d'an elfennoù keltiek er c'hejadennoù, evit ma talvezte ar re-mañ da emskiantekaat an dud, en daou du, ouzh o dibarded sevenadurel? Anat eo n'eo ket a-walc'h "kas tud en tu all d'ar mor". Ret eo aozañ an eskemmoù-se en un doare da blijout d'ar berzhidi a-dra-sur, met ivez da zeskiñ dezho traoù diwar-benn ar vro a weladennont, traoù diwar-benn ar celtelezh da skouer na vezont ket desket dezho er skol, pe gant ar "media": d'o spered da vezañ digoretoc'h goude-se diwar-benn hor yezhoù hag hor sevenadurioù keltiek.

War a seblant eo hirvidikoc'h ar poellgorioù — gevellañ ha frouezhusoc'h o labour er c'humunioù breizhat e-lec'h mar deo emsaverien ar re a vez o kas an traoù en dro. Gouzont a ran eo sammet a-walc'h ar re-se dija gant labourioù all, ken pouezus an eil re hag ar re all. Kavout a ra din evelken na dletent ket gwallegañ tachennoù kevredigezhel evel ar gevelladurioù — dreist-holl gant ar broioù keltiek all — ha lezel Bretoned di-emskiant, gallekaet o spered, da gemer an emell anezho.

*Pe gentoc'h Bretonge-Irlande. L. KADORED

BRETON, KEEP OUT OF SIGHT!

Herve ar Bihan and our correspondent Iwan Kadored were in court in Roazhon towards the end of March for their part in the Breton road sign campaign. Ar Bihan was acquitted but Kadored was sentenced to pay a fine of 3 000 FFrs and to pay 20 000 FFrs damage to the Direction Departementale de l'Equipelement.

This sentence indicates a toughening of the resistance of the French authorities to the demand for the recognition of the Breton language in public life. But the public prosecutor was not yet satisfied he is appealing the sentence. So is Iwan Kadored, though only against the sum for damage. Witnesses for the defence were Per Denez, professor in the Celtic Department of the University of Upper Brittany; Tudual Kalvez, president of the association of Breton-Language teachers; Youenn Jardin, history teacher, member of the SGEFN-CFDT teachers' union (Finistere), UDB town councillor in Douarnenez and Jean-Yves Mousset who represents the ecologists on the Gwened town council. The first three were not allowed to testify in Breton and refused to do so in French. Mousset, who does not speak Breton, refused also to testify in protest against that denial of the Breton-speakers' right.

The case will probably not come up again before the autumn.

In the meantime, the campaign of removal or defacing of monolingual road signs continues. On the day of the trial, SAB members were active near Roazhon/Rennes, at the end of March they were in Kiberen/Quiberon S. of Gwened/Vannes, early in April around Lesneven in the North-West.

Detailed information about this campaign is available in two volumes of collected press articles (mainly in French, but also in Breton, English and Provençal) published by Stourm ar Brezhoneg, ti K.S.Gw., 21 strada al Leziou-Barn (rue des Tribunaux 21), 56000 Gwened, Brittany. Price 30 FFrs (plus 10% for postage).

We urge all the readers of CARN who share our view that the Breton language must in order to survive get the same recognition as is given in public life by all enlightened authorities to "minority" languages, to show their support for this campaign. Send letters or postcards to that effect to the above address. Stress that in other bilingual countries bilingual road signs are in use to the full satisfaction of road users. Why not the same in Brittany? Is there to be no other answer to Bretons struggling for their rights than repression?

WHO SAYS THAT NANTES IS NOT IN BRITTANY?

For several years now a Committee for the Administrative Unity of Brittany has actively campaigned for the Loire-Atlantique department, of which Nantes is the urban centre, to be reunited with the rest of Brittany in a single region instead of being lumped together with the Sarthe, Mayenne, Maine-et-Loire and Vendée in an artificial "Pays-de-Loire" Region.

Naoned/Nantes was for centuries the capital of our country as attested by the prestigious Castle of the Dukes. Long before that, the Loire estuary region was the first historically to be settled by Bretons on the European mainland. The medieval castles of Machecoul, Clisson, Ancenis and Chateaubriand, like those of Vitre and Fougeres further North, were built as bulwarks against the threat of French invasion. Today the economy of Loire-Atlantique is strongly linked with that of other parts of Southern and Southwestern Brittany.

For undisclosed reasons, the Vichy government and the 5th Republic separated Loire-Atlantique from their official "Region Bretagne" when they instituted administrative regions. It is not hard to guess that in doing so and in perpetuating this partition, they wanted to weaken the sense of Breton identity. There was no popular demand for this division, whereas there have been numerous requests, petitions, demonstrations to have it abolished. But the reply is that a change can only be made at the request of the Département Council. The population is not consulted. The council contains pro- and anti-Breton elements. It voted in favour of being a party to the Breton cultural charter in 1978. But French party allegiances and certain economic interests or pressure groups have combined in support of the status quo.

Those who, like the Rightist MP Olivier ("Baron") Guichard, occupy positions of influence and stand for the continued partition, seem to have at their disposal all the resources they need to "push" the notion that the people of this area are not Bretons. Their posters can be seen everywhere in public places, e.g. in schools, extolling the "reality" of the "Pays de Loire": 17 local radios have made a contract with the authorities to broadcast messages to help "to make that region more homogeneous", following which the programme "Musique des Pays Celtes" on the Gwennrann station has been dropped. Public money is lavished on this well orchestrated campaign of debretonisation.

A new book "La Loire-Atlantique des origines à nos jours" questions the role which Nantes could play in Brittany in view of its off-centre position, as if we had to deal with a huge country, whatever may be said of Londn, Vienna, Oslo. . . . The book, according to a reviewer in ARMOR, is superbly illustrated but tediously written by a number of academicians bespangled with titles and not insensitive to financial reward for passing over in silence, minimising, dis-

torting facts of history contrary to their anti-Breton theses (ARMOR, April 1985).

I refer anyone wishing to have proof of the British-Celtic origin or background of the population of Loire-Atlantique, including the part of the Loire, to an article by Per Manac'h published by the C.U.A.B. bulletin "Le Courrier de l'Unité", 12 rue des Renards, 44300 Nantes). It has a map showing the density of settlements by Breton-speakers prior to the 10th century. For 850 years afterwards, the Nantes country (Bro-Naoned) was an integral part



Demonstrator knocked to the ground. Courtesy of CUAB/Le Peuple Breton.

Anna Youenou-Debauvais (1901-1985)

Anna Youenou died on the last day of March in the antique-looking, rather ramshackle flat where she lived in retirement, in Nr 20 Place des Lices, in the middle of the old town in Roazhon/Rennes. Born in 1901 in Douarnenez, a fishing harbour on the West coast of Brittany, in a Breton speaking family with deep roots in the country, she fully shared the life of her husband, Fransez Debauvais, a man who played a pivotal role in the revival of the Breton national movement between the two world wars. It was undeniably partly thanks to her self-sacrifice, her moral as well as her material support that he could dedicate himself completely to the task of building up the national party and in particular ensure the uninterrupted publication of its organ, BREIZ ATAO.

Following her retirement, Anna Youenou undertook to write her memoirs. She wrote

of independent and autonomous Brittany, and all its people had the same title to being called Bretons as those of Rennes, St-Malo, St-Brieuc or Brest.

For the past 200 years, the French system has been trying hard to create a new type of man and woman, ignorant of and cut-off from his/her roots. That is how so many parts of France are culturally dead.

Evidence of the artificiality of the Pays-de-Loire Region is available from an enquiry carried out by the French weekly "Le Point" among "personalities" concerning regional identity in France. It showed that 85.8% of the population feel that a strong sense of such identity exists in Brittany, while in the Pays-de-Loire the survey indicates that 76.5% of the population thinks such a sense *does not exist or is quite weak*. The "don't know's" are respectively 8.3% and 11.7%. Asked whether cultural or economic disparities existed between the 5 départements of the Pays de Loire 84.1% thought they were indeed very strong or quite strong. Nantes was recognised as a regional capital only by 1/3 of the Sarthe people and 1/4 of the Mayennais. So there is work for the 17 local radios!

In the Region-Bretagne the main element in the sense of identity was felt to reside in the human capital, and this has to do with cultural factors. 53% complained about the centres of decision being too far removed from them. (Avenir de la Bretagne, monthly).

In an attempt to counteract the brain-washing of the population by O. Guichard's zealots, a demonstration was organised by the C.U.A.B. on February 23 at the entrance to a park in Nantes where a sign reading "Rue des Pays de Loire" had been put up. The participants tried to pull it down and replace it with one marked "Rue des Pays Bretons" but they were confronted by some 30 policemen, half of them armed with truncheons. One of them was knocked down and wounded.

ALAN HEUSAFF

seven large volumes, of which the last remains to be published. In these she recounts the life of the nationalist leader, who died in 1944, and her own. She devoted the last years of her life totally to this work, patiently gathering the material. Being herself the publisher, she had to give away the little savings she had and even to sell her furniture in order to pay the printer, thus depriving herself of the comfort and security to which she was well entitled after all her tribulations.

Although her work is strongly criticised, and often rightly so undoubtedly, it constitutes irreplaceable source of documents from which the historians of this, for Brittany, crucial period will be able to draw. These books are also the mirror of a personality. Through their pages she continues to live and helps us to re-live the astonishing adventure, the ceaseless struggle which she went through first at Debauvais' side and then, on her own in the jungle of the post-war society. Let her rest in peace!

YANN BOUESSEL DU BOURG

◆◆ FOLK MUSIC OF WESTERN BRITTANY ◆◆

TONIOU BREIZH IZEL — Musique Populaire de Basse Bretagne — by Polig Monjarret
638 pages of notation, 37 pp. of introduction. In French, 400 Fr, from Keltia Musique, Place au Beurre, 29000 Kemper Brittany. In English, Stg£27, from Robert Marie, 15 rue Maupertuis, 35000 Rennes.

Polig Monjarret could not be praised too highly for this collection of almost 2,400 airs, the result of 40 years of painstaking work. It is he who in 1942 took the initiative of founding, with five others, the Breton Pipers' Association, Bodadeg ar Sonerion (B.A.S.) at a time when our traditional musicians were fast on the way out and only a few young people were learning to play our national instruments, the bombard and the biniou. During the intervening 40-odd years, about 30,000 people passed through the ranks of BAS and it has had year in year out some 3,000 members. P. Monjarret was for 20 years its secretary general and for a further 20 years its president.

Numerous collectors had preceded him in the field, going back to the 18th century: members of the clergy who wanted to capitalize on the store of popular airs by using them for religious hymns, scholars primarily interested in linguistic aspects, musicologists with a classical training. In noting the airs, the latter frequently found that singers and pipers diverged from the two modes of melodic construction — major and minor — which were accepted as the only correct ones. They attributed such alleged anomalies to false singing or to defects in the instruments' making. Many thought it right to "correct" what they heard.

In spite of the wealth of material already recorded P. Monjarret soon realised that a great deal was left to collect among the old pipers. He undertook to reverse the trend which threatened the Breton music with extinction, to rehabilitate and regenerate it. There was no longer any demand for pipers at social functions such as rural weddings and country dances. BAS developed pipe bands to take part in city festivals and parades, using the Scottish pipes, but with Breton airs. Breton music thus found a new "raison d'être" and also attracted a growing number of people interested in playing the pipes. Bands called "bagadou" sprang up all over Brittany. To help improve their performance, BAS ran training sessions, organised competitions, launched a periodical AR SONER, supplied repertoires. A parallel renewal of interest in the Breton dances brought back into favour the joint playing of bombard and biniou.

This activity helped P. Monjarret to make acquaintance with the traditional pipers and singers and incited him to record their treasures. He travelled unceasingly throughout the Breton speaking country, listening carefully to the old pipers whose distrust was not always easily overcome. Borrowings from French popular music

had started at the end of the 18th century when Breton speakers first came into prolonged contact with the French in the armies of the Revolution and of Napoleon. All during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century our musicians introduced French airs and adapted the Breton ones to the fashions imposed by the ruling classes. They saw the clarinet and the accordeon becoming more popular than their biniou and bombard and lost confidence in themselves. Their repertoires became very mixed and as far as the authentic Breton music was concerned debased. The material collected had to be weeded out. For this BAS could rely on the composer Jef Le Penven.



A DOZEN MODES

In his introduction P. Monjarret goes into a bit of theory which, I readily admit, I am not well qualified to comment upon, particularly in English! It is important to know that the Bretons, probably *thanks* to their linguistic isolation, preserved modes of melodic composition other than the major and minor modes on which modern European music developed. This is a living tradition: a *dozen* different modes are in current use in Lower Brittany and in adjacent areas of Upper Brittany. This music is diatonic: it is only exceptionally that sharp or flat notes occur. Examples are given of popular airs composed according to these different modes.

An idea of the diversity of the Breton music can be obtained from a glance at the index: there are marches, wedding tunes, "gwerziou" (ballads), religious hymns (Protestant and Catholic) and, covering 450 pages, dancing tunes of which 42 different *types* are considered native and 7 imported. With each air an indication of the type of dance or of the song to which it corresponds is given, generally in Breton, also the name of the place where it was collected. The differences between the sung and the played

versions of traditional airs, and between the styles of the old and of the present-day pipers are explained. The old pipers, about whom the author has many interesting things to say, had repertoires limited to the region where they operated but they were expert at adapting the airs to the numerous variations of the dances practised within that region. The younger generations of pipers stay close to the notation, they play with greater uniformity, but their instruments are better. In this book it is the piped versions, not the sung ones, which are published.

IS THE BRETON MUSIC 'CELTIC'?

This is a question which P. Monjarret raises and answers in the negative. I don't find his argument convincing. Since we in CARN are concerned with Celtic matters I should like to take issue with him, from the point of view of consistency.

How is any particular music defined? Modes and rhythms are fundamental elements in any answer. We have here ample information about these aspects of Breton music. But while P. Monjarret sees in it no similarity "with what is considered as Celtic in music, i.e. what is done in Ireland and in the Hebrides" he mentions only two characteristics in support of his assertion:

a) the use of the pentatonic scale, of which one form is very common in Ireland and N.W. Scotland, "rare though not as rare as was thought" in Brittany, and another form used in this country. "If a rapprochement is to be made between Irish and Breton music it is to these scales one should refer." To me this speaks of similarity as much as of difference!

b) the Breton airs (I presume for the bombard or the biniou) are built on an "ambitus" (a span?) of eight consecutive notes, an octave, whereas the Irish/Scottish airs are based on one of "9 such notes". But the author goes on to say that the invention of the pipe band made it necessary to suppress the 9th note, it could not be played on the bag pipe. In Brittany, there was no such problem, and the presence of the bombard opened wider possibilities of developing the basic themes of the airs. Is that such a fundamental difference?

In his film "Atlanteans" (see CARN 45), Bob Quin seeks to convince us that Irish and Breton music has more to do with North Africa than with Continental Europe. I would say there are similarities between various cultures as there are between all human beings! But origins are another matter. I believe P. Monjarret is more accurate when he says that Breton music is a survival of the medieval music of Western Europe. As regards Ireland however, I wonder if he understands Sean O Riada when he quotes from "Our Musical Heritage": "Irish Music is not European; European music is comparatively young... it began to take shape during the early Renaissance in a mould containing Dutch, French, German and Italian ingredients."

Continued on page 17

CYMRU

CADW'R BRWDFRYDEDD

gan Leigh Verrill-Rhys

Ers pedair blynedd, rwyf wedi byw y rhan fwyaf o fy mywyd dyddiol trwy'r Gymraeg. Un o'r dysgwyr ffodus ydw i oherwydd fy mod yn defnyddio fy ail-iaith nid dim ond yn y dosbarth a'r clafarn ond hefyd yn y ty yn y gwaith, a gyda'r plentyn. Felly, mae'r Gymraeg yn dal i gryfhau ac i ddiro ar fy nhabod.

Erbyn hyn, rwyf medru gwneud "Popeth yn Gymraeg" fel y mynnodd fy athrawon o'r dechrau.

Dydych chi hlawer o fy nghyd-ddysgwyr ddim yn cael yr un cyfle a fi, ac mae rhai ohonynt yn cwyno eu bod yn colli'r iaith. Ond yr hyn sy'n fwy difrifol ydy'r ffiaith eu bod hefyd yn colli'r brwdfrydedd.

Heb brwdfrydedd, dydych chi ddim mor gryf wrth fynnu gwneud "Popeth yn Gymraeg". Yn araf, mae'r gwrthwynebiadau'n gwasgaru eich grym a chyn hir, rydych chi'n dechrau meddwl eich bod yn creu trafferthion di-brwpas i'ch hunan a phobl eraill.

Fi enghraifft, ym mlwyddyn gyntaf dysgu'r iaith, roeddwn i'n ysgrifennu sicciau yn y Gymraeg, a doedd gen i ddim ots am y trafferthion, er bod rhai sefyllfaoedd yn lletchwith ofnadwy — fel setyll yn y gwll dalu yn yr archlarchnad, pawb yn aros amdanoch a'r clerc yn galw'r rheolwr oherwydd nad ydy e'n deall yr iaith.

Gyda brwdfrydedd, roeddwn i'n gwynebu'r math hwn o wrthwynebiadau yn ddi-hid. Nhw oedd ar fai am fethiant deall y Gymraeg.

Pedair blynedd ymlaen, fodd bynnag, mae fy meddwl i wedi dechrau troi yn fy erbyn. Weithiau, rwyf meddwl y ffallai nad ydy e'n deg i orfodi pobl i aros amdanaf wrth i'r clerc alw'r unig un yn yr archfarchnad (sy'n ymddangos yn ddwyieithog wrth yr arwyddion, gyda llaw) sy'n medru darllen sicciau Cymraeg. Ac ffallai nad ydy e'n iawn i fynnu bod popeth yn ddwyieithog yn y gwaith gan fod prinder amser ac arian.

Heb fod ym mhell nol, roeddwn i'n fwy cryf dros y Gymraeg nag oedd llawer o Gymry eu hunain ond nawr, rwyf dechrau teimlo ffallai fel maen nhw wedi teimlo ers talwm, sef bod y trafferthion yn dileu'r rhesymau am yr ymdrech frwd — mae'n ddigon o bobl sy'n wrth Gymraeg fel mae, ydyn ni'n creu mwy ohonynt wrth ein hymdrechion?

Pedair blynedd yn ol, roeddwn i'n ymateb: "Go brian! A does dim ots beth bynnag!" Nawr, rwyf dal i gredu bod fy ymateb cynt yn gywir ond rwyf wedi colli fy ngrwm i wynebu'r gwynebau di-amynedd yn yr archlarchnad! Mae'n dod fel rhyddhad weithiau i siarad Saesneg.

(Gyda'r profiad hwn, rwyf deall yn well sut mae Cymry Cymraeg yn teimlo pan maen nhw'n gorfod siarad eu hail-iaith nhw — sef, Saesneg — trwy'r amser neu mewn sefyllfaoedd teimladol pwysig.)

Mae'n ymateb hwn o ryddhad yn hollol naturiol. Wedi'r cwbl, rwyf gorfod i'w hun i fyw mewn iaith sy ddim yn famiaith i fi ac felly te i'w hun i'n disgwyl cyfnodau byr o ddiffyg brwdfrydedd ar fy rhan i. Onibai bod y cyfnodau yn parhau, does gen i ddim rheswm dros bryderu.

Ond mae rheswm gryf dros bryderu pan mae Cymry'n troi'n erbyn "Popeth yn Gymraeg" er mwyn cael llonydd gan y gwynebau di-amynedd.

Mae'n dysteb ardderchog o'u crvf'der fel cenedl bod cymaint o Gymry'n dal i fod yn Gymry Cymraeg ar ol canrifoedd o wrthwynebiadau cyfreithiol a chymdeithasol.

A dyna'r gyfrinach dros gadw'r brwdfrydedd yn fyw. Os ydyn nhw'n medru bod yn gadarn wrth wynebu llywodraeth Prydain, rwyf gallu dal ati i wrthwynebu'r archlarchnad leol!

For four years, I have lived most of my daily life in Welsh and very luckily have been able to use my second language at work, at home and with the baby. Many learners are not so fortunate and complain that they lose the language after leaving the classroom. More important they lose their enthusiasm.

Enthusiasm makes all the difference when it comes to facing the many problems which confront Welsh-speakers daily, such as keeping people waiting while a clerk calls the manager to OK a Welsh cheque, even in a supermarket which makes every outward effort to be bi-lingual!

The secret to keeping up enthusiasm lies in the Welsh people themselves. After withstanding the onslaught of opposition from law and society for centuries, there are still hundreds of thousands of Welsh-speakers. If they can be firm in the face of the British government, I can oppose the local supermarket!

LANGUAGE FINANCE

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT: The Conservative government in London announced recently that it was to give grants totalling £1,103,000 during 1985/86 to twelve bodies to assist them in their work in the field of the Welsh language. This is an increase of £42,000 over the previous year. The money is allocated as follows:

Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin (Welsh Language Pre-School Playgroups): £210,000 to assist with the activities of the movements 425 groups.

National Fisteddfod: A grant of £232,000, in part replacing a similar grant from the Welsh Arts Council.

Yr Academi Gymraeg: £21,000 towards the cost of a computerised dictionary project nearing completion at University College of North Wales, Bangor.

Welsh Books Council: £362,500, mainly to assist with the publication of Welsh books and magazines together with £17,500 for the activities of the children's book club "Sbendonies".

Urdd Gobaith Gymru: £196,000, being the third and final part of a £456,000 grant to enable the youth movement to undertake major upgrading of facilities of its Glanllyn centre near Bala.

Children's Literature Centre: £16,000 to develop the centre's collection of children's literature and enable displays and exhibitions throughout Wales.

Sunday Schools Council: £13,000 towards the cost of employing two development officers to promote the work of the Council.

Papurau Bro: £21,000 between the 50 or more voluntary produced community newspapers in the Welsh language.

Merched y Wawr (Welsh language woman's movement): £11,500 to assist with the costs of employing a national organiser.

Women's Institute: £7,000 to expand the use of the Welsh language in the W.I.s activities in Wales.

Dyfed County Council: £3,750 to help develop a glossary of technical terms and develop bilingual software programmes for computers necessary to support a programme of training in the use of bilingual information systems.

While there are many more activities worthy of support from the money of Welsh taxpayers, at least some of it is returning from England. £1,332,000 is also being given to the local education authorities to assist in the costs of bilingual education.

RADIO AND TELEVISION NEWS

FUTURE BROADCASTING: In an article in the Welsh monthly magazine 'BARN', the Director of Programmes for BBC Wales outlined trends in broadcasting in Wales. The need to develop broadcasting in English was the priority after the success of the battle to establish "Radio Cymru" and S4C. Before long Radio Cymru would broadcast 85 hours per week in Welsh and an odd hour or two might be added to the weekly output of the Welsh television channel.

Radio Wales enjoys the same finance as Radio Cymru. However this is not enough to develop more costly fields of broadcasting such as drama and light entertainment. On television the increased provision of studios, production teams and programmes in Welsh has enabled these facilities to be used for English medium programmes and hence share the costs of overheads. However, only 15 hours of television programme per week in English are shown on BBC Wales and HTV Wales. Most of this is in the form of news, current affairs and sport with some music and documentary programmes. There is not the same public demand for the English service as was for the Welsh television channel, who after all also have so many English and American television programmes to watch as well in English. The justification for developing

TELEVISION RATINGS: The top ten viewers' ratings on SIANEL 4 CYMRU for the last week of March 1985 were:

	Title (and producer)	Subject	Viewers (est.)
1.	Rhaglen cais Dechrau Canu Dechrau Carmol (BBC)	Request of community hymn singing	90,000
2.	Pobl y Cwm (BBC)	Soap opera	68,000
3.	Awys Iach (BBC)	Countryside mallers	66,000
4.	Rygbî: Undeby Garllewin v Sbaen (BBC)	West Wales Rugby Union v Spain	65,000
5.	Calendr S4C		62,000
	Portreadan (Taliesin/Fflic)		62,000
6.	Cywrair Grefft (HTV)	Examples of craftsmen's work	52,000
	Y Byd yn ei Le (HTV)	Provocative chat show	52,000
7.	Her v Sahara (Taliesin)	Car rally	50,000
	Cerdded Afon (Na Nog)	Portrait of a river valley	50,000
8.	Siôn a Siân (HTV)	Quiz show	49,000
9.	Gwyl Gari (Castell)	Light entertainment	45,000
	Carwio (Ffilmari Nant)	International canoeing	45,000
	Rygbî: Pontyprodd v Sbaen	Rugby	45,000
10.	Byd ar bedwar (HTV)	Current Affairs	42,000

HTV (Harlech Television) is the independent television company for Wales and the West of England, while the BBC is the British Broadcasting Corporation. All the others are independent producers of programmes for S4C.

English language radio and television programmes in Wales is based on two aspects. Firstly, by providing equal budgets for each language the question of justifying differentiated budgets (on radio or television) does not arise. Secondly, if there is a threat to curtail expenditure on Welsh programmes sometime in the future, it will be easier to justify the expenditure if the

same amount is being spent on each language. S4C was set up partly to promote social balance in a nation divided by two languages. However the balance will not be maintained by providing only Welsh language programmes. The majority will have less to complain about if a similar provision and expenditure is made on their behalf in Wales.

Triple Crown to Cardiff

Cardiff Branch of the Bank of Ireland is warmly congratulated on its erection of trilingual nameplates as shown. According to rumour some of our Cardiff and London members made successful representations to the bank that it would be desirable to display the bank's name in the appropriate Celtic languages as well as the more

familiar foreign version.

Now that the bank has broken its apparent* Geis (taboo) against visible display of 'Banc na hEireann' on stone or metal it is to be hoped that this wording will shortly be seen on many a facade. In the meantime which branch will be able to claim the distinction of being the first authentically Irish branch in Ireland? Our editorial guess is that it will be a branch in the Six Counties!

*Is it possible that there is some branch, hiding its light under a bushel, that has preceded Cardiff as the first bilingual if not trilingual branch?



bank of Ireland (nameplate)

BRIEFLY . . .

TOP JOBS: Another Welsh district council has decided that all its chief officers will in future have to be bilingual in Welsh and English. In late March Cyngor Dasbarth Meirionnydd voted that in future this would be the case.

BILINGUAL SIGNS: While bilingual signs in the public sector in Wales are becoming more and more evident, the private sector has been more reluctant. Ynys Môn Borough Council have decided to try and persuade new businesses which ask for planning permission to use Welsh on their signs, advertisements and notices.

BILINGUAL STAFF: Ynys Môn Borough Council have recently undertaken a survey so as to determine the language of new employees. Of the 294 employees of the Council, only 45 (15%) cannot speak Welsh. Between October 1983 and October 1984 the Council appointed 41 new members of staff. Of these 80.5% were Welsh speaking. This compares favourably with the 62% of the population of the island which is Welsh speaking.

NINNAU

The North-American Welsh newspaper, monthly, 24 pages, full of information about social and cultural happenings in the Welsh world of the USA and Canada. Chiefly in English. \$10 (U.S./Canada) or Stg. £7.50 per annum, to 11 Post Terrace, Basking Ridge, N.J. 07920, U.S.A.

SHOCK LANGUAGE SURVEY

Her Majesty's Inspectors of Education in the Welsh Office recently reported on the teaching of Welsh in the primary schools in the south west county of Powys in the catchment area of Ystradgynlais secondary school. At the top of the Swansea Valley, the area has been considered as part of the Welsh speaking heartland. In 1971 and 1981 the Welsh speaking population for the three parishes according to the census were as shown across.

In comparing the two sets of statistics, while the overall decline in the ability to speak Welsh declined from 71% to 63% between 1971 and 1981, the proportion of primary school pupils initially Welsh speaking fell from 28% in 1974 to 14% in 1984. The Ystradgynlais area is no longer part of the Welsh speaking heartland. Parents have very largely ceased passing Welsh on to their children. The decline by age in the 1981 for Ystradgynlais Isaf community is dramatic:

Age Group	% able to speak Welsh
3-4	37%
5-15	52%
16-24	57%
25-44	59%
45-64	75%
65+	80%

There would appear to be some discrepancy between the 37% of 3 and 4 year olds able to speak Welsh in 1981 according to the census and the 14% of primary school children in 1984 "initially Welsh speaking", a figure which includes all the 1981 three and four year olds.

Of the eleven primary schools Ynyscedwyn is designated bilingual primary school and its success in second language teaching is evident (B as % of B+C+D+F). Cwmtwrch is the most Welsh speaking village in the area and it is perhaps significant that its headmaster was recently appointed head of an official Welsh medium school — Cwmtwrch's success rate in second language teaching is also high.

One advantage from the actions of the Conservative government is that H.M.I.'s reports are now published. It is the stated policy of Powys County Council (the local education authority) that "in those areas where Welsh is in everyday use in the local communities appropriate provision is to be made in all schools for Welsh speaking pupils to be taught through the medium of Welsh from the infant stage". In the opinion of the H.M.I.'s Ystradgynlais is still a Welsh speaking area (1). They comment on the decline in the number of both Welsh speakers and very successful learners.

	1971		1981	
	Total pop 3+ % Welsh	Total pop 3+ speaking	% Welsh	speaking
1. Ystradgynlais Isaf	8,000	74	8,122	65
2. Ystradgynlais Uchaf	1,555	55	1,409	48
3. Glynawe	70	57	77	35
Total	9,625	71	9,608	63

There are eleven primary schools in the catchment area. Their rolls and pupils' ability in Welsh in 1984 were:

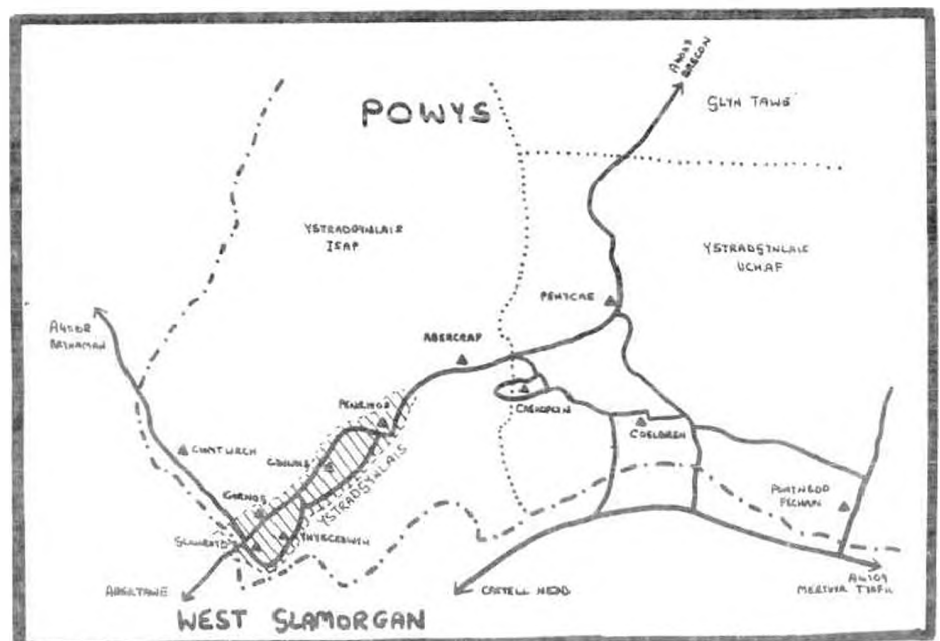
School	Roll	A	B	C	D	E	B as % of B+C+D+E	
1. Ystradgynlais Isaf								
Abereraf	51	0	0	67	33	0	0	
Penrhos	151	5	1	16	36	42	1	
Cynlân	195	18	23	38	16	4	29	
Gurnos	114	3	0	26	54	17	0	
Glanrhŷd	69	3	0	0	78	19	0	
Cwmtwrch	60	50	38	5	7	0	77	
Ynyscedwyn	66	73	18	4	4	0	67	
2. Ystradgynlais Uchaf and Glynawe								
Cachppayn	16	0	0	0	100	0	0	
Caeibren	50	0	0	0	100	0	0	
Pen y cae	71	3	0	25	34	38	0	
Pontnedd-fechan	50	0	0	0	50	0	0	
Total	1984	893	14	9	21	41	15	11
	1974	1,040	28	11	18	23	20	15

KEY:
 A — initially Welsh speaking
 B — initially English speaking, now considered fluent in Welsh
 C — initially English speaking with a developing command in Welsh
 D — initially English speaking with a very restricted command of Welsh
 E — English speaking with no knowledge of Welsh

Apart from two schools "the headmasters of the other schools have a nebulous and very uncertain impression of the L.E.A.'s Welsh language policy". They doubt if even the timetabled Welsh lessons are taught in these schools! "Unfortunately, some schools tend to ignore the needs of these Welsh-speaking pupils and require them to follow the same programme as the learners." The local area Welsh teacher who moves from school to school is seen as ineffective due to organisation problems. "The present organisation of a number of classes, therefore, militates against effective teaching and results in disappointing standards." All this in schools where 46 of the 50 teachers speak Welsh and 44 are able to teach through the medium of Welsh.

While the report cites examples of good work, many more poor examples are quoted. Written work is particularly neglected. Very few pupils experience poetry writing. Welsh is the language of a few lessons and little attempt is made to

make it a real medium of communication. This last point is totally different to another recent H.M.I. report on a Welsh medium school in the Rhondda where nearly all the children are from non-Welsh speaking homes yet produces fluent Welsh speakers and justifiable praise from the Government Inspectors. If this can happen in the long anglicised Rhondda, why not in Ystradgynlais. The inspectors conclude that attainment (or lack of) in Welsh "reflects the school's low level of expectation". "On the whole, second language teaching/learning is generally mediocre and disappointing. The level of pupil attainment and the levels of teacher expectation are both unacceptably low. Any improvement must be preceded by a reconsideration of the whole second-language field. The aim must be to set realistic objectives, to make the content relevant and to adopt effective teaching methods". The report is now in the hands of County Hall. Over to you now.



ÉIRE

AN DÚSHLÁN SÓISIALACH

Cuirfidh baill an Chonartha Cheiltigh an-speis in alt dar teideal "The National Question in the British Isles" le Andy Brooks in uimhir I den "New Communist Review", iris teorice an Pháirtí Cumannach Nua (a bunaíodh de bharr scoilt i bpartí Cumannach na Breataine Móire).

Is trua go gélaínn an t-údar leis an téarma "British Isles" amháil is gur téarma neodrach geografíle a bhí ann. Téarma polaiticiúil é a úsáidtear lena thabhairt le fios gur aonad nádúrtha iad tíortha na Breataine Móire, Éire, Manainn agus Oileáin Mhuir n-ocht. Tá tabhacht nach beag ag baint le ceist seo na tearmaíochta mar go smachtaíonn téarmaí ár smaointe go minic.

Bunaíonn an t-údar a thuairimí ar shainmhíniú Stalin ar chéard is náisiún ann. Dar le Stalin ba mhór an teanga, an tír, an saol eacnamaíoch agus an cultúr ceanna a bheith ag pobal le go mbeadh sé ina náisiún. D'fheadfaí an-chuid ama a chaitheamh ag plé na ceiste seo gan teacht ar réiteach ach ní ocl an slat tomhais a bhí ag Stalin. Muna bhfuil staid na náisiún Ceilteacha ag teacht leis an sainmhíniú sin seard is cuis leis ná gur pobail ghonta iad. Ba mhór an cheim i n-aghaidh an impiriúlachais a d'fhág gonta iad, a n-athshlanú.

Déanann an t-údar cáineadh ar náisiúnachas mar rud scoilteach. Níl se saor ón dearcadh simplí meieniúil atá ag an-chuid sóisialach i Sasana agus sa bhFrainc ar an gceist seo. Teipeann orthu idirdhealú a dheanamh idir náisiúnachas forcheimneach náisiún bhig atá ag iarraidh an coilíneachas a bhriseadh agus seoihbheachas na dtíortha móra ab é an faisisteachas a thoradh. Bhí dearcadh Lenin níos casta agus níos readúla. "Victorious socialism", ar seisean, "must necessarily establish a full democracy and consequently, not only introduce full equality of nations but also realise the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination i.e. the right to free political separation. Socialist parties which did not show by their activity, both now during the revolution and after its victory, that they would liberate the enslaved nations and build up relations with them on the basis of a free union - and free union is a false phrase without the right to secede - those parties would be betraying socialism."

Ag tagairt do sheasamh Marx ar an gceist dúirt Lenin "in contrast to the Proudhonists who 'denied' the national problem in the name of social revolution, Marx, mindful in the first place of the interests of the proletarian class struggle in the advanced countries, put the fundamental principle of internationalism and socialism in the foreground - namely that no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations. It was from the standpoint of the interests of the German workers revolutionary movement that Marx

in 1848 demanded that victorious democracy in Germany should proclaim and grant freedom to the nations oppressed by the Germans. It was from the standpoint of the revolutionary struggle of the English workers that Marx in 1869, demanded the separation of Ireland from England."

Bionn sóisialaigh Shasana ag moladh "comhnaidhm Briotanach" ó thráth go cheile. Seard a bhíonn i gceist acu ná go bhféadfaidh "Ríocht Aontaithe Shóisialach" a bheith ann (agus Éire san áireamh ag cuid acu). Tagraíonn siad don Aontas Soibheideach mar slat tomhais, níl aon chomparáid ann. Stait ilnáisiúnta é an t-Aontas Soibheideach (ar nós na h-Iugsláive). Tá difríocht mhór idir a leithéid de stát agus stát náisiúnta ina bhfuil mionlaigh (fíú agus cothrom na feinne a bheith ar fáil ag na mionlaigh sin). An Ríocht Aontaithe Capitéilach tá se bunaithe ar mhúcadh gach náisiúnacht eile atá inti seachas an náisiúnacht atá in uachtar. Deantar an córas a leasú ó thráth go cheile de bharr brú ó na pobail Cheilteacha ach ní athraítear nádúr bunúsach an stáit. Ní féidir le stát a bheith neodrach i geimhlint idir chultúr ach an oiread agus is léidir leis a bheith neodrach idir aicmí. Taobh istigh den Ríocht Aontaithe tá leatrom eacnamaíochta agus leatrom cultúir á imirt ar Cheilteach chomh maith le leatrom polaitiúil.

Bheadh sé thar a bheith simplí do dhuine a chreidiúnt go dtiocfaidh athrú miorúltach ar an staid dá mbunófa comhnaidhm shóisialach Briotanach. In aineoin dearcadh dearfach Lenineach a bheith ag rialtas i Londain — rud nach mbeadh cinnte agus atá deacair a shamhlú — bheadh fórsaí na staire, na sochái agus an chultúr in aghaidh leas an gCeilteach. Se an t-aonad polaitiúil féin a bheadh míchuí, beag beann ar mheon suibiochtiúil an dream a bheadh i geimhacht. An cuid againn ar shóisialaigh muid táimid ag tnúth le ré staire ina mbeidh Poblacht Shóisialach Shasanach ann a mbeidh dea-chaidreamh braitheúil aici leis na pobail cheilteacha. Go dtaga an lá!

Níl uann Andy Brooks ceist na Briotáine Bunlaige é seo ar a alt agus is bunlaige é ar

an réiteach Briotanach ar an gceist Cheilteach. Is láidre i daorsmacht na Fraince ar an mBriotáin ná daorsmacht Shasana ar Cheiltigh na n-oileán. Tá se riachtanach do bheatha náisiúnta na Briotáine a saol a bheith dírithe ar na tíortha Ceilteacha eile seachas ar an bhFrainc. Ar an taobh eile de dheanfadh se difríocht ó bhonn d'aon chomhcheangal Ceilteach. Toise na Briotánaigh a bheith faoi smacht na Fraince chomh fada san ní dheanfadh tionchar an Bhearla mórán dochar dóibh. Mar an gceanna dúinne leis an bhFraincis. Biodh se mar chuspóir againn go bhféadfaí Sasana amach as aonad polaitiúil nua agus go dtóglfaí an Bhriotáin isteach ann.

Tá daoine ann a dearladh go mba chóir díriú ar an Reabhlóid aicme, rialtas Shasana a bhriseadh agus go bhféadfaí an cheist Cheilteach a phlé ansin. Gne eile den phólasaí "Labour must wait" atá ansin. Ní rud imeallach é an cheist náisiúnta ach cuid bunúsach den choimhlint in aghaidh an impiriúlachais.

Tá se tabhachtach go dtuigfí sin in eagrú na reabhoíde. Thug Lenin cluas éisteachta do Willie Gallagher seachas John MacCleave faoin gceist seo agus cuireadh an reabhlóid sa chuid seo den domhan siar go mór. Is gá comhfhiosacht den cheist náisiúnta a chruthú. Tá se tabhachtach forais náisiúnta a chruthú.

Tá Andy Brooks glan soiléir faoi cheist na h-Éireann. "It is sufficient to say here that there is clearly one Irish nation and that the inhabitants of the occupied Six counties are part of that nation. . . . The New Communist Party has already made its position clear on Ireland, demanding an unconditional British withdrawal and full support for the national liberation forces led by the Provisional Sinn Féin movement, struggling for a united as well as a liberated Ireland."

Tá se seo ar fheabhas ach amháin nach geuirtear na prionsabail cheana i bhfeidhm nuair a phléitear le tíortha Ceilteacha eile. Is galar daonshóisialach é seo. Tá se geall a bheith faiseanta i geireail áirithe tacú le cuis na n-Éireannach ach tá se chomh faiseanta ceanna drochmheas a chaitheamh ar an gceist náisiúnta in Albain nó sa Bheatain Bheag.

Deir Andy Brooks go bhfuil difríocht an domhain idir Éirinn agus Albain "for the Scottish ruling class's interests are identical with those of their counterparts south of the border." Teoiric i sin nach bhfuil fíor, teoiric a léiríonn an meon go bhfuil siad go léir mar an gceanna (Tá siad go léir mar an gceanna ach difrúil!). Se fírinne an sceil é go bhfuil bourgeoise na hAlban sa lá atá inniu ann thíos go mór de bharr an ceangal le Sasana biodh is go ndearna an aicme sin go maith do féin tráth trí chomhoibriú i dtógáil na himpireachta. Agus níl dabht ar

bith faoi gurb é leas leanúnach aicme saothair na hAlban scarúint le Sasana.

Cáineann Brooks an-t-éileamh ar phairlimint Albannach mar rud leasaitheach. Tá bunús leis an tuairm sin ach ná bimis sáchleach faoi. Gníomh fíor-réabhlóideach ab ea bunú Dháil Éireann sa bhliain 1919 agus ní bheadh ann ach leanbáocht i a cháineadh ar an mbonn gur pairlimint bhuirgéseach a bhí inti. B'áin a bhí inti cinnte ach d'fheidhmigh sí mar ghléas leis an náisiún Éireannach a thiomsú mórán mar a d'fheidhmigh toraus Phoblacht na Spáinne dá lochtaí iad sna triochaidí.

Ar aghaidh leis an údar go dtí ceist na Breataine Bige. "The arguments against Welsh devolution are the same as those for Scotland and do not need to be repeated." Deir sé freisin "The demand for more resources for the Welsh language is a progressive demand, though Welsh exclusiveness, the narrow nationalism found in all the separatist parties is clearly harmful and must be combated." Céard is "Welsh exclusiveness" ann? Go roghnaíonn mionlach mór de mhuintir na Breataine Bige a dteanga féin a labhairt? Is éliche de chuid an namhad é "narrow nationalism" Míchann nathanna cainte mar sin machnamh.

Tá Andy Brooks níos fírinne sa tagairt atá aige do Mannin. *The Isle of Man is a good illustration of the fallacies of the bourgeois devolution road. It does indeed possess its own constitution, the Council and the House of Keys and its own laws. All are used, as to be expected for the sole benefit of the exploiters.* Ar ndóigh níl sé cruinn ar fad a cheapadh go bhfuil próiseis "devolution" i geist i geas thoras pholaitiúla Mhannin. Is mó de phróiseis tréigint cumbachta don Ear atá ann ná cumbacht a bhaint amach ón Ear.

In ainneoin a bhfuil ráite ann ní mór a rá go bhfuil dearcadh dearlach ar an tomlán ag údar an áit faoi na tíortha atá faoi chabrdil go dtí seo. Dearnadh dhultach ó bhun go barr atá aige faoi Chorn: "While the Cornish were once an historically distinct people, assimilation has become practically total, making the demands of the Cornish nationalists largely irrelevant." In áit eile san áit deirse "when the Cornish nationalists campaign in favour of nuclear-free zones or against the 'second homes' industry, they are able to win some support". Níl aon rud "irrelevant" faoi dhream an reachtáileann teachtrais faoi na ceisteanna sin.

Dá mhead lochtanna atá ar phairtí cumannach na Breataine Móire is fearr agus is dearfai go mór an dearcadh atá léirithe i bhfoirseacháin dá chuid. "The National Question in Cornwall, an historical review" le Royston Green.

I ndeireadh an phaimfléide tagraíonn Green do "the importance for socialists and the Labour movement to relate Cornwall's real, existing national consciousness with the urgent tasks of defending the economic and social basis of life in Cornwall. It is necessary to demonstrate that it is the capitalist system itself which still today menaces the national culture of the approximately quarter million people of Cornish origin in Cornwall, and correspondingly that the future of all people

in Cornwall depends upon securing the reality of democratic control over economic, social and cultural life which socialism alone can bring. Saving the Cornish nation is not therefore a mere empty promise to do something when socialism has been built but part of the present and continuing struggle."

"In approaching the national question in this way, the first steps must be to recognise, correctly and specifically, what has been progressive in Cornwall's national tradition, and thus to reveal, for all the people of Cornwall, a basis of common struggle, in the unity with progressive forces everywhere, against an economic system which from its very beginning has attacked the Cornish identity and culture. We are therefore brought back to James Connolly's concept of the political reconquest of his own nation, and for a progressive and complete popular recovery of every aspect of life on the basis of socialism."

Deanann Brooks tagairt do Oileáin Mhuir n-loch ach is beag a deireann sé luthu. Níl aon dabht ach go bhfuil bunús áirithe le haghaidh ghluaiseacht frith-impiriúil sna h-oileáin sin agus bheadh sé ina chinnamh do na gluaiseachtaí Ceilteacha go mbeadh cur in aghaidh na Ríochta Aontaithe iontu.

Tagann deireadh iomlán le ciall son chuid deireannach de alt Brooks. Deir sé agus an ceart aige "The wnoe of Britain is a hostage of U.S. foreign policy and military strategy." Ansin gheibhimid an seod seo "Just as the Irish in British occupied North of Ireland are struggling for complete national unity and independence before the question of socialism goes on the political agenda so will the rest of the British nation (rest of the British nation" munar mhiste leat) need to rid itself of the American occupiers.

Is troid ní thabachtach an troid in aghaidh na mbunáiteanna míleata in Iarthar na hEorpa agus in aghaidh smacht chultúir agus eacnamaíochta na Stát Aontaithe ach má cheapann an t-údar gurb é an cineál ceanna rud é agus an sealbh tomlán atá glactha ag Sasana ar na tíortha Ceilteacha tá sé as a mheabhair.

Tá ardmheas ag Brooks agus an páirtí lena mbaiceann sé ar Stalin. Tráth dá raibh cháin Stalin ar Dara Idirnáisiúntán toise go raibh a spéis sa cheist náisiúnta teoranta do phobail "shibhialta" áirithe. Duirt sé "The Irish, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Finns, the Slavs and several other European nationalities - that was the circle of unequal peoples in whose destinies the Second International was interested. The scores and hundreds of millions of Asiatic and African peoples who are suffering national oppression in its most savage and cruel form usually remained outside of their field of vision. They hesitated to put white and black, "civilised" and "uncivilised" on the same plane. Sin mar atá anois féin. Tá sé sa bhfáisean a bheith ar son saoirse na hÉireann. Níl sé sa bhfáisean (fós) a bheith ar son saoirse an Chóirn.

B'fhíú do shóisialaí ar bith a mhaenamh a dhéanamh ar thuairmí Lenin ar an geist "The views of the opponents of self determination lead to the conclusion that the vitality of small nations oppressed by imperialism has already been sapped, that they cannot play any role against imperial-

ism, that support of their purely national aspirations will lead to nothing etc." A mhalaírt de dhearcadh a bhí ag Lenin féin "To imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices" Thuigse. "a blow delivered against the power of the English imperialist bourgeoisie by a rebellion in Ireland is a hundred times more significant politically than a blow of equal force delivered in Asia or in Africa."

Mura mbeadh de chúis aige ach an meid sin is dual don uile shóisialach tacú le náisiúntaí na dtíortha Ceilteacha

MICHEÁL REAMONN

CONRADH ARD FHEIS



Ita Ní Chionnaith, Uachtarán Chonradh na Gaeilge 1985-86.

At the Conradh na Gaeilge Ard Fheis, held in Dublin in May, Ita Ní Chionnaith was elected Uachtarán (President) for the coming year. It was Tánaiste (Vice-Pres.) for the last two years. She was active in An Conradh since 1968 and over the years was engaged in many aspects of the organisations work — publishing, the Oireachtas Ogras and the various campaigns particularly education and the mass media. She served a week in prison in 1977 for refusal to pay her T.V. licence. She is the first woman elected as Uachtarán since An Conradh was founded at the end of the last century.

During the Ard Fheis, An Conradh published an important and comprehensive booklet outlining its educational policy. It contains An Conradh's policy on the teaching of Irish and through Irish from pre-school level to adult education. An Conradh's general education policy and submissions made to the Minister for Education, at a meeting with her in November last on her "Programme for Action in Education 1984-87" are given also.

SINN FEIN SUCCESS

When the IRA was operating during the seventies with only a small political wing and little emphasis on politics, they managed to make their way to the bargaining table on more than one occasion with the British government or with their representatives in the Northern Ireland Office.

Then came a time when it became politically insupportable to even contemplate such talks. The cry from London . . . but especially from Dublin who saw the IRA usurping their function . . . was that the IRA represented no one, had been elected by no one and therefore were not worth talking to.

That situation not only became the accepted stance of "all right thinking people" but hardened to the point when to even speak in favour of engaging the IRA in dialogue was almost treasonable. The political moral community closed ranks and the IRA was left in splendid isolation with nothing to think about but where the next target was coming from.

Then along came Bobby Sands and the hunger strikers. Suddenly, the long dormant emotion which has traditionally influenced the Irish people during a hunger strike was awoken. Not only was Sands elected to the Westminster parliament but his comrades entry into a general election in the South had a profound effect on the outcome of that election. Now we had a situation in which IRA commanders and volunteers were upsetting the comfortable and highly predictable patterns of voting. The message was not lost on Sinn Féin and the political involvement which has brought them to the position of being the fourth largest party represented on local councils in the North dates from this time.

However, when Sinn Féin began to test the electoral waters of the north and succeeded in getting Gerry Adams elected as an M.P. and a number of others elected to the Northern Ireland Assembly, the respectable political community claimed that these people did not really represent people because they had been elected on a wave of emotion following the deaths of the hunger strikers. Therefore there was still no reason to talk to Sinn Féin or the IRA. They did not merit serious consideration as elected representatives!

This particular form of democracy could be described as playing the game the way the political moral community wants it played or facing the consequence of the ground rules being changed half way through the match. When it became obvious that Sinn Féin was organising on the ground to gain solidity, stability and recognition in the recent local elections, the political moral community took fright again and in advance, said that now Sinn Féin could not be engaged in talks because they supported violence. If they renounced violence, everything would be alright, they would be allowed on to the pitch. Sinn Féin

may have won a stunning 59 seats on local councils in the North but in another sense they just cannot win. No sooner do they establish their support in the democratic process than the other "democrats" find another reason to find them unacceptable.

Thus in the wake of their electoral success which has increased their vote from 1982 by five per cent, among the nationalist population, we find the British government, the Unionist Parties and the government of Dr. Garrett FitzGerald in the South unwilling to accept the political reality they represent.

The call on Sinn Féin to renounce violence and the IRA is perhaps the most clear indication yet that neither Dr. FitzGerald nor any of the other parties who have made it understand the nature of the vote which Sinn Féin got.

None of the 40 per cent of Nationalist voters who supported Sinn Féin at the ballot box are unaware that that party supports the campaign of the IRA. On the contrary . . . that is precisely why they gave them their votes. It is understandable that this should be unpalatable for the Unionists and to the Government of Dr. FitzGerald which now feels itself under threat. What is not understandable however is that they should allow their distaste to blind them to a glaring political reality.

Dr. FitzGerald talks about the "alienation" of the nationalist population of the North as if this was in itself the central problem. So does leader of the SDLP, John Hume and the British government.

"Alienation" seems to suggest that at some time in the past, the nationalist population identified in some way with the institutions of the Northern state. It seems to suggest that a few small incidents like Bloody Sunday happened to turn the nationalist population away from sympathy or support for the RUC. Nothing, of course could be further from the truth. The "alienation" started when the border was drawn and has never weakened. By the way, why should a Southern Taoiseach be worried about any section of the Irish public being "alienated" from a British state in Ireland?

What the local elections in the North have demonstrated is that this fundamental enmity has found political expression in this generation. Those who voted for Sinn Féin are quite clearly saying that too much has been suffered and lost in this war to turn back. Territory will have to change hands and the British will have to leave a part of this island before peace can be restored . . . that is their message and nothing will change that.

One last question . . . who will eventually talk to the IRA and Sinn Féin? Answer: the British, like they did in every other colony they ever left.

PEADAR MacAIRT

SURVEY ON TEACHING IRISH

At the end of May a survey commissioned by the Irish National Teachers Organisation (I.N.T.O.) and conducted by the Market Research Bureau of Ireland (M.R.B.I.) was published. The survey shows that over two-thirds of teachers continue to be favourably disposed towards the teaching of Irish and almost three-quarters say they are enthusiastic about it. However, two-thirds also believe that the general public is not interested in the revival of Irish. The survey shows that the teachers consider the teaching of Irish in a society where opportunities to hear, speak or use the language are limited makes for considerable difficulties. Bord na Gaeilge disagreed with the INTO's interpretation of the results in relation to the commitment of the general public to the restoration of the Irish language — quite the contrary, the Bord said, it read the opinion poll as showing very considerable support for the language with one-third of the public rating Irish as one of the most important subjects for children to learn in school and 60% feeling that the teaching of Irish should begin in infant classes.

Over 80 per cent of the teachers said they taught Irish for four to six hours per week and most felt that it should remain at this level. The vast majority supported the continuance of the policy of teaching Irish in infant classes but most felt that only oral Irish should be taught at this level. There is considerable criticism of the syllabus and curriculum in Irish, much support for more oral Irish and for more resources and audio-visual materials to be made available in Irish.

The most controversial finding of the survey however was that which claimed that over 60% of the population feels that children should not have to learn Irish if their parents object and that in this they are supported by almost 90% of national teachers. Also that 60% of teachers and over half of the general public felt that slow learners should not be obliged to learn Irish.

Conradh na Gaeilge came out against any suggestion that parents be given a choice and opposed to the suggestion in relation to slow learners.

"All Irish children have a right to their heritage," Conradh President He Ní Chionnaith said. "They have a right to learn their native language and if they do not learn it in school, then they have little possibility of developing an interest in it." Slow learners should not be discriminated against by being denied access to their heritage. "Obviously, they need a special curriculum and this would also involve special programmes in Irish, but I do not see any reason why they should be denied access to Irish."

JAILING THE INNOCENT

Irish Television, RTE, carried a major documentary in two parts, 17 and 18 April 1985, on the case of Mrs. Annie Maguire and others who had been jailed for complicity in bombings at Woolwich and Guildford in England, 1974. Mrs. Maguire had just been released from prison. She and members of the family appeared on television giving details of their arrest and interrogation. The second half of the programme dealt mainly with their trial, especially the forensic aspect. A number of cases are related regarding the Woolwich and Guildford bombing which must be explained.

Three Belfast men, Paul Hill, Gerry Conlon, Patrick Armstrong, and Armstrong's English girlfriend, Carol Richardson, are all serving sentences for the Woolwich and Guildford bombings in which seven people died. They were convicted on the evidence of their confessions. At the trial they repudiated their confessions and there is much circumstantial evidence to show that they were innocent. There was no forensic evidence, no fingerprint evidence. They belonged to the fringe of society; Hill and Richardson took drugs. In spite of all this they were found guilty.

Hill made six separate statements, many of them contradictory and containing inaccuracies. He claimed in one of them that Mrs. Annie Maguire, Conlon's aunt, had taken part in the Guildford bombings. Mrs. Maguire was arrested but was able to prove that she had been with her children at a circus in Shepherd's Bush at the time. Hill's statement, however, also alleged that he had learned to make bombs in the kitchen of Mrs. Maguire's house. The press dubbed it "Mrs. Maguire's bomb factory".

Following Hill's statement the police arrested Mrs. Annie Maguire and her husband Paddy, and two of their sons, aged 16 and 13. They also arrested Mrs. Maguire's brother Sean Smyth who lodged with them, and a neighbour Pat O'Neill, who at the time the police swooped had come to ask Mrs. Maguire to look after his children while he visited his wife in hospital. They arrested Gerry Conlon's father, Giuseppe Conlon, who had just arrived that day from Belfast on hearing that his son was arrested. They were all charged with possessing explosives.

The trial took place at the Old Bailey in February 1974. From the outset both prosecution and defence accepted that the case rested on forensic tests. No trace of nitro-glycerine was found in the Maguires' house. However, the prosecution alleged that forensic tests showed minute traces of nitro-glycerine on the hands of all the accused except Annie Maguire. They alleged a trace of nitro-glycerine was found on one of a pair of gloves found in the house. There was no other evidence.



Giuseppe Conlon in happier times with his wife Sarah.

The forensic tests on which the case rested were carried out by an 18 year-old laboratory assistant at the Woolwich Arsenal. He had only begun as an apprentice nine weeks before that. On carrying out the tests he destroyed all the samples so that his results could not be cross-checked. The assistant also forgot to photograph his results. The man who devised the test, "Thin Layer Chromatography", Mr. John Yallop, who had worked for 30 years at Woolwich Arsenal, says that this test does not by itself constitute proof that the defendants had handled nitro-glycerine. There were other scientists who maintained the same thing on the RTE programme, and lawyers who said that the defendants should not have been found guilty on the evidence produced.

All seven were found guilty. Paddy and Annie Maguire were sentenced to 14 years each. Their sons, Vincent (then aged 16 years) and Patrick (then aged 13) got 5 and 4 years respectively. Pat O'Neill got 12 years, reduced to 8 on appeal. Sean Smyth got 12 years. Giuseppe Conlon received 12 years. He died in prison from tuberculosis and emphysema on 23 January 1980, protesting his innocence to his dying breath.

After the Guildford Four and the "Maguire" Seven were sentenced similar bombings to Guildford and Woolwich continued. They stopped when four members of an IRA active service unit were captured after the Balcombe Street siege in London. Three of these men confessed that they, and not the "Guildford Four" were responsible for the Guildford bombing, and that two of them had been responsible for the bombing at Woolwich. Their evidence was not accepted in an appeal of the Guildford Four.

All together in the Guildford and "Maguire" cases we have a total of eleven people who have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for offences they do not appear to have committed. All of them owe their arrest to the statement of Paul Hill, a man who had been wanted both by the IRA and the authorities in Belfast. He was suspected by the IRA in Belfast of being an informer. Paul Hill later said his statement was untrue.

The six men sentenced for the Birmingham pub bombings of November 1974 also protest their innocence. The forensic evidence in their case is also very questionable. But that is another story.

REAMONN Ó MUIRI

The reports given at the November 1984 Edinburgh Conference on "The Future of the Celtic Nations within the EEC" (see Carn 47-48, pp. 2-3) have been published by Dr. Andrew Hunter, Department of Languages, Chambers St., Edinburgh EH1 1HX. Copies are available from him at a cost of £3, post and packaging included. The 68-page, loosely-bound book consists of the reports by the chairman of the four working parties (education, decentralisation, economic development, arts and identity) and of those given by delegates from Alba, Breizh, Cymru. Fire on the struggle and the present-day situation in those four countries concerning their Celtic languages. Also included are the texts of proposals and recommendations to be put on behalf of the Conference to the European Commission in Brussels.

SUPPORT

LÁ

At the Conradh na Gaeilge Ard Fheis it was agreed to seek to raise £5,000 to support the daily Irish-language paper LÁ. LÁ suffered a grievous blow when the Belfast office, where it was published, was destroyed by fire at the end of April, but it was out only for one day! The publishers are now looking for £1,000,000 to transform it into a full-blown daily. Anyone willing to support this most deserving project should send subscriptions or buy shares! by writing to LÁ, t/c Cumann Chluain Ard, 27-34 Sráid na Sceiche, Béal Feirste (Belfast 12).

KERNOW

AN TAVAS TITHIACK — AN DATHEL A BEZ

Drez an benzeithen 26-28 meez Ebrel, an 'Cowethas an Yeth Kernewek' a zenjas, del ew, ewzies pub blethan, aga 'Penseythen Gernewek' tho Garworgie, Synta Colum. Meor tho kaz ohi aweeth drefen boaz senjes etti kescows kebmin adro tho Gornoack tithiack.

Scouthoryon an tavas tithiack a vednyas kafas neppeth an par-ma drez an benseithen tho ry chons tho an bobel na wressa nefra clowes traveth adro tho'n an peth a wrig an jy prederi boaz an tavas ewn. Ha drefen boaz peor vize an desten eth o erveeris tho zenjy an kescows en Sawsneg drefen boaz meor a thallethoryon ena.

An kescows a vea comendves gen Dick Gendall, dean broaz i hanow drez an blethednow en kever Cornoack. Ev a therivas istor an tavas ha lavarras fatel ova

cowzis whaath wortu pedn an canzulethan ew passies mesk an piskajoryon a Newlyn hag an jy war an mor. Ev a thathlas fatel o an tavas-na an tavas ewn, an tavas a dale tho ny oll en Kernow gweel defnith anotho, drefen i voaz cowzis gen Kernowyon na wrig desmiggy rewyow tho weel thotho semlant teag war baper, boz a gozwas aga thavas tithiack en form tithiack. "Ha." en meth Dick. "marz o hedna da lowr rag ow thazow e'n deathyow-na, eth ew da lowr rago'y e'n jeath bethew. Peth ew an point pan ezy tavas tithiack en mesk a ny, tho assava desmiggy neppeth nag ew tithiack?"

Nebbaz a'n stuthoryon a wovinnas, "Prage coath tho ny sewya tavas nag ew en breez-ny tavas ewn, buz tavas pedris gen meor a Zawsneg — en gear'va hag aweeth en form ramajeg?" Dick a lavarraz tel wrige guthvoaz boaz meor a drealyans en Cornoack tithiack. kenz oll der allos a Zawsneg, buz py tavas na wrig trealya drez an blethednow? Hag en kever gearvow Sawsneg e'n tavas tithiack, theru muy senjis e'n Cornoack an gwaryow mirakel screffis e'n oaz ewzies tho zelya Cornoack Ewnies — an yeath ew degemeris gen an 'Kesva an Tavas Kernewek'. Ha fatel en kever sawsneg i honnen? 'Na wrig an tavas-na trealya meor drez an blethednow ha nag ezy-ew ow trealya pubteath?

Peor vuyvack o an dathel a zewyas, del wressa dean desevo, buz theru try foint meor aga leaz a wrig doaz athurto.

(i) An deez re bea an creffa war baper er bidn Cornoack tithiack na wrig laul gear vetholl der an kescows.

(ii) Thera meor a bobel — pobel a bub gallos en Cornoack — a lavarraz na wrig an jy guthvoaz *traveth* adro tho Gornoack tithiack drefen na wrig an jy clowes traveth et i gever athurt aga discajoryon. Da ew gen'ma laul betegens, an bobel-ma a lavarraz tel venja an jy desky muy adro tho Gornoack tithiack drefen i voaz, del lavarraz Dick Gendall et i gomendyans, agan tavas tithiack.

(iii) Del ew ewzies, theru an bagas a bobel a 'sethas war an kea Pobel a venja scouthia Cornoack tithiack rag idn reason po aral buz a gafas rea a own et aga holodnow tho'i weel.

Wel, martezen na wrigon-ny trealya breez a bub dean a era ena buz 'ma idn dra ew certan, 'ma leear muy lebmin a wor adro tho agan tavas ewn hag a wor tel vedn-ny alebma rag profya Cornoack tithiack avel an idn tavas ew ewn en Kernow.

ZEWEDNOW

Traditional Cornish — the argument continues

At the recent Cornish Language weekend, an open discussion took place concerning the use of traditionally spoken Cornish in place of the Unified form of the language currently accepted by the Language Board.

MK — WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Following Colin Lawry's not unexpected victory in becoming the first MK Cornwall "County" Councillor in fifteen years, and our improved performance in Porthleven (up from 10% of the vote to 16%) and in St. Just (40% at our first attempt against a strong local Conservative), we are faced, once again, with the question, "where do we go from here?" I say "once again" because we inevitably enter into a process of introspective self-examination after every batch of elections in Cornwall. A major difference this time is that we have to evaluate what no-one would deny is a success, a none-too regular occurrence unfortunately.

Yet this time, we need not entertain any thought of finding out where we're going wrong. Far from it! What we must do is recognise the fact that, after thirty-four years, we are now on the right track, if you'll pardon the politically Freudian slip. To explain, let's examine the roots of those positive election results.

First of all, I should point out that, due to the system of electing the local District Council, in which one-third of all coun-

cillors retire each year, Penwith (the westernmost District Council in Cornwall) has had some sort of council election every year for a decade. Every time, Penzance and St Just branches of MK have fielded candidates. To further compound matters, in Penzance at least, there have been a number of by-elections since Christmas, caused by the death of one councillor and the resignation of another. Thus our two most western branches have had a busy

four months in which to hone their electoral knives.

This does not, however, explain the significantly improved vote in Porthleven, where the District Council does not retire in thirds and where, apart from a parish election in which MK was not involved, there have been no council elections for two years. What does explain the simultaneous improvements in both areas is the consistent and radical development of policy and party image.

A few years ago, MK was a typical bourgeois, pan-political, nationalist party. The leadership was overwhelmingly middle-class and the party's policies and image reflected this situation. Indeed, the radical left within MK felt it necessary to form the "1913 Group" through which they campaigned for a more radical approach and for a re-assessment of the party's class analysis and a change in nature from that of a cultural body seeking "internal self-government" to that of a political party seeking autonomy and self-management for and throughout Cornwall. They sought to rid MK of any vestige of the "tartan Tory" phenomena and establish a strong, de-centralist, socialist ethos. Following the annual conference of 1983, the 1913 Group found itself as the elected



Colin Lawry, M.K.'s successful candidate in the Kernow County Council election.

leadership of MK and the process of change began. Despite some organisational problems, this process has continued to the extent that, in its strongest areas at least, the party has become not only the real opposition to the Tories but also community-based in the best sense of that phrase. A further sign of the positive changes taking place within MK is the fact that one of the candidates in the recent elections was able, without worrying about whether or not the party agreed, to include the following in his election leaflet:

"Mebvyn Kernow is a political party dedicated to achieving real democracy in Cornwall. We believe that Cornish people have a right to live and work in Cornwall. We also believe that the people of Cornwall should have a greater say in the way their lives are run, whether in the workplace, in our councils or in Europe. We seek a society in which the Cornish identity is promoted and where maximum benefit for the many is seen as more important than maximum profit for the few."

Coupled with this change in emphasis regarding policy has come a change of party image. Because there is a clearer idea of exactly what MK is advocating, our spokespeople have been able to appear with greater confidence in print and on the radio. Previously, anyone addressing the media for MK had had to watch their words carefully, not only because either the leadership or the rank and file might disagree with their comments but also because, on many issues of prime importance to ordinary people in Cornwall, the party's stance was unclear. Today our representatives know that the policies they advocate have the overwhelming support of the membership and that our collective analysis of the current Cornish (and world) situation provides guidance on whatever matter they may be discussing.

None of the above, however, is intended to deny that the major difference between the old and the new in MK is commitment. Our active members and branches are

really active — we did better in Penzance and St Just than in Porthleven because our organisation is more developed in the former towns. But this increase in activity, such as regular newsletters distributed throughout many wards and villages, has been brought about by the very political changes to which I have alluded. Our public statements, the words and deeds of the growing number of MK parish councillors and our image as portrayed by the media in a more positive fashion have, at the same time, shown the membership that they belong to a worthwhile party and the public that MK is serious, responsible and in possession of some new, radical answers to Cornwall's problems.

To return, finally, to the question, "where do we go from here?", the simple answer is: exactly where we're headed. MK must (and, I am sure, will) continue to develop along the lines established by the

1983 annual conference. We must continue to campaign for *real* democracy to replace the present system that has no more relevance than the MOT test — valid when it's signed (as you mark your cross) but valueless until the next time; for greater economic and social power for people in Cornwall; for recognition of the special problems faced by Cornish people as an ethnic group; and for the promotion of our distinct identity. We must persuade our fellow-citizens that the Tamar is at least a cultural boundary, that the 'English' Channel is no more than that and that working people throughout Europe have a right to autonomy, self-management and self-respect, individually and collectively.

PEDYR GARRY PRIOR
Scryvnyas an Stollas/
Party Secretary, MK

THE MODERN TROJAN HORSE

The tourist lobby in Cornwall is gearing up for a record summer. Like the first cuckoos of the year Spring brings out the tourist spokespersons who regale us in the local press about the joys of the coming season and the benefits of mass tourism. This year perhaps they are right. The end of the miners' strike and the fall of the pound against the peseta or the lira may mean an increase on the 2½ million visitors to Cornwall who spent an estimated £294 million last year.

Yet, Cornish people often intuitively *feel* tourism is not an altogether good thing. This feeling may be triggered by being held up behind a wandering caravan on the A38 in August and is condemned by the tourist lobby as being, at best, parochial and, at worst, a sort of head in the sand neo-racialism. But is it? Are there not good reasons why we should reject the whole business of tourism within a market economy?

A recent "debate" on Radio Cornwall rehearsed the stale arguments for and against tourism. The views of the hoteliers, gift shop owners, estate agents, garage owners, planners and all the others who are entranced by the beckoning tinkle of the cash register when Easter comes around are well known. As Tory MP David Harris tells us, "Cornwall would be lost without tourism". According to this catering version of "There is no alternative" Cornwall and its people depend on tourism for employment, the maintenance of the environment and the establishment of a modern road network (no contradiction is seen here). Tourism is a good thing because of its economic benefits.

Unfortunately the anti-tourist lobby often chooses to restrict its arguments to the ground chosen by the ice cream vendors. Thus we heard on the above programme that tourism destroys the environment by encouraging "shoddy" develop-

ments, it leads to more crime, it only provides seasonal employment at low wages, the industry is controlled by newly arrived English settlers, etc. Some of these are of course good arguments. It's no accident that the coastal resort areas had unemployment rates of 25%+ this winter and it's certainly in the interests of the small businessmen in the tourist lobby to have a low wage economy in Cornwall.

However those arguing against tourism are often in favour of a "controlled tourism" or a more socially selective tourism or a tourism controlled by the ethnic Cornish. But perhaps the argument should be widened. Is not tourism itself part of the problem that faces Cornwall and other environmentally interesting peripheral areas? Isn't tourism the cancer at the core of the process that is destroying our communities?

One striking omission from the radio debate was any mention of the housing market and the problems caused by second and holiday home purchases. Once defined as a "holiday area" any part of the Celtic countries is wide open to the workings of chequebook imperialism. People from areas of higher incomes and higher house prices are attracted to the local market, either permanently or temporarily. This results in the inability of local people in the more desirable areas to compete and their gradual removal to council house reserva-

tions as the centres of fishing ports and seaside towns undergo a change of ethnic identity.

Having visited a place on holiday people are also more likely to see it as a potential retirement area. Or more likely to apply for jobs there, or more likely to buy their small-holding and rear a couple of goats in an eco-paradise there... and the same process occurs. It is no coincidence that the origin of the English resident on a private housing development near Truro in the mid 70s was found by the Cornwall Planners to almost exactly mirror the general pattern of origin of summer visitors to Cornwall. This process, in the long run, is leading to something not a million miles short of genocide. Our conquerors arrive not in tanks but in Ford Sierras pulling caravans.

Thus it is not tourism per se that should be concentrated on but the wider implications of tourism — second homes, mass migration and last, but not least, the image created through being defined as merely a tourist zone. Tourism has redefined Cornwall as a land of beaches and cliffs where you can get away from it all (in common with 2 million others!) Industrial development has no place in this tourist arcadia — a vision that sees the role of the Cornish as servicing the visiting hordes.

happily selling them clotted cream or plastic pixies in return for a pittance and the dole from October to May. Tourism creates a service mentality, one that looks outside Cornwall for the annual arrival of the gold bearing stragglers. With such a culture the Cornish person with ambition looks to move and those who are left languish in a fatalistic defeatism, servants in mind if not in body.

"There is no alternative to tourism"? No, the point is that there *has to be* an alternative to tourism. For the future of our people we have to avoid the tawdry future that the tourist touts and their unimaginative apologists have in store for us. Nationalists have to engage in the search for radical alternatives to tourism. And sooner rather than later — what is happening today in Cornwall will be happening in the other Celtic countries tomorrow.

The Cobalt Connection (Carn 49) was written by the Marx Independent Action Group. For further information contact:

M. RENSHAW, 9 Bathurst Street, Douglas
D. RENSHAW, 54 Nursery Avenue, Onchan.

BRETON CHOIR IN IRELAND

Kanerien an Oriant, a choir which sings only in Breton and has won a solid reputation in Brittany, toured Ireland between April 6th and 12th. They staged performances in Cork, Killarney, Galway and in the Cultúrlann (Headquarters of the Association of Irish Musicians), Monkstown near Dublin. They had a full house in the Cultúrlann, but were disappointed at the poor attendance in the other places. Active committees would be needed at local level to help in organising such ventures. Choral singing is apparently not as popular in Ireland as other forms of musical entertainment and there was here the added linguistic handicap. The choir's leader, Jean-Marie Airault, was aware of these difficulties and arranged with the secretary general of the Celtic League and with

Gaeleagras, the association of civil-servants which fosters Irish language activities, to provide in the programme explanations in Irish and English for each of the items. These included some of the finest traditional songs and religious hymns as well as extracts from the recently composed cantata "Ar Marc'h Dall" in which René Abjean expresses his hope that Brittany will recover its strength. In the Cultúrlann after a quiet start, the singers gained in assurance and got enthusiastic applause for their spirited rendering of such pieces as "Gwerz Morvan" (a ballad about the 8th century Breton king Morvan, sung to contemporary music by P. Y. Moign) and "Me zo ganet e-kreiz ar mor" written by the poet Yann-Ber Kalloc'h. Irish musicians and the Gaeleagras Choir contributed also to the success of this concert.

First Council to Adopt Bi-lingual Name

On 9th May, the parish council at Porthleven became the first council in Cornwall to adopt a bi-lingual title. MK Councillor, Pedr Prior proposed the move in recognition of Porthleven's status as a Cornish town and as a declaration of its Celtic identity. He received the unanimous support of the council, not all of whom are Cornish. Indeed, his proposition was seconded by a councillor who is a Welshman from Kent, England. The official title of the council is to be: "Porthleven Town Council — Consel an Dre Porthleven" and it will appear on all the council's stationery and notices, although the likely common form of it will be: "Consel an Dre PORTHLEVEN Town Council". Cllr. Prior now hopes that other Cornish councils will follow Porthleven's example. He also points out that Consel an Dre Porthleven, as well as being the first council in Cornwall to adopt a bi-lingual title, is the first official body to do so.

FOLK MUSIC OF WESTERN BRITTANY Continued from Page 7

What O Riada meant was European in a modern form. There was European music of another kind before the Renaissance! And it knew, like Breton and Irish music, other modes than major and minor — I could name German songs to prove this. O Riada did not say that Irish music was also alien to that pre-Renaissance European music.

I remember a seminar in An Spideal, Conamara, about the definitely Irish sean-nos way of singing which was described as a development of Gregorian chant. Polig Monjarret also thinks that Breton music owes more to that form of music than to any other. However that may be, no clear case is made of its being fundamentally different from the Irish. I prefer to stress their similarities. Whether they are sufficient to enable us to speak of a Celtic music remains to be seen. For me, *Celtic* has a clear meaning in relation to our languages in the present day, in other contexts it needs definition... Never mind the theory! Buy the book, play the tunes and enjoy them!

ALAN HEUSAFF

P.O.B.L. (Party for the Organisation of a Free Brittany) held its second annual congress in St-Brieg on the 9-10 February. The theme was: Breton People/Breton Nation: Reality and Future. The party decided to present candidates in the March cantonal (district) elections. It does not define itself in terms of Left, Right or Centre. It considers that capitalism and socialism alike rely on centralisation which destroys the real nations and leads to cultural uniformisation, impoverishment and loss of individual as well as collective freedom.



MANNIN

SCREEU LIOARYN CELTIAUGH

Va chaglym cummit ayns Lunnin syn Ynnyd Vretnagh ayns Averil mychione lioaryn screeut ayns ny chengaghyn Celtiagh. Va'n chaglym reaghit ec Peter Berresford Ellis as Banglanc Lunnin y Chommeys Celtiagh. Choud's ta fys aym, va shoh y chied cheayrt va lhied y chaglym reaghit. V'eh cooie dy row eh reaghit dy jeeragh lurg Feaillev Lioar Lunnin sy Varbican.

Loavr mish son Mannin. Va sym dy liooar ec y lught-eaishtagh, ga dy re mish va'n loavreyder s'jerree as mish loavrt lurg tra-atey syn astyr! Agh red ren cur yn olk orrym, beggan, shen yn genney jeh lioaryn Gailekagh ry hoi taishbyncy as creck. Va lioaryn er ve currit voish Mannin gys y chaglym ("Scrif-Celt '85") agh cha daink ad ayns traa kyndagh rish sthok ayns Heysham, Ioddee. Myr shen, begin dou cur lhiam paart jeh ny lioaryn aym pene as hooar mee tooilley lioaryn Gailekagh er ceasaght voish Mnr Berresford Ellis. Agh tra va sleih laccal kionnaghey lioaryn Gailekagh, cha row shen jantagh. Son shickyrys, my vees Scrif-Celt elley reaghit, shegin dooin reaghey taishbynys mie jeh lioaryn Gailekagh as lioaryn mychione Mannin. Foddee dy beagh sym ec delleyder-lioar Manninagh ayn. Va Mannin jeeaghyn moal agglagh cosoylit rish ny cheeraghyn elley ec "Scrif-Celt '85".

Va ny loavreyderyn ooilley gimraa ny doilleidyn t'ec ny Celtice bentyn rish screeu as cur magh lioaryn ayns ny chengaghyn Celtiagh. Ta shen dy ghra, eer tra ta sleih dy liooar avn as chengey Celtiagh oc, cha nel agh kuse veg jeh arryltagh kionnaghey lioaryn. Eer my t'ou cur magh lioaryn Baarlagh, she dellal gaeuagh t'ayn. Son shickyrys, cha jean oo cosney monney argid liorish cur magh lioaryn ayns ny chengaghyn Celtiagh. Ny veih shen as ooilley, she red mirrilagh t'avn dy vel red erbee currit magh ayns ny chengaghyn shoh. Erskyn ooilley, va ny taishbynyssyn Bretnagh as Britaanagh feer vie. Er agh ennagh, va taishbynys yindyssagh ny Britaanee cur nearev er Celtice elley.

Loavr Len Truran jeh Dvllansow Truran son y Chorn. She fer-vnsee va Mnr Truran, agh t'en ny haave nish as eshyn gobbraghey car vn traa son y colught hug eh er bun ry



Michael O Laoire, Secretary of the London Branch of the Celtic League at the C.L. stand at Scrif-Celt '85. (Photo courtesy Seumas Mac a' Ghobhainn).

loi cur magh lioaryn ayns Cornish as mychione y Chorn. Ta speeideilys dy liooar er ve echey. Tammylt er dy henney, cha row scoillyn Cornagh laccal goaill lioaryn mychione v cheer as y chengey, agh nish t'ad shirrey y lhied. Ren colught Vnr Truran, Dvllansow Truran, cur magh y chied oorskeal ayns Cornish er y gherid. Ta'n oorskeal shoh ennyssit "Crooin Fuilltagh Cheltia" as v'eh screeut liorish Melville Bennetto. Ta troo aym er ny Cornee. Shegin dooin cur magh oorskealyn ayns Gailek. Agh ta lane eddvr raa as jannoo, my ta. Gyn ourys, ta kuse dy leih ayn oddvs screeu oorskealyn Gailekagh mie dy liooar. Ayns y toshiaght, oddagh coipyn jeh ny lauescreeunyn goll mygeayrt mastey pobble Gailekagh, foddee. Eisht, oddagh shin boirey mysh cur magh ny lioaryn sy chummei kiart. Erskyn dy chooilley nhee, ta shin laccal greeasagh cooishyn Gailekagh er agh crootagh.

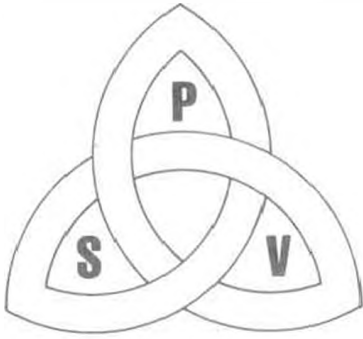
Ec "Scrif-Celt '85", chionnee mee oorskeal screeut ayns Yernish son jeigeyryn. Screeu Cathal Ó Sandair y lioar shoh as t'eh ennyssit "Reics Carló ar Oileán Mhanann" ("Reics Carlo er Ellan Vannin"). Haink v lioar shoh magh nurree, as t'eh mychione y cronnevder (detective) ard-ghooagh Reics Carló voish Divlyn. Ta Reics ceau e laghyn seyrey ayns Mannin as

geiyrt er deinev olk ec y traa cheddin. Ta Gailek dy liooar sy liooar skeavlt mastey y Yernish sy lioar. Yernagh aeg erbee ta lhaih eh, nee eshyn ny ish gynsaghev stoo dy liooar mychione Mannin ec y traa t'ayn — erskyn ooilley, mychione y chengey as v chiaullecaght dooghvssagh. Samplevr yindyssagh jeh eddyr-Cheltiaghys t'ayn. Ta sleih ennagh shirrey orrym cur Gailek er y lioar shoh as eisht foddee dy bee eh currit magh ec y Cium (y colught steat Yernagh). Ta shin laccal lioar erbee ayns Gailek, agh dy firrinagh hare lhiam my lioaryn aym pene v screeu ayns Gailek veih'n toshiaght. Yn traa, shen yn noid mooar.

Red elley haink ass "Scrif-Celt '85", va shen y caa dy chur magh lioar Gailekagh son paitchyn jeh red goll rish hoght bleanev dy cash. Ta Ventura Publishing, ta cur magh ny lioaryn "Spot", arryltagh goaill ayns laue cur magh lioar "Spot" ayns Gailek. Dy jarroo, ta shin ayns feme mooar jeh lioaryn taitnyssagh ayns Gailek son cash erbee, aeg ny shenn.

"Scrif-Celt '85" was of special significance for Mann in giving pointers to action needed over writing in Manx

BRIAN MAC STOYLL



Industrial Strife Continues

For the second year in succession Industrial troubles are being experienced in Mann. Following settlement of 1984 disputes over low pay and in the docks, brewery and waterworks industry there was an apparent suspension of strike action. This prompted Manx politician Mr. Eddie Lowey (M.L.C.) to comment that Mann had put its industrial troubles behind it. Eddie Lowey was obviously echoing the optimistic hopes of the Manx Government generally. However, his remarks and those hopes proved premature, and in early May, Mann received its first taste of the 'lightning strike'. This weapon being used to devastating effect in two disputes involving critical sectors of the Manx economy.

On Thursday 9th May, drivers in the Island's main oil distribution and supply depot (Manx Petroleums) walked out, stating that negotiations on a wage increase



Manx Oil Supply workers flex industrial muscles.

were being frustrated by management. The men walked out on the anniversary of 60 trouble-free years in the industry; the action also coincided with V.E. Day celebrations in Mann. The Island was, quite literally, facing the prospect of 'grinding to a halt' within a couple of days. Not surprisingly, given this fact and the behind the scenes pressure, the management 'caved in' to the men's main demand and constructive negotiations prompted an immediate return to work.

With the Island's government breathing a sigh of relief at the resolution of the oil dispute, crisis loomed in another critical area — Tourism. With only a few weeks until the Islands Tourist season gets underway, and with all indication of an already poor season, clerical staff of the Island's main tourist carrier (Isle of Man Steam Packet Co.) walked out on a 'lightning

strike' again over pay negotiations. Within hours, due to the pressure of this direct action, the men's initial demand was met and staff returned to work.

Any relief the Manx Government feels over the relatively short duration of these strikes, must be tempered by the realization that workers in the increasingly militant T.G.W.U. have discovered the potential of 'lightning strikes'. It seems this pattern will continue as a means of workers avoiding protracted delays by management in negotiations.

Coupled with the T.G.W.U. aggressive stance on the need for reform of Mann's archaic social legislation, it seems that Mann is in for another active year on the Trade Union Front. It was in August 1982 that Manx Government Members received a small pamphlet from a newly formed socialist group POBBLAUGHT SOSHIALLAGH VANNIN. The group promised to achieve its radical aims through 'widespread individual commitment, but also through exploitation and infiltration of all possible channels of change. Together, working through trade unions, political and cultural organizations, and state institutions of every kind, the efforts of individuals will be co-ordinated and the strength of our movement will be felt'.

Pobblaght Soshiallagh Vannin's dogma after an airing in the Manx Press were firmly dismissed from the mind of the government, perhaps in hindsight, prematurely!

Editorial Note:

Manx petroleum workers went on indefinite strike on 21st May.

Nordfriesland

Zeitschrift für Kultur, Politik, Wirtschaft informiert über aktuelle Probleme Nordfrieslands und der anderen friesischen Länder in Deutsch mit einzelnen friesischen Beiträgen.

32 Seiten. Jahresabonnement (4 Hefte) DM 16.00 Für Mitglieder des Vereins Nordfriesisches Instituts im Mitgliedsbeitrag enthalten Nordfriisk Instituut, D-2257 Bredstedt/Bräist, NF

C.J.K.

WHAT PRICE COMPETITION

The Celtic countries seem, as much as anywhere else, to be dogged by the bogey of competitive music, dance, poetry reading and the like. The usual reason given for the desirability for its continuation, is that it improves standards. It is my belief that participation in music dance etc., (unless under duress) presupposes a desire to strive after the best possible standards. Who needs competition? Performers need no incentive, other than to please self, fellow performers and audience (if there is one). From my own experience, competition is most often used by teachers to promote themselves, imposing on their pupils a meagre diet of the debased result of "upper-class" European patronage. Well! it is respectable, isn't it? Of course, teachers in general know no better! They are merely passing on what they received or went through.

May each year sees the Annual staging of the Guild, sometimes called the Manx Music Festival, misnamed indeed, as Manx content is minimal, and from my point of view, the same goes for the musical content, if excerpts from the Guild, as covered by Manx Radio, are a reasonable guide. Some Classes have as many as fifty candidates, performing the same test piece. I know too,

that many pupils will do nothing other than test pieces throughout the year. This cannot fail to be detrimental to musical education. I seriously doubt whether, of the thousands of the Island's school children who have taken part in the Guild over the years, more than a handful ever become involved in music for pleasure. Hardly surprising with such narrow and bad experience.

It must be said that the few Manx and some free choice classes have been used by promoters of the Manx music and dance, with success, but they hardly make any dent on the monstrous helpings of cultureless Euro-dross; some of which is composed by adjudicators of the previous year's festival!

Is it not time to replace this archaic hangover of the Victorian era with something more in keeping with the celebration of music and dance? Schools, groups and societies could be invited to perform before experts who would give helpful remarks and suggestions — no places, marks or test pieces. Items for evening entertainment could be selected from the performances.

Competition has no part to play in this field. That is the province of running races

Tapping The Telephone



Mannin branch campaign against telephone tapping continues. An admission that the practice of 'tapping/metering' goes on has been reluctantly conceded by the Manx police and local Telecom. They say however its use is 'infrequent'! Now we would like to know to whom it is applied and how infrequently!

Major Archaeological Excavation in Mann

For three summers, commencing August 1982, an archaeological excavation of some considerable importance has been underway on St. Patrick's Isle adjacent to Peel in Mann. The Isle, on which Peel Castle is sited, 'is historically the centre of the Isle of Man' having been occupied since the pre-history period and being 'for most of the last millenium at the centre of Manx ecclesiastical, civil, military and administrative life'.

The archaeological work is being carried out under the auspices of the St. Patrick's Isle (I.O.M.) Archaeological Trust. The Trust hope to complete a 'Five year plan' which was commenced in '83. Funding so far has come from a variety of sources. The Manx government has played a major part both with direct funding and also through allocation of part of the proceeds of a national lottery. There is also funding in the form of private and university sponsorship plus indirect support from the British government.

Since its inception there have been 'finds' of considerable importance including two Celtic cross slabs and a 'hoard' of Viking silver coins, however, glad as the site supervisors are for these bonuses they stress that the purpose of the 'dig' is much more complex than the acquirement of such 'finds'. The excavation hopes to piece together information on early patterns of life, farming, fishing techniques, details of health and stature of the varying population that has used the Isle. To achieve this, painstakingly slow excavation of such areas

as a Celtic cemetery, rubbish dumps and various apartment floor areas is being carried on.

David Freke site director, who spoke to the Mannin branch secretary, stressed the importance of completing the initial five year plan and also indicated that very many more years of useful work could be undertaken at the site. The 'dig' is the first large scale archaeological excavation for many years in Mann. A group of (approx.) ten professionals (supervisors, draughtsmen, surveyors, environmentalists and photographers) is backed by volunteers, many of whom are students. Initial work during the Easter period is followed by the two month main operation in late June — through to mid-September. The 1984 work was facilitated by the extremely dry weather.

Another no less important objective of the Trust is to develop the potential of the Castle site — to quote the (82-83) interim report: "The current excavations attempt to tackle both the research and interpretive needs of the Castle over the next five years. Their main aim is to make the Castle a worthy monument of more than a thousand years of Manx history and at the same time, to explain it to the general public, Manxman and visitor alike.

The tourist potential of the Castle has never been properly realised with tactful handling the Castle could become a real attraction to the visitor, who at the moment is only confused by contradictory statements, misinformation and bad labelling."

The Trusts policy of encouraging local people to take part in the 'dig' and also the encouragement of groups to visit, for guided tours, has already paid off by stimulating interest by the Manx community in the project. One hopes this interest will continue and finance, both private and public, can be found to carry on the work.

J. B. MOFFATT

And the Meek Shall Inherit . . . ?

Friday 22nd March 1985 saw the first open discussion of ideas for the organisation and content of Mann's Heritage Year in 1986. The general circular which invited groups to the meeting described the forthcoming celebrations as a "once and for all opportunity to preserve, promote and establish it's unique qualities . . . giving as it does a marvellous opportunity for the Isle of Man's rich cultural heritage, for too long the cinderella, to take it's rightful place in our national life". As this Cinderella is about 100-150 years old, one is tempted to wonder what, if any, is the real motivation for embarking on such a project? There is certainly no apparent reason why official interest should suddenly be shown in Manks cultural affairs, (lobbying for various "concessions" has been pretty consistent throughout this century). Cynicism aside, the sincerity of the Heritage Foundation, co-ordinating body for the Year, appears genuine; yet, how are they to become effective in areas where institutional negligence is prevalent? In order to assess this perhaps we should look at the resources provided for the task. The Foundation was set up without an annual budget, but with a 22½% of the proceeds of the 1984 lottery, amounting to some £50,000. This amount can only be drawn upon by way of interest free loans to bodies interested in various aspects of Manks Heritage. In addition, a sum of £25,000 is reputed to have been set aside to cover costs, incurred during Heritage Year including, it seems, the cost of employing a full time co-ordinator. To put all this into perspective, we should compare these figures with public monies voted to other sectional interest groups. Take the Island's pre-service cadets: in 1981-82 their vote was £55,000. In 1982-83, after a threatened reduction of £5,000 and a rowdy session in Tynwald, this budget was maintained at £55,000. During the same period the I.O.M. Arts Council's budget was actually increased, from £13,750 to £15,000. Leaving aside any philosophical debate on the interests which are more central to our "common good", the figures speak for themselves, (particularly as the circular described the year as a "once and for all opportunity").

What can be done with such slender resources? The meeting itself was surprisingly productive with many useful ideas being discussed. The response from the members of the Heritage Foundation, and their input to the discussion, was however, at times disturbing. On one side the consensus seemed to favour the huge (and expensive) spectacle; and on the other reliance on our own resources was stressed. Liaison groups involving members of the Foundation and interested groups are to be set up to co-ordinate and organise specific events and activities with the organiser to be appointed with overall responsibility for co-ordination.

The participation of member groups of Sleih gyn Thie, and other cultural groups, was discussed prior to the public meeting. It was decided that their basis for participation during the year should be linked to longer term objectives; not the immediate gratification of a government which ordinarily demonstrates quite clearly that it is not at all interested in Manks culture and heritage. (Indeed it was noted that in proposing the celebration with too little time to become adequately prepared and in withholding the resources necessary to make it truly successful, the government is continuing to demonstrate its disinterest). With this realistic approach to their participation, it was acknowledged that if the year succeeds in giving our culture a higher overall profile, and progress is made towards gaining a more positive response from official institutions; then at least a modest achievement could be claimed. The highest priority would seem to be, to ensure that real progress is made in incorporating our cultural heritage into our education system so that the meaning of the term 'heritage' assumes its real significance. If the presentation is allowed to continue, with an increasing majority of our young being "educated out" of their heritage, more and more of our adult population will either come to regard Manks culture as a sub-culture, or worse, will not have the opportunity to regard it at all.

This was reflected in the words of Mona Douglas who concluded the public meeting by calling for the inclusion of Manks Studies (including Gaelic), in school curriculum. If this was achieved it would at least provide the opportunity for our children to assume a cultural identity in an environment which suppresses national character in favour of centralism, reinforced by the mass media and institutional interests.

At its worst, Heritage Year may become a cheap way for the Manks government to "buy off" criticism of official neglect and discouragement ordinarily shown towards Manks cultural affairs. At its best, it may go a little way towards improving official and popular attitudes, to what even the government circular conceded to be "our birth-right". There will certainly be no lack of enthusiasm or commitment on the part of the various cultural organisations, towards getting the best from this undertaking and achieving the latter. Whether there will be sufficient political motivation at this late stage to match this commitment, remains to be seen.

D.S.

Editor's Comment ...

One may well wonder why our government has chosen 1986 as Heritage year. Is it just that it has become hooked on a gimmick a year since the Millenium fiasco . . . or are the reasons more sinister?

It would appear to me that 1986, was deliberately chosen by our election-time nationalists. Now no more promises are even needed — just look what they're doing! Now more than ever, the true patriots should stand apart from this game. Political commitment to the aspirations of the many cultural and language organisations may well be lost in the blur of colourful staged events designed only for on-lookers (home-comers, tourists and so called visiting dignitaries!)

This blatant vote-snatching by the politicians is understandable; they do it at each election, but admittedly with more flare this time. What is disturbing is the fact that most, if not all, the organisations involved cannot see beyond this tokenism.



IRISH DEMOCRAT

Monthly organ of the Connolly Association. 8 pp. in English. Stg.£5/annum, from 244 Grays Inn Rd., London WC1. Good reviews of the political scene and of Anglo-Irish relations from a socialist and republican standpoint. In the May issue, read about insidious attempts to undermine Irish neutrality, page 7 and part of page 8. Lists books on Irish politics and history. Irish fiction and drama, poetry and song available from above address.

Continued from Page 4

the office of Glasgow's Lord Provost was described by the police as a skillfully made device and the media photographs showed the amount of damage caused. Since then each device has been routinely described as "crude but viable", and those which explode are said to have "only partially ignited" and to have caused no injuries or damage. If the devices are "crude", say the SNLA, then why do they regularly avoid detection by the sophisticated screening devices which are now in use? If no damage or injuries are caused then why are no reporters or journalists allowed to view the rooms where the "partial ignitions" took place?

The SNLA also points out that several of its most successful attacks have not been reported: two bombs which sealed off the Coulport nuclear base in May 1983; an attempt to "execute" Mrs. Thatcher at the Scottish Tory conference in Perth in 1983 by placing a bomb under the stage (this incident was the subject of a BBC investigation which was screened in October 1984); the destruction of forestry plantations near Perth in 1983; an attack on the Glasgow home of Roy Jenkins M.P. on June 2nd 1984; an arson attack on an Army Careers office in Maryhill, Glasgow, in early 1984.

The SNLA now claims to be in a stronger position than ever but, even if their claims are disregarded or taken lightly, it is nevertheless obvious that the group has been — and remains — capable of posing a serious threat, and it is likely that a great deal more will be heard of the SNLA in the future.

B. BURKE.



From left to right: Noel Grimes, Chairman of Pan Celtic Festival, Killarney, Maire Ni Chonchubhair, Publicity Officer, EEC Office, Dublin (on whose behalf the prize was offered), Sorcha Uí Chonsháola, Connemara Gaeltacht, winner of solo singing competition, Con Ó Conaill, International Chief Executive Pan Celtic.

The International Celtic Congress

The International Celtic Congress will be held in Brittany this year in Rennes, from the 11th to the 17th of August 1985.

The problems of the Celtic languages in modern life will be studied and special consideration will be given to publishing in the Celtic languages specifically to the publication of books for children. The position of

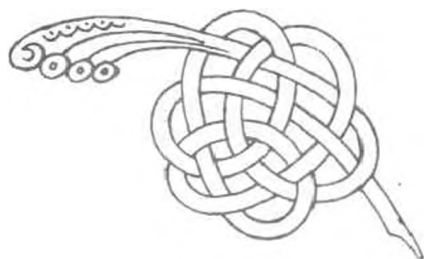
the Celtic languages in the media (cinema, video, radio and television), in public life and modern teaching methods will also be discussed.

Trips, films and exhibitions will be arranged and there will be a variety of concerts, including dancing, singing and music every evening, with participants from all the Celtic countries.

For further information please write to:

Kendal'h Keltiek Etrevroadel
International Celtic Congress
30 Place des Lices
35000 ROAZHON Brittany.

GENERAL



SCRIF ~ CELT '85 — A RETROSPECT

SCRIF-CELT '85, the first-ever Celtic languages book fair, held at the London Welsh Centre on April 13, was a tremendous success and the biggest and most ambitious event ever undertaken by the Celtic League. The London Branch of the Celtic League, who organised it, are delighted with the results, the positive feedback from participating publishers and the general public.

So successful has the event proved that the London Branch will be organising SCRIF-CELT '86 on a grander scale spread over two days.

In the final analysis, SCRIF-CELT '85 was supported by 72 Celtic language publishers and organisations of which number 46 actually participated in the Book Fair itself.

The event also attracted considerable publicity both in the press and media not only in the Celtic countries but on an international scale, fulfilling the primary aim of the organisers to bring the Celtic languages and their literatures to an international audience.

AIS the Bord na Gaeilge Irish book distribution group, who were a last minute entry, were astonished that they sold 50 per cent of the books they took to London. A Welsh publisher has written: 'I did very well as far as sales are concerned. I could have done with more stock. If you plan to do a similar day next year, I will certainly be interested in taking part.'

Bernez An Naith (of the Breton Cultural Institute) writes: 'It has been a very interesting experience for all of us to meet for the first time so many publishers from the various Celtic countries and see their books. I am sure it will strengthen the cooperation between our countries in the future. We hope that there will be a SCRIF-CELT '86 and '87.'

The final list of participants at this pioneering event were:

Stands

- 1 The Celtic League (also representing):
Cork University Press
Cofiw (Wales)
Fritlap (Mannin)
Scottish Academic Press
An Gael (An Claidheamh Soltis Inc. New York)
Dale'homp Soñ
Constables (London)
Carbad (An Grúpa Foisitheoireachta, Ireland)

ALBA

- 2 An Comann Leabhraichean (Scottish Gaelic Books Council)
- 3 Acar Laranta
- 4 An Comann Gàidhealach
- 5 John Donald Ltd

BREIZH

- 6 Skol-Uhel Ar Vro (Breton Cultural Institute)

7. Kuzul Ar Brezhoneg (Breton Language Council)
8. Editions Brud Nevez
9. An Here
10. Ar Bed Keltiek

CYMRU

11. Cyngor Llyfrau Cymraeg (Welsh Books Council)
12. Cyhoeddiadau Mei
13. Anrhydeddus Cymdeithas y Cymmrodorion
14. Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru
15. Gwasg Efengylaidd Cymru
16. Oriel (Welsh Arts Council Bookshop)

ÉIRE

17. AIS — (Bord na Gaeilge)
18. Conradh na Gaeilge
19. Conradh na Gaeilge (Casement Branch, London)
20. An Gúm
21. Gaedhealachas Teo
22. Innti
23. An Clócomhar
24. Cumann na Scribheann Gaedhilge

KERNOW

25. Kesva an Tavas Kernewek (Cornish Language Board); Cowethas an Yeth Kernewek (Cornish Language Fellowship); Dalleth (Nursery playschool group)
26. Dyllansow Truran
27. Iodenek Press

MANNIN

28. Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh (Manx Gaelic Society)

OTHERS

29. Linguaphone Institute
30. Assimil
31. Keshcarrigan Bookshop (An Droichead magazine) New York
32. Stone Street Press, New York
33. Muller, Blond & White, London
34. Spirit of Celta (Publishing)
35. Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies
36. Ventura Publishing, London
37. Oxford University Press
38. Foir Provinces Bookshop (Connolly Association)

In opening SCRIF-CELT '85, chairman historian and novelist Peter Berresford Ellis said

'The response in support of this first pan-Celtic book fair has been truly heartening ... but this is only the tip of an iceberg of great potential.' Certainly the organisers felt that many Celtic language publishers and organisations who should have been represented had taken a somewhat pessimistic attitude. Many realised the significance of SCRIF-CELT only at the last minute. But in terms of the overall number of publishers supporting SCRIF-CELT, it was estimated that the event had received only 25% of the real potential. Having demonstrated its success, the organisers felt it would be easier to persuade publishers to support it in the future.

Publicity

The aim of SCRIF-CELT '85 was to present the Celtic languages and their literatures before an international audience (see CARN Nos. 47/48 and 49). That aim was certainly achieved. No other single event organised by the Celtic League has received such widespread press and media coverage.

Stories appeared on radio, television and in the newspapers, as well as in literary journals, in Scotland, Wales, Brittany, Cornwall and Mannin. Ireland's coverage was frankly pathetic with only a few stories appearing. This was made up for a little with excellent coverage in London's *Irish Post* and *Irish Democrat*.

Even the English press and media were interested ranging from serious stories in the *Times Literary Supplement*, *Bookseller*, *Book Marketing News* etc. to the typical non-serious approach in *The Guardian* and other newspapers. The BBC World Service 'Outlook' programme devoted twenty minutes to the event.

On the international front, however, the response was even greater with coverage ranging from articles in *Soviet Literary Gazette*, *Izvestia* and *Novosti* Newsagency to a fifteen minute programme on Greek Radio, and reports in Swiss, French, South and North American and Canadian newspapers.

Attendance

In view of the publicity given to the event, the organisers were disappointed that attendance was not higher — being under a thousand. It was generally estimated at the conference on 'London and the Future of the Celtic Languages' (County Hall, London, January 21, 1984) that London has a population of some 100,000 Celtic-language speakers. Welsh attendance seemed particularly low by comparison to their potential. The organisers isolated two reasons for this. 1) SCRIF-CELT '85 fell in the holiday period when many people were away from London and schools, such as Willemsen's Welsh-medium school, were closed. 2) The organisers admitted an oversight in failing to individually notify the 24 London Welsh chapels which tend to serve as cultural centres for many of the Welsh-speakers in London.

Finances

The main aim of the organisers was to make SCRIF-CELT '85 self-financing and not draw on either branch funds or central funds. This was achieved . . . in spite of one major error. The organisers were over optimistic with regard to catering. The buffet luncheon at £4.25 proved a disaster. Very few people attending the book fair wanted a proper luncheon. People generally wanted snacks and few people felt motivated to pay £4.25 for lunch. In guaranteeing a figure to the caterer, the organisers admit to losing the sum of £550 in this area.

The total expenditure on SCRIF-CELT '85 was £2,650.57 (sterling). Income (as at April 26) was £2,781.58. At that time the sum of £40 was outstanding in advertising and participant fees. Discounting the owed sum of £40, SCRIF-CELT '85 has found itself £131.01 in credit. A potential profit of £681.01 was cut by the loss on the catering side. The committee have noted their mistake.

Revenue was raised from advertising in the programme booklet; in participation fees and from various unsolicited donations. In addition, admission and luncheon money.

Main areas of expenditure were the guaranteed sum to the caterer, postage and duplicating, printing the programme booklet, hiring the London Welsh Centre, selected advertising and production of badges.

Lectures

In the lower hall, the series of lectures on contemporary writing and publishing in each of the Celtic languages, chaired by Peter Berresford Ellis, were well attended.

One last minute panic arose when the author Dónall Mac Amhlaigh sent word that he was unable to attend due to domestic problems. With just one hour's notice, his place was filled by Seamus Ó Coileáin, the senior editor of *An Gúm*, and Stiofain Ó hAnracháin of *Clócomhar*, who made an excellent joint presentation.

The other speakers were Iain Mac Dhòmhnaill of the Scottish Gaelic Books Council; Bernez An Nailh (Breton Cultural Institute); Dewi Morris Jones (Welsh Books Council); Len Truran of Dyllansow Truran (Cornwall) and Dr. Brian Mac Stovill (Yn Cheshaght Ghailekagh).

Manx disaster

The one disaster in shipping books to the book

fair was, unfortunately, a Manx one. Due to a strike on the freight ships between the island and England, the consignment of Manx books failed to turn up. A Manx book stand was assembled when members of the London Branch made a last minute search of their libraries and gathered a small collection of grammars, dictionaries and general books. This was reinforced by Dr. Mac Stovill bringing other items and copies of the magazine *Fritag*. Items were marked 'not for sale' much to the annoyance of many interested people. It was estimated that at least a dozen or so grammars and dictionaries could have been sold.

Programme booklet

The 76 page programme booklet (consisting of 46% pages of advertising and 28% pages of editorial) is now regarded as a directory of modern Celtic language publishing. Professor Gearóid Mac Foin (Galway University) provides a typical comment to those received by the organisers: 'Congratulations on producing what is not only a programme but more than that, a directory of Celtic publishers and periodicals. This is most useful and has drawn to my attention many publishing enterprises in the other Celtic languages of which I was not previously aware.'

Some 2,000 copies of the programme booklet were printed and, as well as visitors to SCRIF-CELT '85, over 800 were distributed to the press and media.

A limited number of the programme booklets are still available as collector's items or handy publishing reference books. The price is £1 (sterling) plus 31p for postage while stocks last. Make four cheques payable to SCRIF-CELT '85 and sent to:

Seamas Ó Coileáin
642 DuCane Court,
London SW17 7JR,
England.

Criticism

The organisers wish to place on record particular thanks to General Secretary Alan Heusaff who was active in trying to break down initial Irish pessimism concerning the event. They also wish to record wholehearted thanks to Bernard Moffat (Manx Branch secretary) and to Jorj ab Herve Gwegan (Breton branch secretary) both of

whom did everything they could to help promote and co-ordinate the event in their respective countries, working closely with the organisers in London.

In placing on record thanks to the above, the organisers must also record their sadness at the total lack of response from other branch secretaries. As well as reports in previous issues of CARN, all branch secretaries were sent explanatory letters and programme booklets asking for help in promoting the event and watching the press and media in their area for reports and so forth. Apart from the previously named Celtic League personnel, the organisers did not even receive an acknowledgment from other branch secretaries. This is a sad reflection on the operation within the Celtic League and leads one to ask the reasons behind this lack?

SCRIF-CELT '86?

In making their analysis of the event, the organisers have been very heartened by the positive feedback SCRIF-CELT '85 has been, undoubtedly, an event that not only reflected well on the Celtic League but has achieved more publicity for the League than any other single event held during the League's history. The organisers are already receiving enquiries about SCRIF-CELT '86.

Considerable discussion was given as to whether to hold next year's SCRIF-CELT in London or hand over the organisation, as originally envisaged, to another branch in the Celtic countries. Lack of response from the other branches (with the exception of Breizh and Mannin) has not made that idea feasible at this stage. It was definitely felt that SCRIF-CELT, having been established, should remain a Celtic League event.

The organisers are therefore recommending that SCRIF-CELT '86 be held once again in London. This would consolidate the event on the international stage. The event would also be held over a two-day period with a series of 'side events' such as poetry readings etc. In seeking to organise a major two-day book fair and literary festival, the organisers will be pursuing the idea of seeking sponsorship from selected Celtic business enterprises.

It is envisaged that plans for SCRIF-CELT '86 will be formed and announced before September.

The organisers will be watching the extent of support and co-operation they receive from other League branches for SCRIF-CELT '86 in order to be able to make a positive decision about a venue for SCRIF-CELT '87.

Commenting on the event, chairman Peter Berresford Ellis said: 'SCRIF-CELT has filled a gap in pan-Celtic gatherings which has long been noticeable. It is, perhaps, the most important function in terms of the aspirations of the Celtic League in that it deals with the Celtic languages and their literatures. It promotes the languages not only to the Celts but also to the world.'

'I, for one, did not anticipate such an enthusiastic response . . . although I had hopes. SCRIF-CELT is undoubtedly here to stay and the Celtic League has reason to be proud of creating it. It can now grow into something bigger and better.'

Particular thanks must go to the organising committee: Peter Berresford Ellis (chairman); Seamas Ó Coileáin (secretary/ treasurer); Micheál Ó Laoire (London branch secretary); Seumas Mac a' Ghobhainn and Dr. Janig Stephens.

Thanks must also be recorded to the 24 volunteer helpers from the London branch of the Celtic League who gave up their Friday evening and all day Saturday to act as stewards, receptionists, odd-job men and women, stand attendants, tea and coffee ladies and luncheon supervisors.



Part of the crowd at Scrif-Celt '85. Photographer: Seamas Mac a' Ghobhainn.

FOR A CELTIC FUTURE

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A.G.M. 1985

This year's A.G.M. will be held in No. 6, Harcourt Street, Dublin 2 (off Stephens Green) the Gaelic League Headquarters, on 23-25 August, 1985.

Provisional Agenda

FRIDAY, 8 p.m.

1 Welcome of the visitors to the national movements, by a panel of speakers. Questions.

SATURDAY, a.m.

2 a) Reports by the Branch Secretaries ; b) Reports by the Editor of CARN, the Treasurer, the Secretary general.

SATURDAY p.m.

3 Planning the publication of CARN and other Celtic League activities for the year ahead ; Election of Officers.

4 Resolutions/Motions submitted by the Branches

SUNDAY a.m.

5 Report on the CELTIC IDEA (co-operative)

6 Scif-Celt 1986.

7 A brief survey of present interceltic relations.

SUNDAY p.m.

8 Our understanding of Celticism.

9 Reports on and discussion of documents communicated to the C.L. by other associations

a) The two traditions in Ireland ; b) Proposals for an EEC Celtic Secretariat ; c) Europe 2000.

Information concerning accommodation will be supplied on request by the Irish Branch Secretary (see page 24), but MAKE SURE YOU WRITE EARLY

NEW BRANCH SECRETARIES

Merfyn Phillips has accepted the post of Welsh branch secretary in succession to Ian Llyfni. He is the editor of the papur bro Y San Readers of CARN 47-48 know of the firm stand he took concerning the Welsh language. He writes perfect Irish.

Tomás Scott and Maire Lodge came forward, offering their help to the Irish branch when they heard that Máire Bhreathnach could not on account of other commitments in the field of Irish music and language, continue to devote all the time needed to develop our branch membership and activities. Tomás was appointed branch secretary.

See page 24 for the new addresses.

On behalf of the Celtic League I should like to thank Ian and Maire for the work they did as secretaries for the organisation and I hope that they will find time to continue contributing to CARN.

DER WESTEN

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OR

41 Church St.,

Listowel,

Co. Kerry.

Telephone: 0944 66666

Membership and Subscriptions

All those who agree with the Constitution and Aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership fee (including CARN) and subscription rates are IR£6, Stg£5, 60FF or US\$14. Postage outside Europe is by air mail.

For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership subscriptions, etc. write to any of the following secretaries:

ALBA

Main Denovan, 9 Dalgleish Road, Dundee DD4 7JN.

BREIZH

Jarl Ab Herve-Gwegen, 9 Rue F Blons, 29260 Plouzenic/Ploudaniel.

CYMRU

Merfyn Phillips, Parc y Ffrier, 1 Iandudoch, Dyfed.

EIRE

Tomás Scott, 16 Pairc na Cabraí, B.A.C. 7

KERNOW

Bernard Deacon, An Fogov, Bardia 2, Southdowns, Redruth

MANNIN

Bernard Moffatt, 24 St Germain's Place, Val.

LONDON

Micheál Ó Laoire, 5 Belton Road, Berk-hampstead, Herts, England.

U.S.A.

Alexei Kondratiev, (Correspondence Co-ordinator), P.O. Box 322, Rego Park, N.Y. 11374.

The General Secretary of the Celtic League is:

Alan Heusaff,

9 Br. Cnoc Sion,

Dromchonruch,

Ath Cliath 9, Éire.

The Editor is Ms. P. Bridson, 33 Br Bancroft, Tamhlacht, Baile Átha Cliath 24, Éire.

I would like to thank most of our contributors for their tremendous efforts in meeting the due date for submission of articles for this issue. Our next deadline for CARN 51 will be August 2nd.

As for this issue, articles in the Celtic languages should be submitted before the deadline where possible. Photographs, original illustrations, artwork and satirical cartoons would be appreciated.

PAT BRIDSON

CARN is edited by P. A. Bridson, published by the Celtic League and printed by Quine & Libbon, 1 Athol St., Port St Mary, Isle of Man.

Material sent for publication in CARN must relate to our aims, be clearly written; if in languages other than English articles should be marked to ease editing (Bracket sentences/paragraphs which may be omitted in case of need to shorten).

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CAWPN

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

Nr. 51

AUTUMN 1985

80p Sterling

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Cultural Imperialism on the Left

Welsh and Planning

Ri Guailibh a Cheile

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Breton Regional Elections?

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Cornwall Marking Time



CELTIC LEAGUE



ALBA: COMUNN CELTEACH • BREIZH: KEVRE KELTEK
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KERNOW: KESUNYANS KELTEK • MANNIN: COMMEEYS CELTIGH

ALBA

RI GUAILLIBH A CHEILE . . .



Tha mor-shruth na Beurla a' bagradh gu cruaidh
Ar cànan 's ar dùthchas a shlugadh a suas;
Ach seasaibh gu dìleas ri cànan ur gaoil,
'S chan fhaigh i am bàs gu ruig deireadh an t-saoghal.

A dh'aindeoin gach ionnsuadh a thugadh le nàmh
A chòirichean prìseil a spùinneadh o'n Ghaidheal,
Cha lasaich e chaoidh gus am faigh e a' bhuaidh
Thar gach mìorun is eucoir a dh'fhaodas a ruai.

O, togaibh ur guth as leth cànan nam beann,
Is cluinnteadh a fuaim air feadh mhonadh is ghleann:
Ard-sheinnibh a cliù ann am bàrdachd 's an ceòl,
'S na leigibh le coimhich a masladh r' ar beò.

A chlanna nan Gaidheal! bithibh seasmhach is dlùth,
Ri guaillibh a chèile a' cosnadh gach cliù;
O, seasaibh gu gaisgeil ri cànan ur gràidh
'S na trèigibh a' Ghàidhlig a nis no gu bràth.



Rinn Donnchadh Reid (1849-1912) a' bhàrdachd sin. Is docha gum bheil sinn gu math eolach oirre. Ceart gu leòir, rannan à "Suas leis a' Ghàidhlig". Rinn esan "Ri guaillibh a chèile" cuideachd agus tha gach aon ri fhaicinn anns a' "Choisir-chiuil".

'S ann de mhuintir Chinn-tìre (far a bheil ar cànanach gann) a bha Donnchadh coir. Mar sin, thuig e gu math gach cruaidh-chàs a bha ar cànan Albannach a' fulang nuair a bha e beò, mar eisimpleir, sgoiltean sa Bheurla. Ach tha cruaidh-chàsan oirnn cuideachd an diugh air nach biodh e eolach idir, mar orain pop sa Bheurla, TV sa Bheurla agus white settlers!

Ged a mhair e beò sna làithean a dh'aom bha e mar gaisgeach na Gàidhlig cho treibhreach ris na gaisgich againn an diugh.

'S na làithean againn fheìn có an gaisgeach na Gàidhlig as cliùiteiche ach an t-Ard Ollamh Ruairidh MacThomais. Sgrìobh e leabhran d'am b'ainm "Why Gaelic Matters" agus sgrùdaidh sinn e. Mar b'abhaist dhà sgrìobh e le chèile gu sgoilearach agus gu neo-mhearachdach. Sgrìobh e eachdraidh na Gàidhlig Albannaich à 500 A.D. gus an latha an diugh. Chord a h-uile facal ruinn agus chan eil sin iongantach idir oir tha sinn daonnan uile gu leir fìor toilichte a sgrìobhadhean pailt 'sa Ghàidhlig 'sa Bheurla a leughadh.

Sgrùdaidh sinn leabhran eile cuideachd ris an abrar "Fletcher Paper: GAELIC — looking to the future". Ach tha difir mòr eadar "Why Gaelic matters" agus an leabhran ris an canar "Paipear Mhic an fhleisdeir: A' GHÀIDHLIG . . ." agus mar sin air adhart. Car-son? Bhon a tha

eadardhealachadh mór eadar an duil a bha againn ri àm ri teachd, roimh Bliadhna na Cealgairachd 1979. agus an t-àm a bhios ri teachd aig na gilleas sa "Phaipear Mhic an fhleisdeir".

Cuimhnich air na làithean faoin roimh 1979 nuair a bha a h-uile Albannach a' toirt creideas do'n Phàrlamaid Shasunnach.

Cuimhnich air an leabhran da-chàn-aineach gorm le seachd aodainnean air, d'am b'ainm "Gàidhlig ann an Albainn". Cuimhnich air GAIRM 104 agus "A' Ghàidhlig: na tha romhainn a dhèanamh (Poilseasaidh an SNP)".

An sin, thàinig Bliadhna na Cealgairachd 1979 agus am Barail-fhuasgladh no Referendum. Mar b'abhaist dhi, rinn a' Phàrlamaid Shasunnach na riaghailtean uile gu leir. Agus a nuair a chunnaic na cealgairan gum biodh sluagh na h-Albainn buadh-mhor (agus bha sinne buadh-mhor le 77, 435 guthan) dh'atharraich iad na riaghailtean aca (mar b'abhaist dhaibh) leis an riaghailt 40%ach.

An sin thàinig an darna cealgairachd. Dhiùlt am prìomhair Callaghan cruaidh-òrdagh (three line whip) a chur a-mach air los an Achda Albannach seo a bheothachadh.

Leis a sin, thuit Callaghan agus ghlac Magaidh Thatcher stiùireadh na Pàrlamaid Sasunnach. Leis a sin, rinn ise an treas ceilgairachd. Mharbh ise an Achd Albannach mhi-shealbhadh seo, le breugan cho olc ri Goebbals, a' dèanamh a-mach nach robh a' mhòr-chuid (77,435 guthan) againn idir.

An deidh Bliadhna na Cealgairachd 1979, thàinig difir mòr oirnn. Thuig sinn

gun robh sinn faoin gus a seo ar n-earbsa a chur sa Phàrlamaid Shasunnach agus na cealgairan a tha innte.

Ach an deidh 1979 cha tug sinn mòran de chreideas don Phàrlamaid Shasunnach.

Chì thu an difir mòr eadar am Paipear Mhic an fhleisdeir agus eachdraidh Mhic Thomais, oir seo agad mar gum biodh dà ghinealach air leth pàirichte leis a' bhliadhna 1979.

Nochdaidh Coinneach MacFhionghuin dhuinn map na cànan sa bhliadhna 1891 agus fear eile air son 1981. Feumaidh sinn a dh'obair gu cruaidh le cròileaganain (faic na tha Keith Scammell ri ràdh) anns gach gleann is gach sràid feadh na h-Alba gu leir, gu h-araidh anns an t-Siorramachd Pheairt ga neartachadh. Mar a thuit Ruairidh MacThomais air an taobh-duilleag aige mu dheireadh tha deagh mhein ri fhaotainn anns an Alba a thaobh na Gàidhlig. Air an adhbhar sin is docha gum bi cothrum na Fèinne againn fhathast. Ach cha bhì toradh gun saothar.

Cha chreid sinn nach eil suidheachadh nan cròileagan feumail. Oir nochd na Cuimrich gun robh ùghdarras an fhoghlaim nas deònaiche sgoil Chuimreis a steidheachadh, ma bhios cròileagan soir-bheachail ionadail ann.

Chuala sinn gum bheil corr is sia ceud òganach ag ionnsachadh na Gàidhlig sna sgoiltean Pheairtich. Uime sin tha sinn cinnteach gum bheil cròileagan a dhith orra mar chùl-taic, oir togaidh duine glic a thaigh air carraig, agus bhiodh cròileagan soirbheachail mar charraig do sgoil Ghàidhlig sam bith.

Tha na leabhranain seo le chèile

cudromach. Chan eil na ùghdairean a' bruidhinn sa Ghàidhlig eadarainn fhèin, ach sa Bheurla a-mhàin mu dheidhinn nan cròileagan. nan sgoil Ghàidhlig agus mar sin air adhart.

Sgrùd na paipearan-naidheachd Beurla na leabharanain le chèile seo agus chòrd an fheadhan eile aig nach eil facal Ghàidhlig riutha. Air an adhbhar sin, dìreach mar a thuir Ruairidh MacThomais e-fhèin, tha deagh mhein ann a thaobh na Gàidhlig an diugh.

Dhearbh tadhal de Sheorais Younger, Rùnaire na Stàite, don t-Sabhal Mór Ostaig cuideachd (19.7.85) gum bheil deagh mhein ann da-riribh. A reir "an Albannaich" bhruidhinn e sa chiad dol a-mach sa Ghàidhlig agus chrìochnaiche an òraid aige sa Ghàidhlig.

Thuir e gum b'fheàrr leis aonadh nan Comunn. An deidh sin nochd gach Domhnull Iain nan Comunn, Domhnull Iain MacIomhair (An Comunn Gaidhealach) agus Domhnull Iain MacAoidh (Comunn na Gàidhlig) gun robh iad le chèile co-fhaireachail ris a sin.

An dèidh sin, dè thuir Rùnaire na Stàite ach... "Cha b' urrain don an Riaghaltas a-mhàin a' Ghàidhlig a shabhaladh mur eil na Gàidheil a' dèanamh an dicheall air sgath na cànan mhàithreil aca... le beagan aire agus chùram, bhiodh i beothail o chionn fada ri teachd. ...

Shaoilinn nach eil e freagarrach fhathast a dhol gu inbhe cho-ionann eadar na dà chànan, uile gu leir, ach tha mi deònach a phutadh air adhart beagan is beagan... Sa chiad dol a-mach cleachdamaid a' Ghàidhlig ge be àite a tha i freagarrach sin a dhèanamh. . . . Nochd e fàbhar don bheachd-smuain gum biodh a' Ghàidhlig air TV a h-uile latha gu riaghailteach... ma co-oibriceas na còmhlanan TV comhla air a' phrògram seo cha bhiodh a' chosgais ach beag do gach companaidh. . . .

Seo mar a thuir Seoras Younger, Rùnaire na Stàite a reir a' phàipear-naidheachd. Is docha gum bheil an òraid seo aige glè chudromach oir tha Seoras Younger na chiad Rùnaire na Stàite air feadh ceud bliadhna a thàinig do chruinneachadh nan Gàidheal riamh! A bhàrr air sin is e Seoras Younger a' chiad Rùnaire na Stàite a bhruidhinn riamh gu coibhneil 'sa Ghàidhlig is 'sa Bheurla a thaobh na Gàidhlig!

Air an adhbhar sin gabhamaid misneach. Tha mòran de rudan luachmhor a leughadh anns an leabhran aig Ruairidh MhicThomais agus anns a' Phaipear Mhic an fhleisdeir. Gun teagamh sam bith tha cròileagan agus sgoiltean Ghàidhlig feumail ach a bharrachd air sin na dìochuimhnich gum bheil cùl-taic feumail do gach cròileagan is sgoil Ghaidhlig. Tha gach leabhran a' nochdadh gum bheil cùl-taic

feumail.

Cha chreid sinn nach eil an cùl-taic seo sa chiad àite caran leanabail a-measg na feadhna ògsa bhun-sgoil, ach, mar a tha na bliadhnan a' dol seachad, bhiodh comunn na h-oigrìdh feumail air sgàth nan Gaidheal seo agus a bheil iad air fàs inbheach. Mar sin bhiodh geamachan aca mar chamanachd agus bhall-coise sa Ghàidhlig, dràma Gàidhlig, òrain is ceòl Gàidhlig, Mòdan ionadail, eaglaisean Ghàidhlig, ùr-sgrìobhadh sa Ghàidhlig, dannsadh is ceilidhean agus mar sin air adhart feadh na h-Albainn gu leir. Le cùl-taic mar sin ri fhaotainn anns gach àite bhiodh oileanaich Gàidhlig gu leoir ri fhaighinn... gu h-àraidh bho leithid an t-Sabhail Mór Ostaig... agus nuair a fàgas iad an colaisde tha cùl-taic eile feumail — cosnadh agus cothrum na Fèinne.

The basis of discussion was two booklets in English published recently:

(1) "Why Gaelic Matters" by Derick Thomson obtainable from the Saltire Society, 13 Atholl Crescent, Edinburgh EH3 8HA for £1.

(2) "Fletcher Paper: GAELIC Looking to the future" by several authors obtainable free if a member of the Andrew Fletcher Society, "Wayside", Longforgan, by Dundee DD2 5HA or £1.50 to non-members.

Gilleasbulg MacMhulrich

Scots & Welsh Trapped in the Labour/Alliance Battle

The Brecon and Radnor bi-election was notable for two things when the Liberal Alliance candidate sneaked through. The opinion polls were unclear whether Labour or the Alliance would win but they agreed that the Tories would be punished for their blatant disregard for the mood of change in British politics.

The Thatcher years of supremacy are numbered but if the opposition is to form the next government then it looks very likely that no party will have an overall majority. The Labour Party which is the official opposition is least prepared to do deals with others to gain power. At least not of a kind leading to an open coalition. Remembering the Lib-Lab pact of 1977 we can see that this usually covers the tracks of a disunited Labour Party while ditching any real change of radical policy decisions being made by government. Devolution suffered as number one casualty in the power struggle to dominate Westminster before the 1979 debacle.

Labour needs a sizeable victory to win back 140 plus seats from the Tories. One of these was Brecon and Radnor, another is the Prime Minister's seat Finchley in London. However the English and Welsh local elections showed the continuing trend of Alliance dominating as the credible opposition in the SE and Labour and the Alliance sharing the Midlands and North of

England. So we can expect much discussion in coming months as to how the opponents of Toryism can beat Thatcherism. But where does this leave Wales and Scotland?

The banality and mediocrity of the British parties in Brecon and Radnor reflects a reaction against extremes and the trimming of policies to catch so-called middle of the road voters. Only Plaid Cymru addressed the issues facing the electors. It was virtually excluded from serious coverage and squeezed out of the picture. Much bitter recrimination in Wales followed but it only serves to underline the patchy support for Plaid strongest in the most Welsh speaking areas and in certain South Wales valleys. The Labour versus Alliance battle will continue to rage in areas which succumbed to the first whiff of Thatcherism but are now distinctly cool as the consequences of centralised destruction of Welsh industries proceeds apace.

In Scotland SNP has been doing well in local government bi-elections. Second only to Labour over a range of seats this year. SNP is in good heart despite a steady showing of 14% in the opinion polls. Labour with around 50% is confirmed as the party with the mandate to rule Scotland while the Alliance and Tories vary between 18 to 20% of the pollsters results. Much talk in nationalist circles about seeking some more middle of the road votes has led to the June National Council of the party rejecting such a strategy as a central plank of SNP thinking. The main target must be Labour. While the breakdown of the Alliance vote is interesting. Roughly half identify themselves as Liberals, the historic Scots Liberal vote, a quarter as Social Democrats and the other quarter as Alliance voters i.e. the defecting Tories. This leaves much room

for manoeuvre in the Scottish political scene as the electorate consider who best can defeat the Tories in Westminster and deliver a Scots assembly.

The picture of callous indifference from successive Westminster governments continues to register in Scottish minds. Earlier this year a fanciful plan, thankfully never carried out, was revealed from the 1950s. Nuclear researchers were planning an air burst of atomic material over Wick! Following the pollution of Gruinard Island, Wester Ross during the Second World War with anthrax, a wave of revulsion for seeing Scots as a suitable test bed for dangerous experiments by British government scientists, raised increased activity to oppose a nuclear reprocessing plant at Dounreay in Caithness. Planning permission awaits a public enquiry and the undoubted rubber stamp of Secretary of State, George Younger. This will not stop a vigorous opposition who have further ammunition in the shape of revelations about germ warfare experiments with monkeys in 1953 in Broad Bay, near Stornoway. Donald Stewart SNP MP for the Western Isles gained no satisfaction from the Ministry of Defence after the spraying of monkeys on a raft/cage with bubonic plague was confirmed. How much these goings on in the North affect the massive central belt Labour bastions remains to be seen but the possibility of a Labour government, however tenuous that hope, may well induce many voters to give them another chance — perhaps a Scottish parliamentary bi-election would give us some more clues. But the present shape of the solid anti-Toryism of Scots will not survive another Labour failure to deliver.

ROB GIBSON

GAELIC EXPERIENCE AND EXPERIMENT

le Frang Mac Thòmais

With the number of books about the Gaelic language which have appeared in the last few years, there can surely be few in Scotland who do not know something at least about the history of that language. The problem nowadays for those who are fighting on the Gaelic front, for more cash aid and the accolade of statutory recognition for Gaelic, is how to consolidate the great well of public sympathy into something concrete so that the language can look to the future with confidence.

The recent formation of Comhairle na Gaidhlig, set up with public funds, and the new role for An Comunn Gaidhealach in Scottish Arts will surely produce a strategy which, given the backing of Gaelic speakers, will initiate the breakthrough to allow the language to become a recognised and significant factor in all aspects of Scottish life.

This is something which the Saltire Society has long recognised and to add its contribution to the well-being of Gaelic, the Society has given Derick Thomson the task of stating the case for more support. He presents a well-reasoned and considered argument without literary histrionics.

Thomson brings his undoubted scholarship to bear on the task of reviewing nearly two millennia of history in a dozen pages. Yet this compression is far from being sketchy. The picture drawn is full of detail to which are deftly added vignettes which serve to reinforce the antiquity of Gaelic.

For long it used to be argued that the Gaels had no literature until recent times. Yet Thomson gives examples dating from before the 13th century, after which time literary work, poetry, is identified with accuracy. It is a thought to read that the composer of a poem in the 13th century belonged to a family of bards whose direct descendants lasted until the fourth decade of the 19th century, in the island of South Uist. Yet this family was probably not unique in the Gaelic world. What other cultures can claim this distinction?

Gaelic writing from then still continues with such distinguished names as Iain Crichton Smith, George Campbell Hay and Derick Thomson himself, along with that grand old man of Gaelic literature, Sorley MacLean. It is interesting to know that Gaelic poetry, and some fiction, has been translated not only into English, but Welsh, French, German, Dutch and Swedish.

Inevitably Thomson homes in on the position of Gaelic today in modern Scotland. Many of the statistics given are depressing: the decline in the number of Gaelic speakers who are able to read and write the language. But there was an air of confidence in Gaelic shown in the 1981 Census Returns Reports, with standards of literacy definitely improved. There is still much work to be done, from the base of stability which Thomson suggests has now arrived.

In the final chapter, Thomson outlines the present situation *vix à vix* Gaelic and

Scotland. Many good things are now in existence, all working in specific areas for the common good. Yet, it is in the field of Gaelic education that there are found serious omissions. 'There is no core of all-Gaelic schools in the system, no primary school that does all its teaching through Gaelic, no school that teaches Gaelic first, and adds English later.' English still rules and that's not OK.



Thomson suggests a number of areas in which Gaelic can be strengthened and brought into more public use. They seem such little things, easily achieved. Yet the task of their achievement seems impossible. The fund of goodwill towards Gaelic which exists in Scotland is capable of being converted into more generous and effective initiatives and support, Thomson claims. But that goodwill must also be seen to be alive and kicking among Gaelic speakers themselves. If that can be harnessed to good effect, then the future of the language can be assured.

If education is the key to Gaelic survival, just what is taking place at present in the classroom? This is the subject of Gwen Mulholland's booklet, published by Rank and File, a militant pressure group within the august Educational Institute of Scotland.

To set the scene, Gwen Mulholland sketches the history of the language in a manner which complements Thomson's but with strong political points being made in almost every paragraph. Her accusing fingers point to individuals in the past and to present-day institutions determined to

ensure that Gaelic receives no advantage to work out its own survival. The effect has been a deterioration in the self-confidence of Gaelic speakers. Peripheral attacks from Celtic Twilight writers in the thirties, who enthused over the Lfeynness of the Hebrideans and neglected to report on the social conditions of the people, did much damage and perpetrated a Harry Lauder image which lasted for decades.

Not until the 1950s did things begin to change. As Mulholland says: 'On a rather cynical note it may have been that the Scottish Education Department felt the Gaelic community to be virtually destroyed and they could now safely ease up on the persecution of the language.'

It is, of course, in the classroom where Gaelic should find the greatest hope for its future. Yet the present day position is not all that heartening, though the situation is much better than even a decade ago. Teachers tend to be left to their own devices. Teaching material is not co-ordinated. Few if any graded texts are available. Books tend to reflect local idioms rather than aiming for a generally accepted form of language and text. The highlight, perhaps, for learners outside the classroom was the BBC 'Can Seo' series which proved so popular that the first run of 7,500 copies of the accompanying book was completely sold out in a short time and required a reprint.

Miss Mulholland outlines in some detail her own experience in teaching Gaelic in the classroom. As a dedicated and enthusiastic learner she knows the problems and therefore the pitfalls. But much is still required to be done. I have just been involved in a survey of the attitudes and opinions of children in schools in the Western Isles. The results have yet to be analysed, but a cursory look at the Gaelic element in the survey indicates that children, even those experiencing the Bilingual Project (of which more anon), do not regard Gaelic as being an integral part of their school lives and future prospects. Though — most of the children said they would continue to speak Gaelic so that it would not die out. That concern, in children aged 13-15 years, must be considered by those in control of the future of the language. If they do not, they will fail these children.

Bilingual projects, in communities where both a dominant and a second language is spoken, are not rare in the world. Their operation has yielded valuable field experience which was used to launch the Research and Development Project in English-Gaelic Bilingual Education in Primary Schools in the Gaelic-speaking Areas, which in turn established the Bilingual Education Project in the Western Isles in 1975. Just published is an account of the Project's work from 1975 to 1981.

Outside Wales, the Bilingual Project was the first of its kind in Britain. It was hailed as the beginning of the end of the neglect of Gaelic in primary schools. The Western Isles Islands Council supported the Project with an enthusiasm which augured well in the early years. After all, cash was available

Continued on Page 19

BREIZH

Lez-varzhoniezh skosat- iwerzhonat

F derou miz Ebrel e oa dalc'het lez-varzhonierzh ha sonerezh etregouezelek e Dulenn hag e tri pe bevar lec'h all en Iwerzhon. Bep bloaz e teu barzhed skosat en nevezamzer d'ar vro-mañ da zisplegañ o oberennou a-gevret gant barzhed iwerzhonat, hag en diskar-amzer ez a ar re-mañ d'o vro d'ober un droiad heñvel e Bro-Skos. Eus pep bro e vez daou varzh hag ur soner met bep tro e teu ur ganourez skosat amañ ivez.

Kroget e oa bet gant ar gweladennoù-se war-dro pemzek vloaz 'so war intrudu Meryl Goullay, ur vaouez douget d'ar c'henskoazell etrekeltiek abaoe pell'oa peogwir he doa kemeret perzh er strivadeg da zastum sinadurioù e 1950-51 d'ur pedskrud o c'houlenn e vije lezet e vuhez gant hor c'henvroad Andrew Geffroy kondaonet d'ar marv. Meryl zo aet abred da Anaon met kemeret e voe an emell eus aozañ al lez-varzhoniezh en Iwerzhon gant rener Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge (Kuzul Broadel an Iwerzhonég), ar c'honorol Eoghan Ó Néill, harpet evit an dispignoù gant ministrerezh an Aferioù-Diavaez. Skosiz diouzh o zu a vez harpet gant ar Scottish Arts Council. Ar c'Comhdháil amañ zo bet lamet digantañ e garg a genurzhier-an-aozadurioù gouezelek goude ma voe krouet Bord na Gaeilge gant ar gouarnamant. Eoghan Ó Néill zo aet war e retred never 'so. Emichañs ne vo ket Kavet digarez pelloc'h eus diaesterioù arc'hant ar Stad evit paouez a harpañ ar pezh a zo deut da vezañ ur boaz eus ar re sevenañ ha terriñ evel-se an ere nemetañ moarvat a gement a ve koulz lavaret a-berzh-Stad etre Iwerzhon hag Alba.

Hevlene e oa sturiet an abadenn, en ur sal vras eus Trinity College, gant Daithí Ó hÓgáin, kelenner gwerinoniezh iwerzhonat e Skolaj Skol-Veur Dulenn. Skosiz a oa anezho daou varzh, Aonghus Cambeul ha Mairi Nic Gumaraid, ur ganourez,



Scottish Poet Aonghus Caimbeul. Cúirt Filíochta & Ceol na hAlban, Trinity College in April 1985.

By courtesy of Máire Ní Easa

Cairistiona Cheannadach hag ur soner biniou bras, Ailean Domhnallach. En tu all da gador Daithí e oa daou varzh iwerzhonat. Micheál Ó hAirtneide hag Áine Ní Ghlinn, hag ur soner pib-ilin (uilleann pipe). An holl anezho tud e brud o oad.

Ambrouget e voent e-barzh ar sal ouzh ton ar biniou bras ha setu ar c'hadorian o tigeriñ al lez en ur zisplegañ ur "gwarant" diouzh an doare hengounel a veze pleustret gwechall, betek derou ar 16^{vet} kantved, pa geije ivez barzhed ha sonerien an div vro evit keñveriañ o arzoù. Met ne vez ket kevezadeg na bardedigezh evel ma c'helled kaout d'ar mare-hont, pa oa aes c'hoazh da Quezeled Iwerzhon hag Alba en em gompren hep troidigezh.

Bremañ ne gav ket din ez eus kalz a Iwerzhoniz a c'hallfe kompren gouezelek Bro-Skos hep harp ur skrid, rak daoust ma'z eo chomet tost-tre ar geriadur hag ar c'hevreadur en div vevh, gant an distagadur ez eus kudenn. Setu perak e vez roet d'ar

selaouerien adskridoù eus ar barzhonegoù ha kanennoù skosat, gant o zroidigezh e saozneg zoken. Ne vez amzer nemet da deurel prim ur sell outo met talvoudus int. Ha lennet e vez an troidigezhioù saozneg gant an aozerien skosat araok displegañ ar barzhon-egoù e gouezeleg!

Ar wech-mañ ivez e oa bet aozet adskridoù eus ar barzhonegoù iwerzhonek, pezh a oa deut-mat da veur a hini, peogwir er varzhoniezh iwerzhonek e reer gant e-leizh a c'herioù hag a droioù-lavar na vezont ket klevet er yezh pemdeziek. Ret din lavarout n'eo ket mat ar "glevedoniezh" er sal-se, ha seul washoc'h e vez ma vez trec'het da vouezh an displegerien gant cholori ar c'hirri-tan — ar c'hirri-klanvdi pergen — o tremen e-kichen.

Ar pep plijusañ e vez ar c'hanennoù skosat! Cairistiona Cheannadach, gouezelegerezh a-vihanik, zo ur voem he c'hlevout. He c'hwec'h c'hoar hag he breur zo holl kanerien vat, hervez doare. Ailean Domhnallach, evelti barrek e gouezeleg, zo ur mailh war e vicher, gonezet gantañ Craobh na hAlban ("skourr" pe "maout" Bro-Skos) pa ne oa c'hoazh nemet 15 vloaz ha warlene e teuas gantañ an trec'h er genstrivadeg "etre ar re akuitañ" er vro-se.

N'on ket me avat evit bourrañ ouzh sonerezh ken kreñv e-barzh ur sal eviti da vout peuz-vras. Da heul e kaver dudius selaou ouzh ar bib-ilin! Met bep tro e vez lakaet ar selaouerien da glevout "piobair-each" (ger distreset da "pibroch" e saozneg?), un doare sonerezh dibar da Vro-Skos. Me gavfe gwelloc'h e chomfe ar soner war ar pondalez, e toull an nor. . . . Ha dezhañ neuze c'hwec'hañ er heuz a oueled e skevent hag e galon! Piv a gredfe reiñ seurt atiz?

Alan Heusaff

(Twice a year, a few Scottish-Gaelic poets and musicians meet with their Irish counterparts in a "Cúirt filíochta" at which poetry readings alternate with songs and pipe music. This "court" holds its sessions in the Spring in four or five places in Ireland while in the Autumn it goes on a Scottish circuit. In Ireland, credit for the revival and development during the last 15 years of what was an ancient custom is above all due to An Cor. Eoghan Ó Néill, the newly retired director of Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge.)

New trends in Celtic language publishing

A new fashion is developing in the little world of literature in the Celtic languages: direct translations from one into another are increasingly frequent. More and more books are being published on this line, especially between Welsh and Breton.

Quite often the texts were not translated into either French or English. This trend is definitely to be encouraged if we have in mind the intellectual emancipation of our peoples.

The fields which have thus been explored include dictionaries: Welsh-Breton and Breton-Welsh ones have already appeared and an Irish-Breton/Breton-Irish one is in preparation in Brittany, by Loeiz Andouard.

Then comes poetry, which is easier in a way because one can choose short texts, but translating here is more difficult. Recently published was Eamonn Ó Ciosáin's bilingual Breton-Irish "Barzhonegoù Iwerzhonek" (in SKRID Nr 33)¹ — see CARN Nr 46. Another work worthy of a special mention is the anthology "Du a Gwyn/Gwenn ha Du", translations from Breton into Welsh* (1982).

More ambitious are books of short

stories. Some twenty years ago, Gwasg Gee, Dinbych, gave us "Aderyn y Gwirionedd", translated from Breton by J. E. Caerwyn Williams. In 1979 Gwasg Gomer published "Storiau o'r Llydaweg",³ also from Breton into Welsh. I am aware of "Feoil an Gheimhridh agus Scéalta eile as Albain",⁴ a selection of Scottish Gaelic stories put into Irish (1980). Another one, but from Scottish Gaelic into Breton, appeared last Summer under the title "Danevelloù Gouezeleg a Vro-Skos"⁵ (transl. by this writer).

Still more ambitious, perhaps, are the translations of short or longer novels. The only ones I know of are from Breton to Welsh: "Alan a'r tri brenin" (Roparz Hemon) and "Diawl yn y tŷ" (Jakez Riou), and from Welsh to Breton: Cafflogion.⁶

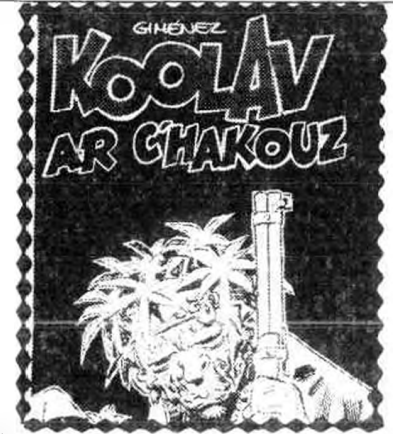
An anthology of plays "Dramau o'r Llydaweg"⁷ was also published in Welsh in 1982. Indications of more work in progress suggest that the pace of this trend might be quickening. On the Breton side of the Channel and of the Celtic Sea we have various children's books from the Welsh; an anthology of Welsh language short stories by the present writer; an anthology of Irish short stories by Loeiz Andouard. There have been of course fairly numerous translations of older literature. Quite a lot of Irish tales were thus made accessible to Breton readers. The world-acclaimed "Mabinogion" has long existed in Breton⁸ and it was published in Scottish Gaelic in 1984, under the title "Am Mabinogi".⁹

BRETON PUBLISHING SHOWING THE WAY?

A field where the interceltic leadership does not come from Wales is that of colour cartoons. Thanks to the efforts of a young language devotee, Yann Fanch Jacq, working with a few friends, a new publishing firm was set up in the last couple of years with the one and only object of publishing comic strips and drawing books in Breton. A few trials were made already in the mid and late '70s when a handful of well-known French comics were translated into Breton. ("French comics" is really the French-language "Belgian school"!). The new venture, "Keit vimp beo" (Oaled ar Re Yaouank f-29212 Brieg) has now a catalogue of close to 30 bulky items in Breton. It is a major drive, and a great boost to the advance made in the Breton education of young children. So nowadays the Breton language comics-afficionado (not a rare product here) can proudly display about 40 substantial comics books entirely in Breton.

The books here mentioned can be obtained from the following addresses (refer to numbers in the text):

1. Hor Yezh, Per Denez, Ar Ri, Ploare, 29100 Douarnenez, Brittany.
2. Y Lolfa, Talybont, SY24 5HE, Dyfed, Wales.
3. Gwasg Gomer, Llandysul, Dyfed.
4. Foilseacháin Náisiúnta Teo, 29 Sr. Uí Chonaill Ioch, Baile Átha Cliath 1.
5. Brud Nevez, 6 ru Beaumarchais, Brest



29200.

6. Brud Nevez, 6 ru Beaumarchais, Brest 29200

7. Christopher Davies, Heol Rawlins, Llandybie, Dyfed SA18 3YD, Wales.

8. Preder, Penn Menez, 29000 Plovelin, Brittany (some of the tales are also in Cornish).

9. Club Leabhar, PO Box 1, Port Righ, Isle of Skye, Scotland.

Finally I'll mention the translation into modern Breton of the ancient Welsh poems of Llywarch Hen, available from Hor Yezh, Y. Desbordes, 1 Pl. Peguy, 29260 Lesneven (Brittany); Passyon agan Arluth, from Cornish to Breton, bilingual, from Preder (see above); and "Laboused an Arvor" from Welsh "Adar y Glannau", from Al Lanv, 8 ru Enez Vaz, 29000 Kemper.

MIKAEL MADEG

Towards an InterCeltic Wrestling Championship



Wrestling Skill: "Briad ur c'hastez".

The course in Celtic wrestling organised by the Breton association F.A.L.S.A.B. in Berrien during the second week in April brought together 5 trainees from Cornwall, 4 from Cumberland, 1 from Scotland, and

15 from Brittany, not to mention their coaches. Attempts had been made to get participants also from Ireland, Wales and Mannin where this form of sport is no longer practised. Four Welshmen were actually booked to come but there was some last minute impediment. The course proved very satisfactory to all involved, not least because of the warm welcome given to the visitors by the local population and elected representatives: "it was almost a family atmosphere", says the FALSAB secretary Guy Jaouen. The plan is therefore to repeat the experiment next year when it is hoped that all the Celtic countries will be represented. The fact that in Cumberland a form of wrestling has survived which is close to those practised in Breizh and Kernow testifies to the existence of a Celtic, Old-British substratum in that part of Northern England. Let us point out that F.A.L.S.A.B., which has done so much to maintain Breton wrestling since 1928, is non-political, which explains that they readily admit Cumberland participants. They would like to revive or introduce Celtic wrestling in the three countries not represented in Berrien with a view to establishing annual interceltic competitions and eventually a "World Championship". A committee meeting held on April 11 discussed the possibility of holding a first competition during the 1986 Lorient Festival. There is a problem of standardisation, the rules in use being different from country to country. In Berrien the trainees familiarised themselves with the three styles, which is the best way to arrive at an eventual compromise.

A book in English titled "Gouren, Breton and Celtic Wrestling" was published to coincide with the course. It can be bought from Bernez an Naith, Skol Uhel ar Vro, 3 Rue Martenot, BP66 A, 35031 Rennes-Cedex. FALSAB is keenly interested in hearing from anyone who could help in developing their sport outside Brittany and above all taking part in future ventures such as the one in Berrien. Spread the word and write to Guy Jaouen, Hent Berrien (route de B.), 29218 Uhelgoad, Brittany.

A. HEUSAFF

KAN AN

The new association *Kan an Douar* has bought an old but structurally sound building dating from 1643 in Landelo, not far from Karaez in central West Brittany, with the aim of "safeguarding and promoting the use of Breton in daily life". This will be done by means of courses, theatre, singing, a library, a language laboratory, a children's nursery, facilities for film making, etc. The initiative comes from a few active "militants" in the area, among whom we note Yann Puillandre (involved in various FLB trials during the 70s) and Makoto Noguchi (a Japanese who opted for Brittany and our language some fifteen years ago). They have already re-roofed the building but there is still over 2,000 man- (or woman) days of work needed to transform it into a living cultural centre. The equivalent of Stg£40,000 is needed to buy the building

OBITUARY

LOEIZ ANDOUARD, a man who played an important part in the Breton language movement, died in June in Lambal, aged 81. Although he came from Upper Brittany, he had acquired a masterly command of Breton and belonged to the Gwalarn "School" of writers who, from 1925 onwards under Roparz Hemon's leadership, endowed Brittany with a modern literature in our own language. He learned Irish, travelled several times to Ireland and translated many works from Irish into Breton. From 1940 to 1944 he was the editor of the weekly ARVOR which R. Hemon had launched to make the cause of the language more widely known. At the end of the war, like so many of those who had carried on the struggle during the German occupation, he came to live in Paris — although he does not appear to have been prosecuted. It was a period of trial in his private life. He had a job with the Comité Central des Pêches Maritimes. In his spare time, he taught Breton at the Ker-Vreizh Centre and later set up a small theatre group which was the first to produce plays in our language after the war.

On retirement in 1971, he came to live on his ancestral ground near Cap Frehel and devoted almost all his time to work for Breton. He was one of the 25 or 30 teachers of the OBER correspondence School. Three of his books were published, all concerned with the sea — the last being a biography of Jacques Cartier, the Malouin who discovered Canada.

Just before dying he completed a Breton-Irish, Irish-Breton dictionary, which will be published soon.

Andouard worked indefatigably and disinterestedly for his country. He understood the importance of developing inter-celtic relations. (We were honoured in having him as a subscriber up to his death). Long may he be remembered!

A.H.

REGIONAL

The French government will hold general elections in March 1986, thus apparently fulfilling a Socialist pre-election promise. Each of the 21 administrative regions will elect an assembly by universal suffrage, with proportional representation. According to ARMOR this will give "Brittany" the possibility of expressing an officially recognised will. For one thing however, it will be only the four, not the five-departement Brittany. And the electoral lists will be based on the departement so that no Assembly member will be able to claim that he/she speaks on behalf of the "region" as a whole. Anyway, the rules are so fixed that Paris will retain all the controls. Finally, for fear that too much attention might be paid to regional issues, a general election will take place at the same time. The media will also do their part to ensure preoccupation with "national" issues and personalities.

It is therefore important for all those who retain a belief that Brittany can win some freedom by electoral process and who wish to have genuine Breton aspirations represented in the Rennes assembly, to put aside their differences and seek to present a common programme. The alternative is to leave the French parties in undisputed

ELECTIONS

control.

With this in mind, representatives of several organisations which advocate Breton self-government (POBL, Emgann, C.A.R., Frankiz Breizh, etc.) met on June 23 and decided to carry out a common campaign under the name "Coordination Bretagne", with a committee presided by Per Denez. They agreed to stress several points, in particular that the Breton Assembly should be entitled to set up an Executive Body with powers of decision in the economic and cultural fields; that it should work out a plan to solve the unemployment problem but respectful of the natural and human environment.

Another meeting had taken place on June 15/16 with some 80 people belonging to a variety of groups (including Skol an Emsav, ecologists, leftists). They sought agreement on the themes of ecology and autonomy. The UDB, though represented at the two meetings, wanted the two sides to come together. All recognise that a broad front is necessary if their lists (one per departement) are to secure the minimum 5% of the vote required for a candidate to be elected.

PARENTS' DEMANDS IGNORED

In Carn 46 we reported that three years ago the French authorities countered the Diwan demand for public funding by proposing to open bilingual streams in the State schools in which Breton and French would be accorded equal time. Three such schools exist since 1982. The parents who availed of this opportunity formed an association, the A.P.E.E.B., with the aim of winning increasing support for bilingual education.

They are now disillusioned. In a statement issued after their AGM in Lannuon

(June 1) their various local groups complain that the authorities refuse to set up new bilingual classes in spite of parents' demands and elected councils' support; there is no continuity in the teaching of Breton from year to year; no programme is laid out for the teachers; the State denies APEEB a subsidy for the purpose of informing parents of the kind of teaching available in bilingual streams; teachers are not trained to teach Breton. They also draw attention to the government's refusal to table a bill for the teaching of the "regional" languages drafted by Socialist Party Committee and registered for discussion in the French National Assembly on May 17, 1984.

Young Bretons find less obstacles to learning Russian or Chinese than to learning their own language, the statement said.

DOUAR

materials. In appealing for funds, the association proposes minimum shares of 600 FFs which can be bought over a period of a year. Without forgetting Oaled Diwan in Treglonou N. of Brest, where a similar centre is already very active but has still important debts to clear, we hope that this new appeal will be widely heard. The spirit of the people involved is excellent: self-reliance, no begging from the French State, although Bretons as tax-payers should be fully entitled to public subventions for such projects! I am sure a certain number of voluntary workers will be welcome. Breton will be spoken on the site, but no one willing to work should find that a barrier to admission. Further information from Yann Puillandre, "Ker Uhel", 29119 Kastell Nevez ar Faou, Brittany.

A.H.



Kan an Douar Centre (rear view) Renovation in progress.

CYMRU

CYMDEITHAS CWMNIAU CYDWEITHREDOL CANTREFI CYMRU

Mae'r ysgrif hon yn grynodedd byr iawn o gynllun i sefydlu cynghrair o gwmniau cydweithredol Cymraeg i ymgymryd rhyngddynt â holl anghenion masnachol a gweithgynhyrchiol Cymru ac i weithredu nid yn unig yn y diriogaeth a gydnabyddir yn swyddogol fel Cymru ond yn y parthau a oedd yn draddodiadol Gymraeg fel rhannau helaeth o siroedd Amwythig, Henffordd a Chaerloew a hefyd lle bynnag y mae cymunedau sylweddol o Gymry yn Lloegr a thramor.

"Mae'n rhaid bod yn feddiannol," meddai'r diweddar Jac L. Williams.

O'r dechreuad cyntaf byddai rheol Gymraeg. Yr unig eithriad i hynny fyddai caniatáu un neu ragor o ieithoedd Celtaidd eraill ar becynnau'r nwyddau ac yn llenyddiaeth y sefydliad gan y gallai fod agwedd cyd-Geltaidd i'r gweithgareddau. Nid yw'r ieithoedd Celtaidd yn bwgwth ei gilydd beth bynnag.

Ni ellid disgwyl mwy na dau y cant o'r Cymry Cymraeg i fod yn ddigon brwd dros Gymreictod i ymuno â'r sefydliad i ddechrau. Hynny yw gellid disgwyl rhyw ddeng mil ochr yma Clawdd Offa a sawl un yr ochr draw.

Nid bach yw'r farchnad i'w datblygu. Y mae hanner miliwn o Gymry Cymraeg yng Nghymru — dros ddwywaith poblogaeth Ynys yr Ia. I drigolion y wlad honno y mae cyfundrefn weithgynhyrchu a marchnata gynhwysfawr yn eu hiaith frodorol. Ond anwybyddir ein hiaith genedlaethol ni yn gyfangwbl ar wahân i eithriadau prin.

Enw'r sefydliad cydweithredol i lenwi'r bwlch yw teitl yr ysgrif hon, neu C.C.C.C.C. neu'r 5 C yn fyr.

Dewisid cantref fel yr ardal ar gyfer pob un o'r cwmniau cydweithredol oherwydd ei fod yn ddigon bach i fod yn gymuned gymdogol ac yn ddigon mawr i fod yn fasnachol effeithiol.

Byddai aelodaeth i'r 5 C trwy danysgrifiad blynyddol o £12 y flwyddyn, naill yn uniongyrchol, neu drwy aelodaeth i gwmni cantref a drosglwyddai £2 i'r 5 C o'r £12 a chadw'r £10 a fyddai ar ôl at ei ddibenion ef ei hunan.

Gwerthid cyfrandaliadau hefyd mewn unedau o £12 i'w rhannu hefyd yn £10 i'r Cwmni Cantref a £2 i'r Gymdeithas oni bai fod yr aelod yn perthyn i'r Gymdeithas yn uniongyrchol.

Aelodaeth yn unig a roddai'r hawl i ddyn bleidleisio i ethol swyddogion. Ni cheid pleidleisiau oherwydd cyfrandaliadau.

Gwneled pob Cwmni Cantref o leiaf un cynnyrch diwydiannol neu amaethyddol a rhagor os oes modd fel y byddai amrywiaeth gynhwysfawr o nwyddau gweithgynnyrch o ansawdd dda wedi eu gwneud yng Nghymru.

Ar wahân i'r eithriad a nodwyd uchod, Cymraeg fyddai unig iaith y Cwmniau Cantref a'r Gymdeithas a byddai rhaid i bob aelod, gwas a swyddog yn y gyfundrefn fod yn rhugl yn ein hiaith genedlaethol.

Yn ychwanegol at gynhyrchu nwyddau byddai rhaid i'r Cwmniau Cantref sefydlu siopau Cymraeg ac i'r Gymdeithas sefydlu uwchfarchnadoedd Cymraeg.

Fel hynny byddai modd i ailorseddu'r Gymraeg fel iaith fasnachol ymarferol. Ni fyddai rhaid i Gymry Cymraeg fynd i uwchfarchnadoedd na siopau Saesneg mwy.

Trwy ddiwynnu'n helaeth ar danysgrifiadau i'w hadnewyddu'n flynyddol fel darpariaeth cyllid byddai sail ariannol y Cwmniau Cantref a'r Gymdeithas yn anorchfygol yn erbyn grym y cwmniau Seisnig enfawr ac eraill ac oherwydd na fyddai eisiau llog ar gyfran helaeth o adnoddau ariannol y 5 C byddai prisiau ei nwyddau'n rhatach.

Byddai am y tro cyntaf ers blynyddoedd maith gymhelliad eang i'r Cymry Cymraeg ddefnyddio eu hiaith ar gyfer dibenion masnachol. Byddai hefyd gymhelliad masnachol i'r Cymry di-Gymraeg ddysgu eu mamiaith oherwydd y byddai'n aflesol iddyn nhw beidio. Y Cymry Cymraeg fyddai'r bobl freiniol am y tro cyntaf oddi ar 1536, yn cael y nifer gynyddol o swyddi tra byddai diweithdra yn dal yn boendod i'r bobl ddi-Gymraeg.

Tra na ellid disgwyl mwy na ddau y cant o'r boblogaeth Gymraeg i gefnogi'r mudiad cydweithredol Cymraeg am resymau gwladgarol defnyddia'r mwyafrif difraw wasanaethau'r 5 C er mwyn eu mantais faterol.

Yn ychwanegol at ymhel â gweithgareddau cynhyrchiol a masnachol sefydled y 5 C ariandy neu ymddiriedolaeth ariannol i gyflawni swyddogaeth y banciau Seisnig ond yn ein hiaith genedlaethol, gan fuddsoddi yng Nghymru.

Darpared y 5 C wasanaethau Cymraeg ym materion prynu a gwerthu tai a thir.

Mae eisiau ysgolion uwchradd Cymraeg. Nid oes un. Y mae ychydig o ysgolion uwchradd dwyieithog. Saesneg yw'r mwyafrif llethol ohonyn nhw. Sefydler dwy ysgol uwchradd holl-Gymraeg dan nawdd

y 5 C yn weddol fuan. Disgleiria'r rheina fel patrwm o'r fath ysgolion sydd eu heisiau yng Ngymru. Hawliai llawer o Gymry'r un fath o ysgolion gan yr awdurdodau addysg ar ôl cael arweiniad gan y 5 C.

Mae eisiau deddfwriaeth i wneud y Gymraeg yn iaith swyddogol fel y mae Saesneg yn Lloegr. Ond ni wna hynny'r Gymraeg yn iaith gyffredin ar dafod pawb yn y wlad hon yn fwy nag y mae'r Wydeleg ar dafod pawb yn Iwerddon er ei safle urddasol swyddogol fel yr iaith genedlaethol gyntaf.

Mae'n rhaid gwneud y Gymraeg yn bwysig ac yn angenrheidiol ym materion ymarferol pob dydd — siopa a gwerthu, hysbysebu, papurau newyddion, arwyddion, cyfarwyddiadau, addysg ac yn y blaen, hynny yw rhan anhepgor gwedd bywyd dyddiol y genedl ym mhob maes. Hynny fyddai prif swyddogaeth y 5 C.

Oni allai sefydliad masnachol ar seiliau ariannol cadarn hybu'r Gymraeg yn gynt ac yn fwy effeithiol na'r holl eisteddfodau a chymdeithasau diwylliannol? er bod gan y rhai hynny eu lle pwysig hefyd.

Unwaith bod y llywodraeth yn gweld bod nifer sylweddol o'r Cymry o ddfri obeutu eu hiaith ac yn barod i'w defnyddio ym mhob maes dilynai'r deddfwriaeth i wneud y Gymraeg yn iaith swyddogol yn ddigon diffwdan wedyn. Ar hyn o bryd nid oes gan y Senedd y dystiolaeth bod rhyw lawer ohonom yn becco dim o werth am ein hiaith a'i pharhad.

Mae'n rhaid i selogion y Gymraeg ymgymryd â sefydlu mudiad Cymraeg hollol ymarferol yn ychwanegol i'w holl diddordebau diwylliannol.

Nid ymhelai'r mudiad â gwleidyddiaeth blaidd nac â sefyllfa gyfansoddiadol Cymru. Mae'r pleidiau i gyd wedi mynegi eu cefnogaeth i'r iaith Gymraeg beth bynnag. Ieithyddol a masnachol fyddai amcanion y 5 C i uno'r Cymry Cymraeg i sefyll yn gadarn a gweithredu'n frwd dros yr unig iaith yn y byd y gallwn ni ddweud amdani taw ni biau hi.

Adferwn ein hiaith a'n cenedl a'n gwlad i'w hiawn ogoniant.

MERFYN PHILLIPS

(This article proposes the establishment of a federation of cooperatives functioning through the medium of the Welsh-language and catering for all the production and trade needs of Wales. It would operate not only in the area officially recognised as Wales but also in those regions which were traditionally Welsh such as extensive parts of Shropshire, Hereford and Gloucestershire as well as anywhere there might be substantial Welsh communities in England and overseas)

WELSH AND PLANNING IN NORTH PRESELI

The Conference in Crymych and a Short Summary of the Report that gave rise to it

Notes and Outline of Recommendations from a Report drawn up by Dr. Dyfed Elis-Gruffydd on behalf of the North Pembrokeshire Cell of the Welsh Language Society.

Stronghold?

Preseli used to be regarded as one of the strongholds of the Welsh Language but that isn't true any more. The present position is truly critical. In a report on Houses and Communities published last year by the Planning Department of the Gwynedd County Council the following observation will be found: "Research work on supporting minority languages suggests that there is a good chance of a language surviving in areas where 70%-80% of the community can speak that language." In the 1981 Census less than 70% of the inhabitants of north Preseli were able to speak Welsh: the writing is already on the wall.

The Seriousness of the Crisis

For the first time the report shows an analysis of the prospects for the Welsh language in north Preseli.

In one ward only will Welsh be comparatively safe by 1991, and on the basis of past tendencies it appears that over 50% of the inhabitants of north Pembrokeshire will be solely English speaking by 2001, i.e. within 15 years.

In the St. Dogmaels and Moylgrove ward over 84% were Welsh speakers in 1951. There was a fall of about 25% in the percentage of Welsh speaking people by 1981. According to this tendency the Welsh people speaking their mother tongue will become a minority in St. Dogmaels and Moylgrove between 1991 and 2001.

Inflow

One of the biggest things that reduces the Welsh speaking population is the inflow of foreigners that have come to live among us — not only retired people but young families too whose English speaking children overwhelm the Welshness of the schools.

The inflow has been exceedingly rapid for the last thirty years and if it carries on unchecked there will be no future for Welsh. It will die.

Welsh and Planning in North Preseli

"Tourism can be an important element in the Welsh economy but it is also . . . an influence which is bringing about a gross Anglicisation of the country," said Professor Harold Carter and Mari Carter in 1974 in an article in the monthly magazine *Barn*.

Industry

Industry without positive conditions for promoting Welsh can contribute to its deterioration.

Philip Cooke said in 1978 in *Cambria*. "The policy in the Irish speaking communities has emphasised industrialisation recently and it has been a considerable success in checking depopulation. In spite of that, there has been a connexion between industrial developments and further linguistic (Irish) losses."

Planning for the Future

The Principle ". . . special consideration should be given to the Welsh Language and the culture associated with it in matters of planning in Wales," said the *Welsh Language Council*, a statutory body, in 1978 in its document, *A Future for the Welsh Language*. HMSO, Cardiff.

The Responsibility of the Councils

Since decisions and policies dealing with land use and the development of tourism and other industries influence the future of the Welsh language we call on:

(a) The Preseli District Council and the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park Authority to give *planning status* to the language namely that they would as a matter of policy:

1 (i) give full consideration to the effect of any development on the Welsh language and the Welsh culture when assessing planning applications.

(ii) restrict new houses to match local requirements only, taking special notice of what is happening to the older houses and

(iii) ensure that the communities develop slowly and in a manner that reflects the intrinsic character of the locality.

2. consider the effect of developing any industry, including tourism, on the Welsh language and Welsh culture, rejecting plans that are damaging to the language.

3. prepare (a) comprehensive report(s) on the position of the Welsh language in the Preseli District and within the boundaries of the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park which will also include special recommendations about how the present position can be improved.

(b) The Community Councils of North Preseli to:

(i) consider the effect of any development on the Welsh language and culture when assessing planning applications or any other relevant matter put before them by the Preseli District Council or the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park Authority.

(ii) weigh and measure the position of the Welsh language within their communities and bring particular recommendations

about how the position can be improved before either the Preseli District Council or the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park.

(c) The Dyfed County Council to:

(i) draw up a comprehensive language policy based on the *Dyfed Charter* published by Cymdeithas yr Iaith.

(ii) prepare a detailed report on the Welsh language in Dyfed, including definite policies that will help in supporting the Welsh culture and language in every part of the county, to be incorporated in the Dyfed Structure Plan.



The Conference

Cymdeithas yr Iaith organised a Conference in Crymych on Saturday 23 April to discuss the report on *Planning a Future for the Welsh Language in North Preseli*.

The opinion of Glyndwr Vaughan, former Chairman of the Preseli District Council; Toni Shiavone, Chairman of the Conference; Dyfed Elis-Gruffydd who made the report; J. Cyril Hughes, Dr Wynne Samuel's successor as General Secretary of the Association of Welsh Community Councils; Rhys Dafis, Development Officer of Cymdeithas Tai Dyffryn Teifi; Dr Terry Stevens, former Development Officer of the Pembrokeshire National Park Authority and a native of Somerset; Halket Jones, Dyfed County, Preseli District and St. Dogmaels Community Councillor and Chairman of the Pembrokeshire National Park; and Brian Anson, Country and Town Planner, was that there was an indispensable need to give to the Welsh language planning status for it to survive as a living language.

These speakers expressed their anxiety that Preseli completely neglected the linguistic aspect of planning affairs.

They together with Roger Anderson, Chief Planning Officer of the Preseli District Council formed a panel of guest speakers in the Conference.

It was an enormous disappointment to hear Roger Anderson, unlike his fellow spokesmen, speaking without expressing any anxiety at all about the present position of the national language which is deteriorating rapidly now although he did acknowledge the correctness of the facts in Dyfed Elis-Gruffydd's comprehensive report. He didn't propose anything to improve the situation nor did he show any interest in the survival of the Welsh language.

Unfortunately Roger Anderson's attitude gets the overwhelming support of the Preseli councillors. Some half dozen councillors from North Preseli are interested in the future of the language, said Halket Jones. As for the overwhelming majority of the district councillors, they wouldn't recognise that there was a language problem at all.

Glyndwr Vaughan welcomed all to the Conference. He praised the report on the position of the language in North Preseli. He would look forward, he said, to the discussions of the Conference to get definite guidelines that the Preseli District Council could follow so as to strengthen the position of Welsh in the field of planning.

Toni Schiavone, the Conference Chairman, said that goodwill wasn't enough to save the Welsh language. It was high time for the councillors and officials in general to get to understand that proposals could affect the state of the Welsh language, he said. The Welsh Language Society was trying to persuade the local authorities and the Welsh Office to make the language a central issue in the field of planning.

Dyfed Elis-Gruffydd accused the Preseli Council of neglecting the linguistic aspect when dealing with planning matters. Preseli didn't care a rap about restoring the language, he said. He stressed the immediate need for a structure plan for Welsh.

Although there was a stronger consciousness about the language among the Welsh speakers than previously, Welsh was weakening very fast. Dr Elis-Gruffydd said that action would have to be taken very soon or it would be too late to safeguard and strengthen the Welshness of North Preseli which was in such a fragile condition. He called on the Dyfed Council to take responsibility for drawing up a definite policy for every district in the county to give the language official status in the field of planning.

Rhys Dafis said that a district council had the same responsibility for the well-being of Welsh in the field of planning as it had when considering the beauty of an area or of buildings. He urged the Preseli Council to carry out the recommendations of the Welsh Language Society.

Dr Terry Stevens said that it was not possible to separate planning from politics. He said that the lack of policy with regard to the language was policy. Planning in

favour of Welsh had to be part of general planning, he said.

17,000 foreigners had come into Dyfed from 1971 to 1981. They could be categorised as:

1. Retired people.
2. The owners of summer holiday houses.
3. Young foreign families.

22% of the houses in St. Dogmaels, Moylgrove, Newport and Dinas are summer holiday houses.

Although there were great difficulties with the first and second categories, the third was much worse, said Councillor Jones, because their children overwhelmed the Welshness of many of the schools, bringing a linguistic influence to bear on the children who belong here. Although the primary schools were doing miracles in teaching Welsh to the immigrant families, the greatest difficulty was that they hadn't got roots in Wales.

Section 52 of the Planning Act would be a help, said Councillor Jones who stressed the desperate need for work to keep the young people of the locality in their native surroundings.

The ordinary people should have the final say on planning matters through the layer of government nearest to them, that is the Community Councils, said Brian Anson. They know best the needs of their neighbourhoods. He said there should be legislation to enable the local people to defend the character and culture of their neighbourhoods rather than that the central authorities should order the patterns of planning.

Only 262 were taught wholly or partly through the medium of Welsh — 1.3%. Most of the courses are for training for secretarial and office work (at Kelserton, Clwyd; Aberystwyth; Dyfed; Dolsell au Llangefni and Bangor, Gwynedd and Swansea, Glamorgan), nursery assistant for young children (at Rhydarnan, Dyfed; and Bangor, Gwynedd) and at Dolgellau health studies and catering. However not all the content of all these courses are in Welsh. All have been established since 1975.

Welsh is also frequently used as the language of informal class room discussion and interaction in other courses in Dyfed and Gwynedd, but English is the language of lectures and virtually all written work and examinations. Although agricultural courses in Gwynedd are not designated bilingual students are instructed in Welsh and have the opportunity to answer examinations in Welsh.

The assessment of the courses offered shows up shortfalls and excellence. However its haphazard development and lack of co-ordination and inter college consultation is criticised.

In conclusion the need is for the local education authorities to reorientate its further education sector, which is rapidly expanding to counter unemployment, so as to formulate a well-considered appropriate policy for the role of the Welsh language in the further education service. How long will this take.

There was a lively general discussion after the contribution of the guest speakers.

There was an indication of the desperate need to discuss the position of the language in education because Welsh education was crucial to the survival of the national language.

Apart from the guest speakers and the officials of Cymdeithas yr Iaith there were only a few more than 80 in the Conference, a miserably small number considering the importance of the matter under discussion. Among them there were representatives from four community councils only.

The original report of which this is the translation appeared in Y Sŵn in the Easter 1985 edition.

Welsh Language Committee Report

The first report of the Welsh Language Committee of Cyngor Bro Llandudoch (St. Dogmaels Community Council), made the following recommendations:

1. The Welsh language and culture and our way of life should receive consideration in planning matters.

2. The use of the Welsh language should be promoted in speech and in writing.

3. A list of the organisations that are Welsh linguistically in the Community should be published and what is being done for the Welsh language should be advertised, e.g. putting up street names in Welsh.

4. A Welsh class for adults should be set up by the autumn, inviting learners.

5. English organisations should be urged to use Welsh on an increasing scale.

MERFYN PHILLIPS

Survey of Full-time bilingual courses in non-advanced further education in Wales 1983/84

This 1984 report by H.M. Inspectors of Education in the Welsh office looks at official Welsh only or bilingual courses in the technical colleges and further education colleges in Wales. With the growth of the use of Welsh in secondary schools, a corresponding growth in the further education sector might be expected. Some 21,700 pupils (10% of the total) in secondary schools are taught Welsh as a first language. 4,000 pupils (9% of total) of fifth form pupils in Wales are taught Welsh as first language and 1,150 (5%) in the sixth form. The thirteen officially designated bilingual secondary schools now have over 8,900 pupils. Even at examination stage there are more and more entries through Welsh. At C.S.E. level 41 subjects attracted 2,750 entries, at 'O' level 31 subjects saw 3,860 entries and at 'A' level there were 480 entries in 15 subjects.

From there on the decline in the ability to use Welsh falls dramatically. In 1982/83 there were 19,900 full-time students in "non-advanced further education courses".

TOLL A TAX ON WALES

The 100% increase on tolls across the Severn Road Bridge is a tax on the Welsh economy. It is estimated that it has cost 2,000 jobs over the last two years and a further 770 jobs hang in the balance as firms delay vital investment decisions because of industrialists' adverse perception of the crossing. Other companies write off any idea of settling in South Wales. If Wales is, according to the Westminster administration, part of England, why is there not free trade across the frontier and the economy allowed to blossom? The combination of charges, frequent repairs, safety work and traffic delays give the bridge and South Wales an unfavourable image. 75% of the traffic over the bridge is local movements between Avon county and South Wales generated by the existence of the crossing. The cost of collection and delays takes up 55% of the £2m revenue raised each year.

CLIVE JAMES

An International Conference on Minority Languages will take place from June 21 to 26, 1986 in Galway, Ireland. Contact 3 ICML, Roinn na Sean- agus Meán Ghaeilge, Coláiste na hOllscoile, Gaillimh, Éire.

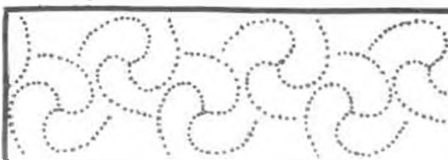
ÉIRE

CEANNTÍRE — NASC ALBA-ÉIRE

Sa lá inniu déarfainn gur beag a chiallaíonn Ceanntíre — nó Kintyre an Bhéarla — don gnáth Éireannach; amhrán b'fhéidir a bhí i mbéal an phobail blianta beaga ó shoin is túisce a smaoinoidís air. Tar éis an leabhar seo, KINTYRE THE HIDDEN PAST le Angus Martin,* a léamh beidh léargas eile ar fad faighte ar an leathinis sin ar mhóthír na hAlban is gaire do chósta na hÉireann. I stair chultúrtha agus sóisialta Ceanntíre mar a cuirtear síos air sa leabhar seo, cítear mionsamhail de stair chultúrtha agus sóisialta cuid mhaith d'Éirinn agus go háirithe de Chúige Uladh. Ní hionann sin is a rá go naontódh muid uilig le dearcadh an údair ar chursaí teangan agus pobail. Glacann sé leis go bhfuil an dá phobal in Albain, na Gaeil agus na Gaill (Lowlanders) agus go ndearna na Gaill coilíniú ar Ceanntíre sa chéad leath den seachtú aois deag. Ba ghníomh polaitiúil é seo ar aon dul leis an gcoilíniú a tharla i gCúige Uladh sa treimhse céanna; mar adeir an túdar "... may be compared with the contemporaneous and ultimately disastrous settlement of English and Lowland Scots on forfeited lands in Ulster". Ar dtús ghlac na coilínithe le teanga agus cultúr an phobail dúchasaigh, ach de réir a chéile de bharr bhrú Stáit agus eaglasta chúlaigh teanga agus cultúr na nGael agus dar leis an údar beidh an Gháidhlig cailte faoi dheireadh an chéid seo i gCeanntíre. Sé an bhuairt is mó atá ar Angus Martin anois go bhfuil an chanúint dhúchasach Albainis (*Scots*) ag imeacht chomh maith agus an Béarla "Caighdeánta" ag fáil an lámh in uachtar. Mar sin fhéin ní ábhar suirbhéanna ag lucht acadúil go fóill i nAlbainis mar atá an Gháidhlig le fada an lá. Edward Lhuyd, an Breatnach ioldána, is túisce a rinne staidéar ar chanúint Ghaeilige Ceanntíre le linn a chuairt ar an leathinis 1699-1700 ar a bhealach go hÉirinn. Rinne sé aistriúchán ar Dictionary of Trilingual (Béarla, Laidin agus Greigis) le John Ray i gcanúint Gháidhige Ardghail a bhí gar go maith do chanúint Ghaeilige Uladh. Dhá chéad bliain ina dhiaidh sin a rinne Ioruaich, Nils M. Holmer, an chéad suirbhé chuimsitheach ar chanúint Gháidhige Ceanntíre don Norwegian Linguistic Survey. Lean an Linguistic Survey of Scotland leis an obair seo i 1951 agus bhí an taighde fós ar bun i 1983 agus an leabhar seo a scríobh; agus tá tagairt do chanúint Ceanntíre san Linguistic Atlas agus Survey of Irish Dialects leis an Ollamh Heinrich Wagner. Colm Ó Baoill a rinne an taighde don suirbhé seo agus d'fhoilsigh se féin "Contributions to a

comparative study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic".

San chaibidil dár teidil "The Gaelic Decline" cuirtear síos ar tionchar na hEaglaise agus an Stáit, idir córas riaracháin agus córas oideachais, ar mheath na teangan agus is macalla é uilig ar mheath na Gaeilge in Éirinn sa naoú aois deag. Mar adeir Angus Martin tháinig an meath ón mbarr anuas agus chomh fada is a bhaineann sé le Ceanntíre tá sé tagtha go dtí an bunphointe. Tá léargas maith ar staid na Gàidhlig ag deireadh an ochtú aois deag san aighneas a tharla idir an Dochtúir



Guth na Mná

Do Dolores Keane

Mar lon dubh agus smólach
ag canadh i n-éineacht
ar bharr sceiche
maidin gheal seaca
i dtosach an Earraigh.

Mar fhuisseog ag éirí aníos
as portach lá samhraidh
agus í ag líonadh
ceartlár na firmiminte
le binneas a gutha.

Mar naoscach san fhómhair
agus piachán ina ghlór
ag cumadh nótaí bróin
le dul faoi na greine
sa riasc cois abhann.

Mar ghlór uaigneach an chóbaigh
cois farraige sa gheimhreadh
a ghuth dearóil cráite
ag baint macalla
as na h-aillte arda.

A bhean ar leat an guth
a shíneann siar thar dhromchla
na mblianta go tús na treibhe
táimid go mór i ngrá leat
ó chéad-chualamar tú.

Mícheál Ó Ruairc,
B.Á.C. '85

Oirmhinneach John Smith, scoláire agus údar cáiliúil i nGáidhlig, agus an Eaglais Gallda (Béarla) i mbaile mór Ceann Loch (CAMPBELTOWN). Bhí an tOirmhinneach Smith ag iarraidh eaglais ar leith don a phobal Gàidhlig, ach cuireadh ina choinne ar bhonn costais agus ar bhonn teangan. Bhíothas tar éis suim maith airgid a chaitheamh ar an eaglais nua Gallda sa mbaile agus mar a dúradh ag an am:

"When this church was built, the Heritors had in view that it should serve both congregations, in the manner it does now; otherwise the plan and expense would have been greatly circumscribed; besides that, the Gaelic language in this part of the country is dying out, and the whole or the greater part of the Highlanders now understand and attend the English service."

Ach d'éiligh Smith go mba Ghaeil nó lucht labhartha Gàidhlig, dhá dtrian den phobal agus tar éis an cas a chur faoi bhráid Comhthionóil Eaglais na hAlban, d'éirigh leis an Oirmhinneach Smith eaglais ar leith a fháil do phobal na Gàidhlig — agus deasceál amháin — tá an eaglais seo, a tógadh idir 1803-1806, in úsáid go dtí an lá inniu. Ba sa Daonáireamh 1881 a rinneadh áireamh ar lucht labhartha na Gàidhlig don chéad uair, ach measann an túdar nach bhfuil na figiúirí iontaofa agus is ar Daonáireamh 1891 atá sé ag brath ar son eolais cruinn.

leith sa chaibidil "The Irish in Kintyre". Is léir go raibh córas taistil idir Ceanntíre agus tuaisceart na hÉireann ar feadh na céadta bliain; idir Baile an Chaistil i gCo. Aontroma agus Southend i ndeisceart na leithinse a bhí an bad farantóireachta in aimsir Edward Lhuyd, ach níos déanaí ba i gCeann Loch a dtáinig na báid ó Éirinn i dtír lár an naoú aois deag. Mar sin fhéin lean an inimirce ó Éirinn agus ní nach ionadh ba bhochtáin agus teifigh ón nGorta is mó a tháinig sa treimhse sin. Diúltaíodh cabhair do lucht déirce faoin Poor Law Amendment Act 1845, agus cuireadh go leor de na hinimircigh seo ar ais go hÉirinn. B'as Cúige Uladh don a bhfurmhór, níos mó ná 50% díbh ó Cho. Aontroma, an líon is mó ina dhiaidh sin ó Thír Chonaill.

Baineann caibidil eile le seanchas, scéalta agus saol an phobail. Leabhar taighde é go bunúsach le breis is 200 leathanach de théacs agus 30 leathanach d'aguisini agus gluais. Clúdach páipéir atá air agus an locht is mó atá air a chostasais is atá sé ar £12 stg., ach má tá teacht air go héasca is fiú go mór é a léamh.

BRÍD HEUSSAFF

*KINTYRE - THE HIDDEN PAST by Angus Martin. Published by John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh.

"Neutrality, International Law & the Nuclear Arms Race: What Ireland can do"

by Richard Falk

Published by Irish Sovereignty Movement. Price 50p.

"If men cannot refer to common values, which they all separately recognise, then man is incomprehensible to man."

Camus: *The Rebel*

This pamphlet contains a lecture given by Professor Richard Falk of Princeton University, U.S.A. in Trinity College, Dublin in April 1984

In the introduction Kadar Asmal, Dean of Trinity College informs us that Falk is one of the most distinguished contemporary international lawyers, who sees international law as providing the framework of rules which enable political societies to work out the accommodations necessary in an increasingly interdependent world society.

In a nuclear war neutrality would be an anachronistic role for any country because unlike traditional warfare it would involve not just the belligerents. Nuclear destruction would not respect the national boundaries of non-combatant states (not to mention the civilian populations of the belligerent states). Consequently, all the countries of the world are potentially involved.

Professor Falk, however, sees a new and challenging role for neutrality. It can no longer be passive he says and proposes a new active neutrality throughout the world "Neutrality must be transformed". He speaks of this transformation in the context of international law. A state which is in potential danger from nuclear war in which it is not itself a belligerent, stands in a position that its sovereignty is consequently under threat. It is ironic, perhaps, to talk of sovereignty when the powers who possess the nuclear weapons are the last people to respect it. But Falk interprets part of the Non-Proliferation Nuclear Treaty as conferring on non-nuclear countries, including neutral states, the right to "act to protect their sovereign rights not to participate in or be affected by illegal modes of warfare by exerting pressure for the repudiation of these weapons and of strategies related to their threats and use. The stance of non-participation in nuclearism thus becomes one of avoiding complicity in what is contended to be an essentially illegal security system, namely nuclear deterrence."

This eminent authority sees law as creative "in the sense that it arises in response to the emerging needs of the human community and evolves to reflect the practice of states in dealing with claims and counter-claims. The contemporary crisis of world order stems in significant part from the inability and unwillingness of

the dominant states to play a creative role in overcoming the joint and several dangers of nuclearism. This analysis also suggests that the peoples of the world *are not being adequately protected by their governments* to the extent that the menace of nuclearism is not removed, or at least diminished. Against this background initiatives by neutralist governments would be widely perceived as positive contributions to world order and as constructive efforts to reclaim international legal process for human benefit."

Much of our international law, says Falk, and the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation came into being as a result of World Wars. But now the position is reversed and the protective laws must be made before World War III — before a nuclear war and the subsequent horrors of a "nuclear winter".

Falk puts it up to the neutral countries to start this process. In fact, he thinks Ireland an ideal example of the type of country to initiate such a process to "obtain a General Assembly request to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on the legal status of nuclear weapons and on the status of neutral rights to protect the sanctity of sovereign territory and the preservation of international society as a whole from threats to use weapons which manifestly lack the capacity to limit their harmful effects."

However, it is almost impossible to conceive a government led by FitzGerald responding to such a suggestion. Haughey has spoken emphatically in favour of our remaining neutral and in the Malvinas affair surprised many in taking an anti-Anglo-American stance. For any leader of any small or even medium sized neutral country to act on the lines Falk advocates would require that that individual should be bold enough to incur for himself and his country the hostility of the nuclear powers. Great courage, indeed, would be required.

But Professor Falk is not directing his message towards neutral states; he is addressing the civilians in the nuclear states. He emphasises "the important reality that international law can be a valuable instrument for expressing the claims of civil society against the state, even if it is not effective at this stage in international relations."

He sees a danger to democracy within

those nuclear states. "The use of nuclear technology enables a fundamentalist or pathological leader, or perhaps even an errant submarine commander to exercise the power, without any foundation in constitutional arrangements or popular consent to plunge much of the planet into a flaming cauldron which would extinguish life as we know it."

Such a viewpoint and his attitude to terrorism have earned Falk the name of being anti-states.

"Political terrorism as a tactic of the weak is almost always the expression of frustrated aspirations for justice and its ubiquity today is in part a reflection of the failure of the organised political community to provide non-violent alternatives.

This pamphlet is very worthwhile reading and shows a possible way out of the darkness for a very frightened world.

Pádraig Ó Cléirigh

Rights for Irish Language in Northern Prisons Demanded

A letter from the Cultural Department of Sinn Féin draws attention to the lack of rights for the Irish Language in prisons in the North.

Although there is a complete ban on the language in the prisons a recent survey shows that 385 prisoners know Irish and in the last three years 188 have gained the Fáiinne (symbol for being able to speak Irish).

No letters in Irish or publications in Irish are allowed nor can Irish be used during visits. It is also forbidden to wear the Fáiinne.

The letter requests people to raise the matter of this ban with the Northern Ireland office and the Westminster Government.

It further asks to be kept informed, if possible, of representations made — write to M. O Muilleoir, Roinn an Chultúir Sinn Féin, 147 Br. Bhaile Andarsan, Béal Feirste 11, Éire.

◆◆◆◆◆
Long standing member of the Celtic League willing to pay all Postage costs etc. for the loan of any Irish language course. Preferably with cassette tapes. Will take good care of materials.

Ian Williams, 6 Rose Row, Redruth, Kernow, Cornwall.

◆◆◆◆◆
The League's secretary general wrote also to the Friends of Navan Fort, expressing Celtic League support for the campaign to save from destruction the mound near Armagh which was the seat of the kings of Ulster, famous in Irish traditions and sagas under the name of Eamhain Macha, and known in English as Navan Fort today. It is threatened by quarrying. Some Loyalists are involved also in this campaign, though for reasons of their own (they see the Fort as a boost for their anti-Gaelic stance. They omit the fact that all the literature relating to Eamhain Macha is in Irish . . .).

AN IRISH REPUBLICAN VIEW OF MANN IN 1914

The Irish Republican Brotherhood — the revolutionary organisation founded in 1858 who determined on the 1916 Insurrection — published a monthly paper between 1910 and 1914 (when it was in common with other nationalist publications, suppressed).

As one might expect of the Fenians their range was wide and their scan was broad. Subjoined is an article indicating the interest in and concern for another subject Celtic people.

IRISH FREEDOM, JANUARY, 1914

LANGUAGE AND NATIONALITY IN MANN

If it be a source of satisfaction to us to find someone in a worse plight than ourselves it is at best a satisfaction of a mean and beggarly kind. Yet it was little more than this I had to console me when I had finished my quest after Nationality in that part of his Britanic Majesty's dominions known to English speakers as the Isle of Man, but called by the small remnant of the Manx nation still extant by the name of Ellen Vannin, i.e., Oileán Mhanannain. There are many elements of similarity, as there are others of sharp contrast, between the conditions subsisting in that island and in ours. The island is being largely exploited for the benefit of England; most of the profits of the tripper season go across to enrich the Sassanach; there are few native industries; the population is decreasing owing to emigration; while national spirit and patriotism are at a very low level indeed. A limited amount of political independence is still possessed by the islanders, chiefly for the reason that it would not pay England to govern the country directly: just as, conversely, in our case we are left without a vestige of freedom because it has paid England well to manage our affairs for us. Small, however, as was the measure of independence formerly enjoyed by Mannin, it was apparently too much for the Manx patriots then in power, and in 1872 the Manx parliament, at the dictation of the governor, one Loch, passed an Act handing over the most important and sacred of its duties, viz., the control of education, to England. By this Act the Manx Government proclaimed that it was unequal to the task of devising a system of education for the children whose parents had placed it in power, and that the one fit and proper body to decide what was good for the Manx child was the regiment of English officials located at Whitehall, London, and known as the Board of Education. For such a confession of incompetence and imbecility it would be hard to find an equal in the records of public bodies. I will deal presently with some of the consequences which have followed this act of national folly.

P. Ó S.

Until some twenty years ago it does not seem to have occurred to anyone that the Manx language could or ought to live. The Manx Society, founded in 1858, did much valuable work in collecting and publishing material in Manx, but did not concern itself with the preservation or propagation of the national tongue. Indeed, it would appear as though it were the accepted certainty of the death of the language that prompted the society hereafter as a memorial of the dead tongue. In the early nineties, however — the Manx Society having in the meantime predeceased the Manx language — short articles dealing with the language found their way into the "Isle of Man Examiner": then some matter in Manx began to appear

— the first that had been seen in the Manx press for twenty-five years. This looked like the beginning of the resurrection, and for it three men in particular were responsible: William Quayle, since deceased; William Cubbon, the present borough librarian of Douglas; and J. J. Kneen, a Manx scholar of the first rank. Public interest was aroused, and 1899 Yn Cheshaght Gailckagh was set on foot. This society corresponds, in its aims if not in its methods, with our Gaelic League, its first object being stated as "The preservation of Manx as the national language of the Isle of Man.

The history of this society, reflecting as it does the weakness of the national sense in the island, makes rather mournful reading. A good start was, however, made with an attempt to provide for the teaching of Manx in the schools; but here it was that Loch's Act — referred to, by-the-way, as a "master stroke of policy" by the then president of the society in his "History of the Isle of Man"! — came in, and it was the gentlemen at Whitehall who had to be humbly approached by Yn Cheshaght with a view to having the Manx language recognised as a subject of instruction in the public elementary schools of the island. These capable gentlemen took three years to come to a decision on the matter, and then graciously granted permission to Yn Cheshaght "to lay the question before the



Photo by courtesy: Maire Ni Eata

Brian Ó Baoill, who works with Údarás na Gaeltachta, was sentenced to 2 weeks in prison for refusing to pay a fine imposed for not having a T.V. licence in protest at the scandalous lack of Irish on R.T.É.

Pickets were placed on Mountjoy Prison and on R.T.É. in protest at the jailing and calls made for his release by many language groups and bodies. Mr. Ó Baoill's wife and family went on a token fast in Galway city to support him. He was released after five days.

A letter was sent on behalf of the Celtic League to the Minister for Justice, asking him to release Brian Ó Baoill (jailed at the end of June for refusing to pay his licence for a television service which makes a mockery of the Irish State's proclaimed policy to restore the Irish language). It expressed the astonishment felt in the other Celtic countries that an Irishman should be imprisoned for upholding his language rights when criminals are let free before serving their terms of imprisonment due to lack of space in the jails.

school boards of the island." These three years were, we may presume, spent in ascertaining accurately the sort of stuff the school boards were made of. The result showed that England had made no error of judgment: one school board was willing to allow Manx to be taught for one half-hour per week in three of its schools! The permission was shortly afterwards withdrawn!! After this defeat Yn Cheshaght appears to have given up all hope of reaching the schools, for no mention of them appears in later reports, and today — will it be believed? — the Manx language is not being taught in a single school, primary or secondary, in the island. The schools have been definitely abandoned to the enemy, English inspectors, and in many cases English teachers, are successfully crushing out whatever little national self-respect remains. The ways of these inspectors seem to be somewhat similar to those of many of our anglicised and anglicising inspectors here. A lady teacher, who had the temerity to teach Manx children something of the lives of notable Manxmen, was informed by the inspector that "that sort of thing might easily be overdone." She took the hint.

Up to the present, it must be admitted, Yn Cheshaght has not met with much success in any direction: it is alive, but it is showing few signs of life, either in the way of teaching or by active propagandist work. Whatever is being done, is being done by a few individual members rather than by the corporate body. A short time ago, when the Douglas town Commissioners affixed the nicknames "Kursaal" and "Villa Marina" to some buildings and grounds which cost the ratepayers £80,000, the official Cheshaght made no protest. A few members, however, made an unsuccessful attempt to have Manx names substituted — a course which, had it been adopted, would have at once given distinction to the place, and served to announce to all visitors that they were really in Manxland, and not in a piece of Lancashire which had gone adrift.

The causes of the sterility of Yn Cheshaght are not very far to seek: they may be worth considering lest any of us should ever be tempted to sin in a similar way. First and foremost is Patronage. In the report of the society for 1902 we read — "It is a matter of encouragement to us also that, when His Majesty King Edward was in the island he expressed a desire to hear the language, etc." Again, in the 1908 report: "Her Majesty the Queen has expressed her interest in Manx music." Neither of their aforesaid Majesties has ever expressed a desire to hear the Irish language nor an interest in Irish music, and, truth to tell, I don't think we are any the worse for the omission. Our fellow Gaels in Mann are allowing their backbones to be patronised into jelly. The wife of the present governor — our national dailies would, I suppose, by analogy call her the "governess" — is evidently concerned lest there should still be a little vitality left in the Nationalists of Mann, for she has recently announced that she "has a hankering after the Manx language." Lord Raglan himself, however, is neither so astute nor so discreet: a few weeks ago, in a speech delivered at the opening of a new department of the borough library at Douglas, he referred in terms of insolent buffoonery to the native tongue. It is pitiable to read that this clownishness was received by the town commissioners — the same of "Kursaal" and "Villa Marina" fame — with "laughter": but perhaps they will think over it later.

Another cause of failure is the society's neglect of the native speaker, who in Ellen Vannin as in Eirinn, must save the language if it ever is to be saved. Yn Cheshaght Gailchagh commits a fatal error in making Douglas — the most hopelessly Anglicised spot on the island — its headquarters and in confining all its meetings to this town. It is busy seeking the support of the "daoine mora" while the native speaker is fast disappearing. The number of native speakers of Manx is now alarmingly small

— something about 250 — and if Manxmen do not quickly awaken to a sense of their national responsibilities and do something effective the next generation will see the last of the Manx nation.

Another mistake consists in the cessation of the struggle for Manx in the schools. It is difficult to find an excuse for this. The sins of a former generation, who yielded up the educational freedom of the island and made it in this matter a plaything of English officialdom, have produced a state of affairs that must make this struggle an exceptional and arduous one; but they do not constitute a sufficient reason for its abandonment. In fact, no reason could ever be deemed sufficient for that.

On the whole, then, national affairs are in a bad way in Mann; but bad and all as they are, there are some hopeful signs. There are already many Manxmen who are beginning to feel uncomfortable and to suspect that, after all, things are not quite right in the island. This may be the beginning of the resurrection. There are others who are, in their despair, looking across to us for help and counsel. One of these latter writes: "It is to your country we look for inspiration. We had missions from Erin in the early centuries: our ancient Keeils tell the story of them. Why not a modern mission?" Why not? It might be more useful than missions to America, and certainly would be if it helped Ellen Vannin to take her proper place in a greater Gaelic Union. In the meantime our friends in Mann must understand that, though they may get inspiration from us, the saving of their national souls must be done entirely by themselves. Let them abandon the "daoine mora" and foreign patronage, and go to the people: let them work for the Repeal of the Act of 1872, and get control of the schools; above all, let each and everyone of them learn and speak the national tongue, in season and out of season, everywhere and to everyone. These point the way to success.

AN FIOLAR

STOP THIS MURDER

U.D.R. MAN DETAINED AFTER ULSTER KILLING

(Guardian 8/4/85)

THE U.D.R. ITS INCEPTION

The Ulster Defence Regiment was formed on April 1st 1970 — its role was to be internal security in the six North Eastern Counties of Ireland, which are still held by the British Crown. The need for such a force arose because the previous internal security force — the 'B' Special Constabulary had been thoroughly discredited and was unacceptable to the Catholic/Nationalist population of the six counties. A force given British Army discipline would it was felt:

a) Be more acceptable to the Catholic population

b) Be more effective in the internal security role.

The theory, although the U.K. media initially indicated its apparent success, never worked, and by 1985 the *United Kingdom* press was carrying Headlines such as those above. The Catholic population, some of whom had initially joined the Regiment, were also thoroughly disillusioned, and the Regiment had become regarded by them as more sectarian and barbarous than the former 'B' Specials.

INTIMIDATION TURNS TO MURDER

The initial alienation of the Nationalist community arose through intimidation of them, when the so-called policy of Ulsterisation was adopted. This policy, put simply, removed Regular British Army units from the Ghetto areas of N.E. Ireland and replaced them with the Ulster Defence Regiment. Despite complaints/campaigns against this 'get tough policy' the Ulster Defence Regiment proceeded unrestrained. Inevitably unchecked, this intimidation turned to murder.

In 1983 the Celtic League, an Inter-Celtic organisation which as part of its Policy, works for a peaceful re-unification of Eire, became concerned at the level of incidents involving the Ulster Defence Regiment. Despite repeated requests to the Northern Ireland Office and the British Ministry of Defence, we have been unable to obtain statistical data on the number of criminal activities in which members of the Ulster Defence Regiment have been involved. The figures are so shocking, the British Government are afraid to publish them.

The text above was prepared by the Manx Branch and published by the Celtic League in leaflet form with the aim of contributing to the widespread demand that this policy of official murder be stopped. It was distributed in all the Celtic countries and sent to elected representatives in several others with a request that they support this campaign, e.g. by writing to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. Douglas Hurd, N.I. Office, Belfast. We ask all our readers to do likewise. They could write to the British ambassador in their own country.

KERNOW

MARKING



TIME

The mid 1980's have not been a period of rapid expansion for the Cornish movement, either politically or in respect of the language. But in retrospect the present time will perhaps be seen as a period of consolidation in the face of continuing pressure on the Cornish economy and culture. The national movement has proceeded in cycles, with periods of expansion (the 1930's, 1950's and late 1970's) being followed by retrenchment and decline in activity. The first upsurge produced the first fluent speakers of Cornish as a revived language whilst the most recent has succeeded in producing the first native speakers of Cornish as a mother tongue since the late 18th Century.

However, the success of the language movement is still very limited. A recent estimate puts the number of people who can hold a reasonable conversation for more than an hour or so at about 50 (about a dozen people had reached this level in the 1930's). This is not a great increase, although of course there is a much larger body of speakers with lesser fluency (875 is an estimate for August 1981). Hopeful signs for an increase in the future are the Kernewek Dre Lyther correspondence course and the increase in number of regular classes. Cornish is now taught in 5 primary schools, 2 secondary schools and 18 evening classes. The examinations of the Cornish Language Board reached a peak of popularity in 1981 although a decline has occurred since then. 181 people have passed the 3rd or highest grade examination. However, many people learn the language just to write, not to speak and it doesn't follow that examination success means fluency, a problem encountered in other Celtic countries. In the same way some fluent speakers have never taken an examination.

There is a serious lack of teaching and written material in Cornish, and until recently the approach adopted to learning was old-fashioned, emphasizing writing as stated previously. However, there does exist a learners magazine 'An Gannas', produced monthly, selling 200-300 copies, and also 'Len Ha Lyn', a magazine for children also produced monthly. Dalleth, the nursery group set up in the late 1970's, still operates, publishing not only 'Len Ha Lyn' but also books and cassettes.

The most important development in the language movement in the past few years has been a willingness to renew the orthography of Morton Nance, formulated in the 1920's, and to try to improve the language as a medium for speech. Two main solutions have been proffered so far. Firstly, at an academic level, Dr. Ken

Cornish" which has subjected the language to a serious modern analysis in the help of computers. He has concluded that in order to recreate the sounds of Cornish, there is a need to base the language more firmly on its classic phase in the Middle Ages and to allow the spelling system to reflect this move accurately.

On the other hand, some of the more regular speakers have concluded that the language should base itself on Cornish as it was last spoken, and to alter the orthography accordingly. These two approaches are not easily reconcilable, but the debate now taking place is examining the nature of the language in a critical fashion for the first time since the 1920's. This can only be healthy.

This year has also seen the publication of Wella Brown's "Grammar of Modern Cornish", the most complete and rigorous examination of the language yet, and also 'An Gurun Wosek a Gelta' by Melville Bennetoo, the first modern full length novel in Cornish. In addition a plan to finish the translation of the Bible is under way, and the Institute of Cornish Studies is now cooperating with some Cornish teachers to produce teaching materials for schools.

Politically as well as linguistically the movement is marking time. Although votes are holding up well at a local level for the two national parties in elections, they have become very localized; Mebyon Kernow in the far West and the Cornish Nationalist Party in mid-Cornwall. Thus although the number of nationalist candidates has dropped, MK succeeded in Penzance in getting Colin Lawry elected in a straight fight against a Tory candidate, the first official MK county councillor since the 1967-70 period. Mebyon Kernow has followed the lead of Plaid Cymru and now advocates 'socialist autonomy', although often this is given a low profile as the party concentrates on community politics.

The CNP has also dropped its call for national independence, but advocates greater regional recognition "within Britain". Both parties continue to pursue a predominantly electoral strategy.

However, Cornwall continues to suffer from B status as a tourist area. Second homes proliferate and unemployment is over 20% in many areas, rising a lot higher outside of the tourist season. The county council has made very little protest about the spending restrictions imposed by the Westminster government. The takeover of effective control over the council by the Liberal/SDP Alliance after the elections earlier this year has made little difference in policy, although they are more aware of the Cornish dimension.

Thus, the movement in Cornwall is marking time. Hopefully the debate in the language movement and recent developments on the Literature side will bear fruit and result in a new confidence and strength of direction.

David Fear

KDL ANNUAL

This is the first issue of what we hope will be an Annual Report on the work of "Kernewek dre Lyther". It is in English to reach a wide readership and make it possible to avoid English in future issues of "An Kesscryfer" the quarterly newsletter of Kernewek dre Lyther. These will be entirely in Cornish.

"Kernewek dre Lyther" began in May 1983 as a result of an initiative by the Education Council of the Cornish Language Board. At the beginning of that year, Dr. Ken George, the secretary of the Education Council asked Ray Edwards to organise a Correspondence Course in the Cornish language to help students who could not attend classes, especially those living outside Cornwall and overseas. Ray wrote a course, had it checked by the Language Board in the person of Wella Brown, and enrolled the first student in May. By the end of the year eighteen students had enrolled, including two for second grade.

In June 1984 three first grade and one second grade students took the Language Board's examinations and all obtained distinctions.

In the June 1985 examinations out of a total of 72 successful entries, 24 were from K.D.L. students, though this represents only 22 students as two took both first and second grade. All except 5 had distinctions. Every candidate to obtain a distinction, second and third grade was a K.D.L. student. We congratulate them all other successful candidates and hope those less successful will keep on trying!

A number of teachers have bought copies of K.D.L. courses to use with their students. If any other teacher or private student wishes to use a K.D.L. course, they are available in ring binders from the address below at £5.00 for each grade including postage.

The normal K.D.L. fee is £10.00 for each course for U.K. students, £12.50 for Europe and £20.00 further afield. If any new second or third grade student appears to have insufficient previous knowledge to cope with the course, he may be asked to transfer to the previous course. If he is unwilling to do so, K.D.L. reserves the right to cancel the course and return a proportion of the fee.

K.D.L. is not completely exam-orientated. One of its aims is to encourage people to write to each other in Cornish, and a number of students do that now. Write to the address below for a list of active students and would-be correspondents.

"K.D.L. Annual" and "An Kesscryfer" (quarterly) are published by: Kernewek dre Lyther, 6 Halton Road, Sutton Coldfield, B73 6NP. Joint subscription for non-students £1.00 per annum for U.K.

MANNIN

NY SKIBBALTEE BOGHTY

Ta olteynyn Mec Vannin sursmooingh-tyn harrish treealtys ta Bernard Moffatt cur roish ard-chruinnaght vleeaney y phartee, as t'eh cheet er, ayns ayn, yn aght ta turrysee cheet dys Mannin voish Nherin.

Va shin rieuau garaghtee er ny Sostnee ta goll gys cheeraghyn elley, agh t'ad gaccan nagh vel ny cheeraghyn shen gollrish Sostyn. As cha nel mee cheet er laaghyn y Raj — she'n un red jiu tra ta Sostnee aegey goll gys yn Spaainey, as t'ad shirrey east as speiltyn praase as Stoandey Jiarg Watney choud's t'ad aynshen.

Agh va mee loayrt mychione ny Yernee ta cheet gys Mannin. Vel ad geedyn blass Vannin choud's t'ad aynshoh? Cha nel. T'ad geddyn Smithwicks as Guinness, as t'ad goll gys cuirraghyn-kiaull liorish Brendan Shine, Foster as Allen as Yernee elley. T'ad gearree shen, as t'ad arryltagh dy cheau nyn argid cheet voish Nherin er-nyn-son.

Shen myr ve bleantyn er dy henney, tra va ymmoddee Albinee cheet gys Mannin. Cre v'ayn ec y tra shen agh cuirraghyn-kiaull Calum Kennedy as Albinee elley. As

c'raad va ny cuirraghyn-kiaull shen goll er cummal? Ayns Doolish, Doolish ynrican.

Ta Boayrd Turryssagh Vannin goll aggaragh cur fys da ny Yernee (nacht cheddin as da ny Albinee ec yn amm shen) mychione yn Ellan shoh. Nurree ayns shiahtin ny Cruinnaght va Larry Dillon, jeh Feailley ny Libertics ayns Divlyn, gra dy re Doolish ynrican ta er ny imraa ec Boayrd Turryssagh Vannin.

Ta ny skibbaltee boghtey ayns Doolish cur argid-bea da ram sleih, as ta treisht orrym dy jean ad ooilley goaill boggey jeh nyn laaghyn sevrey. Cha nel mee gaccan mychione nyn giaull, nyn lhune, ny nyn gooishyn elley. Agh ta mee goaill yindys dy vel ad cheet gys Mannin gyn-yss er rheyntyn elley ny hEllan.

S'lesh Boayrd Turryssagh Vannin ta'n foill hoshiaght. Ta buill as reartyntyn feer aalin syn Ellan. Va Breandain O Ciobhain jeh R. T. F. goaill yindys dy row y lhied ayn — v'eh jerkal rish shooyllaghan liauyr as greienyn scoltan voish y Cheylls gys Kione ny hAyrey. Agh v'eh goaill taitnys jeh'n Ellan hooar eh.

Sy nah ynnyd, s'lesh cummaltee Vannin ta'n foill. Cha nel fys ocsyn er nyn shennaghys as shennoaylleaght. Shimmy fer va ruggit ayns Mannin, as shen eh — cha nel ee goaill tastey jeh currym elley, ga dy vel ee gra dy vel ee moyrnagh.

As sy trass ynnyd, cre mychione ny turrysee hene? Cha nel mee cur yn drogh er ny Yernee ta cheet gys Mannin. Ta mee

loayrt my-my-chione's goll gys cheer elley. Ta mee loayrt my-dty-chione ta troaill myr joarree ayns cheer voarree.

Ta currym orrin ooilley gyn goaill orrin drogh oashyn. My vees shynyn gra dy vel. Wops, Chinks, Froggies as y lhied jaanoo cabbaraght tra t'ad loayrt ry cheilley, cha nodmayd gaccan tra ta sleih gra dy vel Paddys. Dais as Macs jannoo yn un red. Shegin dooin goll stiagh ayns cheer elley as goaill yindys as taitnys jeh dagh anchaslys as cur bwooise da Jee dy vel y lhied foast ayn.

Red elley mychione y chooish. Dooyrt Larry Dillon dy vel ommidanyn ayns Doolish goaill rour argid ass ny turrysee. Vel ad-shoh sheiltyn nagh vel ny fir va mollit goll dy valley as cur raue da nyn gaarjyn mychione ny maarliee ayns Mannin?

My vees ad gearree ny skibbaltee boghtey ayns Doolish, shegin daue gyn keck ayns nyn lhiabbee hene.



The Englishman abroad is often cited as a figure of fun, complaining that it's not like England and that foreigners jabber away in some funny language. The Englishman is not alone in this holiday imperialism, where instead of getting away from it all, you take it all with you. It ill befits the Celts to drop into similar bad habits.

Environmental Damage Caused by British Army

Under an agreement between the Isle of Man Government and the U.K.'s Ministry of Defence, the British Army has general Training rights over 20,000 acres of Mann. The land concerned is for the most part moorland; in the central uplands of the Island, however, also included is an area on the Northern plain, called the Ayres.

The Ayres is an area of outstanding ecological and environmental importance, and it was inevitable that eventually, its use for (Summer) Training by Army Units, would lead to complaint. In 1982 very considerable damage was caused to the Beach 'nesting sites' in the area, used by the Little Tern. This bird which is comparatively rare, has a strong colony at the Ayres, which is in fact significant sites for this

species in the British Isles. Following complaints from ornithologists, the League inspected the area, confirmed that Army Units were the culprits and initiated a campaign to control their operations in this area. In the years since 1982, our work has achieved some progress; in 1983-4 there was considerably less disturbance to the area than in previous years. In addition, this year, for the first time two Government Boards have co-operated in a project to restrict vehicular access to the Ayres. However, it was noticeable, that while access to the general public (by vehicle) was restricted, no action has been taken to restrict the Army's access point, two miles down the coast.

The League has pointed out the ambiguity of their actions, to the Boards concerned; in addition we will be writing to the Commanding Officer of the British Army Units in Mann, asking for a Schedule of Exercises for this year. This will enable independent ornithologists to inspect the site after each exercise.

On May 12th, the whole operation will be initiated when an assessment of the area is to be undertaken by an independent source in co-operation with the League.

FOOTNOTE:

Following an intensive campaign involving support from local ornithologists the local British Army Liaison Officer rescheduled Exercises so as to avoid the area about which we expressed concern. Whilst a general willingness to co-operate was evident, it was undoubtedly the scale of the campaign which tipped the balance. A Press campaign which involved Newspapers, Manx Radio and Border T.V. was complemented by Field Work (on the Ayres) by local ornithologist Keith Johnson (not a League Member). Whilst pleased by the outcome so far, inspections will still be taken periodically to ensure NO clandestine usage.

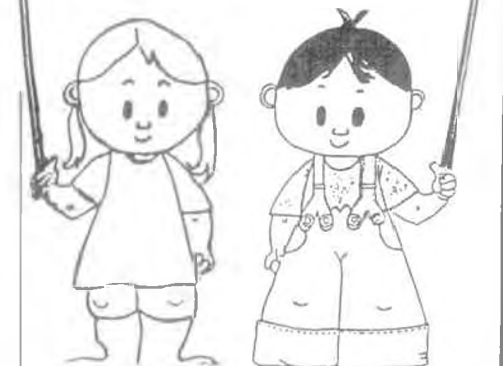
J.B.M.

READER COMMENTS ON S.N.L.A. ARTICLE

I found it a most obnoxious article — glorifying violence against the person, not just against property. I know the views expressed are personal but even to print such an article in Carn lends it tacit approval. As a Christian and a nationalist I found it abhorrent.

A. DONALDSON

BEEAL ARRISH



Early moves towards the setting up of a Manx Gaelic playgroup followed contacts with the Welsh association, Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin, at the Eisteddfod. Inspired by the work of Meithrin, some interested parents discussed the idea and did, in fact, arrange playsessions on a few occasions.

Unfortunately, the project did not get off the ground at the time — perhaps because it was too informal. However, being on the Meithrin mailing list helped to keep the idea bubbling in people's minds.

The Cornish playgroup association, "Dalleth", lent their ideas in the form of a series of books. However, no Manx equivalent emerged, though it was discussed.

The visit to the Island of Padraig Ó Cuanacháin (as reported in "Carr") came at a critical time, bolstering the ideals of the few already committed. More importantly, his infectious enthusiasm for Gaelic playgroups encouraged others to lend their support.

A visit to Dublin gave Brenda Bridson and Peggy Carswell a lot of practical help towards a Manx playgroup. They saw the way in which the successful Naionra playgroups were organised, and returned with books, tapes and posters which have been very useful in providing material for a Manx playgroup.

Many of the rhymes in Irish have translated themselves readily into Manx Gaelic. Using these rhymes together with traditional Manx cradle songs, counting rhymes and so on, two small books (16 pages of A6) have been produced, making about thirty rhymes available for use in a playgroup.

The two books have introduced, in their titles, two figures who may be developed in later books. Our Welsh friends may know "Juan Joarree" better as "Mabon", a young playmate of the Cymry Cymraeg. If they look closely at "Kirree Kiaullée", they may be able to trace her ancestry too!

The Manx Gaelic playgroup has been meeting at least once a week for some time, and about half a dozen children currently come along. Interest has been growing recently, and other existing playgroups have asked for information about Manx Gaelic rhymes and songs.

Most of the interested parents do not



Manx Playgroup in action.

themselves have the Gaelic as yet, so children and parents are learning together! Meithrin's insistence on parents spending some time at each session learning rhymes and phrases has again been a valuable guide.

So far, the group has met in private houses on something of a rotational basis,

but a centre suitable for all the playgroup's activities would be welcome to create more of a sense of continuity and perhaps allow a more structured approach.

These are early days, but at last the Manx Gaelic playgroup is a reality, with dedication and creative skill behind it.

"Yn Chruinnaght" —A Cornish Angle

Once again another very successful "Yn Chruinnaght" has passed. This annual festival of music, dance, song etc. held at Ramsey on the Isle of Man, took place this year from Saturday 20th to Saturday 27th July and was supported by participants from all the Celtic nations.

Particularly successful this year were the lunchtime "Food & Folk" sessions held in various pubs and small hotels around the town, where music was thoroughly enjoyed by all and dances done in some of the smallest spaces imaginable.

Yet successful as the Festival was, there was one thing that marred the week — though not the fault of the "Yn Chruinnaght" organisation it must be hastily added — and that was the deplorable attitude taken by the present landlord of the unofficial yet "traditional" centre for music sessions in the town, in that these sessions were "discouraged" to say the least. How different from previous years when the then landlord whole-heartedly supported "Yn Chruinnaght" welcoming these informal get-togethers, encouraging the playing of traditional music, and not social ladder-climbing as seemed to be the order of the day this year.

The Cornish contingent at least were very disappointed at this unfortunate turn of events in what used to be the most popular meeting place during the Festival.

ROD LYON

WORKSHOP

C.J.K.

The Mannin Branch of the Celtic League arranged a one-day workshop for Beginners in Manks Gaelic, Dance, Music and Song. It was held in May at the Teacher's Centre, Douglas with an attendance of almost fifty. (The Mannin Secretary welcomed everyone and explained that the Celtic League had taken on the job of organising the event, in face of the obvious lack of opportunity for beginners to try a cross section of cultural activities. Since the Board of Education had ceased running such week-end courses some years ago, young people were denied the chance to become involved. Mr. Moffatt said, how gratified he was that so many had enrolled, and expressed the earnest desire that the Board might once again assume the responsibility).

The Language workshop was an all day progressive affair, which included an outline of the history of Gaelic in Mann and its relationship to other Celtic languages. The basic course emphasised spoken Manks. The music, dance and song sections of the programme were essentially practical. The day was divided into three sessions, so it was possible to try at least two of these.

Both students and course organisers felt the day was very worthwhile and hoped that other workshops would be arranged.

The London branch held its AGM on July 17 and elected a new committee with Seamus Ó Coileáin as secretary. Ifor Kenna chairman, Pádraig Ó Conchúir press officer, Colm Ó Toráin treasurer. Seamus succeeds Micheál Ó Laoire who had to resign for personal reasons. I should like on behalf of the League to thank Micheál for the work he did for our organisation and hope that he will soon be able to resume his activity in it. Go néire le d'iarrachtai, A Mhichíl!

MANX HERITAGE YEAR

PROMOTING WHAT ... OR WHO?

The Manx Heritage Foundation was established in 1983 to "promote the permanent preservation of the cultural heritage of the Island". At about the same time as the M.H.F. announced their intention to designate 1986 as 'Manx Heritage Year' a group of dedicated parents set up a Manks language playgroup.

Manx Heritage Year, and I quote from Yn Chruinnaght, "is seen as a springboard for the future and will encompass as many aspects as possible of heritage — the visual arts, conservation, music and dance, history and, above all, the language." The playgroup organizers have only their own limited resources and as yet no permanent premises.

To call 1986 "Heritage Year" and then ask interested parties how they intend to celebrate it was not a sudden outbreak of democracy but the height of cheek, ignorance or both. To add insult to injury the Foundation has invited an English royal to be its patron. Those who do not object to Heritage Year in principle might well consider the implications of the invitation. In 1979, S.H.K. Charles Kerruish, was the great promoter of "Millenium Year" — he subsequently received a knighthood ... he is now chairman of the Heritage Foundation

C.J.K.



MEC VANNIN OBJECTS TO ROYAL PATRONAGE

Following a stormy meeting at the beginning of August, Mec Vannin, the Manx Republican Party, issued a statement to the Manx Press revealing that Mrs Hannan, the Party Secretary, had been sacked from the executive committee.

Mrs. Hannan was formally asked to resign her position on the Manx Heritage Foundation which was seeking English royal patronage. Mrs Hannan refused to do so as she felt she could better continue her work for the island if she remained on the Heritage Committee. After a heated debate the eventual decision to sack her from the executive was carried by a slender majority after being put to the vote.

In the press release the Party stated that: "It was felt to be an impossible position for a republican party to have its secretary representing an establishment body which seeks patronage from English royalty.

The statement continues: "In a year leading up to Heritage Year, this party feels that the people of Mann would be better served by a Patron chosen from the many long serving promoters of Manx language and culture resident on the Island."

"Mec Vannin feels that cultural opportunists in the Heritage Foundation are sadly misguided in their efforts to obtain for their Patron a member of a Royal family from a country which has, in the past, done its utmost to suppress the Manx Language."

The statement concludes: "Mec Vannin can only conclude that the reason for the Heritage Foundation not making public their decision is that they fear outcry from more patriotic-minded and discerning citizens than themselves."

PAT BRIDSON

CELTIC LEAGUE MILITARY MONITORING PROGRAMME

The British Army in the Six Counties

INTRODUCTION

Since 1969 British troops have been maintained in Northern Ireland in substantial numbers, engaged on what the British government terms 'action in support of a civil power'. Theoretically, the army is under the control of the civil authorities, through the Royal Ulster Constabulary. In fact, it is the R.U.C. which is the subordinate to the Regular British Army, and its local auxiliary, the Ulster Defence Regt.

Since the early seventies, the U.K. media has adopted a highly partisan approach to reporting the activities of the army. The media has carefully fostered the myth of a continuing reduction in manpower level, and whilst this is true to a certain extent of the regular troops, no account has been given of the increase in U.D.R. troops, and R.U.C. (Regular and reserve).

This Celtic League Military Monitoring report will give a factual account of Regular and U.D.R. troops levels. 'Northern Ireland' at the moment, the U.K. media

would have us believe, is quiet!! What level of security force is required to maintain this highly artificial state?

THE PERMANENT GARRISON

Northern Ireland has a permanent garrison of five infantry battalions, together with supporting elements. A battalion can consist of 600-800 men. In addition to augment this, the army operate constant rotation or 'roulement' of regular units from the U.K. and the British army on the Rhine. Because of the stretched commit-

ment of the Army, 'roulement' causes great strain. A rotated unit (battalion strength), will spend 4-5 months in the province; however, because of the constantly changing nature of the guerilla war there, units must start training 6-8 weeks before their tour. Manpower shortages mean that all units are likely to have a tour of duty in Ulster (Drivers, Pioneers, Engineers, Signals etc.). The British Army goes to great lengths in training programmes, to simulate conditions in the province. Inevitably, due to changes in operating procedure, developments, equipment procurement by the Provos and I.N.L.A., such training is frustrated when the unit arrives. A typical admitted troop level, given in late 1982 early 1983 was as follows:

- Two Brigade H.Q.'s
- Eight Infantry battalions (three in rotation)
- One S.A.S. Squadron
- Two Army Air Corps Squadrons
- One Army Air Corps Flight
- One Armoured reconnaissance Regiment
- Two Engineer Squadrons

This would be a total of approx. 11,000-11,500 men. The 1982 figure is relevant, because given the propaganda value of understating troop levels, it is most probably, the true level, two years on. The S.A.S. level, for example, is undoubtedly understated as, given the importance attached to their operation, considerable numbers must be maintained in the province. Contrary to popular belief, they ARE men, not SUPERMEN, needing rest and rotation, as per other forces.

THE ULSTER DEFENCE REGIMENT

The organisation resurrected from the ashes of the old B-Special constabulary, seems set to establish an equally infamous record, as its forbears. The Northern Ireland Office and the M.O.D. are unwilling to comment on our enquiries re criminal activities, including murder involving the regiment.

The U.D.R. has 11 battalions as follows:

- 1st (County Antrim) Ballymena
- 2nd (County Armagh) Armagh
- 3rd (County Down) Ballykinler
- 4th (County Fermanagh) Enniskillen
- 5th (Derry) Limavady
- 6th (County Tyrone) Omagh
- 7th (City of Belfast) Hollywood
- 8th (County Tyrone) Dungannon
- 9th (County Antrim) Antrim
- 10th (City of Belfast) Belfast
- 11th (Craigavon) Portadown

The U.D.R. strength is approx. 9,000; 700-800 of this number are women. In addition to the infantry role, it has boat stations for Patrol of Loughs and Inland waterways and other specialized sections.

SUPPORT AND OTHER SERVICE UNITS

As well as the units on the ground in Ulster, there is a considerable support operation continuously underway.

The army's largest 'ship' H.M.S. Arokan, is used for supply operations to the province. Its commitment to this operation meaning diversion from regular supply duties to B.A.O.R. (This situation caused the Army to order a further supply vessel in this class).

Continued from Page 4

from both the Council and the Scottish Education Department.

Today the Project is under threat. Only two posts of the five it should have are filled at present. With local authority cut-backs, which have hit hard at the Western Isles education provision, the very existence of the Project, now a 'unit' within the Council's Education Department, looks bleak. The hope of extending the work of the Project into secondary education, to where it should logically progress, has not been fulfilled. The SED has pulled out of its funding commitment and in fact has given finance to Stirling University to examine the work of the Project during its first six years. This money would have been better used to fill the other three vacancies on the Project team staff.

Setting aside that bleak picture, the account of the work of the Project from 1975 makes interesting reading. There is no



Use of obsolete armour drains Brits security budget.

The R.A.F. Regiment provides a detachment to guard Aldergrove airport and other sensitive installations in the province. (e.g. Bishops Court Radar Station). In addition, the R.A.F. provide Wessex and Puma helicopters for troop/supply in 'no-go' areas, in addition to Hercules transport for medium logistic support from the U.K.

Royal marine detachments are also available in the province, and also operate off-shore with a small Royal Navy commitment, involving, at present, three patrol craft — H.M.S.'s Kingfisher, Cygnet and Vigilant; these occasionally augmented by 'Ton' class minesweepers. Aerial support off-shore, is provided by R.N. Wessex helicopters.

EQUIPMENT (some examples)

Infantry Weapons

- Walther 7.65 pistol U.D.R./Army Police
- 9. mm L.2A3 sub-machine gun U.D.R./Army Police
- 7.62mm L1A1 Rifle U.D.R./Army Police
- 7.62mm L4291 Specialist
- 7.62mm Machine gun, L4A4 U.D.R.
- 7.62mm G.P.M.G. L7A2 Army
- Grenade Discharger L1A1
- (Used for firing C.S. Gas)
- Baton Round L5A1 (Plastic Bullets)

doubt about the achievement of those involved in implementing the concept of bilingual education, who felt themselves part of a unique learning process. 'Adults were learning from adults, adults from children, children from children, and children from adults'.

The Project produced a mass of teaching aids: books, posters, booklets, guidance notes and cassettes, all contributing to a fact highlighted by the 1981 Census Returns Reports — that the Gaelic literacy figures for the Western Isles, particularly for the 10-15 age group, have increased.

Perhaps the most interesting section of this book is that which describes those teachers involved in bilingual teaching. They found that they themselves had changed as people and this change affected the way they related to the children in their classrooms. Despite a range of problems, major and minor, there is a hot scent of achievement. One interesting outcome of

Specialised Equipment

Hele-Telly — Helicopter carrying television camera linked to various H.Q./Patrol etc.

Nitesun — Helicopter mounted high-powered searchlight

Classic — Sensor based system used in areas which are 'no-go' to Brits

Radar No. 17 Mk1 — Land-Rover mounted Radar.

ARMoured VEHICLES

Acquisition by the Republican movement of more sophisticated weapons has led to increased commitment by the British army, to armoured vehicles. Many types used in the early '70's are now vulnerable to guerilla attack.

F.V.721 Fox armoured recce vehicle

F.V.1611 PIG armoured personnel carrier (obsolete)

F.V.603 SARACEN personnel carrier

F.V. 18061. SHORTLAND 3 personnel carrier (extensive use by U.D.R. and R.U.C.)

Short SB301. armoured personnel carrier (Army and R.U.C.)

Ferret (various makes) armoured recce vehicle

CONCLUSION

The conduct of a relatively small (man-power wise) armed struggle, by the various republican groups in the N.E. Ireland, is contained. The price of containment however, is a military effort, which is disproportionate to the nationalist effort. The military operation depends as much for its limited success on the collusion of the U.K. media, as on logistics support. No U.K. media outlet, has analyzed the cost of this effort in depth, and it is patently obvious that it is not in the U.K. governments interest, for such a study to be made. With the acquiescence of the media, the U.K. seems set for a long unsuccessful war of attrition in the Six Counties.

J. BERNARD MOFFATT
P.P. Celtic League
Military Monitoring Group.

the Bilingual Project was the creation of the Stornoway-based publishing firm of Acair, set up to publish appropriate materials identified by the Project.

Whatever the future of the Bilingual Project, the achievements remain as solid historical fact, providing a foundation for the maintenance of Gaelic in the younger generation. That is no bad thing.

This review is reprinted with permission from "Books in Scotland", Edinburgh.

Why Gaelic Matters

Derick Thomson. Limp £1.00. 0 85411 028 3. (Saltire Society, Edinburgh).

The Struggle for a Language

Gwen Mulholland. Limp 85p. ('Rank and File', 11 Viewforth Terrace, Edinburgh).

Bilingual Primary Education

John Murray and Catherine Morrison. £8.50. 0 86152 036 X. (Acair, Stornoway).

CELTICA

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM ON THE LEFT

In June, a conference was held in London on publishing in the Celtic languages and an accompanying exhibition of such books and periodicals. With the exception of Breton, those languages have suffered from the coincidence of the spread of printing with the expansion of England. Those concerned with those languages are aware that imperialism has been one facet of Conservatism. Not so many will realise that English Socialism has also had an imperialist attitude toward their languages. There is an overall implication that their languages and themselves have a manifest destiny like the North American Indians to give way to the dominant culture.

Within a fortnight of the Conference was issued a Labour Party publication "Breaking the Nation". At a stroke the question-begging title eliminates historic England, Scotland and Wales which melt into a tenuous "British" nation. Despite frequent evidence of that nature English/British Socialism has contrived to maintain an anti-imperialist image. It was surprising to find that generally held misconception challenged in, of all places, "The Irish Times".

"The Irish Times" is a little more than half the age of its London counterpart. Originally it was in the nature of a local substitute for the London "Times" directed at the "Ascendency" in Ireland and its more pretentious hangers-on. That ambiance has long since disappeared. On most days it includes an article in Irish, although it would certainly not be considered a partisan of that language. Each Wednesday there is a miscellany feature known as Tuarscáil (Report) in which the "New Statesman" figured (13.2.85) as herewith translated,

"The Leftist Imperialists"

Up to the present we do not recall any essay or article in "The New Statesman" that evidences any regard for the Irish or the Welsh language, apart from one by Claud Cockburn. God bless him! That normally appears to be the situation not only as regards that weekly but indeed of the run of the mill left wing publications in England.

One aspect of the old Socialist philosophy was that the 'small' cultures and languages were a hindrance to Internationalism. It was emphasised that they were outmoded relics inimical to progress and to World Brotherhood, so that the good socialist would be better advised to level any such barriers rather than to rebuild them.

We are not claiming that such a doctrine is inherent in Socialism or in Marxism. As an indication of this the language rights of the small nations and language communities are recognised in the Soviet

Union, according to their constitution at all events.

However, as is often remarked, theory and practice do not invariably correspond and the Russians also indulge in cultural imperialism. Doubtless that charge has some basis, but even so it must be admitted that provision is made available for Soviet minority languages far better than was so under the Czars. It is true that some of those languages were committed to writing with the advent of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Closer to home the first apostles of Socialism were in favour of minority cultures as they were of small nations. We are aware that Engels, himself, was interested in the language and tradition of Ireland. Yet by and large neither the Labour movement in England nor their Brethren more to the Left were any more favourable to cultural independence than were the Tories. To that extent both were Imperialists and still are as regards the great majority of them.

Eibhlín Ní Bhriain, the editor of Tuarscáil, would agree to being described as a Socialist and she evidently reads the "The New Statesman" regularly. While going along with her assessment no doubt many Irish, Scots and Welsh would have had a natural affinity towards the British Left except that even the word "British" is a hold-all term coined for the assimilation of the Celtic fringe. Celts who object to being recycled as Ersatz English people are patronised as being parochially minded. In practice it is difficult to be more parochial than your allegedly genuine English Socialist. From St. Leonards to San Francisco is a very wide parish but a parish nevertheless, that is assumed to be the entire world. By comparison the Icelander, one of a population of around a quarter of a million, is automatically aware of Iceland being a relatively insignificant part of the world.

It has been suggested that the English Empire came about because the English tend to be too lazy or too complacent to learn somebody's language. In South

Africa there was something of a setback because the Afrikaners were of an even more stubborn disposition. It would not be too harsh to describe this as a form of cultural racism. A strong trend towards this cultural racism could already be noted in the progress of the Reformation on this European archipelago. It would be unrealistic to expect English Progressives and Socialists to remain immune from the infection to which their empire-building and evangelising compatriots had succumbed. When they enter a pub in North Wales they are likely to consider it the height of bad manners if the conversation of the locals does not immediately switch to English in deference to themselves. With the growth of environmental concern there is an increasing anxiety about the irresponsible extinction of endangered flora and fauna. In marked contrast mention of the likelihood of Scottish Gaelic disappearing from one of the Hebridean Islands will hardly provoke any greater reaction than polite indifference.

Whether the Celtic languages are regarded as rich or poor they were evolved by the Celtic people. In arbitrarily dismissing them as being of no account their dominant English neighbours displayed the arrogance for which they so frequently reproach the Germans. What should have been the unmitigated blessing of General Education was applied as English Education and in practice served as an efficient means of robbing the surrounding Celtic people of their identity. Taking an obvious comparison, the minorities in the Austro-Hungarian Empire fared much better than their Celtic counterparts. Alike with the English Right the English Left is apt to regard such complaints as complaining for the sake of complaining. The process is not willingly recognised as colonialism, although lately an American sociologist* studied the entity of Great Britain and came to the conclusion that it is best interpreted as a "colonial model". No doubt his point merited hammering home, although like the Africans reputedly, told that Livingstone had discovered the Victoria Falls, his Celtic readers can say: "Yes! but we knew it was there."

Another Livingstone, associated with the Greater London Council, has been very sympathetic towards the needs of London's ethnic minorities. Among them is the largest and the most long-standing immigrant community, the Irish, which has particular cause for gratitude to Ken Livingstone. If, with such notable exceptions, the English Left is culpable at very least of an extraordinary complacency it can be pleaded in their favour that they have been abetted in their complacency by a host of Celtic crawlers. These indigenous "Uncle Toms" can be diagnosed as suffer-

ing from the Fox's Tail Syndrome (FTS). It will be recalled that one of Aesop's foxes had an accident in which it lost its tail. Rather than coming to terms with its loss the crippled animal's reaction was to question the utility of a fox's tail and to urge that no fox could be a true follower of fashion until it had had its own tail amputated.

Ironically enough it was the Act of Union of 1535 introduced under the Welsh Tudor dynasty that aimed at the extirpation of the Welsh language. The late Gwyn Thomas is perhaps the most glaring example of the FTS. Unlike the older members of the Rhondda mining family into which he was born, Gwyn was brought up English-speaking. Most of his novels and short stories reflect the Rhondda background and are evidence of his life-long Socialism. His work is flawed in particular by frequent sneers at the Welsh language and at those who speak it. He was a reader of, and no doubt a contributor to, "The New Statesman". Instead of being warned by Gwyn's evidently neurotic hostility towards Welsh his admirers of the English Left took him to be an acceptably knowledgeable vindication

of their own approval of the linguistic bulldozer. There was the delicious irony by which Gwyn made a virtue of his own ignorance and that this was duly accepted by the (in this instance "Loony") Left as an authoritative testimonial that encourages others as well as themselves to overlook what is really an appallingly patronising attitude.

Let it be argued that Gwyn was very unrepresentative it should be pointed out that Neil Kinnock promises to be a worthy successor. Though happy enough to act the Stage-Welshman he has shown no trace of any affection for the language of which he has been deprived. Mrs. Glenys Kinnock was interviewed on BBC Woman's Hour, broadcast from Cardiff for St. David's Day (1.3.1985). She was asked: Had she not thought of bringing up the children Welsh-speaking? That had been her intention we were informed but she had decided that it would not be fair to Neil to cut them off from him in that way. No supplementary question was posed as to what was the unsurpassable difficulty that prevented her husband from learning Welsh? Failure to learn a language from a school teacher wife

suggests an authentic Gwyn Thomas brand of paranoia. A government with Mr. Kinnock as premier would be ominous as far as the Welsh language is concerned. Whereas an English premier whether of Right or Left would be cautious against provoking a Welsh Nationalist back-lash it is easy to envisage Mr. Kinnock demonstrating his impartiality by a measure of tax-cutting at the expense of the language that he ought more properly to regard as his own.

For the last six months Belfast has boasted the only daily newspaper** in any Celtic language. Apart from its normal coverage it will be the embodiment of a crusading newspaper in its own spear-heading of a campaign for a status for Irish equivalent to the status of Welsh in Wales. Mr. Hurd will accord such status only stage by painful stage. In his defence it can be readily conceded that any other English proconsul appointed by Alliance or by Labour would be equally or perhaps even more reluctant.

**"Internal Colonialism" by Prof. Michael Hechter (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975)

***"Lá", published: 27-43 Sráid na Sceiche, Beal Feirste. BT12.

Featuring the Celtic Harp

Giraldus Cambrensis, the 12th century monk and scholar could not refrain from giving a most favourable account about the harp playing of the Irish who he otherwise considered as barbarians and he went on to attribute the greatest perfection of that art to the Scots who to his and many contemporaries' opinion had far surpassed the Irish and Welsh in musical science and ability. Scotland becoming the source of art and the place to resort to for many Welsh and Irish harpers.

Indeed, the Clàrsach (Gàidhlig for harp) is considered as one of the oldest Scottish national instruments and besides the pìob mhór (highland bagpipes), it is inseparable part of Celtic, i.e. Gaelic and Brythonic culture in Scotland. Little is known about the origin of the harp and there are many questions still to be answered. Embryonic forms of harps (and lyres) are known from excavations in Mesopotamia and fragmentary stone carvings depicting the instrument are to be found in the early Mediterranean cultures (e.g. the old Egyptian word for harp is actually *Teluni*, *Cymraeg* — *Telyn* and *Brezhoneg* *Telenn*), dating back as early as the 3rd mill. B.C. It should be noted that similar 'primitive' harps are still in use with African tribes nowadays. However, the distinctive CELTIC harp emerged in Ireland, no longer in the rudimentary form but now forming a complete frame consisting of forepillar, sound box and neck. From there, it reached the other Celtic realms. The *clàirseach* and *clàrsach* remained fairly similar; the Scottish 'Highland Hump' — i.e. the point at the top of the neck giving the treble strings extra length and tone is a fairly modern invention.



Historians distinguished two kinds of harps in Alba: The brass-strung *clàrsach*-harp, struck with the fingernails, grown long, was usually attributed to the *Gaidhealtachd* while the gut-strung harp, played with the fingertips was frequently considered as the particular harp of the Brythonic and in the course of time, anglicized Lowlands. We can't be too sure about these schools of thought — obviously, contemporaries used to confuse both terms or applied them interchangeably. In the medieval age, the Celtic harp enjoyed its heydays, the harpers and their music

receiving exalted praise, not only in Celtia but in the centres of the Occident just as well.

What then was the cause for the decline of the Celtic harp that was well nigh accomplished by the end of the 18th century? In that concern, the explanation of the fate of the *clàirseach* in Ireland seems to be less difficult than in Scotland. The English tyrants in their long-lasting attempt to consolidate their rule over the country considered the *clàirseach* as a subversive instrument, breathing the aspirations of the Irish people for freedom and independence from

their alien conquerors. E.g. after Drogheda, Cromwell ordered to seize and burn as many Irish harps as possible. In Scotland, the matter is obviously more complex. After the '45 when the wholesale destruction of the Gaelic social order set in, the Scottish harp had already strongly been substituted by the highland bagpipes. In order not to simplify a social and historical process such as the decline of the Celtic harp, we might mention here a few *general* causes which however, can't be used as a strict formula for each Celtic country to render sufficient explanation. (Apart from the many similarities and parallels between all the Celtic countries, each one had its particular historic situation). 1) The gradual disruption and destruction of Celtic society relegated Celtic culture/language to the 'common' people as the only keepers of a persecuted/disdained culture. 2) The Anglicization of the leading 'chiefs' and families. 3) Cultural influences from the Continent and the 'centres of power', e.g. the development of the harpsichord and piano. 4) Ideological/religious repercussions — the harsh morality of Calvinism tried to purify life from all worldly enjoyments. All these reasons are interrelated, no doubt. It is true, even after Gaelic culture was on its forced retreat, the harp could still be heard in the parlours of anglicized aristocratic families, however, once a definite feature of cultural identification can no longer properly be accommodated by its own and original environment (because that is in a state of desperate defensive), the harp could not assert itself against the encroachments of an alien forceful culture. (The ruling culture is the culture of the rulers). These are tentative thoughts and a proper study of the reasons for the decline of Celtic harp is still to be made to my knowledge.

The end of the 19th century saw a strong revival of the Celtic harp. Various models of neo-Celtic harps were made, though, not closely resembling the original model. The sound box, originally in angular shape appeared now in rounded form and the strings were usually made from gut.

An Comunn na Clàrsaich (The harpers' society) was founded in 1931 with growing branches at home and overseas. Certainly, a genuine breakthrough of the harp as a popular instrument was made when Mr. Jord Cochevelou, the father of Alan Stivell, constructed a harp after prolonged and detailed study, Stivell becoming the brilliant master of the instrument. His example had a thorough impact on especially young people and folk groups in all-Celtia and worldwide. While the Celtic languages are still making a defensive stand under the peril of elimination, this most Celtic instrument is seemingly saved for good. The harpers nowadays outnumbering those of the early heydays of the instrument. Two harps are in use now — the bigger clàrsach model, 29-32 strings, gut-stringed, semitone blades fitted and the smaller, bardic or knee harp, metal-stringed and angular sound-box. Attempts have been made too, to fit brass strings to arrive as closely as possible at the assumed sound of the early harps.

And here, we touch a very delicate issue: Gaelic musical tradition was basically an oral one, the master passing on his art to the pupil and the problem arises, lacking MSS of the original harp music, we can only assume and try to reconstruct what the original music must have sounded like.

In our time, Cambrensis' favourable statement about Scottish harpers has gained validity again and the circle has been closed.

A few more or less recent releases of Scottish trad. music, all featuring the harp — either as solo instrument or as a component of the group's instrumentation give an illustrious example of the prominent rôle, the clàrsach is assuming in Scottish traditional music in our days.

SPRANGÉEN (pron. — jean) a young group of seven women with a wide range of Scottish music, ranging from port a beul to border dance tunes released its first LP (same title). The group makes use of two harps — one metal-stringed (Màiri MacMaster) and gut-stringed (Patsy Seddon). Patsy will be remembered from Alison Kinnaird's first album where she can be heard on two tracks. **SPRANGÉEN** — Springthyme Records, Balmacollm Ho., Kingskettle, Fife, Alba.

At the same time when the renowned group **OSSIAN** released its recent album 'Borders', individual members of the group together with other musicians, produced two remarkable records:

THE MISTY MOUNTAIN (Beinn a' Cheathaich). Billy Óg Jackson, harper, uilleann piper and multi-instrumentalist of Ossian-fame, together with Billy Mór Ross (ex-Ossian and ex-Crannachan) take strongly the Gaelic road (although there are Scots songs too). This LP brings into focus

the good combination of Billy Mór's fine voice and Billy Óg's excellent clàrsach playing. Various members of Ossian back the two on different tracks. Especially when Iain Dubh MacDhòmhnaill lends his highland pipes sets a good example of what can be achieved!

On similar lines is the LP '**CAIRISTIONA**' by Maggie MacInnes and George Jackson. Maggie, daughter of the famous Gaelic singer Flora MacNeil can't deny her Gaelic extraction. Her fine harp playing is an equal match to her voice and I predict her a long musical career. George Jackson (member of Ossian) is a multi-instrumentalist and well at home with cittern, fiddle, flute, whistle. Certainly a very good musical partnership for such a task.

Both LPs are by **IONA Records**, 9 Eastfield Ave., Glasgow, Alba.

Robin Williamson's 'The Legacy of the Scottish Harpers' is a 'must' for connoisseurs and researchers alike. It would be a vain attempt to do Robin — this modern Merlin — justice in a few sentences. Here, Robin draws from early MSS and music books to make representation of the harp playing of the Scottish Lowlands. The material he has selected can be dated 17th century or earlier. As it will be remembered, the harp was an instrument not only confined to what is the Gaidhealtachd in a modern sense. In his explanatory notes he gives a short account about the harp in Scotland, embarks on the problems of the reconstruction of the harp music and the tuning of the instrument. He renders these tunes on the gut-strung harp. The album is released by Claddagh Records, 70 Baile Átha Cliath, Eire.

Ruairidh Mac a' Mhuilich

Coins of the Ancient Celts



Osismian
Coin



Coin of
the Veneti



POLLUTION AND MILITARISATION OF THE IRISH SEA

A conference on the pollution and militarisation of the Irish Sea was held in Liverpool on 15th June. The conference was organised by the Merseywide Branch of the Connolly Association and was sponsored by several MP's, councillors, the Celtic League and the Merseyside Action for Peace. Some financial support was provided by Merseyside County Council.

Speakers at the conference, which was attended by over fifty people, were Bernard Moffat of the Manx Branch of the Celtic League, Dermot Nolan, the secretary of Irish CND, Paul McGhee of Greenpeace and Victor Marshall of Scientists against Nuclear Arms.

In his talk, Paul McGhee concentrated mainly on the pollution of the Irish Sea by British Nuclear Fuels which was in the incredible position of being authorised (effectively by the British Government) to discharge 2,200,000 gallons of radioactive water from Windscale ("Sellafield") every day! This was a situation not paralleled anywhere else on earth. In spite of bland reassurances, it remained true that the long-term effects of low-level radiation had not been properly researched. We were sitting on an environmental timebomb. Greenpeace called for zero discharges from Windscale by the end of 1986.

Bernard Moffat spoke of the militarisation of the Irish Sea. It was obvious that submarine activity had increased enormously in the area in recent years. This had resulted in several incidents where fishing vessels had been sunk. Also, it was likely

that other incidents where vessels had disappeared could be linked with submarine activity. Mr Moffat described the monitoring of military activities on and around the Isle of Man. It was obvious that war preparations were increasing apace: what one side did would be answered by the other with little thought for the civilian communities round the Irish Sea.

Victor Marshall spoke as someone with technical knowledge of nuclear processes. He did not regard it as inevitable that a country with a civil nuclear power programme would necessarily proceed to develop nuclear weapons. This point was contested by the Greenpeace representatives. Mr. Marshall emphasised the military origins of the operations of British Nuclear Fuels at Windscale. Anything connected with plutonium production immediately assumed military aspects because of the use of plutonium in weapons production. There was no American equivalent of Windscale: this made the whole question even more worrying.

Dermot Nolan described two thirds of the pollution from Windscale as being military pollution. Mr. Nolan's talk stressed

both the pollution and military aspects. It seemed that the American military might well be casting covetous eyes on Irish airports as fall-back facilities in the event of war with the Soviet Union. These sort of considerations explained why Britain was anxious to remain in control of at least part of Ireland. The neutrality of Ireland was crucial: this neutrality was regularly broken by NATO aircraft which flew over Irish territory with no protests from the Irish government. Mr. Nolan stressed strongly the need for political action. It was essential for neutral countries especially to press for new nuclear non-proliferation treaties.

BRIAN STOWELL

KELTOI

The Celtic League American Branch will begin publishing *Keltoi*, a bi-annual journal, on 1 November 1985. A Pan-Celtic review, *Keltoi* will encompass within its pages a broad range of Celtic interest, including history, mythology, literature, languages, and more.

All persons interested in writing for *Keltoi* are invited to contact the editor, Stephen Paul DeVillo, 313 East 201st Street, Bronx, New York, 10458 USA. *Keltoi* is especially interested in receiving articles in any of the six Celtic languages, notably traditional folk material such as ballads, stories, etc.

Subscriptions to *Keltoi* are available to overseas subscribers for the special pre-publication rate of only £5 sterling or IP6, payable to the Celtic League American Branch, P.O. Box 20153, Dag Hammarskjöld Center, New York 10017 USA.

The Coins of the Ancient Celts, by D. F. Allen, edited by Daphne Nash, published by the Edinburgh University Press, 22 George Square, Edinburgh. 264 pp. Price Stg£12.00

This is a work of erudition which brings together in relatively simple language "the known or ascertainable facts about the enormous coinage of the Celts", facts which "are not easily come by from the standard literature". It should interest not only the numismatists but many others who wish to inform themselves thoroughly about our Celtic heritage. Although the Celtic coins were mass-produced and they vary considerably in quality, they reveal an aspect of art in which the creative genius of the Celts finds one of its most amazing expressions. This coinage is shown to have originally been borrowed from the Greeks and the Romans. But as it spread from the Balkans through Central Europe or from Italy to Gaul, Iberia and Britain, its designs evolved (between the 3rd century BC and the time of the Roman conquest) with representational portants and subjects of classical originals gradually undergoing a transformation into the symbolic abstracts of Celtic art.

This work derives from lectures given in 1964 by D. F. Allen, the acknowledged authority on Celtic coinage. There are different chapters on the silver belt of

Eastern and Central Europe, the Gold belt (mainly Northern Gaul and S.E. Britain), the bronze and potin coinage (more common in the Southern areas). The text refers constantly to photos of the coins, some 580 of which are reproduced in forty plates. There is also an abundant bibliography. In the chapter devoted to the coin legends, the author shows that the emphasis was put throughout on personal names: names of "tribal" (or rather: *tuath/tuad*) leaders or of magistrates, except in Iberia where town names were most common probably due to Greek and Roman influences which made themselves felt in a similar way in S.E. Britain around the beginning of this era.

It appears that no Celtic coins exist for any part of Britain except the area S.E. of a line running from Dorset to Gloucester and Hull today. Latin is used on the coins even prior to the Roman conquest: the way and the extent of its use compared to that of Celtic terms is to me one of the most interesting parts of the book. It would not mean that money was intended for use only in external trade. "It was not for the public at large that legends are inscribed on the coins, says Allen. "The educated few will have contained the merchants and the bankers and perhaps the priests and other leaders. . . . The languages of the coins carries no implication of a written Celtic

literature. . . . Writing, whatever the script, was always recognised as a borrowed practice, for public and business purposes. . . . That wide-ranging contacts were maintained within the Celtic empire is evident from this book. Traces of the Celts' movements appear in some of the coins, e.g. of the Volcae Tectosages (p. 56-7). In the final chapter, the author turns his attention to the theme of Celtic coin types. The subjects depicted, he says, provide in a limited way a picture of how the chieftains, sought to present themselves to their contemporaries, and also a picture of the world in which they lived. Most intriguing symbols appear, such as that of a wolf eating a man, or on a coin of the Osismii (Western Brittany) a head, in an elaborate hair style, framed by a series of twisted strings; at the end of each string there is a small head echoing the main one. Have we not in this example a representation of the belief of the Celtic warrior that by carrying with him the head of the enemy he had slain he was being endowed with his power in addition to his own? Many questions arise from the examination of such features which if they could be answered would give a deeper insight into the religious beliefs of the ancient Celts.

ALAN HEUSAFF.

Language Course

Mid Glamorgan Education Authority are experimenting with a pilot scheme to assist Welsh learners improve their fluency under a programme devised by an American woman, Dr. Anne Brooke, who has herself learnt Welsh. At Bridgend and North Cornelly Welsh language television programmes are used as the basis. Information packages containing video cassettes help students to follow the programmes and the two groups meet every three weeks to discuss the course. One group of a dozen young mothers are concentrating on life in "Efalabalarn" — a programme for the young about a village full of toys. A group of ten rugby enthusiasts, including some women, follow "Maes Chwarae", the weekly Saturday night sport programme.



Diwan News

We hear that another agreement is about to be reached between DIWAN and the State Education: Diwan teachers would be integrated with the public teaching body within three years. But very important points concerning in particular the opening of new schools remain obscure. IT WILL BE A MISTAKE TO ACCEPT TOTAL INCORPORATION WITHIN THE STATE SYSTEM. DIWAN should indeed have its teachers paid from public funds but it must retain control over the administration of its schools and over the substance and method of its teaching. Such an arrangement exists for the Catholic schools.

OBITUARY

Dr. Archie Lamont, whose death occurred recently, was a well-known Scottish nationalist whose active involvement in Scottish nationalist politics began in the 1920s and continued right up until his death. As a young student he had helped to found the Glasgow University Scottish Nationalist Association, and later, as a supporter of the "extremist" Douglas Young, he played an important part as an SNP activist. Like Young, Archie Lamont was a conscientious objector during the Second World War. In the 1950s Dr. Lamont joined with R. E. Muirhead to form the Scottish National Congress, a movement which survived until the 1960s. In his later years, he was best known as a propagandist for the Scottish cause. As well as writing hundreds of letters which appeared in the correspondence columns of various newspapers, Archie Lamont was a prolific pamphleteer and ran his own publishing venture, the Scots Secretariat. He was a familiar figure at nationalist con-

ferences, meetings and rallies where he went to sell his pamphlets. He continued these activities until he was well into his eighties and ill-health confined him to his home at Jess Cottage, Carlops. Dr. Archie Lamont will long be remembered as a nationalist activist and propagandist who gave a lifetime of service to the national movement in Scotland.

New English Language Magazine

A new English language magazine has been launched with financial backing from the Welsh Arts Council. "Planet" costs £1.50 and will be published every two months. The June/July 1985 issue looks back at the miners' strike, examines the Welshness of Gwent, looks at "angry poetry" and the recent series on Welsh history "A Dragon has two tongues" and "Wales! Wales?", a translation of an interview between Saunders Lewis and Kate Roberts, a short story and poems. John Barnie is the day to day editor and the address is P.O. Box 44, Aberystwyth, Dyfed, Cymru.

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For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership subscriptions, etc. write to any of the following secretaries:

ALBA

Mairi Denovan, 2 Woodburn Place, Edinburgh 10.

BREIZH

Jorj Abherve-Gwegen, 9 Rue F Blons, 29260 Plouzeniel/Ploudaniel.

CYMRU

Merfyn Phillips, Parcy Ffrier, Llandudoch, Dyfed.

EIRE

Tomás Scott, 16 Páirc na Cabrai, Baile Átha Cliath 7.

KERNOW

Bernard Deacon, An Fogov, Bardia 2, Southdowns, Redruth.

MANNIN

Bernard Moffatt, 24 St. Germain's Place, Peel.

LONDON

Séamus Ó Coileáin, G.42 Du Cane Court, London SW17 7JR.

U.S.A.

Alexei Kondratiev, (Correspondence Co-ordinator), P.O. Box 322, Rego Park, N.Y. 11374.

The General Secretary of the Celtic League is:

Alan Heusaff, Dromchonrach,
9 Br. Cnoc Sion, Áth Cliath 9, Éire.

The Editor is Ms. P. Bridson, 33 Br. Bancroft, Tamhlacht, Baile Átha Cliath 24, Éire.

Our next deadline for CARN 52 will be 2nd Nov., 1985. I would like to thank contributors for meeting the very early due date set for this issue.

Carn is edited by P. A. Bridson, published by the Celtic League and printed by Quine & Cubbon, 1 Athol St., Port St. Mary, Isle of Man.

Material sent for publication in CARN must relate to our aims, be clearly written; if in languages other than English articles should be marked to ease editing (Bracket sentences/paragraphs which may be omitted in case of need to shorten).

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COXFN

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

Nr. 52.

WINTER 1985

80p Sterling

Anglo-Irish Agreement

Tribute to Saunders Lewis

Industrial Dark Age in Cornwall

Horo Bhodachain

On the Gaelic Front

"Mhari L" Mystery Deepens

Y Thooder as y Gearaltach

Annual General Meeting Report



CELTIC LEAGUE



ALBA: COMUNN CEILTEACH • BREIZH: KEVRE KELTIK
CYMRU: UNDEB CELTAIDD • ÉIRE: CONRADH CEILTEACH
KERNOW: KESUNYANS KELTEK • MANNIN: COMMEEYS CELTAGH

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The AGM 1986 will be held in Edinburgh at the same time as the Arts Festival.

The 1985 AGM of the Celtic League was held on August 23-25 in the Conradh na Gaeilge headquarters in Dublin. All the branches, apart from the American, were represented. As usual, their secretaries or delegates gave reports on the work done in their respective areas during the previous twelve months. In only three branches had there been a really satisfactory level of activity. The Manx branch had carried out four projects: it had initiated a campaign to bring international attention to the excesses committed by the Ulster Defence Regiment, distributing almost 1,000 leaflets calling for its dissolution among elected representatives in several countries; it had sent letters to the Northern Ireland Office in protest against the use of plastic bullets; it had continued to monitor naval activity in the Irish and Celtic Seas (suspected as the cause of accidents); its secretary had represented the Celtic League at a "Pollution in the Irish Sea" conference in Liverpool. The London branch had organised the Scif-Celt exhibition of publications in the Celtic languages- it had conducted a campaign to get the Bank of Ireland to display its name in Irish; it had taken part in demonstrations and conferences- sent letters to the press expressing the C.L. point of view; organised a lecture by the Nicaraguan ambassador. The American branch sent a detailed report to the AGM: its membership was the highest ever, it had held its annual Pan-Celtic conference in April; its 1985-86 Celtic Calendar was already printed; it planned to launch a magazine, KELTOI, by November 1.

The other branches had not been as active but they had helped in carrying out the projects initiated by the London and Manx branches. In recent months, the downward trend in the Cymru and Eire branches had been reversed and they were well on the way to recover their previous strength. A comparison of the figures for 1985 and for previous years showed that we were back to the level of support achieved in 1982.

CARN had also undergone a crisis in the autumn of 1984 but had fully recovered its regularity. The meeting expressed appreciation for the dedication of the editor and general approval of the material published. We had sought to find out what the readers preferred by means of a questionnaire in CARN 47/8 but only about 1% had answered. All were reasonably satisfied — later one article had been severely criticised. The number of replies was really too small to enable us to draw conclusions!

After reviewing the overall situation in the Celtic League, the secretary general announced that he would not seek re-election — he had occupied the post ever since

the League was set up in 1961. His commitment to the organisation remained entire and he would continue to act as secretary for a "Celtic Dispersion" branch comprised of those members who did not belong to any of the existing branches.

The meeting thanked all the officers who had retired over the past year as well as the outgoing secretary general. It elected Micheál Mac Aonghusa (who is secretary of the Oirachtas Festival) as chairman; Bernard Moffatt as secretary general; A. Heusaff as assistant secretary general, to be soon succeeded by David Fear; Pat Bridson as editor of CARN and Roy Green as treasurer.

The AGM decided to give financial support to the cooperative "Celtic Ideas Ltd" launched in Scotland by Rob Gibson and to invest in it a sum for the production of T-shirts, sweatshirts and a button badge, the sale of these items offering an opportunity to make the aims of the Celtic League more widely known. The Scif-Celt exhibition will be organised again by our London branch with increased involvement from the other branches: it will be held in Lon-

don in April, coinciding with the London Book Fair. The Breton branch secretary outlined his project TRAMOR, a pen-friend service to young people studying Breton; the other secretaries undertook to provide him with addresses of teachers who would ask their pupils or students if they wanted to take part in the scheme.

In order to relate the activity of the Celtic League more closely to that of the national movements, the Friday evening session was devoted to a review by a panel of speakers of the general situation in each of our countries and of the objectives which their political and cultural organisations are seeking to reach.

On Sunday morning, the historian Pádraig Ó Snodaigh gave a lecture entitled "Unionist Positions". See page 22.

To finish, let us mention the traditional music session organised by Máire Bhreathnach and Micheál Mac Aonghusa at the Stag's Head on the Saturday night. The newly founded group "Blasket Sound" and two other accomplished musicians provided us with excellent, lively entertainment.



ALAN HEUSAFF

Alan did not stand for election as General Secretary at the 1985 A.G.M. — for the first time in 24 years. To those active in the League this did not come as a major surprise as he had for a number of years intimated his desire for more time for other work, particularly on the Breton language. Having given such long dedicated service in a central position in the League at no small sacrifice to personal and family life it was to be appreciated that he would prefer a less onerous role. The esteem in which he was held by those who worked with him over the years was shown by the publication by the League last year of a volume of essays dedicated to him "For a Celtic Future — a Tribute to Alan Heusaff".

Alan brought to his position as General Secretary not only enthusiasm for the work

and aims of the League but a realisation that to ensure its continuance and growth there must be close co-operation and mutual respect between its officers, branch secretaries and activists. In pursuing the League's work he was therefore most diligent in consulting branch secretaries and officers about proposals and activities and in trying to operate according to the League's constitution. Let us hope that the tradition he built up in this respect will be adhered to by all.

Alan is continuing as Secretary of the International Branch and is also prepared to act as Director of Information, so thankfully his wealth of experience will be available for many years to come.

MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS: This is the last issue of 1985. For most of you, the subscription is due for renewal. Please note some changes in the secretaries' addresses on page 24.

ALBA

HORO BHODACHAIN

"Rugadh mise ann an 1997," arsa an t-seann fhear-lagha. Bha aodann pinc aige agus bha deise dhubh air.

Ach cha robh mòran iongnadh air Gilleasbuig Lachlainn. Bha fios aig an oighear gun robh na bodaich le chèile aosda. Bha e cho moiteil oir bha e a' dol gu ruige Inbhir Nis a' liubhradh a' cheud òraid aige don Chomunn Ghaidhlig. Mata, bha Gilleasbuig Lachlainn caran cinnteach gum biodh an òraid ceart gu leoir oir rinn e deagh rannsachadh ann an leabharlan an oilthigh agus bha a h-uile barail san òraid aige ùr-fhasanta. Bha an deise de dhath phurpaidh no chòrcair air, dìreach cho ùr-nuadh ris na smaointean aige cuideachd.

Rinn e an òraid air a' chomputair ach a dh'aindeoin sin bha teagamh no dhà aige a thaobh na h-òraide fhathast. Bha e fichead bliadhna a dh'aois agus lorg e gun robh inbhich ceart gu leoir aig amannan.

Bha am bodach eile a' dòrtadh a mach uisge-beatha a steach do na trì glainneachan. Mu dheireadh thall lorg Gilleasbuig Lachlainn gun robh am bodach 'na mhaighstir-sgoile a leig dheth a dhreuchd iomadh bliadhna air ais. Bha an triuir 'nan suidhe tiomcheal air a' bhord san trèana.

"Mac-na-braiche?" dh'iarr am fear-teagaisg a bha air chluain. Bha sgall air agus bha feile-beag dearg, glas is dubh uime.

"Cha do dh'òl mi ach fion gus a seo", fhreagair Gilleasbuig Lachlainn ach ghabh e balgam.

Bha an trèana a nisd a' dol thairis an drochaid mhór iarunn eadar Cas-chaolas mu Dheas agus Cas-chaolas mu Thuath (no mar a theireadh iad nuair a bha Alba fo smachd luchd-na-Beurla 'sna laithean a dh'aom "South" agus "North Queens-ferry").

"A bheil thu a' dol gu ruige Inbhir Nis?" dh'fhaighnichd an tidsear aosda.

"O gu dearb tha", fhreagair Gilleasbuig Lachlainn. "a thoirt òraid don Chomunn Ghaidhlig Inbhir Nis. Bithidh e furasda gu leoir. Thuir an computair gum biodh buaidh na Gàidhlig thairis air a' Bheurla feadh na h-Alba gu leir do-sheachnach no inevitable".

"B'colach mo sheanair air a' chomputair!" dh'èigh am maighstir-sgoile. Bha fallus air a cheann maol. "S ann mar mhuc tha na chomputairean . . . mar a bhias tu e, no mar a lionas tu e".

"Ach chan innis e brèug." fhreagair an t-aganach gu feargach.

"Nach d'fhuir iad an aon rud a thaobh nan camera sa cheud dol am mach?"

Thuig Gilleasbuig Lachlainn gun robh am bodach a' bruidhinn gu ceart. Leis a sin

dh'fhas e ciuin. Nuair a chaidh fhearg sios chòrd am maighstir-sgoile ris ged a bha am bodach caran borb agus thug e urram dhà bhon a bha e le chèile glic is tapaidh. Is docha gun robh moran aig a' bhodach mu dheighinn na laithean a dh'aom nuair a bha a' Bheurla buadh-mhor feadh Alba gu leir. Co dhuibh, bha e coltach r'a sheanair nach maireann.

"Nach do dhiùlt sibh gun robh ar buaidh do-sheachnach?" arsa Gilleasbuig Lachlainn gu rèiteachail. "De mu dheighinn na cuimreis? Nach robh cànan na Cuimrigh buadh-mhor cuideachd?"

"Mur an robh gaisgich na cànan Cuimrich ann bhiodh i cho marbh ri sgadain an diugh," fhreagair am bodach aosda liath, "agus rinn na gaisgich againne an aon rud a thaobh na Gàidhlig cuideachd san fhicheadamh linn".

"Shaoil mi gun robh muinntir na h-Alba buadh-mhor a mhàin?"

"Nach cuala tu mu dheighinn Ruairidh Mhic Thómais? Brosnaich esan miltean a thaobh na Gàidhlig!"

"Rinn mi suidhe taobh an iomhaigh aige ann an sràid Gairm ann an Glaschu iomadh uair . . . ag ithe "take-away" Sìneach. De rinn na gaisgich sin agus an fheadhan a thàinig as an deidh?"

"Mata, sa chèud dol am mach, nach robh iad uamhasach sgileil a thaobh làimhsichidh an luchd-poileataics? Nach do dhearbh iad don mhuinntir na h-Alba gun robh ar cànan Ghaidhlig an aon chànan Albanach a tha againn? Nach do stèidhich Fionnlagh nan cròileagan . . . ceudan no miltean croileagan . . . air son pàisdean roimh-sgoil? Stèidhich daoine eile sgoiltean Ghaidhlig agus Sabhal Mór Ostaig.

"Ceart gu leoir".

"Nach do chuir iad seachad Achd na cànan Albannach troimh'n Cho-thional Albannach (Scottish Assembly)?"

"Ceart, chuala mi mu dheighinn nan nithean sin sa chlas eachdraidh nuair a bha mi san ard sgoil."

"Gu dé cànan san d'fhuair thu do fhoghlam, troimh na Beurla no troimh na Gàidhlig san sgoil is sa cholasaidhe?" dh'fhaighnichd fear-lagha mar gun robh e a' ceisteachadh luchd-fianuis ann an cùirt-lagha.

"Sa Ghaidhlig, gu nadurrach".

"Le'r cead," arsa am bodach sa dheise dhuibh, mar gun robh e a' tagradh air beulaobh bhrithimh air choireiginn, "chan eil sin nadurrach idir, idir. Bhon uair a phòs Mairearad nam Mallachd ar Rìgh Calum Ceann Mór, mìle bliadhna air ais, bha ar cànan againn fhìn air chuireadh gu cul leis a h-uile riaghaltas. Ach ged a bha an traigh air dol am mach cho fada thionndaidh e taing do euchdan nan gaisgeach seo dhe'n fhicheadamh linn.

Thuig an fheadhan a sgrìobh an t-Achd

seo gu math mar a rinn na fir-lagha Suòmaich (Finnich) a thaobh na cànan aca. Air an aobhar sin, thoir misgan t-Achd clàraicheadh no recording dhe'n gnìomhas no deed no sgrìobhadh sa Bheurla. Feumaidh a h-uile sgrìobhadh bhith sa Ghaidhlig oir dhiùltaidh a h-uile taigh-clàraidh (m.e. na Sasines, Leabhraichean Chomhairle agus Sheisean 7c) e agus mar sin bha bruidhinn no sgrìobhadh sa Bheurla toirmisgte cuideachd".

Bha am fear-lagha a' mineachadh mar a dh'ionnsaich sinn bho Quebec mar a bha a h-uile companaidh agus buth a' deanamh feum dhe'n ainm Gàidhlig aca nuair a thàinig an troilidh dhearg agus deoch is biadh oirre. Bha tè ruadh ga putadh. Ghabh am fear-lagha botal beag fhion dhearg na Frainge, am maighstir-sgoile botal-bodaich dh'uisge-beatha agus Gilleasbuig Lachlainn coifì. Bha an trèana faisg air Baile Chloichridh a nisd.

Chord cuideachd nam bodach ris an òganach na dheise phurpaidh uamhasach math a nisd. Bha e cinnteach a nisd gun robh an òraid aige gun fheum. B'fhearr leis teisteanas nam bodach a nisd. Mar a theireadh seanchaidh no eachdraiche bha iad nan prìomh màthair-aobharan no "primary sources".

Nuair a bha an trèana a' dlùthachadh ri Inbhir Nis thuir am maighstir-sgoile gu soilleir (ged a bha smuid air). . . .

"Bheil fhios agad, 'ille, na rinn a h-uile tidsear agus fear-teagaisg anns gach sgoil, colaisde agus oilthigh feadh na h-Alba nuair a thàinig an t-Achd seo am mach (se sin ri ràdh, far nach robh iad a' teagaisg troimh na Gàidhlig cheana) sa chèud bhliadhna dh'ionnsaich gach fear-teagaisg agus a chlas a' chànan agus san ath-bhliadhna theagaisg e a h-uile cuspair troimh na Gàidhlig!"

"... Agus far an do dh'ionnsaich sinn an cleas sin?"

"Israel . . . nuair a dh'ath-bheothaich iad Fabhra . . . a' chànan aca . . . hoigh! a bhalaich, an gabh thu balgam mus tig an trèana a steach don stèisean?"

Dhiùlt Gilleasbuig Lachlainn le crathadh a' chinn, gu ciuin. Bha e lan toilichte le comhairle nam bodach le chèile, am fear-lagha le aodann pinc sa dheise dhuibh agus am fear tartmhor na fheile-beag dearg glas dubh.

Bhiodh an òraid aige fada nas fheàrr bhon d'fhuair e màthair-aobhar buaidh na Gàidhlig . . . dh'innseadh e don Chomunn mar a fhuair e dithis bhodaich a bha òg nuair a cheannsaich sinn a' Bheurla chruaidh Shasunnach feadh na h-Alba gu leir.

Gilleasbug MacMhuirich
Gilleasbuig Lachlainn 'Ileasbuig

"I was born in 1997", said the old lawyer. . . . Not so bad a start, eh?

SCOTLAND IN EUROPE — FRIENDSHIPS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The SNP's Autumn Campaign has as a component the call for Scots to see the EEC as a by-pass to the Westminster strait-jacket. Our involvement in the EEC through an 18% vote at the last Euro-elections and the retention of the Highlands and Islands by Winnie Ewing has kept the Scottish voice to the fore despite our lack of self-government. Indeed SNP leaders hope that Scots will dismiss the "separatist" tag which has beset attempts to campaign for independence. Independence inside the EEC it is claimed could safeguard Scots interests through the veto and a hard bargaining over oil and fish which EEC countries need. Inverness hosted the Lomé Convention in September, introducing half the world's nations to Scotland and her problems.

But the shadow of the Doodge-Spinelli proposals lies over all small nations and threatens to centralise power and create

defence, foreign policies and economic controls which would stifle a decentralised Europe of the nations before birth. It is useful to review the prospects for small nations in the light of the Spanish and Portuguese accession in January 1986. The arrival of the Basques and Catalans means that existing parliamentary groups will have to change shape to accommodate the most advanced of the emerging nations of Western Europe and gain benefits from the breathe they blow into the struggle of others for full nation status.

In particular Scotland and Wales through their respective national parties have not seen eye to eye on the best route to Euro-recognition for small nations. The expedient group including SNP, Fianna Fáil and the Gaullists poses the most difficult problem for small nation solidarity. For the Sardinian/Tyrolese/Valdostan Union alliance has joined as a sub-branch of the Rainbow Group of environmentalists. While the Belgian Volksuni and submerged nationalities inside France have yet to be accommodated. Above all there is a recognition that the Christian Democrats and big state Socialist blocs will stifle small nations in the interests of monolithic messages at loggerheads with democratic, environmental, cultural and historical distinctiveness. So we in Scotland are looking for an informed debate as to how existing groups can be changed to accommodate a more clear cut alliance stemming from the European Free Alliance.

The work of the Irish government in convincing UNESCO to back the development of Celtic languages and culture, on

into the 21st century, should show others that it is essential for small nations to gather their strength into a significant bloc which, when you analyse the 15 or so nationalist parties which regularly gain more than 5% of the vote inside Western Europe they are predominantly Left of Centre, liberal-democratic, conservationist, anti-nuclear and pro human rights.

Once again a Scottish opinion poll in the Glasgow Herald of 18th October shows four out of five Scots backing an Assembly with the highest historical figure 29% in favour of a "completely independent Scottish Assembly". Inside this poll there is again evidence that a third of Labour voters see this as a solution and that the voters are in the main ahead of what's on offer. I suggest that it is a very good time to open their eyes further by showing how much of a grasp we can have in alliance with other emerging nations, notably the Welsh, but importantly one of the Irish governing parties, in the European scene.

Furthermore the exposure of EEC profligacy over the destruction of food in a hungry world has sent Bob Geldof's message into every home. We can shame the big battalions, they are far from unshakeable — but we must take the blinkers off — in Scotland, an ancient historical nation, there is a place at the table but the only guarantee of a distinctive future is to combine with the emerging nations of the Fourth World and take a stand against British and French imperialism which lurks behind the discussions at the top table in the present EEC.

ROB GIBSON

ON THE GAELIC FRONT

le Frang Mac Thomais

Since the historic co-labhairt in Skye, things have begun to move on two fronts. Comunn na Gaidhlig has launched an initiative in the Western Isles with the aim to form a new Gaelic youth organisation in which Gaelic will be used as a medium of expression. This initiative is much needed, for the over-exposure of the media, based on monoglot English, tends to wean young folk away from their native tongue.

Initially, CnaG is to initiate consultations with existing youth organisations with a view to identifying and implementing relevant projects. It is recognised that starts have to be made in those areas (a) where Gaelic is strongest and (b) where Gaelic has a tenuous hold on the community, the latter being the more fragile in terms of language hold. Such an initiative is long overdue and it is hoped that at long last youngsters will have a part to play in the continuance of their own culture.

Another exciting development is the setting up of a new bilingual teaching unit in Glasgow. It was only this summer that the city's education committee bowed to pressure and intensive lobbying by Gaelic-speaking parents in the city and the Glasgow Bilingual Schools Association.

Experience in other countries shows that children are more motivated in a challenging teaching environment. This new move takes the centre of Gaelic gravity away from the north and west and will no doubt lead to other similar schools being set up in the central belt of Scotland. In Inverness, too, a similar school has been started. One of the problems is that the teaching of such subjects as arithmetic needs Gaelic texts, but this problem is now being overcome by special translations of existing school material.

This new emphasis on youth is not before its time, for unless the young are given that early sense of identity, the Gaelic language will lose out in the future. And as the future of any culture depends on the rising generation, it makes it essential that the work done in the early years must be as effective as possible.

At the Skye co-labhairt, the Secretary of State for Scotland expressed a desire to see a marriage between Comunn na Gaidhlig and An Comann Gaidhealach. To date both camps seem to be reluctant to come together, which will make it all the more

difficult for the political masters to decide who should get the finance to develop aspects of Gaelic.

CnaG have in fact decided to go ahead to present a national policy for Gaelic which will exclude the area of An Comann Gaidhealach's remit — that of the arts. It would be most unfortunate if the arts and its associated culture, both folk and sophisticated aspects, were not to be included in the national policy, for sure a language needs not only legal status, etc., but the underpinning which the culture offers.

Such a division between the two bodies now working for the future of the language hopefully will not last for long. Indeed An Comann have made it clear that while formal education is the main responsibility of CnaG, this must be tied in with cultural education.

If An Comann has taken some time to get off the ground with an arts policy, it is excusable, for the new remit of An Comann is quite unique in the Gaelic move towards full status as an indigenous language of the British Isles, recognised as such by Westminster.

As these notes are being written, the National Mod is just finishing in An Gearasdean (Fort William). An Comann's President released a 9-page document containing a policy for Gaelic arts. I shall deal with this in the next issue of CARN.

BREIZH

HEKLEV EUS KEMBRE

Plaid Cymru zo o kas en em dennañ eus an enkadenn ma'z eo en em gavet enni abaoe c'hwec'h vloaz bennak. An "Devolution Referendum" e 1979 a ziskouezas ne oa nemet ur bempvedenn eus poblañs ar vro a-du gant ar seurt digreizennañ a oa kinniget gant gouarnamant London. Dister-tre e oa e-keñver an emrenerezh lakaet da bal gant ar strollad broadel, ken dister ma oa chomet moarvat kalzik broadelourien hep mouezhiañ. Roet e voe da grediñ evelkent e talvez an disoc'h-se na houle ket ur muianiver bras a Gembreiz bout emren e doare ebet. Digalonekaus e oa evit ar b-Plaid. Hag evel ma c'hoarvez pa vezer bet faezhet e savas tabut o kas gouzout peseurt fazioù oa bet graet ha peseurt louzoù a zegasfe e nerzh en-dro d'ar strollad. Un darn vat a soñje e oa bet roet re a bouez en e vruderezh d'ar stourm evit ar yezh ha re nebet da gudennoù ar vicherourien en toledoù greantelaet ha saoznekaet. Setu ma voe lakaet e 1981 "ur Stad demokratel sokialour" da bal e bonreizh ar strollad. Padal, e-lec'h ober kammedoù bras war-raok ez eo chomet hemañ pennasket. Gallet en deus gounit pe virout un toullad mat a sezioù er c'huzulioù lec'hel, dreist-holl er c'hembraegva met dalc'het eo bet gant e vreutaerezh — diabarzh e-lec'h talañ ouzh ar c'hudennoù strategiezh ha kemer perzh bagol er sachadeg-fun politikel e-touez ar bobl.

E dibenn miz Here e oa bodadeg-vloaz e Caergybi. Enez Von. Ar bastell-vro-se zo unan eus ar pevar e-lec'h ma kred ar vroadelourien e c'hellint lakaat dilenn o danvez-kannaded a-benn daou vloaz. Met diouganiñ a rae ar c'helaouennoù bras, hag ar Western Mail en o zouez, e savfe bec'h



e-pad ar c'hendalc'h etre ar sokialourien hag an "hengounel-ourien".

Gouez d'ar Mail, ur sizhunvezh bennak a-raok en doa anzavet Dafydd Elis Tomas, prezidant ar b-Plaid ha kannad da Westminster, ne oa ket bet graet berzh gant al leviadurezh degemeret e 1981. En an hini e oa ar marc'h blein en tuadur-se. Kredet en doa e teufe dalc'hidi Strollad al Labour, hag a zo niverus e Kembre, a-du gant ar b-Plaid tra ma chomfe feal an "hengounelourien" hag ar "yezhourien". Dibaot al Labouridi o doa troet kein d'ar strollad breizhveuriat, evelkent: ha meur a vroadelour enebet d'ar sokialouriezh en doa roet e zilez. Fazioù oa bet graet gant ar gleizourien o doa e harpet. Graet o doa en o bruderezh gant bommoù-lavar re ziaes d'ar bobl o c'hompren (evel "community socialism") hep o diskleriañ war-bouez kinnigoù fetis. O welout peseurt dizunvaniezh a oa er b-Plaid, e oa kroget ar strolladoù breizhveuriat da brometiñ a bep seurt frankizoù da Gembre, e doare da zedennañ ar re vouzhet. (Emañ Gwynoro Jones, penn bras an SDP unan eus an daou strollad kevredet en "Alliance" hag a c'hallfe troc'holiañ karr Margaret Thatcher a-benn daou vloaz — emañ hennezh o komz a-du gant ar rannvroeladur, ha zoken ur Stad Kevreadel evit Breizh-Veur. N'eo ket harpet kement-se gant e genseurted met a-walc'h eo evit levezoniñ an darc'hwezherien e-touez ar re a garfe kaout un tamm frakiz evit Kembre. Renerien Strollad al Labour zo prest a-walc'h da ginnig ar memes krampinell d'ar rannvroioù ivez, nemet e vez harzet outo gant an isrenerien e Kembre end-eeun. Ar Virourien diouzh o zu a c'hallo fougeal n'eus bet roet biskoazh gant ar strolladoù

all kement a arc'hant ha n'o deus roet da harpañ ar c'hembraeg: kemennet eo bet e vo dalc'het da arc'hantañ S4C a-zoare.

E diabarzh ar b-Plaid ez eus graet emglev etre darn eus ar re a fell dezho disteurel ar sokialouriezh ha distreiñ d'ar vroadelouriezh rik. Anvet eo ar gostezenn-se "Hydro". Ret eo bet da D. Elis Tomas derc'hel kont eus o eneberezh. Araok ar vodadeg-vloaz e oa bet divizet gantañ hag ar renerien all e vefe kemmet ar c'hraf rendaelus eus ar vonreizh da "ur stad demokratel kembreat diazezet war benn-venezioù ar sokialouriezh". N'eo ket sklaer peseurt kemm a zo aze, met lavarout a reont bremañ n'eus mui dober a vreutaedeg. D'al labour evit kreñvaat ar strollad!

Ma oa kudennoù da ziluziañ ha fazioù da damall, miret int bet evit ar bodadoù prevez, ha serret an nor ouzh ar gelaouennerien. An unaniezh he deus trec'het. Ar strollad a chom digor d'an hoil. "arankourien", "hengounelourien", ha "yezhourien". Ur strollad broadel eo. Hag e Breizh? E vezer finoc'h? E vezo sevenet an emrenerezh gant harp nebeutoc'h eget an hanter eus an dud?

(Plaid Cymru's Annual Conference gave massive support to the leadership of the party in its efforts to bridge the gap between those who want to maintain its commitment to socialism and those who insist on a return to a nationalist position acceptable to anyone interested in Welsh self-government.)

A.H.

INTERCELTIC FESTIVAL WIDENS ITS SCOPE

The Interceltic Festival of AN ORIENT/Lorient provides an impressive annual display of the music of the Celtic countries. It continues to attract almost as many visitors as the Eisteddfod. Unfortunately the Breton language plays no noticeable part in all this revelry.

HISTORY SEMINAR

In recent years however, a Summer school running concurrently with the festival offers a week's intensive course in Breton to those participants who want to combine a bit of study with entertainment. And last Summer a further step was taken towards fully justifying its name of "Universite d'Eté" when the association DALC'HOMP SONJ organised, in conjunction with the festival, a series of twelve lectures on aspects of the history of the 14th and 15th centuries in Brittany. These were attended by a total of about 70 people.

An idea of the high standard of this seminar can be gathered from reports in the local press. The following points may serve to exemplify this.

Gwenole ar Menn (CNRS, Roazhon)

said that apart from the Basque Country no region other than Brittany could boast of having had an uninterrupted theatre production for four centuries (15th to 19th century). For two centuries it consisted of scholarly plays, in verse based on internal rhymes. Later when the upper classes had opted for the French culture, the common people took over and produced livelier plays. Half the literature in Middle Breton (i.e. up to the middle of the 17th century) consists of religious plays but satires and comedies were also staged. There are 250 manuscripts of these works, scattered in libraries from Paris to Landevennec in West Brittany. Only a small part of them has ever been published. (A selection of excerpts from four of the most important is now available under the title "Un dibab testenioù krennvrezhonek". Nevez Hañv

Nr 44, from COOP BREIZH, 17 Rue de Penhoet, 35000 Rennes. It is accompanied by grammatical notes and a lexicon).

Prof. A. Mussat, lecturing about Breton Art, took his listeners on a tour of Langoned, where Romanesque sculpture points to Cross-channel influences, and of Kernaskleden and Ar Faoued where late Gothic churches testify to the encouragement given to artists by the Breton rulers.

R. Omnes, who teaches Spanish in Brest and is also prominent in the Association of Elected Representatives set up to promote the use of Breton in administration and public life, dealt with the question of how Celtic Galicia is. Although Galician is a Latin language, a deeper study of its syntax and pronunciation seems to show a Celtic influence. Galician traditions, legends and outlook have Celtic origins. The Galicians claim strongly that they are Celts.

J.C. Lozac'hmeur, who is writing a book about the Celtic origins of the Graal myth, talked about the pagan traditions associated with the Brekilian (Broceliande) Forest (of which a remnant survives as the Forest of Pempont near Ploermel). Those traditions form the basis of tales in which the fairy Viviane (a name strangely reminiscent of that of the Ninian river which flows past Ploermel), the bard Merlin and the knight Yvain play a prominent part.

J.C. Cassard confirmed what M. Jones has recently shown in DALC'HOMP SONJ: that there existed a school of historiographers whose work bolstered the Breton claims to independence. They developed a complete vision of the country's history by making use of existing documents.

Y. Gicquel pointed out that Brittany is rooted in an extremely rich past. The French Republics had kept our people ignorant of this but today they no longer accepted such conditioning, no more than to be deprived of their language.

J.Y. Le Touze intends to organise next year another series of lectures, dealing with the 17th and 18th centuries. Dalc'homp Soñj, of which he is the editor, is making a most valuable contribution to the Breton recovery. To stimulate interest in our history among the children, he has published a series of four plates of drawings to be coloured in, representing the Celts and the Bretons in the 11th, 14th and 15th centuries. They are available for 185 Ffrs incl. postage from 36 rue E. Zola, 56100 An Oriant/Lorient.

FOR INTERCELTIC COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES.

The festival gave also the opportunity for calling a conference to discuss the possibility of developing the economic links between the Celtic countries. This was done on the initiative of the Morbihan Chamber of Commerce and Industry backed by the other Breton C.C.I.s and by the Festival committee. A hundred people took part in the two day meeting (8-9 August), among them some thirty representatives of economic organisations from Cornwall, Ireland, Scotland, Wales but also from Galicia and the Asturias. The latter were keen on renewing links with the Celtic "ensemble".

Brittany, said Y. Gicquel, was centrally placed for promoting these links. Brittany-Ferries has shown that successful exchanges could develop between these peripheral areas. Together with the Britain company and a freighter plying between St. Nazaire and Vigo, they formed the embryo of a transport network using the "Atlantic stream". The participants divided between workshops on tourism, transport and production and put forward a variety of suggestions such as setting up a data bank, pooling resources for market prospection, a Celtic radio station. . . . All agreed that further consultations should take place and the Asturias proposed Oviedo as a venue for 1986.

A TWO-HEADED CAPES

The French Culture minister, Jack Lang, visiting the festival, announced that in 1986 students could enter a competition for a Breton CAPES. However, it would not be a CAPES: like the others: they would have to take an additional subject, such as literature or maths, thus making it stiffer for those who wanted to get the qualification for teaching Breton. Most language associations criticised this grudging concession, but Per Denez, head of the Celtic department in Roazhon, saw it as a step forward.

The minister said that in September a National Council would be set up to assess the action taken by the public authorities on behalf of the "regional cultures" and to

advise the Prime Minister. It would be composed of "personalities" and elected representatives nominated by the minister, not of people actively engaged in the struggle for the cultures. It looks, as if it is intended to be a public relations operation, in other words eyewash. Another step announced by the minister was that from now on local authorities would be allowed to put up bilingual road signs, but they would have to pay for it. Although many communal councils have not waited for this permission, others are bound to be put off by the additional claim on their meagre resources.

The French State is not really prepared to make amends for the ravage caused by its linguistic imperialism. This was apparent from a recent statement by the minister of education Chévenement when he said that "it was not helping the young people if one taught them languages which have no perspective". As always, Daddy knows best! And it is he who prevents a knowledge of these languages to be put to use. For instance in the courts, as many trials have shown. Chévenement on the Left is of the same feather as on the Right Debré, the high-priest of French centralism who denounced Jack Lang's measures as "favouring the enemies of the Republic": for him there was only one language and one culture in France.

A.H.



Inter Celtic Economic Colloquium (representing Brittany, from left to right - Mr. J. I. Le Douarin, president of C.E.L.I.B.; Mme. Court, department councillor for Morbihan; Mr. Laudren, president of the Morbihan C.C.I.)

OBITUARY

OLIER Mordrel, one of the leading Breton nationalists in the period between the two World Wars, died at the end of October, aged 85. Having sought German help to rid Brittany of the French, he was twice sentenced to death and lived 25 years in exile. An account of his part in the Breton movement will be given in CARN Nr. 53.

• Leon Fleuriot's Dictionnaire des Gloses du Vieux-Breton, published in 1964 and quickly sold out (half of the 500 copies were bought in the USA, Canada and in the Celtic countries other than Brittany) is to be republished in Toronto in a considerably enlarged edition, with explanations in English. It will be of the greatest interest to those who want to know more about the kinship between the Celtic languages.

Designs: courtesy of Pieter Huisman.

STOURM AR BREZHONEG VINDICATED

As Carn already reported in several issues, one of the main developments in the current linguistic struggle in Brittany is the STOURM AR BREZHONEG campaign for bilingual road signs. Other efforts are being made, by law abiding means, to reach the same target. Steps have been taken in recent months in that direction by two organisations in particular, the C.E.L.I.B. and the Association of Breton-Speaking Elected Representatives.

The latter (in Breton - Kevredigezh an Dilennidi Vrezhonegerien) was created in 1984 in support of the Breton language and of its use in public life, as far as possible, at a local level (see CARN 49, p. 8). Its membership, bridging political differences, has increased rapidly, reaching a hundred by June 1985. Maybe some have joined in order to show their electors that they are not against Breton, that they are even in favour of it (I am thinking for instance of a non-Breton-speaking M.P., Mr. Yves Dollo). Never mind! It is good that Breton has become a political priority.

Concurrently the number of Breton road signs (the communes have control over those inside villages) has also increased. Fifteen communes in the Treger area, among which Gwengamp, Lannuon, Landreger, have erected them at their own

costs. Even better, the Côtes-du-Nord Department Council have accepted a proposal by P.Y. Tremel, president of the Association, to spend 230,000 FF on Breton or bilingual signposting along the Perroz-Gireg/Ar Roc'h road (20 km).

Although the association abides by the law, it has refused to condemn the action of Stourm ar Brezhoneg. Its Southwestern, Kernev, branch recently declared that repression was not the answer to the problem raised by S. ar B. "sign painters".

Another law-abiding and respectable* organisation, the C.E.L.I.B., said in September, in answer to those who claim that bilingual road signs would be too expensive, that it would certainly be cheaper to put them up than having to go on scouring the tarred French-only ones. Millions of Francs have already been (needlessly) spent like that. The CELIB has conducted a survey among the communes of Western Brittany on that matter. Among those which answered, 7% have already started to put up the correct signs — at their own costs — while up to 40% said they would like to do the same but they could not afford it.

CELIB has therefore appealed for quotations. A firm in St. Herblen, near An Naonad/Nantes, is already supplying signs at reasonable rates to those communes which have sent orders.

The declaration by Jack Lang referred to elsewhere in this issue show that what was dismissed a few years ago as a trivial matter is now being taken seriously. But his colleague in Transport, Paul Quilès, said afterwards in Parliament that "there was no question of having bilingual signs on the



Tarred road sign near Rosporden, S.W. Brittany, July 1984.

main roads" — for these the State would have to pay! His excuse: That would be too dangerous! He has apparently a poor opinion of the Breton and French drivers. Who has ever heard that drivers in Wales or other countries where such signposting exists get confused or involved in accidents because of it?

IWAN KADORED

**(Sub)-Editor's note: Surely the courageous action of S. ar B. deserves even more respect! Trials like those of Bihan and Kadored on 23-9-85 or of J. Killevere on 22-6 will not stop the campaign for recognition of Breton as an official language. The Celtic League appeals again to the readers of CARN to express solidarity with them. Money is needed to cover their court expenses, etc. Send cheques, however small, to Herve Kerrain, Stourm ar Brezhoneg, 21 rue des Tribunaux, 56000 GWENED/Vannes.*

Bilingualism and Biculturalism

This was the theme of an important conference that took place in Landerne near Brest from October 31 to November 3. It was organised by DIWAN in cooperation with international agencies interested in bilingualism. Attendance numbered 500 and 35 speakers, of which many were from outside Brittany (Wales, Catalonia, the Basque Country, France) reported about the progress being made in the field of education and upbringing in the home in areas where two languages are in use; they chaired discussions and workshops on such aspects as teaching in two languages, bilingual State schools, psycholinguistics. The aim was to share the experience acquired from the practice of bilingualism. Many small countries have shown that far from harming the children bilingual education is very beneficial but the French authorities behave as if it was an unknown territory. Provided the media contribute in making the conference findings widely known (one could bet that the regional TV will ignore them), they may swing the Breton parents who are uninformed and hesitant to a more positive attitude towards teaching in Breton as well as in French.

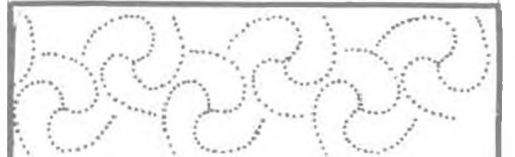
DIWAN SAYS NO TO MINISTER'S PROPOSALS

In answer to the demand to have the schools which teach through the medium of a regional language integrated within the public education system, the French minister of education proposed last Summer to grant them a special status allowing them to continue to use their own methods but subject to various conditions. The status would be valid for three years; the teachers would be paid like the public school teachers but the total payable for each of the two coming years would not exceed the sum allocated for 1984-85 and even that would need yearly confirmation by the Finance department. The associations (Diwan, Seaska in North-Euzkadi, etc.) would have to submit their own budgets for approval to the minister. The primary schools would have to satisfy the State inspectors that they were achieving comparable results to those of the general public schools and it would be for the inspectors, assisted by State-nominated commissions, to decide when and where schools should be opened or closed. Those

trainee teachers volunteering to teach in these school could get an additional six-months training to that end, they could also attend a training course for 100 hours organised by the associations as well as a five-day refresher course every second year.

The DIWAN AGM on October 6th rejected those proposals as unsatisfactory: they gave no guarantee of adequate training and continuity in employment; they would not relieve the association of its present heavy financial burden; they would not allow an effective bilingual education; they showed that the State's will to really integrate the schools was lacking.

A. H.



Cultural identity and new technology: a Colloquium

DASTUM, an association which has done considerable work collecting traditional Breton songs and music, will hold a three-days' colloquium in January 1986. Its aim is to share experience with people who use or wish to use modern technology in their work for minority cultures. All interested will be welcome. Information from Veronique Perennou, 36 rue de Moncontour, F-22600 Loudeac, Brittany.

CYMRU

DATBLYGIADAU LLWYDDIANNUS

Ar ôl cyfnod ansicr yn ystod y ddwy flynedd diwethaf, mae'r byd ro Cymraeg wedi tyfu hyder newydd eleni. Gellir rhagweld dyfodol diddorol. Yn dilyn datblygiadau diweddar yn y byd roc Saesneg rydym wedi cael pethau megis "Dwylo Dros Y Môr", sef y sengl "Band Aid" Gymraeg (y record mwyaf llwyddiannus Cymraeg erioed, sydd wedi gwerthu dros 20 mil o gopiau), ac "Arian Byw", cyngerdd tebyg i "Live Aid" lle roedd y grwpiau enwocaf yng Nghymru yn chwarae am ddim yn yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol yn y Rhyll eleni. Fe gododd dros £150,000 ar gyfer apêl Ethiopia. Ond yn ogystal a rheiny, mae llawer o grwpiau ifainc sy'n digon hyderus i recordio ar deledu neu radio wedi ffurfio mewn ysgolion.

Fe ddechreuodd cerddoriaeth bop ar gyfer yr ifainc yng Nghymru tua 1967 gydag "Y Blew", grwp oedd yn cynnwys mab Gwynfor Evans. Yn ystod y chwe mlynedd cantynol, ffurfiwyd llawer o fandiau acwstig. Yn ogystal a rhain, roedd sawl canwr gwerin yn dilyn esiampl Dafydd Iwan. Fe ddigwyddodd hyn ar yr un pryd â thyfiant yng nghenedlaetholdeb a Chymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg. 1969 ffurfiwyd Recordiau Sain gan Dafydd Iwan a Huw Jones, ac erbyn canol y saithdegau roedd

gan Sain, a ganolbwyntiodd ar recordiau Cymraeg yn unig, fonopoli ar y farchnad.

Roedd y rhan fwyaf o grwpiau acwstig wedi diflannu erbyn 1977 pan daeth pync i Gymru, er bod rhai ohonynt. Hergest er engraifft, wedi parhau tan ddiwedd y saithdegau. Ond cyn hynny tyfodd grwpiau roc trydanol megis Edward H. Dafis yn boblogaidd iawn gyda chynulleidfoedd Gymraeg. Nid y gerddoriaeth yn unig a dablygodd y Trwynau Coch a'r Ail Symudiad, ond y diwydiant roc hefyd. Fe osodon nhw gwmlnau annibynnol i fyny yn Ne Cymru, yn gorfodi Recordiau Sain â gystadlu â nhw. Fe ddatblygodd mathau newydd o gerddor-iaeth ar y pryd hwnnw, a dyna oedd uchafbwynt roc Cymraeg tan eleni.

Fodd bynnag roedd llawer o'r grwpiau enwocaf wedi chwalu erbyn 1983. Ond yn ystod y flwyddyn a hanner diwethaf mae sawl grwp wedi dechrae chwarae (mewn ysgolion yn arbennig) ym mhob ran o Gymru, tua dwsin pob mis ydy un amcangyfrif diweddar. Mae ychydig o ganolfannau yn fwy pwysig: yn arbennig Bethesda yng Ngwynedd; Llanfair Caereinion ym Mhowys a Chaerdydd. Er fod y cylchgrawn enwocaf yn hanes y byd roc Cymraeg, sef Sgrech, wedi gorffen rwan ers y Nadolig, mae dau gylchgrawn arall,

sef "Dracht" a "Sylw", wedi cymryd ei le. Mae "Dracht" yn cynnwys sylw am bob band led-led Cymru ym mhob rhifyn. Mae cyngherddau wythnosol hefyd yn cael eu trefni mewn nifer o ganolfannau.

Er gwaethaf y rhain, mae pobl yn gofidio am y dyfodol. Dydy'r nifr o gyngherddau heb gynyddu law yn llaw a'r nifer o fandiau newydd sydd wedi codi (er fod mwy wedi digwydd yn yr Eisteddfod eleni nag o'r blaen). Sain ydy'r cwmni recordiau mwyaf o hyd, a mae'r ffaith eu bod yn agos at fod â monopoli yn creu sefyllfa afiach. Dydy ychydig o grwpiau braidd yn chwarae ar lwyfan heblaw ar y teledu. Ond am y tro cyntaf, mae grwpiau Cymraeg yn cael sylw ar deledu a radio Saesneg gyda'r record "Dwylo Dros Y Môr", ac mae'r Anhrefn wedi tynnu sylw cylchogronau roc Saesneg. Gobeithio bydd y datblygiadau hyn yn cael eu dilyn yn y gwledydd Celtaidd eraill. Eisoes mae'r grwp roc cyntaf sydd yn canu yng Ngwyddeleg wedi dechrau chwarae.

This year has seen spectacular developments in the Welsh pop world. A Welsh "Band Aid" single, a "Live Aid" concert and coverage in the English media have combined with a groundswell of young musicians (often from schools) to make the future appear exciting and hopeful.

gan David Fear

NOTES FROM WALES

◆ RADIO CYMRU

Now in its eighth year Radio Cymru has introduced a more varied schedule, with more comedy, adventure, drama, magazine programmes of all kinds and music. Programmes include a new situation comedy series "Nid Asyn yw'r Gyfraith" (The Law is not an Ass), a serial "O Na Byddai'n Haf o Hyd" set in a seaside town in North Wales, a musical quiz, an examination of the concerto in "Dadl Dau", a series on the history of the guitar, a look back to the 1960s, a programme to help listeners obtain value for money "Llawn Llathen" and two music and chat programmes hosted by former Welsh rugby international cap Ray Travell.

◆ NANT GWYTHEYM

Summer 1985 was the most successful yet for the Welsh language centre "Canolfan Iaith Nant Gwytheym" on the northern shore of the Llŷn peninsula. There is space for 32 to stay and by mid September 600 learners had been on courses with 1,000

expected by the end of the year. Among the more unusual courses was one for adult candidates for the University of Wales' adult learners' certificate and a course for 24 candidates for the Roman Catholic priesthood led by the Welsh speaking Bishop Mullins. Groups also came from schools and colleges.

The former granite quarrying village is increasingly popular as a destination for day trips. Eleven of the 25 terraced houses in the village have been restored together with the chapel, shop and a barn (now a café). Some houses are soon to be converted into seminar rooms.

◆ WELSH TAPES FOR NEWCOMERS

Trinity College, Carnarthen has produced a series of Welsh lessons on tapes aimed at helping young newcomers to Welsh speaking areas to learn Welsh. A dozen tape cassettes have been prepared with 12 lessons on each tape. Each has cards with pictures and words to take a child step by step through learning simple sayings and

pronunciations. Children could start on the scheme on their own, releasing the teacher at times to attend to the needs of the rest of the class, and is thus a mini language laboratory for individual pupils. Tapes could also be taken home for extra work and use by the child's parents.

CLIVE JAMES

◆ Celtic Studies in Canada

The Canadian Federal Minister for Multiculturalism, Jack B. Murta, announced that his government was making a grant of \$350,000 available towards establishing a chair of Celtic studies in Ottawa University. This matched an equal sum raised by various Celtic groups in the Ottawa Valley. It will be the 8th chair so endowed in Canada under the programme of assistance to multiculturalism. It will be devoted to the study of the language, literature and culture of the Celtic nations with a special emphasis on Welsh and Breton (according to NINNAU, June 1985).

SAUNDERS LEWIS

Saunders Lewis was born and bred in Wallasey, Liverpool, the son of a Calvinistic Methodist minister from Blaen Gwendraeth in Carmarthenshire. It was in Liverpool that he received the whole of his formal education. As a schoolboy he reviewed books and plays for the local paper, paid in kind by a copy of a book or a ticket to see a play. This early interest in literature and the theatre remained a passion throughout his life.

Very soon after the outbreak of war in 1914 he joined the South Wales Borderers (he was formally expelled after burning the bombing school) and was sent to France, and then to Italy, where he was wounded.

NATIONALIST BEGINNINGS

It was while he was in the British army that he became a Welsh Nationalist, first by reading Irish writers, Yeats, Synge, Patrick Colum. It was they, he said, who taught him what patriotism and the spirit of a nation are. Then, in 1916, when he was on leave, he bought in Ralphs' second-hand bookshop in Swansea, a copy of T. Gwynn Jones' biography of Emrys ap Iwan, and the book shook him. These influences were deepened when he returned to France by reading the works of Barres who made him realise that he was one of the uprooted. His father's words came back to him, "Nothing will come of you Saunders, until you return to your roots." Before the war ended he was a nationalist of integrity determined to commit his life to the service of his nation.

CHARISMATIC SPEAKER

During the last war, when he was persuaded to give a winter's course of extramural lectures in Aberystwyth, 200 people turned up in the class every week. He was a brilliant lecturer and public speaker, but equally able as chairman or member of a committee. He used to insist that it was as important to prepare beforehand for a committee meeting as for a public meeting.

But it is through the written rather than the spoken word that his influence will remain. His literary work in the Welsh language, produced during more than sixty years of writing, is without compare.

He wrote only two novels, but both are classics; and only about three dozen poems, yet there are those who think that it was as a poet that he was greatest.

He is usually thought of primarily as a playwright — and it is twenty plays which give him European stature: many have been translated into other languages. They crystallised his thought about the fate of man as well as about Wales and contemporary Welsh life. He took themes from Welsh mythology and early Welsh history — *Buchedd Garmon* is set in the 5th century — but the theme of *Brad* is the plot of the German generals to kill Hitler, and in *Cymru Fydd* it is the predicament of modern Wales.

His integrity was superb. At the deepest level his writing is political. He, with H. R. Jones, the first party secretary, was the catalyst who caused three little groups to coalesce in Pwllheli in 1925 to form *Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru*, the Welsh Nationalist

Party; and it was his intellectual power which was behind the early formulations of its philosophy and policies. After Lewis Valentine's one year's presidency he was president for 13 years, and editor of *Y Ddraig Goch* for much of that time.



He has been called a high Tory, and certainly he was profoundly conservative, deeply committed to conserving Welsh civilisation; but his thought about creating the necessary social, political and economic conditions led him to advocate policies not only of full national freedom but also of radical socialism, albeit fiercely anti-Marxist. He was deeply anti-capitalist and pro-trade union; he went along with the party's policy of worker's control in a co-operative state, developed by D.J. Davies, and when he wrote the party's first political pamphlet the subject was municipal socialism. The policies of the little party that he led were the most revolutionary to be put before the Welsh people.

At least as impressive is his work as a literary critic. He wrote essays on every major figure in Welsh literature from the 6th century to the late 20th, and every essay is itself literature of beauty. Every literary critic of stature, he said, is himself a creative writer, and he lived up to that dictum. For nearly 1000 years Welsh literature was a major literature. Saunders Lewis put it in its European setting. His knowledge of the Latin classics and of European literatures, especially French and Italian, was profound.

He saw the Welsh nation as a European

nation, and Welsh civilisation as a part of European Christian civilisation. The Welsh person's first duty in his view is to defend our corner of European civilisation and to transmit our national heritage to the future. A profound Christian himself, and a convert to Roman Catholicism, he saw the Welsh tradition as a Christian tradition and its literature as Christian literature. His tremendously exciting accomplishment was to put a millenium and a half of Welsh literature in a new perspective.

WELSH RENAISSANCE

As a journalist he was supreme. There is nothing to compare in Welsh journalism, either in English or in Welsh, with the monthly articles he wrote for ten years as editor of *Y Ddraig Goch* and the 500 weekly articles that he wrote during and after the war for *Y Faner*. They can still be read with profit. The variety, quality and extent of Saunders Lewis' literary work make him the central figure in this century's amazing Welsh literary renaissance.

All this work was done in the Welsh language. For him there would be no Welsh nation but for the language, and if the language dies the nation will not survive. It was this belief that lay behind his historic radio lecture on *Tynged yr Iaith* which inspired the establishment of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*. It is the Welsh language which unites the generations, and Saunders Lewis saw the unity of the generations as one of mankind's greatest glories; and it is through the language that the nation fulfils its function of transmitting values from generation to generation. Language has enormous power; not only is it the vehicle of a culture, it can create and recreate a culture as it has done in Israel.

LLŶN FIRE

When the Government made clear its determination to establish a bombing school with its attendant English colony in Welsh-speaking Llŷn, Saunders Lewis led the opposition, which was organised by J.E. Jones the party's general secretary. In England, a wannery in Dorset and historic traditions in Northumberland had caused similar decisions to be withdrawn, but in Wales the plan went ahead regardless. So Saunders Lewis, D. J. Williams and Lewis Valentine set fire to the place and were sentenced to nine months imprisonment, spent in Wormwood Scrubs. To its everlasting disgrace the University College of Swansea sacked him.

If he had been born an Irishman he would have been a leader of the stature of Parnell. But his fate was to be born a Welshman, among a people without loyalty to their nation or the will to live as a nation, but content to decay, without national freedom or dignity, as a peripheral region of England. Nevertheless he put iron into the backbone of the more spirited, and did more than anyone has done since the days of Glyndwr to breathe life into the nation's being. Wales has seen no greater man.

GWYNFOR EVANS

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GRIFFITH JONES AND HIS SCHOOLS

Griffith Jones, born about three hundred years ago, was baptized in Cilrhedyn on 1st May 1684 and died in Llanddowror in 1761 aged 77. He served as Rector there for 45 years.

In the early part of the eighteenth century most of the people of Wales were illiterate as indeed were most of the inhabitants of Europe.

Griffith Jones's main claim to fame was his efforts in the field of education that made the Welsh nation one of the most literate anywhere. Through their literacy they became one of the most Godly too. He adopted the principle of having schools circulate from parish to parish, staying for not more than three months at any one place. The success of this experiment was remarkable. By 1761, the year of the founder's death, 3,495 schools had been held and 158,000 pupils educated in the skills of reading. And these were Welsh schools. It was Griffith Jones's signal contribution to the national well-being of Wales that he would stand no nonsense on this topic. In a letter written 11 October 1739 he expounds his conviction that to seek to destroy the Welsh language is to defy the dispositions of divine Providence: "Thus . . . appears the loving-kindness of God, in his confounding the languages, and dispersing the people, by giving them different tongues; and if the goodness and wisdom of God must be acknowledged to run through the whole in general, how can it be denied in any particular branch thereof? May we not therefore justly fear, when we attempt to abolish a language . . . that we fight against the decrees of Heaven, and seek to undermine the disposals of divine providence? . . ."

It is worth drawing attention to this dignified and carefully argued apologia because in it Griffith Jones develops a theological understanding of the role of nations, national territory and national languages, quite in keeping with the Calvinistic tenor of his theological thinking generally. The Babel narrative in Genesis he understands as a blast against imperialism. The danger of an oppressive world government is such that God has willed the existence of separate nations and separate languages and has scattered them over the earth. Consequently, to maintain schools where Welsh is the medium of instruction is to respect God's will. To seek to destroy Welsh is to defy God's wisdom.

Welsh would probably not have survived until today but for the labours of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror. Our debt to him is immeasurable. He was subjected to immense pressure by the authorities and other influential people to conduct the circulating schools in English but he steadfastly refused to betray his nation.

After the passing of Griffith Jones's circulating schools, literacy in Welsh was maintained by the Sunday schools, established by Thomas Charles of Y Bala. The Welsh nation remained fertile ground for the tremendous literary output in the national language during the nineteenth century.

His schools continued after his death under the patronage of Madam Bridget Bevan of Talacharn until her death in 1779. Because of a long-lasting dispute over her will the schools came to an end soon after but the foundation had been laid. The Welsh people had been taught to read the scriptures in their own language.

If it hadn't been for the firm foundation laid by Griffith Jones the complete exclusion of Welsh from the universal education system introduced in 1870 together with a

woefully inadequate service in Welsh on the wireless and television networks in the twentieth century and a lack of proper official status would almost certainly have brought about the death of the language.

Apart from my introductory and concluding remarks this article is taken from a book made up from a series of essays on the Welsh language. The book was printed and published by Gwasg Gomer, Llandysul, Ceredigion, An Bhreatain Bheag, and you will have to ask the publishers their permission to use the copyright.

The writer of the essay, *The Welsh Language and Religion*, from which this article gets its material, is the Rev. R. Tudur Jones, Principal of Bala-Bangor Theological College.

MERFYN PHILLIPS

LETTER

Dear Editor,

The aim of CARN, if it be formulated beyond the phrase "a link between the Celtic Nations", must surely be to amplify and raise the consciousness of the Celtic peoples so that they make take their rightful places in the world community. A chief component of this, indeed, I suppose the essential component, is the dissemination of information — to reach the news that other media do not reach.

Part of this job must be to give prominence to information of an historical nature so that, for example, Welsh people cannot say that the only historical figures they know of are William the Bastard and the Black Prince.

We ought, without any great difficulty be able to say, or easily refer to, the historical boundaries and territories of our own lands. How many Cornish people can readily establish or know where to obtain information on the old Cornish Hundreds. Those Hundreds in Cornwall, it should be noted, are believed to have been largely derived from the old British internal divisions. Yet probably not even one in a thousand in Cornwall could lay their hands on the actual territorial abstract. Fortunately, by virtue of an English Civil Service alteration, the Cymru and Cornish peoples now hear of Dyfed, Cosedigion, Penwith and Kerrier.

But these modern boundaries are not necessarily correct historically. Moreover, if you wish to establish for your own satisfaction the proper boundaries of Breizh, Euskadi and Flanders — where do you turn? Who publishes accurate scale maps of the Croladau, Cantrii and Cymydau of Wales, the Hundreds of Cornwall and the Dioceses of Brittany?

Now it appears to me that there ought to be a society or association which specialises in knowing these things and would be able to draw together its information and make it available to those who would wish to know and those who ought to know.

To this end I suggest the following. There should be established a "Society for National Boundary Study". An S.N.B.S. would have the following primary purposes:

1. The delineation on maps of 1:50,000 scale of the historic boundaries of Europe of nations and peoples.
2. The delineation on maps of 1:50,000 scale of the historical internal boundaries of nations and national groups.
3. The publication for the education and edification of patriots and students of the historic boundaries in easily available cartographic form.

Let me immediately here acknowledge the work done by Eurig ap Gwilym of "Cofiw" who delineated the "Cymric Boundary" and first inspired me to investigate the topic. But beyond Cymru, and the definitive text of Melville Richards on the internal boundaries of Cymru, it gets much harder.

What were the exact frontiers of Brittany with France? Where exactly were the joint territories which Brittany held with Poitou south of Nantes? Where is the exact frontier of Euzkadi north of the Pyrenees? Precisely what is the exact historic frontier of the Westhoek district of Flanders?

Henry Myhill made reference to the joint Breton/Poiton territories in his excellent work on Brittany. Clearly some Bretons know the ancient border. Likewise the Basques know their frontiers.

But it is not easy to find out away from the country in question.

We owe it, I suggest, to our young people especially, to make available to them as much information as possible.

Even if our own boundary systems are not felt to be "efficient" it should be recalled that the Swiss live with and overcome any initial inconvenience. And try suggesting to a West Virginian that their relatively impoverished state of the American Union should be re-joined to Virginia.

What do readers of CARN and members of the Celtic League think?

Is there a place for a Society for National Boundary Study?

RHUFON

EIRE

AN ATHBHEOCHT

COMHTHUISCINT NUA DE DHÍTH?

Ré dhearóil na hAthbheochana í seo. I measc saighdiúirí na cúise tá laghmhisneach le brath. Sa teaghlach is sa tsaoil poiblí, tá na céimeanna bídeacha a baineadh amach ar son na teangan á gcur siar is ní ann don athbheochaint i réimsí nua cultúir (ar den "ÚLL MÓR" a bhformhór). Tá forbairtí nua sa teicneolaíocht tar éis laigí móra Ghluaiseacht na hAthbheochana a léiriú, faraoid. Agus tá LFMachas ar fuadradh gan smacht sa tír. Ach cad tá imithe orainn? Cad í cúis ar n-isle brí? Díriodh ar dhrochstaid seo na hAthbheochana a scrúdú i *Leacht Ul Chadhain* a thug Liam Ó Dochartaigh, Ceann Roinn na Gaeilge, Coláiste Thuamhumhan, i U.C.D. roimh an Nollaig.

Dob' é Máirtín Ó Cadhain féin a thug gluaiseacht ar strae ar Ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge i 1969. agus má b'fhíor ansin é, nil aon dabht ná gur measa ár seachrán ó shin. Ach dar le Liam Ó Dochartaigh, ní hi Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge atá ar strae ach an chúis, í féin. Creideann seisean "go bhfuil lucht na Gaeilge fós taobh le seantuisicintí maidir le tábhacht na Gaeilge don fheiniúlacht Eireannach i gcoitinne nó maidir le hionad na Gaeilge in idéolaíocht nó i saol an stáit ó dheas. Cuid de m'argóintse is ea go bhfuil cúis na Gaeilge ar strae ós rud é nach bhfuil feidhm leis na seantuisicintí seo i saol an lae inniu - nó, sa chás go bhfuil feidhm leo go fóill, nach bhfuil glacadh leo ag lucht ceannais agus cumhachta sa tír."

Buntuisicint de chuid na hAthbheochana is ea go bhfuil ceangal daingean idir an náisiúnachas agus an teanga, agus nuair a bhaintear aitheantas amach don teanga i stát nua — Príomhtheanga an Stáit is ea an Ghaeilge — bíonn an-chuid oibre le déanamh chun tacú léi agus i a chur in oiriúint don saol nua. Mar a léiríonn Ó Dochartaigh, deineadh roinnt mhaith den obair sin nuair a bunaíodh an Stát —leagan aontaithe scríofa a chruthú, téarmaíocht nua-aimseartha a cheapadh, athrú cló a dhéanamh, srl.

Agus de bharr gur as an náisiúnachas a fáisceadh an Stát, torthaí de chuid fhealsúnacht an Náisiúnachais ab ea na nithe sin ar fad, gan trácht ar na céimeanna tábhachtacha eile a glacadh chomh maith — i gcúrsaí bunoidreachais, ach go háirithe. Glacadh leis gurbh é an córas oideachais an uirlis lena mbainfí an athbheochaint amach. Mar a deir Ó Dochartaigh: "Mar seo a dearbhaíodh an aidhm sna triochaidí sna nótaí d'oidí maidir le múineadh na Gaeilge sa bhunscoil:

The teaching of Irish in the school is a part, a very important part, of the general effort to restore the Irish language to its rightful place

as the everyday speech of the nation. Its aim is frankly and unequivocally to make Irish speakers of the children of the Galltacht so that, by the age of 14, they may be able to express themselves freely, fully, and correctly in the new language."

Is mór idir an aidhm sin agus an méid a baineadh amach ó shin agus áitíonn Ó Dochartaigh nach ndeanfaí "ráiteas neamhleithscéalach" mar sin inniu. Ach cad ina thaobh?



Ó Cadhain, Gluaiseacht ar strae?

Tugann an Dochartach le fios go bhfuil cúl tugtha leis an Náisiúnachas ag aicmí na cumhachta sa tír le fada an lá. Agus go bhfuil col, dá bharr, leis an Athbheochaint, mar aidhm mhór de chuid an Náisiúnachais. Is dóigh leis nár ghlac aicmí gairmiúla áirithe riamh léi — an lucht gnó, an lucht gairme, an chléir agus lucht na hollscoile, mar shamplaí.

Luann Ó Dochartaigh na príomhghnéithe den athrú atá tagtha ar stádas na Gaeilge le fiche bliain anuas agus pléann iad.

Ina measc sin, áiríonn sé an glacadh atá anois le haidhm an dátheangachais agus an t-athrú atá iontuigthe as sin ar stádas an Bhéarla. Cé gurb í an Ghaeilge "an príomhtheanga oifigiúil" de réir an Bhunreacht, áitíonn Ó Dochartaigh go "nglactar leis an mBéarla *de facto*, mar príomhtheanga oifigiúil an Stáit agus leis an nGaeilge mar dhara teanga."

Ionsaíonn sé an dátheangachas i suíomh mar sin. Tá an Béarla is an Ghaeilge mar a bheadh leon agus uan — an Béarla ag fás agus ag alpadh roimhe, an Ghaeilge ag dul i laige. Bheadh sé minadúrtha dá dtarlódh a mhalairt. Anois, táthar ag cur litríocht na Gaeilge ar fáil i mBéarla. Feasta, "Ní bheidh gá le eolas ar bith ar an nGaeilge; i gcás ar bith níorbh fhiú an tairbhe trioblóid na foghlama. Nach mbeidh an scoth ar fáil i nBéarla?"

Dar ndóigh, fágann meon seo an dátheangachais a rian ar chúrsaí oideachais, go mór-mhór lasmuigh den Ghaeltacht. Agus cuireann an Dochartach i leith Rialtas Fhine Gael-Labour 1973-1977 gur chuir sé sin tús leis an dearcadh go bhfuil sé nádúrtha go labharfadh muintir na Gaeltacha Gaeilge (Féach a dtacaíocht do scoil Dhún Chaoin agus Raidió na Gaeltacha, mar shampla, b'fhéidir) ach gur rud "minadúrtha, neamhthraidisiúnta *bréagach* é labhairt na Gaeilge lasmuigh den Ghaeltacht! Is é an sampla is déanaí de sin ná "gan aon tagairt do mhúineadh na Gaeilge mar dhara teanga a bheith i réamhrá an Chathaoirligh don bplé-pháipéar *Teanga sa Churaclam* a d'fhoilsigh an Bord Curaclaim agus Scrúduithe le déanaí; tagraítear do *the ability to communicate effectively in the mother-tongue, whether English or Irish*, agus do mhúineadh *modern languages* agus teangacha eile (*Japanese and Russian*). ach fágtar an Ghaeilge mar dhara teanga as an áireamh."

Níor deineadh aon phlé chruinn ar cheist na hathbheochana ar RTE ó thosnaigh an tEirí Amach ó thuaidh. A bhuiochas sin do mheon Alt 31. Agus níl dabht ormsa ná gur ionann an cúlú ar an gceist náisiúnta le 15 bliana anuas agus an neamhaird a dhéantar ar an dara aidhm náisiúnta. Leagann Ó Dochartaigh a mhéar ar an "mbréag oifigiúil Stáit" nár ceistíodh go dtí seo — Caint *Gharret agus a Chrisáidirí* ar deireadh a chur leis an *Gaelic Catholic State*. Níorbh eol do mhórán an "Gaelic State" sin a bheith ann agus bhí roinnt *fáinne freaks* ag iarraidh dul ag cónaí ann dá bhfeadfaidís teacht air.

"Faoi láthair", ceapann Ó Dochartaigh, "tá faillí á dhéanamh d'aonghnó sa Ghaeilge ag an rialtas ó dheas in ainm an *iolrachais*, nó in ainm leamh áirithe ar a bhfuil i gceist le *iolrachas*. Tugtar *Gaelic Catholic* ar cheann de dhá mhórhthraidisiúin na tíre, amhail is dá mba Ghaeilgeoirí iad

an pobal iomlán caitliceach ó dheas. In ainm an athmhuintearais, ní mór maolú ar an traidisiún seo *Gaelic Catholic* agus ós rud é nach bhfuil sé de mhisneach ag na polaitoírí tabhairt faoi chumhacht nó faoi thionchar na heaglaise caitlicí a mhaolú, is ionann seo go praiticiúil agus maolú ar thacaíocht don Ghaeilge, le súil is go meallfar na haontachtóirí bochta saonta ó thuaidh. A mhalairt ar fad de thuiscint a bhainfeadh an gnáthdhuine as coincheap an iolrachais .i. go dtabharfaí aitheantas agus lántacaíocht do ghnéithe éagsúla de thraidisiúin na tíre, go háirithe do na gnéithe imeallacha nó i mbaol a gcaillte. Ach is léiriú ar naimhdeas domhain, neamhréasúnach nach mór, leis an nGaeilge féin gur féidir coincheap an iolrachais a chur as a riocht agus a úsáid leis an nGaeilge a bhascadh."

Is dóigh le Liam Ó Dochartaigh nár chuir Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge eagar ceart orthu féin riamh le haghaidh an dúshláin a bhí roimpi. Ceistíonn sé ar n-oilteacht sar-obair atá romhainn. Lochtann sé ar caighdeán machnaimh a bhraitheann sé a bheith "neamhthathagach, amhrastúil agus amaitéarach". An féidir cur ina choinne? Cad atá déanta, mar shampla, ag lucht na hAthbheochana leis an teicneolaíocht nua? Nuair a bunaíodh an Ghluaiseacht, rud nua ar an saol ab ea an rothar féin. Féach an úsáid a baineadh as. Féach an toradh a bhí ar an obair sin. Cad 'tá á dhéanamh ag an nglúin seo leis an bhfistéip, leis an ríomhaire, leis an nguthán féin? Tá na háiseanna anois ann obair RTE a mhúineadh dóibh. An ndéanfar é sin?

Ach más fíor dó go bhfuil, ní hamháin an Ghluaiseacht, ach an chúis ar strae, cad 'tá le déanamh? Is dóigh leis an Dochartach go bhfuil dhá rogha (nó dhíogha?) gainn: "(i) iarracht a dhéanamh leanacht leis an bpolasai a bhí ann a thabharfadh deis do chuile shaoránach a bheith rannpháirteach in oidhreacht na Gaeilge agus a d'fhéachfadh lena chinntiú go mbeadh a bheag nó a mhór den Ghaeilge ag chuile shaoránach sa stát; nó (ii) díriú ar fheastal faoi leith a dhéanamh ar mhionlach d'fhonn pobal ceart Gaeilgeoirí a chruthú."

Ní cheapann Ó Dochartaigh gur féidir an dá thrá a fheastal maidir leis an dá rogha seo. Má théitear le (i), rachaidh sé achrannach go leor ar naimhde na teagan a áiteamh nach leis an bpobal ar fad a bhaineann an Ghaeilge agus b'fhéidir, lá geal griannmhar éigin, go mbainfeadh an Athbheochaint amach. Más le (ii) a ghlacfaimid, tá eagla ar Ó Dochartaigh go ndéanfar *ghetto* de lucht labhartha na Gaeilge. Sin i an chontúirt a bhaineann le Gaelscoileanna agus leis an mBille Cearta, dar leis. Mar thaca leis an tuairim sin, luann sé staitistic a chuirfidh iontas ar mhórán: "Rud eile, bitear ag maíomh as líon na ndaltaí atá ag freastal ar scoileanna Gaeilge ach as an 550,000 dalta bunscoile sa tír sa scoilbhliain 1982-83, bhí mó ná 225,000 ag freastal ar scoileanna inar múineadh ábhar amháin seachas an Ghaeilge tri Ghaeilge. Níl na Gaelscoileana ná scoileanna na Gaeltachta san áireamh sa bhfigiúir seo. Cad a tharlóidh don obair éachtach seo má dhirítear ar na Gaeilgeoirí mar mhionlach? Eireofar aisti, dar liom."

Ach, dáiríribh, an gá an rogha sin a dhéanamh anois, nó an féidir? Cá bhfuil ceannairí na Gluaiseachta? An aonad i a thuilleadh, cheal machnaimh agus treoraíocht. Agus má ghlactar leis, ar deireadh, gur eisiatachas dhá bhunscoil lán-Ghaeilge a bheith i dTamhlacht ar imeall chathair Átha Cliath, ag cur leanaí le Gaeilge líofa amach i measc an phobail, ag mealladh a dtuismitheoirí chuig ranganna Gaeilge agus ag cothú aeráide Gaelaí i gceantar ina bhfuil 60,000 daoine ag cónaí, cé a mholfaidh deireadh a chur leo?

B'fhéidir gurb é an rogha atá le déanamh ag Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge faoi láthair ná ceist thábhachtach amháin — RTE, mar shampla — a ionsaí, agus iarracht a dhéanamh, ní hamháin aidhmeanna riachtanacha an chultúir a bhaint amach ar an gceist sin, ach treoir a thabhairt do ghluaiseacht atá ar strae le fada an lá ag an

am gcéanna. Troid a theastaíonn ó shaighdiúir. Dul chun cinn a theastaíonn ó Ghluaiseacht. Cruthú ar ár ndeoraíocht is ea gur leis an teanga amháin a bhain "*Léacht Uí Chadhain*". Caint ar *Dhíghalldú* na hÉireann a chuir tús leis an athbheochaint beagnach céad bliain ó shin. Tá sé in am filleadh ar na nithe ar a dtugann Liam Ó Dochartaigh na "Buntuisicintí".

LORCÁN Ó NEACHTAIN

In the above the writer discusses a recent analytical lecture - Léacht Uí Chadhain - given by a leading educationalist, Liam Ó Dochartaigh, in which he maintains that the language movement has not only lost its way, in the words of Máirtín Ó Cadhain, but has had its raison d'être called into question. The time has come to revitalise the movement, he declares. The writer concurs.

ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT

Rarely has an international agreement aroused so much disagreement, controversy and bitterness as the one which has been concluded between Dr. Garret FitzGerald, Taoiseach of the Republic of Ireland and Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister.

Those who have watched the warfare of the last 16 years in the North of Ireland will know that history left Ireland with a heritage of bitterness and injustice which, in practically every decade since the 1920s when the country was partitioned, has expressed itself in violence.

The problem has been essentially one of identity. The border which was imposed on Ireland against the wishes of the majority of the Irish people left two states in Ireland ... one ruled by a newly independent people in Dublin and the other ruled by the mainly Protestant Unionists of the North. Inside the six county statelet ruled by the Unionists and backed by Britain, there was a large disgruntled minority of nationalists, mainly Catholics, who felt that they had been sold into a British state in which they wanted no part.

The two states have existed in a sort of mutual hostility since then, the constitution of the Irish Republic actually claiming the Six County state as part of its territory.

The history of the Civil Rights struggle in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when Catholic nationalists in the North demanded equal rights with their Unionist fellow citizens need hardly be gone into detail here. Suffice to say that that struggle led to the re-emergence of the Irish Republican Army and to the campaign of guerilla warfare which has grabbed world headlines ever since. It became increasingly clear to politicians in Ireland and in Britain, when Sinn Féin, the political voice of the IRA, began to do extremely well in elections after the deaths of IRA hunger strikers in the Maze Prison, that there was a serious danger that any attempt at constitutional political reform now was seen as impossible by an increasing number of northern nationalists. Something had to be done. Enter, stage left, the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

THE AGREEMENT

The main points of the new accord between the Republic of Ireland and Britain are as follows:

- The setting up of an Anglo-Irish Conference with a secretariat in Belfast. The Irish side will be led by a Government Minister and will put forward proposals on the running of Northern Ireland.
- Irish and British governments to encourage setting up of power sharing executive in North.
- Irish Government to sign European Convention on Terrorism.
- Irish recognise that status of Northern Ireland will not change without the consent of the majority and the British recognise the legitimate aspiration towards unity of the minority.
- The possibility of mixed courts and the use of flags and emblems to be considered by the Conference.
- In the absence of devolution the Irish Government is entitled to put forward plans for major legislation and policy in interests of minority.
- An Irish input into security policy in North to be discussed at first meeting of the Conference.
- Conference to be reviewed after three years.

WHAT IT MEANS

Essentially, what this agreement sets out to do is to get the nationalist people of the North to identify with the British state in which they live. Until now, because of the way in which the Unionists treated them over a period of fifty years, the nationalist community in the six county state of the North not only never felt that they were a part of that state but actually felt that it was hostile to all of their traditions. It was fundamentally a British state for those who wanted to be British and those who did not share that feeling suffered in terms of employment, housing, voting rights etc.

What this agreement seeks to do, then, is to introduce a minimal Irish ethos into the running of the British Northern state in the hope that the people who are now turning towards a violent solution to their problem will now find something in it with which they can identify.

The most significant concession made by Britain in the new accord is a barely disguised statement that if a majority in the North of Ireland wants to sever the link with Britain, she will not stand in their way. There is also a recognition by Britain that the business of the Northern state is not that of the United Kingdom's alone. Heretofore, Britain told politicians from the South to mind their own business when they made statements about the North. Now, she had invited them in as consultants in the running of the area. Quite a turnabout and one which has not been lost on the Unionist politicians and their followers who are now screaming like stuck pigs.

THE REAL WINNERS

It will take some time to find out if the new agreement will hold fast against the very formidable opposition which is being orchestrated North and South at present. The IRA and Sinn Féin have made it clear that the presence in Stormont, the seat of government in the North, of Southern personnel will make no difference to them. Their aim remains . . . the removal of Britain for once and for all from Ireland and the establishment of an all-Ireland Republic.

The Unionists, who have had no little experience in bringing down agreements like this before, are now fighting for their own future with their backs very much to the wall. Their campaign will go from a basic constitutional challenge to civil disobedience and then, inevitably to violence. How great that violence will be is the question which will soon be in everybody's mind. The reactions of the two disciplined and trained forces in the North, the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Ulster Defence Regiment will be crucial. On the ground, there can be no doubt that paramilitary loyalist groups such as the UDA and the Ulster Volunteer Force will eventually succumb to a call for violence by the Unionist population. That violence will almost certainly be directed at the South.

In the South, Dr. Garret FitzGerald has been seen to pull off something of a coup by many observers. This could hardly have come at a better time when the opinion polls show his Coalition Government badly behind the opposition party, Fianna Fáil, under their leader Charles Haughey who has attacked the new Agreement and said that he would seek to renegotiate it if he came to power.

The real winner to emerge so far, however, is the Social Democratic and Labour Party of the North led by Mr. John Hume. It was the sight of Sinn Féin threatening this party as the majority voice of nationalists in the North that led more than anything else to this agreement . . . that in combination with the remarkable ability of the IRA to survive as a very credible military force.

More than anyone else, Mr. Hume is responsible for the new accord. He has argued over many years that an "Irish dimension" must be introduced into the running of the North. He has successfully harnessed the government of the Republic, many British M.P.s and some of the most powerful politicians in the U.S. behind that argument.

Even the language which Mr. Hume has used has found its way into the mouths of leaders in the South. Mr. Hume does not talk about a "united Ireland" but about the "unity of Ireland". And there is a big difference. He does not talk about "compromise" but about "reconciliation". He does not speak about getting the Unionists to agree to fundamental change in their society but about "starting a process".

The agreement must mark the high point of Hume's political career so far and no one can say that his handling of the problem on an international scale has not been superb. However, there are a number of dangers in the new accord which can not be ignored.

MANX FILM SHOWS

An invitation to Follian Films to show a number of their productions in Eire resulted in a very well attended film showing in Conradh na Gaeilge Headquarters on 6th October, 1985.

The event was organized by Mr. C. Ó Luain who had seen the films during Yn Chruinnaght week this year. It was felt that many Irish speakers would be able to understand the Gaicik — if not all, some of it. It would also give some idea of this new development in the Manx language movement.

Three films, lasting some 3 hours in all, were shown. The producer, Dr. Shorys y Creayrie, began the session with a detailed talk about the first film "CHENGEY NY MAYREY" — and also for the film "YN GAAUE". The third film, "LAND OF OUR BIRTH" was produced and made by Peter Magg for Finnigan Productions, Mr.

THE LOSERS

1. The British have managed to elicit from an Irish government in the new deal a recognition of the right of the Northern Unionist population to stand in the way of Irish unity. To a certain extent, the claim of the Irish constitution to the territory of the North has been qualified. Some may say that this was a recognition of a reality, but it has never been ceded by any Irish government.

2. The Irish government, because of its new role in the North will have to stand over the actions of the RUC and UDR who are generally hated by the nationalist population.

3. There is a silly assumption in the agreement that nationalists will stop supporting Sinn Féin and the IRA and that the campaign of violence will grind to a halt. While so many republicans are imprisoned North and South, this just will not happen.

4. The Agreement will depend to a great extent on the Civil Service which runs the North and that particular body is a hand-picked Unionist one from way back.

The next few months are going to be dramatic ones for Ireland North and South. The fine detail of how the Dublin Government is going to combat the IRA has yet to be seen. That, in itself, could be quite dramatic.

Two things remain clear, however, and have even been voiced by Unionist politicians. It has been the activity of the IRA and the electoral success of their political voice which has brought the British government to the point where she now risks a full scale rebellion of her most loyal subjects. If only they knew that they had nothing to fear. The North remains British . . . this time, with the blessing of a Dublin government.



Manx Film Show organisers.

Magg's own company. This film was set to Manx music (showing various daily occurrences and the beautiful Manx countryside — a travelogue with a difference!) Some 40 people turned up for the event.

The Irish Branch extends its thanks to those concerned in this new and exciting development in the Manx language, and our best wishes go with them for the future of Manx films.

KERNOW

A BARTH AN GWYDHALEK

Nyns yu nep pell, Kessedhek pegans Consel Randyr Skye ha Lochalsh a ervyras, y'n tybyans, gul soth a vo an Kensa, yn dan an Consel, may res kewsel gwydhalek. Bytegens kannason an coscar desedha, yu quarter anedha gwydhalegoryon enesyk, a sef erbyn an towl. Y leverons-y na vu namenough ethom dhedha a wul defnyth an yeth yn gorthebow kewsys po scryfys. Mes conseloryon nep yu ysyly dhe'n Kessedhek Pegans a vyn porres may fo safla kemerys stak, drefen moyes hanter poblans an enys dhe gewsel gwydhalek ha'n dra-na a dal bos dysquedhys yn gallos an coscar dhe wul yndella.

Yn kettermyn, yma Kesva Dharwryans an Ugheldyr ha'n Enesow ow queres dhe nep un cowethas a Inverness usy ow parusy an kensa roi a "software" rak jyn-amontya a vyth dhe wertha. An "soft-ware" a vyth dyscudhys yn Fer Kenwerth an Ughedyr hag oberys arak an bobel dhe'n "Mod" Gwlasek.

An vledhen-ma yu onen a vry dhe'n Coljy Gwydhalek — Sabhal Mór Ostaig (Carn 24) pan vyth aga hors studhyansow negys (a 2 vledhen). Kevarwedhys dre vur yn Gwydhalek, dastalvesys dre'n corfow offysyal. Yn gwella prys, nyver an studhyoryon usy orth y sewya a dryk maga fras avel kens awos own y vos le Trygva an Sabhal Mór Ostaig:

An Teanga,
An t-Éilean-Sgitheánadh
IY44 8RQ.

A vestres ker,

I read with interest the article by David Fear in Carn No. 51, in which he argued that the Cornish movement is "Marking Time". He was kind enough to allude to my work on the phonology of Cornish. He then continued: "On the other hand, some of the more regular speakers. . ."

Lest it be thought that I am immured in some academic ivory tower and emerge from it only occasionally and irregularly to speak Cornish, let me assure Mr. Fear and readers of Carn that I speak Cornish not only regularly, but also frequently. In fact I speak it every day, at home. I also keep a diary in Cornish. Only by this relatively intensive use of Cornish can I be thoroughly familiar with the problems of improving its pronunciation.

My forthcoming book on this subject, *The Pronunciation and Spelling of Revived Cornish*, should be published by March 1986.

Lowena dhis,
KEN J. GEORGE

REPORT ON THE FOURTH PERRANPORTH CONFERENCE

THE FOURTH PERRANPORTH CONFERENCE

This is a very condensed version of an excellent report sent to us by Cowethas Flamank and we wish to apologise for not being able to print it in full. — I.J.W.

Cowethas Flamank, the research group concerned with Cornish affairs and set up in 1969, organised the fourth Perranporth Conference over the weekend of 5th and 6th October. The subject of the conference was the devolution of political power.

Devolution was put in its historical context during the Saturday morning session. The myth of its being a late 20th century phenomenon had to be destroyed according to Catherine Rachel John. It was the modern nation-state that is more a departure from the norm.

Dr. Michael Hebbert, Lecturer in Planning Studies at the London School of Economics, gave a first rate exposition of the "Spanish" experience.

The afternoon session saw a panel of politicians airing their views. The Chairman

of the South West Labour Party thought Cornwall and Devon should constitute one region. Paul Tyler, the Liberal Party Chairman, came somewhere near acknowledging Cornwall's case for separate regional self-government. However the Conservative Party representative, Chairman of the North Cornwall District Council, as expected wished to maintain the status quo. The Mebyon Kernow spokesman, Pedyr Prior, stressed that autonomy as opposed to devolution was what Cornwall needed.

On the Sunday morning Patricia Elton-Mayo, a specialist on the European regions, gave an account of the composition and powers of various European organisations and bodies. This was followed by a discussion session. Three groups were formed each on particular areas in the context of devolution/autonomy. These reported back to the whole conference later, following reports of working parties set up from previous conferences.

Of particular interest was a report from the Mebyon Kernow Secretary, informing the conference that Winnie Ewing was going to ask a question in the European Parliament on Cornwall's representation in it.

The next conference- May 31st-June 1st 1986.

Contact: John Fleet, 47 Lawrence Weston Road, Bristol II, Avon, England.

IAN WILLIAMS

DEFENDING THE FREE WORLD

Rumours continue about a further expansion of the military occupation of Cornwall. A year ago it was noted that the runway of an old World War Two airfield at Predannack on the Lizard was receiving some attention and there was building work going on. Predannack is only five miles from the massive Royal Naval Air Station at Culdrose with its 2,000 or so personnel — a base that has grown considerably with the arms race of the last 10 years.

But Culdrose is a helicopter base and unsuited to fixed wing aircraft. The word a year ago was that Predannack was being considered as a base for American fixed wing aircraft with an accompanying 600 members of the US forces. This was neither "confirmed nor denied" by the MOD.

Now reports have reached the Celtic League that, during this autumn's so-called "Brave Defender" exercise, Predannack was again the scene of unusual activity with transport planes regularly landing there. Sudden road improvements in the area also look ominous and fears are growing that the area is to suffer further militarisation and could be on the way to becoming the focus for yet another American presence in Europe.

BERNARD DEACON

INDUSTRIAL BLOW

Some apprehension was voiced when, during the summer, the multinational company Siebe Gorman bought Holmans engineering factory at Camborne, the largest private employer in West Cornwall. Siebe have a dubious reputation as a ruthless set of asset strippers. This was the bunch that moved a factory from Merthyr Tydfil to Plymouth overnight, having omitted to tell the workers first.

Within a month Siebe announced the blow that Holmans had to lose 500 of its 800 employees. This was disaster indeed for the community of Camborne with more than one in five already out of work. Holmans, a firm that had successfully diversified to escape the crash of Cornish mining a hundred years ago and had survived the worst of the inter War depression has finally succumbed to Thatcherite 'economics'.

Yet the writing had been seen on the wall since the firm was sold to its previous multinational owners in the 1970s. Employing over 2,000 workers in the middle of that decade a succession of redundancy calls have since trimmed numbers and in the process sapped the morale of the workers. Again and again the union leadership, in the name of 'responsibility', co-operated with management until, when the final blow came, there was little doubt on Siebe's side that the surgery would be swift and painless.

And they were almost right. 'Almost' because, in a final show of communal protest at the closure, about 2,000 turned out for the biggest workers' demonstration seen in Cornwall for many years. Organised by the local Labour Party, speakers at the rally included trades unionists, religious leaders, the Liberals, SDP and MK. Only the Tory MP was conspicuously absent. It was a privilege to be present at an inspiring show of communal solidarity... but one couldn't shake the feeling that it was a wake, a show of impotent defiance that had come too late. If only those 2,000 had turned out at a rally against unemployment that attracted a mere 100 in 1978. (But then, that was under a Labour Government — media soaked memories are painfully short.)

In the end the crowd were treated to appeals to vote Labour, to empty gestures of support from a toothless TUC, to platitudes from the adventurists of the SDP and soothing words from Liberal David Penhaligon. Penhaligon hit a chord in pointing out the gulf between Holmans management in recent years and the Cornish workforce but hastily called on the workers not to be too militant and jeopardise the jobs of the 300 remaining. He needn't have worried.

The new owners had even refused to recognise the locally agreed redundancy payments procedure. This shabby greed had resulted in the shop floor workers voting 79-21 and the office staff 70-30 to take industrial action — not for jobs but for a decent redundancy handout — a surprising militancy in the face of a hopeless situation. But the union leadership decided not to press the issue. Many workers have not bothered to work out their notice in disgust at this final failure.

Meanwhile local councillors and MPs run around like headless chickens — their only response being to call for the area to be made an Enterprise Zone — drop planning procedures and give even freer rein to the fly by night exploiters — or more effort in grovelling to the English or Americans for investment — or the establishment of small businesses. And the Jobcentres are full of adverts for skilled engineers in Southern England as capitalism resorts to its only answer — on your bike, forget your roots, move!

The community feeling so visible on the Camborne demonstration has no place in modern Britain. Its potential embarrassment to a society fit for estate agents, arms salesmen and directors of multi-national companies. But it could still prove a fruitful source of resistance to the new Dark Age if only the people were conscious of their own strength. As nationalists we must do everything in our power to increase that consciousness and self awareness.

MINING IN CRISIS?

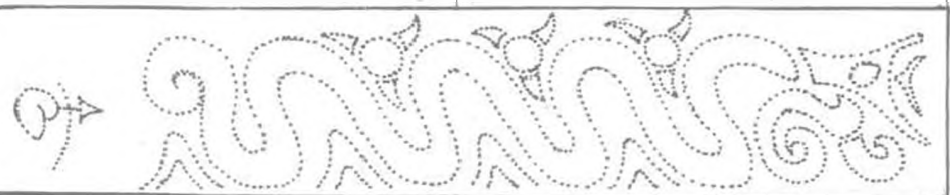
Hot on the heels of the Holman's episode comes a development that could even be more disastrous for the Cornish economy.

By the time this appears in Carn readers will know whether Cornish tin mining has been plunged into its biggest crisis since 1921.

As yet the local media have failed to report the growing crisis on the London Metal Exchange over tin prices. The current hard fought controversy between environmentalists (mainly settlers) and mining interests over waste disposal in Cornwall will have been made entirely irrelevant by developments hundreds, or even thousands, of miles away.

Over recent years the price of tin has been kept artificially high by a cartel of 22 producing states — the International Tin Council. High and stable tin prices have led to new investment in Cornwall which was on the edge of seeing the opening of its fifth mine and more jobs added to the 1,500 or so already employed in tin mining (in the main owned by Rio Tinto Zinc — £4 million profit last year from Cornish tin — and Consolidated Goldfields).

But the cartel has now run into serious problems. The economic recession has led to an over supply of tin and increasing costs in maintaining the high price. This threatens to shatter the price fixing and bring the world price into line with the market price. The most pessimistic reports suggest that, in a free market, tin prices would plummet from the current just over £8,000 a tonne to £5,000 or even less. At such a price no Cornish mine is viable. Is Cornish mining again to fall a victim to the insanity of the free market as has happened so many times since the 1860s? Watch this space.



2,000 march — An inspiring show of communal solidarity.

KERNOW — CAN WE GO FROM HERE?

Do nations formerly subject have present self-determination because they were led by nationalists or because the peoples were asked to put their national consciousness behind their material and cultural interests?

This question has never been thoroughly considered in Cornwall. There have been nibbles but no meal has been made of it. It may have degrees of applicability to other Celtic and other unemancipated European nations. After all the world has witnessed, over a generation, a vast national colonial liberation movement, stultification by neo-colonialism notwithstanding. The substance of interest given national form has been most potent.

Except for philistines and malignants except for the potentially willing who have been educationally deprived regarding Cornwall, there is recognition that Cornish people have had their own distinct existence beginning before England had been born. The Cornish community has, for practical purposes, always existed.

For a long period lasting up to and a little beyond the mid-nineteenth century the technology of mining, some knowledge of Cornwall's history, and a variety of traditional expression made positive assertion of a Cornish culture. All of a sudden we have the middle class linguists and, as they were later called, the collectors of fragments, it we may be allowed some simplification. What had been was suddenly changed. In the face of the ramifying mining collapse and Cornwall's first de-industrialisation, a large part of the masses emigrated and an

intellectual part of the middle class formulated its special view of the spiritual life of Cornwall. Between the world wars came a dawning of pity for the working people and there were some political gestures amongst the accumulating cultural trends. Though the Second World War rang down a second curtain of darkness on Cornish life, and its remains a temptation unsatisfied to look behind these curtains, the political approach soon re-emerged and became a permanent part of Cornish life, expanding over a generation and then becoming confused. Political nationalists included cultural demands in their programme but cultural nationalists remained steadfastly non-political. Meanwhile Cornish unemployment became invisible amongst British unemployment and the depression, spread across many countries of the globe, left the necessity of Cornish control of Cornish economic life singularly lacking in other support.

The Gordian knot can be recognised. Specifically Cornish cultural life has expanded beyond any dreams of fifteen years ago but both it and the Cornish economic condition require material support which could be partly achieved in Cornwall if the political movement can unite economic and cultural struggle on the base of a form of self-determination in alliance with other forces in Britain. Surely the first step (though, paradoxically, in politics we always have to combine several steps!) is that the political movement shall rid itself of sectarianism. Making the Cornish political

movement the measure of the totality of each member's total political outlook has been a sure way of cutting off the political movement from the political variety which will go on existing when a new Cornwall is achieved. Revolution — that is, any kind of complete change — happens only when none can, and then none will, go on in the same way. A second step, but no doubt beginning at the same time as the first, must be the launching of a prolonged programme of education in Cornish self-determination in its political-cultural-social-economic significance. The third step, also proceeding simultaneously, is a principled — that is, broadly based, more widely conceived — conduct of day-to-day struggle as against the present unprincipled — that is, hand-to-mouth, come-day-go-day approach, if the word approach is in any way at present appropriate. Programmes are important but a programme not evolved in relation with the unfolding of such steps will gain the reverse of respect. Nor will such steps become more than passing slogans if they are not constantly given priority of practical consideration which is not allowed to yield to any moment.

If the Gordian knot can be seen, it can be cut.

After all, we should not tinker with the Cornish National Revolution.

Either a whole hog or no pork whatsoever!

ROYSTON GREEN



C.N.P.

In its submission to the Local Government Boundary Commission in their review of the boundary of Devon and Cornwall, the Cornish Nationalist Party stated that it was important the Commission affirms the long-term character of the river Tamar as the boundary between Cornwall and Devon. The CNP pointed out that "it is one of the most distinctive cultural boundaries in Europe which is indicated by the difference of placenames east and west of the river. West of the Tamar, in Cornwall, 90% of the old placenames are derived from the Cornish language. While east of the river only 2% of names are said to have a Celtic origin, by far the majority being derived from Saxon or Old English sources. History and sentiment reinforced the effectiveness of the river — taking a fairly straight course north and south between Cornwall and Devon — as a local government boundary."

The statement suggested ways to overcome three small anomalies in the upper reaches of the Tamar which would simplify and make more coherent the boundary between Devon and Cornwall — the Tamar being then the border for the whole of its length — and would ease the problems of the highways and other county departments.

Chairman: Dr. James Whetter

LOWENDER PERAN

This annual Celtic festival at Perranporth enjoyed an even more successful year in October and would seem to be firmly established both within Cornwall and in the Celtic cultural movement generally. The numbers attending were estimated at over 2,000 for a four day festival and the Ponsmere Hotel — main venue for the events — became almost uncomfortably crowded at certain peak times.

The Festival retains its informal and participatory nature, with dancing workshops and troys (dance groups also ventured out into neighbouring shopping centres), folk club style concerts and spontaneous jam sessions in the hotel bar. Talks, various stalls and, this year, theatre make the festival the show piece for "Celtic culture" in Cornwall.

A HERITAGE TRUST FOR CORNWALL

Thanks to some dedicated people, the Cornwall Heritage Trust has now become a reality as a Company Limited by Guarantee and a Registered Charity. The Trust is also supported by an impressive list of patrons and beneficiaries, including Cornwall County Council, who made finance available to ensure the successful launch of the Trust.

The faith and belief of the few was justified, when the Trust made its first purchase for the people of Cornwall, the beautiful Sancreed Beacon.

Now the Trust asks the people of Cornwall for their support to enable the Trust to undertake other such commendable projects. If that support is forthcoming, it will be possible to save such precious objects as the Newlyn paintings for the people of Cornwall and perhaps certain buildings and archaeological remains that need to be preserved for posterity.

Contact: W. J. SPRY,
'Stroma', 15 The Terrace,
Port Isaac, Cornwall PL29 3SG.
Tel. (0208) 880236.

MANNIN

Y THOODER AS Y GEARALTACH

The outcome of the Anglo-Irish talks may well affect all the Celts, not just the Irish.

Rish tammylt mooar nish, ta shin er chlashtyn dy jig reddyn mooarey ass ny co-loayrtysyn eddyr Sostyn as Nerin mysh Twoaie Nerin. Agh er y gherid, ta'n jeshaght-propaganda ayns Sostyn cur magh skeealyn nagh bee monney reddyn feeu cheet magh. Ta paart dy Hostnee (as Yerne) gra dy re er Cathal O hEochaidh (Charles Haughey) ta'n loght. Dooyrt O hEochaidh (as t'eh kiart, er lhiam) nagh beagh eh ayns foayr jeh coardailys erbee va baggyrt er kiondeeaght (sovereignty) ny hErin. Dy dooghyssagh, lurg shoh va Sostnee (as Yerne) ta noi seyrnsyn ny hErin gaccan mysh y pobblaghtagh keoi shen, Cathal O hEochaidh.

Er lhiam pene dy nhegin da ny Celtiee as ny Sostnee ve feer chiarailagh mysh y barganey shoh ta goil er eddyr Bnr Thooder as Gearoid Mac Gearailt (Garrett Fitzgerald). Ta mee goaill aggle dy re crout mooar t'ayn. Dy firrinagh foclagh, ta sleih cheet dy hoiggal dy vel ny Americanee cheu-heear jeh ram jeh ny cooishyn shoh. Paart dy vleeantyn er dy henney, oddagh oo gra paranoia rish y smooingh shen. Agh nish. . .

Nagh abhyr dy vel mee goll ass my cheeall gra shoh. Foddym geddyn cooney voish yn ashooneyr Sostnagh shen Enoch Powell. Cha nel mish ayns coardailys rish y dooinney shen dy mennick, agh ta Powell

lgra dy vel ny Americanee cheu-heear jeh reddyn nysmenkey as nysmenkey. Cooince dy vel Powell er ngoll gys Nerin dy hauail nane jeh ny peeshyn s'jerree jeh'n impiraght. Ta Powell toiggal dy vel Sostyn laccal tannaghtyn ayns Twoaie Nerin kyndagh rish ashoonaghys Sostnagh — as yeeareecyn ny Americanee. By vie lesh ny Americanee gagh cheer ta sy Cho-vargey Eoropagh y ve ayns NATO neesht. Bee y Spainney as y Phortiuagel cheet stiagh sy Cho-vargey nish. Ec y tra cheddin, ta ny Americanee as nyn gaarjyn slane shicky dy lhisagh ny cheeraghyn shen ve ayns NATO neesht.

T'ad credjal dy vel NATO as y Co-vargey yn un red. Agh ta ymmodde Spainnee as Portiugee ayns foayr jeh'n Cho-vargey as slane noi NATO. T'ou feddyn y red cheddin ayns Nerin. Ta ram sleih ayns shen noi NATO. T'eh jeeaghyn dy vel y chooid smoo dy 'leih sy Phobblaght foast ayns foayr jeh naearaght (neutrality) ny cheerey. Shen y red ta Bnr Thooder, gobbyr marish Mac Gearailt, laccal geddyn rey rish, t'eh jeeaghyn. Ta ny Sostnee toiggal dy beagh ooillee Nerin cheumooie jeh NATO dy jinnagh ad taagail Nerin myr lhisagh ad jannoo. Dy jinnagh Sostyn faagail Nerin Twoaie nish, veagh caghlaaghyn mooarey cheet. S'cosoylagh dy beagh y clane cheer naear ayns ynnyd y jiass ny lomarcen. As shoh red nagh vel ny Americanee ny y sharvaant oc, Bnr Thooder, laccal er chor erbee.

Ga dy vel Nerin jeh beggan scansh myr cheer, er agh keoi ennagh ta ny Americanee coontey ee y ve scanshoil ayns caggey eddyr America as y Roosh. Myr shen, shegin da Nerin ooillee ve ayns NATO. Ta sleih dy liooar credjal nish dy re shoh yn ard-red cheu-heear jeh'n varganey eddyr Lunnin as Divlyn. Ta ny Sostnee lhiggey er dy vel ad er-chee cur beggan dy phooar da Divlyn ayns Nerin Twoaie as ta ny Unnaneyseyryn goll ass nyn geeall. Tra ta dy chooillee pheigh (bunnys) jeeaghyn dy myn er y chaggey foalsey shoh, bee y barganey kiart jeant: nee ny Americanee cur milliunyn dy ghollaryn da Nerin choud's t'ee cheet stiagh ayns NATO. Eisht bee yn cashtal Europagh slane shickyr noi ny Rooshee agglagh shen.

Cha nel ny Rooshee nyn ainleyn. Agh ec y tra cheddin, cha nel ad goll rish jouyil. Chaill ad rour dy 'leih sy chaggey mooar s'jerree dy chur caggey mooar elley fo raad gyn smooinghyn down. Ec y tra t'ayn, ta ny smoo Europee cheet dy chredjal dy vel ny Americanee baggyrt er shee cho olk as ny Rooshee. As dy beagh caggey mooar ayn, cha beagh shinyn, ny Celtiee, boirit mysh nyn jeeraghyn as nyn jengaghyn arragh. Cha beagh red erbee faagit.

Foddee nagh vodmayd jannoo monney mysh ny cooishyn trimshagh shoh. Agh ec y chooid sloo, fodmayd shassoo noi eab erbee dy lhagaghey seyrnsyn ny hErin.

BRIAN MAC STOYLL

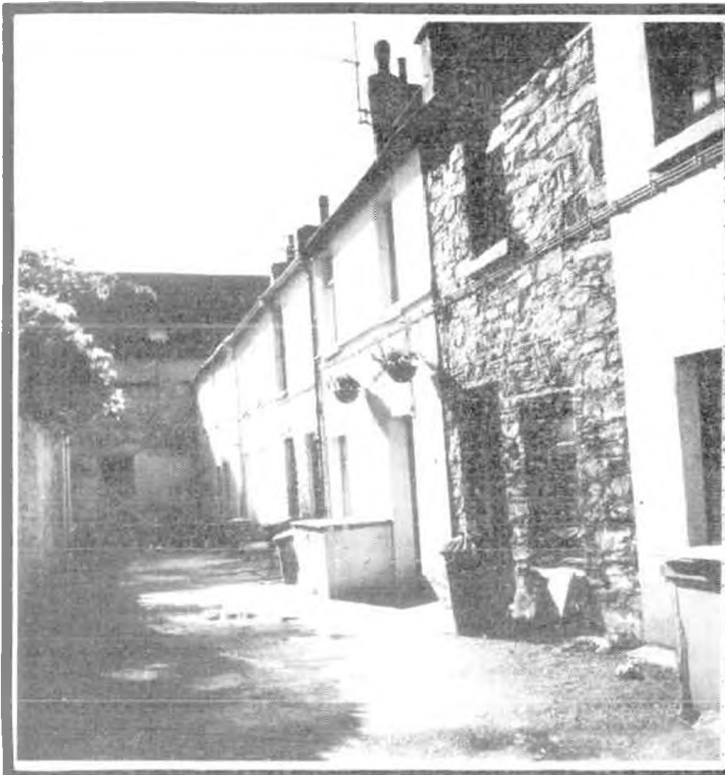
THE ENGLISH INVASION OF MAN

by Paul Lebledzinski

I suppose that it was when I was ten years of age that I first realised that *change* — and a change for the worse, was coming to this Island. As a young lad, I had always known our little Island steam train well, and frequently travelled to the Northern village of Sulby on it. A beautiful ride for Manks people and tourists, it was also used for goods transportation. Despite a short reprieve for it, by train enthusiast, Lord Ailsa, the Government finally had its way, and closed the Northern Line. Staff were paid off and with greedy and indecent haste the line was ripped up by a firm of scrap metal merchants. That signalled (excuse the pun) the beginning of the end for Mann's uniqueness, particularly for Ramsey and the North, as we, I feel, have been the

hardest hit so far — with Douglas and Onchan running close seconds, in terms of English infiltration and domination. The next big blow to Ramsey — Rhumsaa, in our native tongue — was the wholesale obliteration of the old south area of the town. Granted, high tides used to flood one of the streets, and some old houses were unlivable and derelict, but for the most part, a lot of the problems were exaggerated. I can remember that many notable personalities lived in those old streets; there was house-proudness and a strong MANKS community spirit. People like my grandmother only went "into town" or "up the street" on a Saturday. The rest of the time this little historic area was Home. Why then was it wiped out, and people put into Council Estates? Because, I feel in my bones that this was a compatible move in the same years that Government brought in the New Resident Policy. The Council houses for the dispossessed Manks were a "Reservation" for the poor, locally nicknamed "The Big Valley" or "The Ponderosa". On the other hand, the recently flattened Manks heartland of Ramsey, eventually became what I imagined — a Rich Tea-Planter's Paradise and "Tax Exile Roost".

Today any visitor to Ramsey, particularly the tourists looking around ask "Why" or "Where's the Town". The Members of the Keys and the lesser politicians on the Town Commission of those years, permitted, and in some cases, promoted Ramsey as the ideal retired peoples' retreat. Without the need for Work-Permits, many builders, some good, some not so good, flocked in from all over, to construct new estates for the discerning "come-over". Rubber planters just wouldn't have lasted in Strand Street or Bark Lane, living near men like "Charlie the Sweep" and other well known locals. While all this was going on, house prices were starting to rise, certainly beyond the pocket of the local working man, who often now worked for English builders labouring on the new estates, and before very long, a new breed came into Ramsey and Mann generally; the Right Wing Snob! He (or she) would park their limousines on the pavement, push in front of people in the shops, see the Manks people as a "Mrs. Mopp", a gardener, or perhaps some kind of throw-back to the negroes they owned, out where ever they came from.



The old . . .

and the new.

I blame this directly on some members of government, who, to this day, persist in calling the "Manks Worker" SUBDUED, NON-VOLATILE — giving an excuse for every penny-pinching rogue millionaire or small time "entrepreneur" to come here and exploit us! — and there are more on the way! It is no wonder that, save for a few affluent shopkeepers who live on the new residents, there is discord. I am a gardener by trade, and I would rather work for another Manksman, than for the haggling rich. Whilst I am talking about working men, I would state that, if possibly any good at all has come to the identity-conscious Manks from this mostly vile new order, it is from the immigrant Irish builders who have merged for the most part, into a growing culture, with their

traditional music and song; I shall deal with this in a separate article. However, I named this article "English invasion of Mann" and so now I shall make a few remarks about "DOOLISH", or the town of Douglas. Whilst Ramsey has about four new residents per square yard, Douglas has the same number of Accountants respectively. At the same time as the New Resident Policy kicked-off, so did the Tax Haven/ Finance business, and then, in Douglas, the excavators roared! Ripping down little character streets in the centre of the town so that another "pin-striped politician" can open another "Financial Institution". The Finance business may be Non-Polluting and quiet, but its computer whizz-kids and jet-setters give no cultural contribution to the Island whatsoever. Most of them again

are Thatcherite snobs, or just Trainee Thatcherite snobs. Many, quite probably, have an aspiration for a political career here, and heaven save the Manks nation from any more College Boys in power!

There is no room for complacency amongst the Manks, Gaelic speaker or not, culturally aware or not. If the plump estate agents of the "BOOM" years had had their way, we would have been living up Snaefell long ago.

My message is that at the time of the next Elections, the Manks people have to stand up and be counted, and vote for their own kind, who mix with them every day, not just Election Day. Only then will MANN lose its "Little England" attitude, and be ours again.

'MHARI L' — MYSTERY DEEPENS

The Motor Fishing Vessel 'Mhari L' disappeared in reasonably calm seas during February 1985 whilst on a routine fishing trip from Kirkeubright. Despite a concerted sea and air search, no trace was found of any survivors, nor any wreckage recovered. Some days after the loss a seaman's boot was however recovered by another Kirkeubright boat, and using this as a clue, vessels located a previously uncharted wreck to the S.E. of Mann (see Carn 49).

A civilian salvage team engaged by the insurers attempted to investigate the wreck for some weeks after the loss. Before the wreck had been positively identified, the

civilian team suddenly announced the investigation was being called off.

At this point the 'Mhari L.' saga might have ended, however concerned by previous disappearances and aware of submarine operations, the Mannin branch launched an enquiry into the possibility of sub-strikes on both the 'Mhari L' and M.F.V. 'South Stack' (which disappeared the previous year). A media campaign and support from Labour and Plaid M.P.s eventually prompted the Department of Transport and Ministry of Defence to take action. In April, a number of salvage vessels were assembled at the wreck site. Naval divers with video equipment reached the wreck and 'confirmed' that it had sunk after fouling a Telecom undersea cable. The Department of Transport said the video evidence was conclusive. The 'cable theory' was one that had been aired officially within hours of the vessels loss, before in fact, the wreck was discovered: a convenient theory for any individual or authority wishing to sow disinformation. The Man-

nin Branch was immediately suspicious.

We requested a copy of the video from the Department of Transport for analysis. It was only after the intervention of George Foulkes and D. Wigley, M.P.s, that the video was released. The video was sent for examination by Fishing Safety expert Mark Reilly of Dundee University, School of Medicine, who concluded that it was not positive evidence. Mr. Reilly's view was: "Has this video contributed to an explanation of the loss of the 'Mhari L.'? In my view, it had not."

He went on to suggest that the only positive course of action would be to raise the wreck for examination. We have since asked the Department of Transport to undertake same.

Shortly after the disaster the Mannin Branch feared that the 'Mhari L.' could have been the latest victim of submarines, an increasing hazard to Irish Sea Fishermen. Events since the examination of the wreck have not dispelled this. Leaving aside the question of which source first intro-

duced speculation about the undersea cables. Why did the civilian salvage crew suddenly abandon their operation? Why does the Ministry of Defence maintain that there were only two vessels in the area, when at one point there were at least six! Why was it felt necessary to have a vessel with heavy lift capability, when no salvage was contemplated? Most disturbingly, why has mail between the League and two families of the relatives been quite blantly opened!

The relatives of the crew have been treated abysmally by the authorities. Having to solicit information which should have been forthcoming immediately it was available. This callous behaviour by the Department of Transport was unanimously condemned by a large meeting of fishermen, called at Peel by the Mannin Branch. The meeting also rejected the 'video evidence'. The League are still seeking the solution to the loss of the 'Mhari L' and the crew members. Families still await a credible explanation.



From a painting of the "Mhari L"

Following the video showing, local divers have expressed an interest in carrying out an independent examination of the wreck. Talks are taking place to discuss whether the project is feasible. Border Television are considering making a Programme on the Irish and Celtic sea incidents, and a copy of the Mannin Branch file has been supplied. Surprisingly, considering the reaction of local fishermen at the video showing, the Isle of

Man Fishermen's Association, issued a statement saying - they support the Department of Trade's theory about the sinking. It has since been learned however, that the I.O.M.F.A. is in financial trouble, and a meeting on Sunday Oct. 27th (a few days after the statement) was considering an approach to government for assistance. This may explain their pro-official stance!

J.B. MOFFATT



PAN-CELTIC FESTIVAL

At the time of writing, the Pan Celtic Committee is to hold a meeting during Lowender Peran in Kernow, to discuss future participation of Mannin in the festival held in Cill Airne each May. In recent years Manks representation has been minimal or non-existent. Various factors are responsible for this state of affairs.

The heavy cost of travel by air (there are no sailings between Mannin and Eire until the end of May) is the one practical deterrent. Perhaps the more serious reason for this apparent neglect of Pan-Celtic week, is in the very nature of the festival, centred as it is around the "Celtavision" Song contest. As the title suggests, each Celtic nation presents an original song in its own language. In recent years I have been led to understand that the trend towards the use of "electric" instruments, synthesizers and the like would make pop bands more likely to succeed. I cannot think of any Gaelic singers in Mannin with that background, so the odds are stacked heavily against Mannin.

For a number of consecutive years, Mannin was represented at Pan-Celtic, more I believe out of a sense of duty than any wish to compete. It's not really a question of being sore losers so much as self-esteem getting repeated batterings at a time when we need all the encouragement we can get. Substantial concessions will be needed if Mannin is to support Pan-Celtic in the future, and of course the festival would be incomplete without the presence of the smallest Celtic nation.

C.J.K.

POLICE FIREARMS — COVER UP

It has emerged that there has been a breakdown over the issuing of police firearms in Mannin. The I.O.M. Force follows U.K. Home Office guidelines in respect of most of its operations including the issue and control of firearms. The Mannin Branch sought a copy of these guidelines in August, following evidence of a breakdown in procedure in the Manx Force. The guidelines are quite clear, that firearms are only issued under exceptional circumstances, with the authority of a senior officer. The weapon is only carried during the course of the operation and returned thereafter to the police armoury. It is this procedure which was not apparently observed in the Manx incident. A C.I.D. officer issued with a

firearm in connection with security operations for a Royal visit, did not return the weapon to the armoury, but retained it in his office safe. The missing weapon's whereabouts was queried during a routine visit by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary. The firearm was immediately returned to the armoury.

This incident is the latest in a series of embarrassments to dog the Force during the stewardship of Chief Constable Frank Weedon. Embarrassingly, it is revealed in an internal Force newsletter entitled "Dogberry May Issue" which contains various sarcastic comments on police operations. The two-page broadsheet, which seems to be produced by Junior officers, indicates something of a morale problem at the Central Police Headquarters.

This incident is the latest in a series investigated by the Mannin Branch, publicity for which resulted in petty harrassment of the League.

J. BERNARD MOFFATT



CELTICA

THE CELTIC REVOLUTION

A STUDY IN ANTI-IMPERIALISM

"The Celtic Revolution," by Peter Berresford Ellis; published by Y Lolfa, Talybont, Ceredigion SY24 5HE, Cymru. £4.95 stg.

As Peter Berresford Ellis explains in the introduction, his latest work is essentially a "Celtic primer", including in one single volume an explanation of the Celtic identity, a brief outline of each Celtic nation's political and cultural struggle, their place in history, their current situation and their aspirations for the future. As such, this work is absolutely unique and doubly valuable, providing as it does a comprehensive introduction to Celticism for the beginner (an essential requirement!) and, since it contains and enhances the incontrovertible arguments for the Celtic cause, it is also an essential study and reference book for even the most confirmed Celticist. This book is exactly the type of work which will win converts to the Celtic cause.

In describing "The Celtic Revolution", Peter Berresford Ellis is referring to the "change in attitudes among the Celtic peoples towards themselves and their place in the world; to the growing awareness of what it means to be Celtic and what they, as Celts, could offer their fellow human beings. Among a people assimilated almost to the point of extinction, even that step is a tremendous political revolution."

The book, which is dedicated to Alan Heusaff, General Secretary of the Celtic League, as "a tribute to his years of selfless endeavour on behalf of the Celtic peoples," consists of 218 pages divided into ten chapters.

The first chapter effectively answers the question: "Who are the Celts?", and deals with Celtic civilization from the earliest times, demonstrating that, far from being "a bizarre barbarian horde, illiterate and uncivilised," the Celts are a unique, sophisticated and highly literate civilization.

In the following six chapters, the history, language, culture and politics of each of the Celtic nations is dealt with separately and quite comprehensively. There are interesting and up-to-date accounts of all the most important political and cultural developments in each Celtic country, although, astonishingly, in the chapter dealing with Scotland, there is no mention whatever of the armed struggle initiated by the Scottish National Liberation Army in 1982! However, this obvious omission is one of the very few small errors contained in the book and these will, no doubt, be remedied in future editions.

Chapter eight is a fascinating account of "The Celtic Diaspora" which contains

many interesting but little known facts e.g. that Manx was still spoken in parts of Pennsylvania within living memory. However, as Peter Berresford Ellis points out, "as considerable as the Celtic diaspora was, as extensions of Celtic culture those settlements which were made were rather meagre. Only in two places, Patagonia and Nova Scotia, have clearly identifiable Celtic-speaking communities survived into modern times."

In the chapter entitled "Celtic Unity", inter-Celtic relationships and the eventual growth of a common Celtic consciousness are examined and discussed. Beginning with the first Inter-Celtic Congress at St. Brieu, Brittany, in 1867, the author traces the development of groups such as the Celtic League and the remarkable growth



Author Peter Berresford Ellis (photographer: Seamas Mac a' Ghobhainn).

of Celtic consciousness, not only in the six Celtic countries themselves but also among exiled Celts and people of Celtic descent in many different countries. As the author amply illustrates, "Pan-Celticism is a growing concept in the world."

"Celtic Nationalism" is the subject of the final chapter. Nationalism is defined and, rightly, the question of social freedom discussed in conjunction with the question of national freedom. Also examined and effectively illustrated is the racist anti-Celticism of sections of English and French society. Most importantly, the essential relationship between language and nationality is emphasised in this chapter. "The language and culture of a people are that people's very basis for being." Finally, Peter Berresford Ellis, who is generally optimistic in regard to the future of the Celtic nations, leaves the reader with the dire warning: "Under continuing pressures, it might not be long before the Celtic peoples do disappear, for even if self-government is attained within the near future, the native governments might lack the will and ability to carry out a constructive, linguistic restoration. The Irish and the Manx possess some degree of statehood but, whilst they have gained states, they are losing the nations. If the languages die, and fade beyond all possibility of revival, then the term "Celtic" would only stand a chance of survival as a geographical expression and the Celtic peoples would then be extinct."

"The Celtic Revolution" is an important work. It deserves to be read widely and one hopes that it will be. Certainly it is required reading for all members, supporters and potential supporters of the Celtic League. Hopefully, Celtic League members will do everything they can to promote this book. It is a propaganda weapon for the Celtic cause.

JAMES HAMILTON

1986 FILM FESTIVAL

The 7th International Festival of Film and Television in the Celtic Countries will be held in Newcastle, Co. Down, N.E. Ireland from March 17th to 21st 1986. Screenings and seminars (one titled "Images of Ireland — how others see us") will be spread over the 5 days. There will be awards in 4 categories: drama, documentary, "starting out", and "spirit of the festival" — entries for the latter must be wholly or partly in a Celtic language. Prints and tapes to be received by January 24th. For rules, registration forms, accommodation write to 7th IFFTCC, 181a Stranmillis Rd., Belfast BT9 5DU.

AGM 1985 RESOLUTIONS

Breizh:

1. This AGM accepts that a broad front must be constituted in Brittany by the associations which advocate control by the Bretons over the management of their own political, economic, ecological and cultural interests if that common aspiration is to win popular support and to be represented in the Breton Regional Assembly; congratulates the organisations which have decided to fight together in the forthcoming regional elections under the umbrella of the Committee "Cordination Bretagne"; urges all the Breton organisations to take account of the lessons of failures in previous elections and to come to an ad hoc agreement in order to maximise their chances of electoral success.

2. The Celtic League informed of the stand taken by Stourm ar Brezhoneg activists for the introduction of bilingual road signs in Brittany, considering that their propaganda is a necessary contribution towards recognition the French government of the fundamental right of the Breton people to have their national language used in all aspects of public life, expresses support for their actions.

Cymru:

This AGM notes that at a tribunal hearing in Bae Colwyn on July 19th Cyngor Sir Gwynedd (Gwynedd County Council) was found guilty of racial discrimination by making knowledge of Welsh a qualification for certain posts and that the hearing was brought about by two English immigrants to Gwynedd who had been unwilling to learn Welsh before applying for posts in Old Peoples' Homes on Ynys Môn (Anglesey) for which Welsh was a qualification, believes

—that this decision puts the right of immigrants not to learn Welsh before the right of the people of Gwynedd to be given a service in their own language,

—that in the case of posts involving contact with the aged, the very young and the mentally retarded, among whom knowledge of English may be limited, harm can be done if such people are not allowed to express themselves in Welsh,

—that this decision greatly undermines the status of the Welsh language in Gwynedd and thus also the dignity of Welsh speakers, therefore, noting that Cyngor Sir Gwynedd intend to appeal against the tribunal decision, this AGM directs each branch of the Celtic League to write a letter of support and encouragement to them for the stand they are making.

Eire:

1. This AGM unreservedly supports the policy of Irish neutrality and urges the Irish government to resist any pressure brought through the institutions of the EEC or other international bodies to undermine this policy by association with NATO activities or other military alliances.

2. This AGM notes with concern the decline in prestige of the Irish State among the other Celtic nations, to the extent that many now question the value of national statehood in the defence of the national economy and culture; calls on the Irish government to make resources available for strengthening economic and cultural links between Ireland and the other Celtic nations; urges the Irish branch to seek specific opportunities for the development of this policy and to lobby for its implementation, taking advantage when possible of EEC support for inter-regional linking. (This resolution was passed subject to formal approval by a meeting of the Irish branch; approval given at a meeting in September).

Kernow:

This AGM welcomes the decision of the parish council of Porthleven to adopt a bilingual title which recognises the Celtic identity of Cornwall; urges other official bodies, in particular the County and district councils, to follow suit.

London:

This AGM calls on the major Celtic independence/national parties in Britain to join together on a fact-finding, solution-seeking mission to the territory in the north of Ireland under British control.

These resolutions are being implemented by the branches which proposed them.

1820 SOCIETY

In April 1820 the Scottish Radical movement, aiming at the establishment of a democratic republic in Scotland, proclaimed a Provisional Government and rose in armed rebellion. With support from the industrial workers in Glasgow and in the shires of Dumbarton, Stirling, Renfrew, Lanark and Ayr, the Radicals called a general strike (said to be the first in modern history) and carried out numerous military actions including arms raids and attacks on the military who flooded into the area to put down the insurrection. Despite widespread support the Radicals were defeated by a combination of lack of leadership (most of their leaders having been arrested before the uprising started) and the British government's rapid use of its overwhelming military might.

In the aftermath of the uprising a series of treason trials began and sentences of imprisonment, transportation and death were meted out to the Radicals. Three men, James Wilson of Strathaven, Andrew Hardie of Glasgow and John Baird of Condorrat, were executed for treason.

The story of the 1820 Radical rising is not, of course, included in the "official" version of Scottish history which is taught in the schools and propagated elsewhere, and, as a result, few people in Scotland have ever heard or read about this important part of their own history. In order to remedy this situation the 1820 Society was formed a number of years ago. Commem-

orations and rallies are held annually and the Society has successfully campaigned for the renovation and maintenance of the Martyrs' Monuments in Glasgow, Paisley and Strathaven. The Society aims to ensure that knowledge of the 1820 rising will be revived and that the recent example of active resistance to English rule will serve as a vital inspiration to the Scottish people in the continuing struggle for national liberation. The slogan of the 1820 rising, "Scotland Free Or a Desert", is as appropriate today as it was then!!!



Monument to James Wilson at Strathaven, Lanarkshire.

Those interested in the 1820 Society's work and in membership details should contact the Society's chairman: Mr. Jack Fuller, 1 Durward Way, Paisley PA20LW, Scotland.

A.B.

N.B. For those interested in the history of the rising a comprehensive study, "The Scottish Insurrection of 1820," by Peter Berresford Ellis and Seumas Mac a' Ghobhainn, was published some years ago.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MINORITY LANGUAGES, organised by University College Galway's Department of Old- and Middle Irish, will be held in Galway from June 21 to 26, 1986. Its theme: the linguistics of minority languages, especially those of Northern and Western Europe. It could also include: minority languages in education, the role of the media, and political aspects. The registration fee is IR£12. A circular will be sent to those who will have paid this by the end of February, requiring an additional participation fee. Write to the secretary Anders Ahlqvist, Roinn na Seanagús na Meán Ghacilge, Coláiste an hOllscoile, Gaillimh, Ireland.

UNIONIST POSITIONS

There are of course more than two sets of contending traditions within Ireland but there are really only two sets of comprehending traditions vying for sovereignty — only one of which (the Irish one) will win out in time. While the other, the English imperialist one, will not be as readily detached from its first Empire, its first extensions of hegemony, as it was from so much else in this country alone.

That Irish tradition itself has had different expressions, and in many ways the differences today between the SDLP and Sinn Féin are echoes of the differences between Sinn Féin and the old Irish Parliamentary Party led by John Redmond earlier in the century: a contest resolved with the virtual annihilation of the Redmondites in the 1918 General Election everywhere except in Ulster where they retained half a dozen seats in an arrangement made with Cardinal Logue to ensure the maximisation of the non-Unionist Representation (in a straight fight for the non-Unionist vote in West Belfast Joe Devlin defeated Eamon de Valera; Gerry Adams' defeat of Gerry Fitt could be said to be a late reversal of that vote).

After that election the elected Sinn Féin MIPs, as they were being called, did not attend Westminster but set up their own national assembly, deemed themselves Government and in effect though not in intent set up a one party state.

I said though not in intent — all those elected were invited to attend Dáil Éireann — only the Republicans did: neither Unionist nor nationalist ever attended: something in my view which contributed to a strengthening in a way of the hold of the partition line when drawn the following year in the Govt. of Ireland Act. John O'Mahony from Fermanagh/Tyrone was the only completely 6 county man one could say in the Second Dáil — most of the others were "big guns" Collins, Griffith and so forth. But after the Articles of Agreement in 1921, the Civil War and the Constitution of the Free State, that link, so to speak was lost. Efforts in the early days of the present troubles by Paddy Kennedy and Paddy O'Hanlon to attend the Dáil were rebuffed, a rebuff in some way assuaged by the later nomination of Brid Rogers of the SDLP (a Donegal lady) and Dr. John Robb to the Senate.

What I am suggesting here is that the non-unionist population in the partitioned area were left (and left themselves) in a limbo, a time warp, in a way anachronistic, in another way at least non-synchronic. The two generations since have not in my view been healthy for Irish politics on either side of the partition line.

Now on the Unionist side there are also contending elements and I'll repeat here statistics from *The United Kingdom as a Multinational State* (R. Rose, University of Strathclyde, 1970).

A Glasgow sample showed 29% said they were British, 1% Welsh, 4% didn't know and 67% Scot. In Wales 15% said British, 13% English, 1% Scot, 69% Welsh. The people of the six counties were 29% British, 21% "Ulster", 43% Irish and 7% didn't know when asked their affinities as to nationality. One thing to be marked here again — is that the concept of being British is foreign to the English. But the "British" and the "Ulster" labellings of perceived nationality in the six counties point to changing of varying ways of looking at themselves by the Unionists. In a way it reflects basic divides among themselves, racial, religious and political.

The racial divide is the English and Scottish one since despite the myth many of the planters came from England not Scotland (we will address ourselves somewhat to this later on) and the phonological echoes of their origins in Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire etc. are to be found

in the mid-Ulster Dialect as shown on Map no. 1 by the late Brendan Adams then of the Ulster Folk Museum. The other part of that divide which he calls the North-Eastern Dialect has its origins in Galloway, Ayrshire and Renfrewshire apparently.

THE DIALECT REGIONS OF ULSTER



Map 1:

- OVER 50% IRISH SPEAKING 1951
- 5% TO 50% IRISH SPEAKING 1851
- LOCALITIES IN THE SIX COUNTIES WHERE A FEW SPEAKERS OF ORIGINAL LOCAL GAELIC DIALECT SURVIVE.
- APPROXIMATE BOUNDARY OF NORTH-EASTERN AND MID-ULSTER DIALECTS (SUBJECT TO CORRECTION)
- MODERN ULSTER

If I suggest that this racial differentiation has confessional aspects I might be accused of drawing a long bow so to speak but Map no. 2 from Ruth Dudley Edwards' *Atlas of Irish History* will show the consistency I mean when a hundred years later the map is much the same: the Orange Order then was confined to the Established Church of Ireland (and hence by and large to descendants of the English planters and of the old Irish adherers to the Henrician Reformation).

Both readings of themselves overlap of course very often and common to both in their political expression a touch of the Laager mentality that feeds on having a threatening enemy. The initial security was as Maire Nic Mhaoláin had it in the last issue of *Lasair*. They had sway — their own statelet, they were loyal (if conditionally) to the English crowns and to the Protestant values all of which left them in their view a cut above the mere natives with their superstitions, religion priest ridden, shifty, irresponsible: better to progress with the civilised English than to regress with the porcine natives.

As the sun set on the Empire which endorsed such fantasies — and the negation of the parameters they shared as kin said Sam Hanna Bell with the older inhabitants — and as the reality of Irish life could no longer be denied and in most recent times when it is as if the two generation gap had led to a convulsion back to the unfinished business of 1919-1922 a new way of looking at themselves emerged (not that the older is dead by any means of course — its most consistent voice is that of Enoch Powell's for integration).

Whereas for example in 1970 *Combat*, the journal of the UVF, echoed many of the sentiments of my monograph *Hidden Ulster* and lamented in a way that the Republicans had robbed them of their Gaelic heritage, Ian Paisley and his followers nowadays tend to describe Irish as a foreign language and the Republic of Ireland as a foreign country.

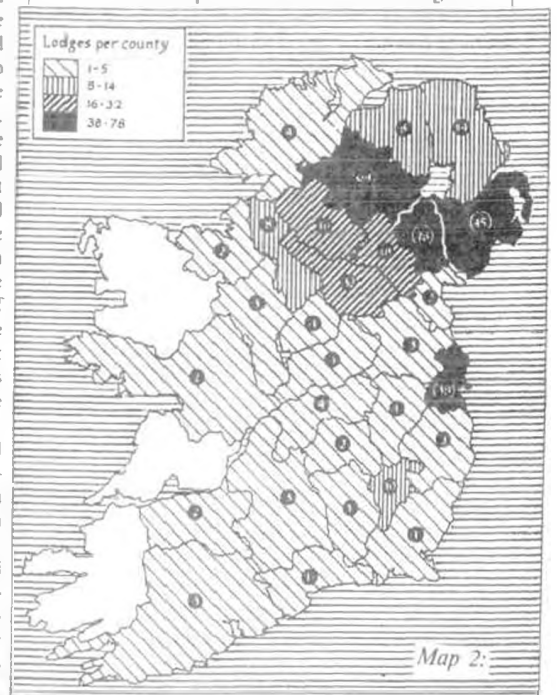
But there has been an even more fundamental shift among extremists (a stupid mistake on the morrow). It is that the base they seek is no longer Britishness so much, their Protestantism as such, their "superiority" as it were — that mark of so many claiming precedence over other people — no longer these so much as the fantastic one of being the original inhabitants of Ireland, they having been here before the coming of the Gael so long ago. (Nor should such a belief be merely laughed at — see what the Jewish belief in their ancestral domicile has led to in that clash of aspirations in the Middle East).

In *Ulster* of February 1985 they have invented a tribe, the Setantians, to which Cúchulainn is said to have belonged, (they being the ancient British people of Ulster). That that is bullshit is not the point: that people, that extremists believe it is. In the June issue of the same journal there is an article entitled "The Original Irish" which is based on the theory that the original inhabitants of Ireland came from Scotland (the abuse of the changing state of archeological knowledge is unfortunately not all that rare) which in turn was based on a now outdated reading from the superceded excavation reports and extrapolations from them. As a result of that they claim "The Protestants of Ulster have every right to be here. This is our land and our heritage." The next issue reprinted an article from a new journal called "The Cruthin" which is the voice of that which seeks to give the underpinning to that position.

When the commander of the UDA was asked about this he is cited as follows (*Belfast Review* March-May 1985):

A book called *The Cruthin - the Ancient Kindred* by Ian Adamson has had a profound effect on the UDA's views of history and culture. This is reflected very strongly in *This Is It!* I asked Tyrrie what, or rather who, were the Cruthin?

"Before the Celts came to Ireland," he said "it was inhabited, like all these islands, by the Britons. The Britons of the north-east of Ireland were called the Cruthin. Ian Adamson has done a mass of research into the history and identity of Ulster and has spent a whole lifetime telling the



Map 2:

Ulster people that they do have roots here before the Plantation. The nationalist community have always called us interlopers and immigrants. Ian said no. We, as a people, have always been here in the north — before we were driven out to Scotland. And right up to the Plantation Ulster has maintained stronger links with Scotland than with the rest of Ireland. And Ian says, and it's obviously true, that the idea of an Irish nation — a nation once again — is a republican myth. There was never an Irish nation — an Irish notion we call it. We weren't interlopers. Most of the Scots who came here in the seventeenth century were from the Galloway area — the descendants, as Ian has shown, of the people who left here in the first place. We were coming home."

It is a new way of looking at themselves. There is a grain in it that there were a pre-celtic people in Ireland who have been called Picts and who fought with the later arrivals and were apparently defeated by them. But the knowledge of them is so slight that no current political platform could be based on so shallow a foundation. The fact is it has and in my view this is a much more dangerous base for Unionist intransigence and one which it is not enough to deride or laugh at: it is rather one to be addressed seriously in Ireland and in Scotland (those who can read Irish would benefit from Máire Nic Mhaoláin's Review of Adamson's book in *Lasair III*). Unless we do so we may well regret our negligence in years to come.

P. Ó SNODAIGH

For clarity of exposition there has been of necessity I feel, much, even gross, oversimplification in this piece of an issue I deem to be of serious need. With that caveat I hope it will initiate further attention and study.

Editor's note: The above is a short lecture given by P. Ó Snodaigh at this year's A.G.M.

INTER-CELTIC CULTURAL EXCHANGE

I would like to promote the idea, first hinted at in CARN 29 and tried successfully in Mannin a few years ago. "Cultural Exchange" was a simple and effective idea promoted by some Celtic League members. All that is required is:

1. Modest fund raising in each country.
2. A catalogue of individuals and groups of traditional performers willing to participate (for travel expenses only) by
 - (a) supporting visiting groups.
 - (b) visiting other Celtic countries.
3. Seeking those who would be willing to provide accommodation.
4. Finding suitable venues.

There may be existing organisation who might take on a scheme such as this. If not, perhaps Celtic League Branches might make the necessary inquiries and act as coordinators. Once the initial funds are raised the scheme should be self-financing. Perhaps readers of CARN would write to their local secretaries with any comments and/or suggestions.

C.J.K.



Breton-speaking children attending a holiday camp at the Diwan Centre, Treglonoù, July 1985.

FLAG CAUSES HYSTERIA

The town of Liskeard in East Cornwall has been the scene of an acrimonious debate largely resolved in other Cornish towns, one surrounding a decision whether or not to fly the Cornish flag — the flag of St. Piran. Noting that whilst the Union Jack was often in evidence the St. Piran's flag was not, local MK activist Loveday Carlyon decided to find out the town council policy on flags. And it appeared policy was only to fly the Union flag.

Not content with that Loveday spoke out at the annual town council open meeting, receiving short shift for her pains from the council worthies, and proceeded to gather a petition. This was soon filled with 500 names, indicating no hostility on the part of the town's residents to the black and white

of St. Piran's flying from the community's flagpole.

Presented with this and backed by the two official MK councillors the town council has reluctantly agreed to fly St. Piran's flag when "appropriate". However in doing so the debate has stirred up an incredible amount of emotion for such a relatively trivial incident. The mere mention of St. Piran's flag seems calculated to induce mass hysteria in Liskeard's council chamber.

Interestingly enough some of the most vociferous opponents of the flag were long standing English immigrants as well as the usual brand of native Uncle Tom. It appears that even 30 or 40 years residence does not make some of these people Cornish. The question then arises — can they really represent the Cornish people when they are so patently hostile to even the simplest manifestations of Cornish identity?

BERNARD DEACON

Tañv da yezh 'ta



The drawing reproduced here won a competition organised among the pupils of the Breton classes of Catholic schools. They were asked to design a car sticker with a slogan urging people to uphold the Breton language. There were about 300 entries. The prize went to two fourteen-year-old girls from Landerne: a trip to Ireland. The words, literally translated to "Taste your language", mean: Learn how to speak Breton, you will enjoy it.

A NEW CELTIC BODY

A meeting was held in October at a Presbyterian Church in Didsbury, Greater Manchester, to set up a body to support and promote Celtic languages and culture in England. Initiated by the Rev. D. Ben Rees, a minister from Liverpool, the publisher of a Welsh language monthly, "Yr Angor", and a scholar of some note, the meeting was attended by representatives of Welsh chapels in the north of England, and among others, Patricia Williams of the Department of Celtic Studies, University of Manchester, and Seamas Ó Coileáin, the secretary of the Celtic League, London branch.

According to Seamas, the intention is to found an organisation, in many ways similar to Conradh na Gaeilge, that will study, indicate, and serve the needs of all Celtic language communities in exile in England. The fact that this initiative has been taken by the Welsh, but includes from the beginning the Irish, Scots, etc., in England, is of considerable significance. There are dozens of Welsh chapels in England, for the most part using Welsh as the medium of worship and general

communication, and therefore firm centres of Welsh language and culture; there are twenty-four of them in London alone! If Dr. Rees' intention is to mobilize this previously invisible cultural movement, and join forces with the Irish and other Celtic organisations, the sky is the limit as to what might be achieved in the current Celtic Revival in exile.

The first task of the new body is to draft and approve a constitution setting out clearly its aims, etc. This will not be completed until early spring, but in the meantime, they have already set themselves the task of compiling a directory of Celtic organisations in England. We urge therefore, that all secretaries or representatives of Celtic cultural organisations, whether language, music, dance, drama, political or whatever, get in touch with Seamas on (01) 675 3074, (address on back of Carn) who will eventually want a short description of the organisation's aims, etc., around 50 words or so, together with a contact — secretary's address, Tel. No. etc. to put in the directory. This will, incidentally, ensure that each organisation will be kept up to date with developments. Seamas says that he will argue for the constitution to define England as "that territory which borders on Scotland, Wales and Cornwall".

More news in the Spring.

CELTIC CALENDAR

The Celtic League American Branch has published its 1985/86 wall calendar (year begins with Samhain/November). It contains original art work relating to Celtic mythology, notes on ancient Celtic traditions, proverbs in Celtic languages with translations. It lists for most dates events from the history of the Celtic peoples. Price \$6 (US), post paid. Write to Celtic League Calendar, 2973 Valentine Ave., Bronx, NY 10458, USA.



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All those who agree with the Constitution and Aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership fee (including Carn) and subscription rates are: IR£6, Stg£5.60FF or US\$14. Postage outside Europe is by air mail.

For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscriptions, etc. write to any of the following secretaries:

ALBA

Mairi Denovan, 2 Woodburn Place, Edinburgh 10.

BREIZH

Jori Ab Herve-Gwegen, 9 Rue F Blons, 29260 Plouzeniel/Ploudaniel.

CYMRU

Merfyn Phillips, Parc y Ffrier, Llandudoch, Dyfed.

EIRE

Tomás Scott, 16 Páirc na Cabraí, Baile Átha Cliath 7.

KERNOW

Ian Williams, 6 Rose Row, Redruth.

MANNIN

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U.S.A.

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INTERNATIONAL BRANCH

Alan Heusaff, 9 Br. Cnoc Sion, Dromchonnach, Áth Cliath 9, Eire.

When renewing please send cheques to same Branch as previously, or notify its secretary of any change.

The General Secretary of the Celtic League is **B. Moffatt**,

**24 St. Germain's Place, Peel.
Mannin (Isle of Man).**

The Editor is Ms. P. Bridson, 33 Bóthar Bancroft, Tamhlacht, B.Á.C. 24, Eire.

Our next deadline for Carn 53 will be 7th February 1986.

Materials sent for publication in CARN must relate to our aims, be clearly written; if in languages other than English articles should be marked to ease editing (bracket sentences/paragraphs which may be omitted in case of need to shorten).

I would like to thank all contributors for their articles. I must stress that there may be a delay in printing some articles; however, all material will be published IN TIME unless contributors are contacted by me due to some difficulty.

PAT BRIDSON

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