

# carn

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

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50p



GWYNFOR EVANS SPEAKING AT THE COMMEMORATION OF LLYWELYN II. SEE STORY INSIDE.  
Photo: Micheal O Laoire

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**THE QUARTERLY PERIODICAL  
OF THE CELTIC LEAGUE  
IN ENGLISH & CELTIC LANGUAGES**

## editorial

### EUROPE

In "Where have we been: 11 these centuries?" Pádraig Ó Snodaigh questions the very notion that Ireland (though we all of us are embroiled) joined 'Europe' when she became a member of the EEC; and further, he questions the assumption that 'Europe' and the EEC are synonymous.

Alan Heusaff, on the other hand, looks at the differences which have occurred since Ireland became one of the Nine, the gains and losses and, most importantly, the opportunities missed. He, too, raises the question of 'what have we joined?' and concludes that a 'Europe of the Peoples' would be preferable to the huge cartel that is the EEC.

One thing is in no doubt - all the Celtic peoples (at least, those of us in geographical Europe) are affected by the EEC and will remain thus for the foreseeable future. Our governments, of whatever party, certainly see all our futures as being integral parts of that conglomerate and do not seriously entertain leaving it. But that 'vision of the future is not the only possibility. And this is where our national movements come in.

The Europe which Pádraig thought was there all the while is the same Europe which Alan would rather be a part of, a Europe where its very diversity was viewed as a source of strength, rather than an irritant to be brushed aside by the Brussels bureaucracy. And if we, in our respective movements, are to follow a (necessarily, in my view) radical path, we must look at the type of Europe which would benefit our nations and peoples.

### CARN

On a totally different matter, I must apologise for the lateness of CARN 39. This was caused by a mix-up of addresses and the need to track down material. This issue is slightly late but Nr 41 will be out by the end of April and we shall, thus be back on target. The deadline for CARN 41 is March 25th but don't hesitate to send your articles early. Actually, the month's delay with this issue could prove to be a blessing, not a curse - a three-month cycle, starting in January/February would lead to publishing CARN in April, July, October, and January, and we could probably avoid such thing as the Christmas peak. Anyway, think about it and let me know.

Sowyn,

*Peddy*

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#### Bobby Sands

Bobby Sands,  
 Sands of Time.  
 You fasted for Thatcher's response.  
 By Irish law, the Brehon law,  
 She was bound to respond.

Patrick sat before the  
 Castle of Seanachie-druid-king  
 Tuan MacCairill  
 Changer for four millenia  
 witnesser of all Irish history  
 as Eagle, Stag, Boar,  
 the Christian waiting for the Pagan,  
 and he responded.

Many an Irish peasant  
 sought his king's response  
 by fasting &  
 got a response

In India, thousands of years ago,  
 the same law held, an Indo-European one,  
 the same one Gandhi practised,  
 the same one you practise, unconsciously,  
 getting a response,  
 Fasting, fasting, fasting,  
 til the slow sands of Time

respond,  
 Bobby.

James Cody  
 P.O. Box 1952  
 Austin, Texas 78767-1952

# On the Gaelic front

*Le Frang MacThomais*

The results of the 1981 Census indicated that the number of Gaelic speakers in Scotland had declined since the 1971 Census returns. The first reaction was deep disappointment, but the 1982 figures in fact tend to give glimpses of hope. Although the total figure for 1981 is down on the 1971 figure (from 81,000 to 79,000) the 1982 questions regarding various language abilities are important.

For instance on the 1981 census form it was possible to tick separately the boxes for ability to speak, read and write Gaelic. This was not asked for in 1971 when the questions concerning the ability to write and read Gaelic were asked for the first time. In 1971 the questions on reading and writing Gaelic were asked only of those claiming to speak Gaelic. Also in 1981 the separate questions concerning ability to speak Gaelic together with English or Gaelic only were combined in the one question concerning the simple ability to speak Gaelic.

What arises from the 1981 question is the counting of those who can read and write but not speak the language. These people are likely to be effective learners of Gaelic who lack the confidence to speak the language. Thus learners who have nailed their linguistic colours to the mast can now be taken into account.

Ability to read Gaelic was claimed by 56% of Scotland's usually resident population, compared with 50% in 1971.

Similar ability to write Gaelic was claimed by 41% in 1981 as compared with 31% in 1971. Thus literacy seems to have increased among Gaels in the decade. Interestingly enough, literacy in Gaelic seems to have increased in the Western Isles, where a bilingual education programme has been in operation for a number of years; the figure for that area is 71%.

But what is encouraging are the figures for areas not regarded as bastions of Gaelic. Inverness: 56%; Badenoch and Strathspey: 52%; Perth and Kinross: 51%. Even suburban areas just outside the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh return above 50%.

Another interesting fact to come from a close study of the 1981 Census was that the interest in Gaelic increased more in the lowlands of Scotland than in the Highlands, particularly where reading and writing the language is concerned.

## Gaelic-based bodies should press for a better deal for the language

When the detailed census for Gaelic is published it will be seen just how widespread Gaelic is throughout Scotland. It is obvious that it is now that Gaelic-based bodies should press their case to the powers that be to get a better deal for the language, both in financial terms and in the context of a legal and Statutory status for Gaelic. Of course it can be claimed that statistics prove nothing, but when ammunition for the recognition of Gaelic is provided by official figures then that powder should not be allowed to get wet. It is ready for using now.

I have advocated for years the setting up of a Gaelic Executive, articulate and politically pressurised to combine the interests of all Gaelic-based bodies in Scotland, so that a united front can be presented. At the moment, the official spokesmen for the language is An Comann Gaidhealach. But An Comann is only one of a dozen or so organisations with a committed interest in the furtherance of Gaelic. Surely now is the time for all fronts to combine. What is holding them back?

In September 1983 it is hoped

that a unique Diploma Course will start at Sabhal Mor Ostaig in Skye. The College is bravely offering the Course which will concern itself with finance, law, business organisation and management. Nothing startling about that - except that the teaching will be done largely through the medium of Gaelic. Diploma awardees will hopefully go back into their own Gaelic-speaking areas and slowly build up a reserve of expertise to replace so many of the existing monoglot English-speakers who have found jobs in local government and government departments. Students for the course are required to have suitable educational qualifications including a competence in Gaelic. This has been long lacking in the Highlands and Islands and one can only wish Sabhal Mor Ostaig well for its courage and determination to see through to its final objectives.

The National Mod of An Comann in the Isle of Skye is now over. Amid all the singing one event was important: the ceremony which took place to commemorate the Battle of the Braes in Skye in 1882 when crofting folk took a stand against the landlords and the forces of the law which threatened their livelihood and way of life. Strange, however, that this could not have been the theme of the whole Mod. Where, for instance, was the stage play which could have been presented to reinforce the fact that we still live with the history of a century ago? Where, for another instance, was the concert of Gaelic songs devoted to the Clearances?

Next year's Mod is to be in Motherwell, just outside Glasgow, a place not particularly noted for its enthusiasm for Gaelic. But even there we might see a celebration of the fact that much of Glasgow's prosperity came from the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders who were forced south to seek work and who made a distinctive contribution to the character of Glasgow and its suburbia. Shall we see it?

# SNP - getting itself together?

## electoral success

Set against a background of falling membership and dropping income, the Scottish National Party gained some welcome electoral success in November. Local council by-elections in Paisley (Renfrew) and Glenlivet (Grampian) brought victories over Labour and Tory opponents respectively. On December 2nd a 20% vote to take second place to Labour in a low key parliamentary by-election in decaying, inner city Glasgow Queenspark has brought some hope of a reconciliation between warring sections of the party.

## internal strife

The internal strife came to a head at the Ayr Annual Conference in June when Chairman Gordon Wilson MP (Dundee East) made a final demand for the end of all internal groups in the SNP. Making it an issue of con-

fidence he won by 306 votes to 188 in an emergency resolution. Amid increasing acrimony the catalyst to Mr Wilson's move was a carefully planned confrontation engineered by traditionalists fronted by Dr Robert Ma Intyre and Winnie Ewing MEP. Their "Campaign for Nationalism in Scotland" quickly disbanded as a formal group after Gordon Wilson had called for a ban on free association among socialists in particular. Siol nan Caidheal, seed of the Caidheal, the militant traditional cultural group resigned from the party while the socialist and republican 79ers reluctantly bowed to the pressure and disbanded on 28th August, leaving only an interim committee to explore the setting up of a cross party socialist group to tackle the National Question.

Incensed by what they saw as a thinly disguised resurrection of the 79 Group, the National Executive of the party expelled the 7 interim committee members and in the same row Margo MacDonald (former MP for Govan) was forced to resign from the party by her employers, Radio Forth. At an inaugural meeting on 30 October, the embryo Scottish Socialist Society attracted 200 mainly SNP and Labour activists and elected a committee to formulate plans and a constitution (4 SNP, 4 Labour and 1 Communist).

## diverging voting patterns

The background to this serious rift in the SNP 'coalition' centres around the attempt by socialists to focus the party's attention on diverging voting patterns in England and Wales compared to Scotland. Briefly, working class Labour voters are leaving with every election and making Michael Foot's efforts to return a Labour government on English votes a near impossibility. Unlike England the Scots loyalty to Labour stems from poverty and fear of Thatcherism which is increas-

ingly divergent from English voting. Hence the SNP call to Labour voters - who will speak for Scotland when England votes Tory again? (as in every election since 1966 but especially in 1979). Inevitably personality clashes between leading protagonists within the SNP, the traditionalists versus the left has bedevilled any attempt at compromise. Much unease about the 11 SNP MP's role in Westminster from 1974 to 79 has yet to be laid to rest. But the result has been the loss of many activists taking a 'holiday' and some defections of a few ambitious youngsters to Labour.

## longterm outlook

Perhaps final resolution will be delayed till after the May 1983 conference in Glasgow or even till the General Election but the 4th of December National Council indicated that nearly half of the party deplored further victimisation of the expelled seven. In a vote of 140 to 116 the Secretary's report to take the appeals in committee was narrowly approved but the Chairman has realised that compromise is necessary for the party's very survival.

The longterm outlook for SNP rests with addressing the opportunities presented by the Tory hegemony in England and by reasserting the radical style of the 70's in a clearer form. A return to bland all purpose nationalism seems unlikely since the delegates at every opportunity pass neo-socialist policies. The problem is to elect a fully committed leadership to carry out their spirit and letter as an alternative based on radical decentralised policy rather than applying Westminster ideas and malpractice in the quest for a free Scotland.

*It would be interesting to hear an analysis of the SNP from the position of those socialists within it - Ed.*

## Stop press

THE LAST REMAINING EISTEDDFOD IN NORTH AMERICA (in Wyoming Valley).

The 94th Cynonfardd Eisteddfod will be held on Saturday, April 30th 1983 at the Dr Edwards Memorial Congregational Church, Edwardsville, Pennsylvania, with afternoon and evening sessions.

There were many eisteddfodau - music and poetry competitions - held in Welsh communities throughout the United States but it is believed that the Edwardsville eisteddfod is the only one that has survived.

The competition for children will be held in the afternoon and the adult's in the evening. For details, write to Mrs Jan Whittaker, 23 Church Street, Edwardsville, PA 18704.

Donna Morgan (717) 287-7245



## alba

## Hands off Knoydart !

Yet another area of the Gaidhealtachd is threatened with military expansionism. The Knoydart estate, known as the Rough Bounds, cleared by the MacDonnell chiefs in the 1850s, is 25,000 h.a. of rugged West coast scenery facing the Isle of Skye. It has been on sale for the last 18 months at an asking price of approx. £2 million. It was recently revealed that the Minister of Defence, John Knott MP had paid a flying visit to see for himself how suitable it was for commando training.

Local MP Russell Johnston (Lib) hopes the military could use the threatened Mallaig rail link and local business interests in the hard hit fishing port see possible cash boosts from off-duty soldiers. Such wild speculation is rejected by the 80 inhabitants of Knoydart, accessible only by sea or over rough foot paths. They met and formed an Action Committee to strenuously oppose the military.

In 1948 the last land raid in Scotland failed to establish local ex-soldiers in Knoydart when the Labour Secretary of State, Arthur Woodburn, dismissed their claims. Subsequent depopulation has reached a critical level but the present inhabitants of Knoydart are seeking land settlement with environmental safeguards as the best alternative to a military no-go area. The 1948 land raiders were following the traditions of the Land League of the 1880s and today's fight must accommodate itself to strong conservation pressures to outbid the military. What cannot be obscured is the man made nature of the wilderness in the Rough Bounds but the nation has the right to see peaceful development in forestry, fish farming and crofting if any real future is to be made of this typical remote Highland area.

Help from the SNP and Stornaway based Keep NATO Out campaigners is supplementing local councillors' efforts to widen the

debate. It must be stressed that the distorted development of Scotland's west coast, turning it into an armed camp is a direct result of the lack of a democratic Scottish voice.

The last word for the moment rests with a verse from Hamish Henderson's 1948 song to the tune of Johnston's Motorcar, concerning the land raid against the then owner of Knoydart, Lord Brockett (a friend of Adolf Hitler, no less)

*" Then up spaké the men of  
Knoydart, you have no  
earthly right,  
For this is the land of  
Scotland and no' the  
Isle of Wight,  
When Scotland's proud  
Fianna, wi' ten  
thousand lads is manned,  
We'll show the world that  
Highlanders have a  
right to Scottish land. "*

RG.

## breizh

## Harz ar folled !

Milionoù a dud a sav bremañ o mouezh a-enep mennad stadoù 'zo peurgan an daou c'hour-c'halloud, berniañ a-heligenañ ijinou - brezel drastusoc'h-drastusañ. N'eur ket evit gouzout pe du en deus ar muiañ gouzho en e sanailhoù. Ret eo bout diskredik pa lavar an eil ez eo bet gounezet lañs warnañ gant egile hag e rank mont ramp en-dro gant hennezh. Pezh a c'haller krediñ eo en deus pep hini a-benn bremañ peadra, ha zoken an dekkement eus ar pezh a spir, da zihastañ un darn vat eus poblañs ar bed ha da beursao-trañ douar, dour hag aer ar re o defe an eurvad (pe ar gwalleur?) da chom bev goude ar bulluc'hadeg. C'hwistim o devo c'hoant ar re-mañ da dabutañ c'hoazh diwar-benn vertuzioù ar gevalaouriezh hag ar gomunouriezh? Hañval eo e vo bet kaset da get frouezh an araokadennoù bet

graet gant an den abaoe kantvedoù hag e vo bet dispennet-rac'h ar rouedadoù-darempred hag an ersavadurioù a vez amparet ganto ar sevenadur. Diskiant-krenn eo deuit ar genstrivadeg-armoù da vezañ. Ma soñj d'an Imerikaned da skouer ne vo ket ar Rusianed evit gouestlañ kement hag int-i eus o nerzh armerzhel d'o darbaroù-brezel hep lakaat o c'henreizhad a-bezh da zisac'hañ dindan ar bec'h e reont ur jedadenn douetus-murbet rak ar re-se zo gouest, ma varner diouzh o istor, da reuziñ ouzh an dienez en un doare dianav da gevredigezh ar builhentez amerikan. Hag evit renerien an Unaniezh Soviedek, mar deo atav gant uhelvennadoù Dispac'h 1917 ez int lusket, ne dleent ket bout dibellañ a-walc'h da foeltrañ ar pezh o deus sevenet en o rannved evit klask gounit ur bed peuz digevannezet ha rivinet evit

nouspet remziad an diazezoù amvevoniel hag armerzhel anezhañ ma c'hallfed sevel warno ur gevredigezh par paneveken d'an hini warlec'h-ietañ a-vremañ. Hini ebet eus ar stadrenerien n'eo dibalamour a-walc'h evit sturiañ a-ratozh-kaer war-du ur brezel nukleel met dre ma teu an diogelroez da fiziañ muioc'h-mui war ardivinkoù-uhelgalvezoniez e kresk ar riskl d'ober fazioù hag e teu lestr ar peoc'h da vout silwinkoc'h eget biskoazh. Gwelit respont Andropov pa lavar D.Reagan aozañ ar banadelloù MX: armoù-argadiñ ha neket - difenn a zo anezho ha kerkent ma vefe gouzavet e oa an Amerikaned war-nes o implij e rafe razailh gant e SS-20. Ha mar deo gwir e laka ar gernez strafuñh da sevel e-touez tud ur vro, mat eo kounaat ivez e vez aesoc'h d'ar re a zo penn startaat an unaniezh pa c'haller treiñ o

## breizh

## [Harz ar folled!]

evezh hag war-du un enebour-  
diavaez.

Pep den en deus e venoz a-  
zivout perzhioù mat ha  
perzhioù fall an div genreizh-  
ad vras. Gouzout a reomp ez  
eo natur ar galloud, evel hini  
an aer, aloubiñ kement tachenn  
a gav goulo, pe gwan harzoù.  
Koulskoude ez eus pobloù ha  
stadoù en Trede Bed hag a  
zalc'h d'o neptuegezh, ha  
betek gouzout, gwirion pe  
glufan, e toujer dezho. Ma  
vefe tu da lakaat anezho da'n  
em unaniñ evit pouezañ war ar  
gourc'halloudoù da dalañ  
a-zevri ouzh kudenn an diarmañ  
a-gevret gant an diskeladegoù  
- tolpadou a c'hoarvez er  
broioù diorret, e savfe bec'h  
war ar Reagan-ed hag an  
Andropov-ed. Eeunek eo ar  
goanag-se, e vo lavaret, rak  
dic'hallus eo aozañ diskela-  
dgoù bras er c'hamp komunour  
pe, ma vez anezho, e vezont  
aozet gant ar Strollad e-unan  
evit goulenn ouzh an Amerikaned  
hepken izelaat live o armadur.  
Setu gwander an arguzenn a-  
dra-sur. Ha n'eo ket en ur  
huchal a-enep an Amerikaned  
hepken evel ma vez graet alies  
en diskeladegoù e meurgerioù  
kornog Europa e vo gounezet  
fizianñ en o dizalc'hded  
e-keñver ideologiezh. Bez'e  
c'hall neuze D.Reagan hag e  
genseurted tamall d'an  
emgerc'herien bezañ flac'hatet  
ma n'eo ket awenet gant Moscov.  
Da nebeutañ e vo lavaret. evel  
ma reas ministr an Nerzhioù  
Armet e Breizh-Veur, da heul  
an diskeladeg gant 30,000  
maouez e Greenham Common,  
a-enep an darbaroù da sichen-  
nañ eno bannadelloù Pershing  
pe Cruise, e tiaesaer saviad  
ar gouarnamantoù er c'hen-  
brezegoù-diarmañ pa ziskouezer  
d'ar Re Kuz ez eus kement a  
eneziezh en-dro d'an diazevvaou  
er C'Hornog; gant gwir abeg  
e c'houlenne perak ne vez ket  
diskeladegoù bras ivez dirak  
kannatioù Unaniezh ar Soviedoù.  
Ne gred ket meur a geodedour  
soviedat dont a-gevret gant  
estrenien evel Svediz da  
bilpast dirak ar C'Hremlin  
evit reiñ atiz d'ul luskad  
enep-nukleel bennak ivez en  
o bro. Bez'ez eus luskadoù  
koulskoude e darn eus broioù  
ar Reter, er Republik Demo-  
krat-Alaman hag e Roumania  
da vihanañ. Darvoudoù ar  
Pologn a ziskouez n'eo ket  
dic'hallus da luskadoù-pobl

kreñv dinodiñ du-hont.  
Kabestret e vezont met diwall  
a reer a vont ken garv outo ha  
ma c'hoarvezas e 1956 en  
Hungaria. Diaesoc'h e vefe  
ivez da renerien ar C'hremlin  
herzel ouzh kresk ul luskad  
a-du gant an diarmañ e diabarzh  
o harzoù ma vefe gwelet gouarn-  
amant ar Stadoù-Unanet o lakaat  
fed ouzh youl an diskelerien  
diniver eus an tu-mañ.

Diskredik on pa damaller d'an  
tolpadoù chalet gwanaat ar  
gosrezenn gornogat er c'hen-  
brezegoù-diarmañ. Krediñ a  
rafen kentoc'h ez eus er  
c'helc'hioù - lu ha - greant-  
erezh guped hag a glask dreist  
peptra rastellat arc'hant ha  
dastum galloud hag int dallet  
gant o c'hoantegezh ouzh  
disoc'h an erv a bleustront.  
Seurt tud a ranker o c'habes-  
trañ ha n'eus tu d'hen ober  
nemet en ur bouezañ war ar  
bolitikerien keit ha ma c'hall  
ar re-mañ c'hoazh kaout ul  
levezon bennak war ar stadren-  
erezh. Marteze eo tonket d'an  
emgerc'hoù-diarmañ c'hwitañ  
met muioc'h a riskl a welan er  
c'hwitadenn eget er berzh.  
An darn vrasañ eus bediz n'o  
deus ket c'hoant da vout renet  
gant Moscov na gant Washington  
hag ar gwellañ tra a c'hallont  
ober evit harpañ da ziskoulmañ  
kudenn an armadurioù eo disk-  
ouez d'ar re-se ez int heuget  
gant o c'henstrivadeg. Ma vez  
kreñv a-walc'h al luskad dre  
ar bed e teuio tamm-ha-tamm  
pobloù ar "Reter" da welout e  
rankont int ivez lakaat bec'h  
war o renerien da ziarmañ.  
Ezhommoù bras o deus-int ha  
ne vezont ket dic'hoantet  
peogwir e vez foranet kement  
eus an nerzhioù armerzhel gant  
an araezioù-brezel. Ret eo  
avat d'an diskelerien er  
C'Hornog komz a-enep armerezh  
ar Reter kement hag a-enep  
hini ar C'Hornog. Arabat  
krediñ e plego ar gouarnamantoù  
gant an holl gorvoerien a harp  
warno, dre gaer da youl ar re  
a zo spiswel a-walc'h da hopal  
"Harz ar folled!"

A.Heussaff.

Words in the above article not  
found in R.Hemon's Nouveau  
Dictionnaire Breton Français:  
gourc'halloud = superpower;  
amparet = constituted;  
amvevoniell = ecological;  
uhelgalvezoniezh = high tech-  
nology; diskeladeg = demonst-

A National  
Recording Library:

## Dastum

In November Dastum reached its  
tenth anniversary. Set up by  
volunteers ten years ago,  
Dastum has been collecting  
material in all parts of  
Brittany in Gallo and in  
Breton and has published 6  
records, each of them featur-  
ing a collection of songs  
from a particular region (a  
seventh one is due to be  
published soon.) Today it  
has five full-time employees,  
300 people working in  
conjunction with it; the  
whole success of Dastum lies  
in the fact that from the  
very beginning it had decided  
to be a public service.

Dastum collects traditional  
material and is in the process  
of establishing a centre where  
the recording library, the  
picture library, the general  
file can be housed. This  
will be in addition to the  
work of circulating the  
information which Dastum  
already carries out.

(for information contact:  
Serj Moelo, Sekretourez,  
Le Porzo, 56700 Kervignac)

Herri Leperlier

ration; emgerc'h = campaign;  
saviad = position; araezioù =  
means.

Summary: The case for increased  
support for nuclear disarmament  
campaigns is made here, showing  
how senseless the proliferation  
of the means of mass extermin-  
ation has become but also  
stressing the need for the  
great demonstrations taking  
place in the "West" to call  
equally on the Eastern and on  
the Western rulers to reduce  
their stockpiles if their  
protests are to avoid accusa-  
tions of being manipulated by  
Moscow.

# A look at the Breton political scene

## POBL

**POBL**, meaning 'people' in Breton, is the acronym of the "Parti pour l'Organisation de la Bretagne Libre". A brochure titled "La Troisième voie" and available from 21 Place du Guesclin, 22009 St Brieuc, explains succinctly what it stands for. It publishes also a monthly, "L'Avenir de la Bretagne", same address - subscription 70Fr for outside Brittany and France. For POBL Brittany cannot be represented by individuals and parties which owe their allegiance or are tied to the French State. It must obtain the means necessary to maintain its identity and develop its resources. Like similar historic communities, it must have the right to enjoy a collective autonomous life.

"The way to implement national autonomy" will be negotiated with the French State on a basis of equality. Among the matters for negotiation will be the reallocation of public property, assets and debts. If bilateral agreement is not possible, Brittany will proceed unilaterally (as entitled to juridically after the French unilateral abolition of the 1532 Treaty of Union) in agreement with European and international agencies".

Such a statement raises questions, and not least questions of consistency. However, the power of the Breton people to control their own affairs will be vested in a national assembly democratically elected and extending its authority over the whole of historic Brittany.

During the past 25 years, several political groupings advocating self-government have made their appearance on the Breton scene. The socialist UDB broke off in 1963 from the ideologically non-committed regionalist MOB. It has shown continuity as well as the ability to mobilize its members and to overcome internal differences although its tight-rope walk

between the necessity to affirm its Breton identity and its hankering after co-operation with the French Left may now cause apathy to spread among its ranks, dissatisfied with the crumbs falling from the Elysee table. The moribund M.O.B. was succeeded in 1972 by Strollad ar Vro, which collapsed after it had allowed a newcomer, whose credentials became suspect, to gain control of its direction. In the past two years, Strollad Pobl Vreizh emerged as a party advocating full freedom from France but devoting itself to the task of educating the people to think of themselves as a nation whose interests cannot be served by the French government instead of participating in an electoral system geared to serve the French interests.

The stand taken by POBL reminds one of Strollad ar Vro in its earlier phase and even of the MOB. It carries a clearer nationalist message than the UDB but it does not reject the French system as thoroughly as S.P.V. The outsider will wonder how the central committees of these different groups visualise ever reaching the stage when they will have sufficient support to win the kind of self-government they want. The UDB will have a chance to test its belief, that autonomy is worthwhile only with socialism, in the 1983 municipal elections and later in the regional elections (if it pleases the Paris government to hold them). We will then see if its policy is more popular than in 1978 when they got 38 of their candidates elected as municipal councillors (there are about 15,000 of these in all of Brittany). Can POBL if it gets better organised and mobilises enough active members, show that its motto "Self-government first - party politics later" has a wider appeal? While the two kinds of autonomists remain unwilling and unable to co-operate on limited objectives the ordinary 'Breton - in - the - street' is bound to feel that they are too weak to

defeat the forces of status quo and the majority will continue to vote for French parties.

## Municipal elections

The Union Democratique Bretonne plans to present candidates in as many communes as possible next March. The party is trying to make the same arrangement as in 1978, ie. get its candidates on the same voting lists as the French socialist and communist candidates. It does not want to be accused of 'dividing the Left' but if no agreement is reached it is prepared to go it alone. Top figures in the two French parties see an advantage in the UDB approach but at local level in Brittany there seems to be opposition to it. Pride does not play an important role in politics, otherwise the UDB could by now declare that they had given frequent proof of their commitment to socialism and willingness to cooperate and reject any blame for splitting the Left. They complain that, though they are welcome when they urge their supporters to vote for the best-placed Left candidates, they are cold-shouldered when they ask for recognition of their real importance in the field. The Socialist Party does not behave differently from others when it comes to nudging and pushing and exploiting its advantage. It claims all the credit for what the government has achieved since May 1981? Quite normal, since this will help it to win

next time a higher vote and thus dispense with the support of such troublesome friends as the UDB. It has brought a new law for municipal elections which makes it well-nigh impossible for small parties to have their candidates elected on independent lists and thereby deprives them of bargaining power if they want to be represented on common Leftist lists. When it comes to exclude the same small parties from access to television at election times, the PSF and the PCF join hands with the Giscardians and the Chiracians without fear of



## breizh

## [political scene]

being called objective allies of the Right.

Since its beginning, the UDB has lived under tacit blackmail from its "friends": "cooperate, help us to get our people elected and reject cooperation with other Breton tendencies OR be prepared for accusations of weakening the working class and fascism!" In the hope of increasing its electoral support it accepts playing second fiddle to them. It is a low-key approach to Breton freedom.....

## Between words and deeds

The Committee for the Administrative Unity of Brittany (CUAB) which is campaigning for the return of Loire-Atlantique to "Region Brittany" was told on November 5th, by the Minister of the Interior and Decentralisation, G. Defferre, that his government would not revise the limits of the administrative regions unless the councils concerned asked for it. The Rennes Regional Council declared itself unanimously in favour of Loire-Atlantique being attached to the four other Breton departments. But Loire-Atlantique is part of the ill-assorted Pays de Loire Region which has an officially in-built interest in maintaining the status quo. Although it was acknowledged in 1978 that the Breton Cultural Charter should apply also to it, nothing has been done since May 1981 to give effect to that in education and broadcasting. On the contrary public money has been lavished on schemes to familiarise the people of Loire-Atlantique with the notion that they are "Paysdeloiriens" and not Bretons. Thus Mr Defferre and his government are no impartial referees in this matter.

In an interview given by the Minister of Public Services and Administrative Reform, A. Le Pors, to the monthly *Le Peuple Breton*, he said that Brittany's fundamental problem was its underindustrialisation. Now, it is well-known to his government that this can be remedied only

with the help of the industrial and maritime potential of the Nantes - St Nazaire agglomeration. Obviously there is no will to do so in Paris.

Le Pors, a communist, said there were four other ministers of direct Breton origin. Some of them occasionally talked about the Breton problems but it never took administrative form. "I have", he said "the greatest concern for the welfare and interests of my native region and I never fail to ask my colleagues to take its needs and aspirations into account and to give it the means to develop in all domains". (The Bretons' aspiration to see their historic territory recognised and Diwan's aspiration to be recognised as a public service entitled to regular funding by the public purse are nevertheless dismissed by the Cabinet..

Questioned about the right to use Breton in dealing with the administration, Le Pors said he stood for French remaining "the fundamental vehicular language" but if Breton could help to improve relations between the administration and the people he would have nothing against its use "as is already allowed in town halls, tax collectors' offices, post offices". But he opposed "voluntarism", by which he meant demands by language campaigners which exceeded the needs expressed by the people. (In fact what is allowed is very limited, because neither the civil servants nor the people in general have received any education in Breton, forms in Breton don't exist; and demands for a change in that situation depends, as the example of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* showed, on determined pressure on the authorities, in other words on "voluntarism". So, is this not all double-talk?

A. Heusaff.

**BREIZH**, monthly magazine of the Breton culture, 32pp (of which 4 in Breton). 60F (but 80F outside 'France') per annum, to C.C.P. Breizh 2 135 53 V Rennes. Le Pradi, Tredion, 56 250 Elven.

## Radio Breizh-Izel

Reactions to the establishment of Radio Breizh-Izel (see Carn no. 39) have been mixed. Let us remind our readers that RBI broadcasts from 6.00am to 11.00pm and has some portions of its programmes in Breton. While 70% of the contents remain French, of the remaining 30%, only 12% are in Breton only, without being mixed with French. Reun'n Ostiz, a member of the political executive of the UDB, says that there is enough Breton for the moment, and also that he is against an all Breton-speaking Radio. That is a far cry from Skol an Emsav's position that there should be a free mass-media in Brittany, including a Radio Station in Breton, side by side with one in French, for the whole of Brittany. It does not seem that Skol an Emsav's and many people's claim for a Breton TV Channel on the same lines as S4C in Wales, has even been considered by the UDB. The biggest problem is that RBI covers only half of Brittany and that Breton speakers who have to work in the East of Brittany will not be able to hear it.

## - and others

A few radio stations have begun broadcasting some Breton, among them Radio Bro-Leon, Radio Bro-Vigoudenn (one hour per week), Radio Brest-Atlantique (one hour per day), and Radio 9 in Gwened, every Saturday (14.30). We just give these examples to show that on the radio side some change is taking place. Unfortunately this hides a few disarming facts: on Radio Bro-Vigoudenn many Breton speakers do radio programmes in French and prefer to do so, although Radio Bro-Vigoudenn would prefer to have at least 50% of its air time in Breton; Radio Brest-Atlantique Breton programmes are the work of unpaid volunteers only, although RBA gets 800,000F in subsidies from Brest Town Council.

Herri Leperlier.



## breizh

# No - to service in French army

"What impels me to write today is the demonstration attended by 150-200 people (including a few Irish visitors) which took place in Roazon/Rennes on October 27, in support of H.Kerrain and B.Korbel (jailed a year before for refusing conscription into the French army. Except for 5 or 10 participants who joined us for purely anti-militarist reasons, we all shared the prisoners' stand that Bretons do not owe military service to France. After two speakers had addressed us, we marched from the town-hall square to the military barracks, but there we were stopped by two lorry loads of CRS police. A quarter of an hour later, we were given a taste of Mitterand's socialist medicine when the CRS invited us to a "feast of the stick", dealing freely kicks and blows while crowds of passers-by looked on in amazement. Given the day (mid-week), we could not be numerous, but the CRS helped us to more publicity than we expected!".

(Report from K.T.)

On November 29, Youen Chaillou and Yannig Bechennig, both from Naoned/Nantes, also drew attention to their refusal to be conscripted. They had been called up on April 1, 1982, but had so far not been prosecuted. They went to the

office of Maurice Briand, MP for Gwengamp, and handcuffed themselves to him for an hour. To the State representatives (public prosecutor and "sous-prefet") they declared: "We are Breton nationalists. We shall not serve in the French army!" They were placed under arrest in the Rennes barracks but, after a week, having done all they could to break regulations, they were transferred to the prison, 56 Blvd J. Cartier, 35000 Rennes, although normally the refractory conscripts are brought there only after trial. They are allowed to receive (censured) postcards or letters - which we recommend CARN readers to send - but add under their names "Prisonnier Politique Breton". Two others, Bernez Boulc'h and Jean Francois Bideault, were called up on December 2 but are taking the same stand, as Bretons.

Five nationalist associations have joined together in support of a coordination of Breton insubordination to military conscription.

Early in December B.Korbel was released from jail, followed by H.Kerrain. The army court which had sentenced them (more severely than in previous cases because of their refusal to speak Franch during their trial) has now been replaced by a civil court.

## Breton language comics

If you are a comics fan, and we do not mean children's comics, then you will find the 13 Breton language comics already published enjoyable and useful for improving your command of the language. The trend is here and seems to be getting stronger every year: 'Fri Korloko' was published by Al Liamm, (2, Venelle Poulbriquen, 29200 Brest.) and compiled by Tudu, a now well-known cartoonist in Brittany; in 1976 Preder (Penn Menez, Plomelin 29000 Kemper) published two translations of Asterix: 'Asteriks E Breizh' and 'Emgann ar Pennoù', but beware! for it is a very high-brow Breton to say the least. The same year Skol an Emsav published two translations of Lucky Luke: 'Ma Dalton' and 'Pare Breudeur Dalton' (8 straed Hoche, 35000 Roazon). In 1978 Fournier, a Breton who is published in Belgium, was translated by Loeiz Moulleg: 'An Ankou', (Editions Dupuis, 39 Rue Destree, 6001 Marcinelle Belgium) which takes place in Brittany where gangsters try to steal a dangerous radioactive material.

In 1979 Castermann published 'Ar 7 Boulken Strink', featuring the well-known comic strip hero Tintin, (Ed.Castermann, 66, rue Bonaparte, 75006 Paris) Then recently the association Keit Vimp Beo (Daled ar Re Yaouank, 29112 Briec de L'odet) published 5 albums 'An Takad Glas Etre Ar C'houlmoul', 'An Enebour', 'Ar Sekred' and 'An Crignal' and also 'Chinook'.

Finally let us mention 'Koumanant Echu', a new album by Tudu published by Al Lanv (8, rue de L'Ile de Batz, 29000 Kemper). The real purpose of all these comics is to provide Bretons with an enjoyable way of using their language while making the link between spoken and written Breton, which can then break out of the ghetto-like strait jacket of novels and magazines intended only for the initiated.

Herri Leperlier.



Mari g-Kervareg playing the leading role in the play "Dahud" (based on the Ker-Is legend) at Gouel ar Brezhoneg, Gwengamp.

Courtesy: Evid ar Brezhoneg.

# Datblygiadau yn y Sabhal Mor

Can fod fy ngŵr a minnau yn treulio wythnos yn y Mod yn Ynys Skye fis Hydref diwethaf nid oeddwn am adael yr Ynys heb ymweld â Sabhal Mor Ostaig roedd cymaint o sôn wedi bod amdano yn ystod y blynyddoedd diwethaf ymysg y rhai sy'n ymddiddori yn yr ieithoedd Celtaidd. Pan gyrhaeddodd ni roedd parti o blant ysgol yn cael eu tywys o gwmpas yr adeiladau, ac ar ôl gweld yr arddangosfa o lyfrau Gaeleg ac ati, cawsom wahoddiad i ymuno â'r plant i weld ffilmiau o fywyd trigolion yr Ynysoedd yn y ganrif ddiwethaf ac i glywed rhai o'u caneuon.

Fferm oedd Sabhal Mor Ostaig yn wreiddiol, ac adeiladwyd ef yn 1810 gan Ystad Macdonald. Er 1972 pryd y prynwyd darn mawr o'r ystad gan Ian Noble, mae'r lle wedi'i ddatblygu'n raddol i fod yn Coleg Gaeleg, a gwelwyd yn CARN o bryd i'w gilydd gyfeiriadau at y cyrsiau a gynhelid yno.

O Fedi 1983 gobeithia'r Coleg weithredu'n llawn amser pryd y derbynir ugain o fyfyrwyr i gychwyn ar gwrs diploma o ddwy flynedd mewn astudiaethau busnes yn bennaf

Mae hyn yn gryn gamp, canys yng ngeiriau'r perchennog, Ian Noble, dyma'r tro cyntaf i'r Hebrides gael canolfan Addysg Uwch Aelleg lawn amser er dyddiau dinistrio mynachdy Iona gan Wyr Llychlyn fil o flynyddoedd yn ôl.

Gellir priodoli cryn lawer o lwyddiant y Coleg hyd yma i ysbrydoliaeth ac ymdrechion Duncan Mac Quarrie, athro o drwy gyfrwng Gaeleg. Y mis Medi dilynol derbynir ugain myfyriwr arall, a hyderir y bydd y Coleg yn gallu darparu ar gyfer deugain myfyriwr a thri neu bedwar darlithydd yn gyson yn y dyfodol.

Mae Adran Addysg yr Alban wedi cymeradwyo'r cwrs a fydd yn rhoi sylw arbennig i agweddau ymarferol ar redeg busnesi bychain yn y gymdeithas wledig, ac ystyr hyn ydyw y bydd y myfyrwyr a fynycha'r Sabhal Mor Ostaig yn cael yr un faint o gymorth ariannol a'r rheini sy'n ymaelodi â cholegau eraill. Mae Cyngor yr Alban dros Addysg mewn masnach, Scotbec, wedi cydnabod y cwrs fel un a fydd yn hyfforddi i fyny i lefel Diploma Cenedlaethol Uwch yr Alban. Inverness, a benodwyd yn

gadeirydd Bwrdd Ymddiriedolwyr Sabhal Mor yn 1977.

Beth bynnag, erys nifer o broblemau i'w datrys. Nid yw'r adeiladau i gyd yn barod mae llawer o gyfarpar i'w brynu, a rhaid sicrhau arian i dalu'r darlithwyr. Nid yw'r Coleg yn derbyn incwm uniongyrchol rheolaidd ac eithrio tanysgrifiadau blynyddol y 700 o gyfeillion Sabhal Mor, Caidreamh an t'Sabhail, ac yn ddiweddar gneud apêl i hyrwyddo gwaith y Coleg.

Mae trigolion lleol Sleat yn edrych ymlaen yn frwd at y fenter. Golyga y bydd deugain o bobl ifainc yn ymgartrefu yn yr ardal ac yn cyfoethogi'r bywyd cymdeithasol.

Serch hynny, erys y cwestiwn beth fydd yn digwydd i'r holl fyfyrwyr wedi iddynt orffen y cwrs. A fydd ganddynt, mewn gwirionedd, yr adnoddau priodol i'w galluogi i wneud unrhyw gyfraniad sylweddol i economi cefn-gwlad yr Alban, neu a fyddant yn eu cael eu hunain ar y clwt eto ymhent dwy flynedd fel gweddill eu cyfoedion yn yr ynysoedd hyn.

Z

## Anwybyddu'r egwyddorion

Yma yn y Gymru gyfoes mae engreiffitiau lu o'n diwylliant a'n hetifeddiaeth yn cael ei warchod, ei adnewyddu ac weithiau ei foderneiddio. Mae camau breision wedi eu cymeryd ym myd darlledu yn diweddar, mae'r cyhoeddwy'r yn mynd o nerth i nerth, ac mae cenhedlaeth newydd yn araf ddihuno i'r ffaith fod yr hen ffordd Gymreig o fyw yn bwysig. Buasai hyn oll, er yn bell iawn o berffeithrwydd, yn sicr wedi plesio Pádraig Pearse petai ar wyneb y ddaear heddiw.

Ei nôd oedd sicrhau rhyddid i'w wlad a nerth i'w diwylliant a'i hiaith. Fel aelodau o'r Gynghrair Gaeleg y brwydrodd ef a'i gyfoedion i sefydlu gwerinlywodraeth yn Iwerddon. Ei freuddwyd oedd Iwerddon rydd, ond hefyd Gwyddelig o ran iaith, diwylliant ac agwedd. Er fod sefyllfa wleidyddol Cymru

yn wan iawn, o ran diwylliant gynhenid o leiaf 'rydym yn nes at amcanion Pearse na'i wlad ei hunan. 'Roedd Etholiad Cyffredinol yn Iwerddon yn diweddar, y drydedd mewn deunaw mis. Drwy ddyfalbarhad, dynwch ac argyhoeddiad pobl fel Pearse y gwnaethwyd hi'n bosibl i gynnal etholiadau yn y wlad i benderfynnu pwy oedd i lywodraethu, yn lle dertyn ymreolaeth gan Loegr. Eto, ni chlywyd lawer o sôn drwy'r ymgyrchu gwleidyddol am egwyddorion Pearse.

Mae'r wlad wedi ei rhannu'n ddaeryddol, ond prin iawn oedd y datganiadau am bendant-trwydd y gwleidyddion i ad-enill eu tir. Gwyddeleg yw iaith swyddogol y llywodraeth, ond ni welir fawr o gefnogaeth ymarferol iddi, dim ond llwyth o siarad gwag. 'Does ganddi ddim statws yn y Llysoedd,

na'r byd masnach na gweinyddol, ac mae'r gwasanaeth addysg yn brysyr syrthio oddi ar ei sylfeini. Tra bo miloedd yn ddiwaith, gwelir cynnyrch estron yn llifo i'r wlad oddi allan. Bellach y drefn ddiwyllianol yw dilyn y drefn

Eingl-Americanaid. Mae'r gwleidyddion, boed pa bynnag blaid y cynrychiolasant, wedi ymsefydlu i drefn gyffyrddus o beidio a chodi helbul. Buasai Pádraig Pearse yn troi yn ei fedd pe wyddai am sefyllfa ei wlad heddiw.

Ond eto, mae rhai yn Iwerddon sy'n ymdrechu o hyd i gadw at amcanion ac egwyddorion y gwladgarwr. Yn flynyddol bydd *Fondúireacht an Phiarasigh* (Cymdeithas Pearse) yn cyflwyno *Gradam an Phiarasigh* (Tlws Pearse) i un a deimlir iddo weithio'n ddyfal tuag at amcanion Pearse. Yr enillydd

## Anwybyddu'r egwyddorion

am 1982 oedd Cormac Mac Cárthaigh am oes o waith disglair ym myd addysg a chyda plant yn gyffredinol, yn arbennig yng nghyswllt dysgu'r iaith. Yn frodor o Gorc, yn sgil ei ymdrechion ef y gwelwyd agor ysgolion Gwyddeleg fel *Scoil na nG* ac *Colaiste an Phiarsiagh*. Trueni na fuasai'r dynion a'r merched yn y *Dail* yn dilyn llwybr Cormac Mac Cárthaigh rhywfaint ac efallai wedyn y gall Pádraig Pearse orffwys mewn hedd, gan wybod bod dyfodol ac enaid ei wlad a'i bobl mewn dwylo diogel.

Wrth droi ein trem yn ôl at Gymru, mae'n werth cofio ored llawer i genedlaetholwyr a gwladgarwyr. Sef y caiff iaith

a diwylliant ein gwlad fwy o chwarae tēg (er cyn lleied yw) o lundain na a ddaw o lywodraeth yng Nghaerdydd. Beth bynnag am y gred honno, ac mae lle i gytuno gyda'i i raddau, mae ganddom engraifft ein brodyr dros y môr i adysgu ohoni. Gobeithio na fydd yr ail werinlywodraeth Geltaidd i'w sefydlu yn gwneud yr un camgymeriadau a'r un gyntaf.

(The annual awarding of *Gradam an Phiarsiagh* to a person following the ideals of Pádraig Pearse leads one to consider how far the present government of Eire are following those same ideals.)

Ian Llyfni.



Neo-celtic pot with tartan interlace glaze, 24 inches; By Ian Bán

## Commemoration of Llywelyn II

Perhaps the throng was not so great as that which witnessed the death and beheading of Llywelyn II, the last true prince of Wales, on December 11, 1282, but those who went to Cilmeri on the Saturday afternoon, 700 years to the day later, to commemorate their loss were determined to keep faith with Llywelyn's dream of a united and free nation.

Of the people who spoke at the ceremony organised by Cofiwn, an organisation which strives to preserve the history of Wales in the consciousness of her people, including Gwynfor Evans, Geraint Bowen and Debbie Rees (who spoke on behalf of the young men who have been held in a Cardiff jail for six months awaiting trial) only the first speaker began on a black note, saying that this 700th day of remembrance would be the final centennial as there would be no Welsh people left by the 800th, so quickly were they being absorbed by an English way of life. The crowd, representative of five generations of Welsh-speaking Welsh, disagreed wholeheartedly with this negative view. Their sentiments were echoed later in the day by Angharad Tomos of Cymdeithas yr Iaith when she said that she believed both the language and the people would survive to commemorate Llywelyn II for many centennials to come.

Geraint Bowen read the following 'Englynion' before the youngest of the generations were presented with commemorative scrolls.

Clwy marwol trais Cilmeri - fo i'ch cof  
a'ch can a'ch rhyfel gri,  
a noddwr ein carneddi  
fo'ch noddwr a'ch arwr chwi.

Ei gur sydd ar y garreg, - am ei faen  
mae ei faner liwdeg,  
galar lle bu gwartwareg  
ar ddydd yr unfed ar ddeg.

Gwelwch lle bu ei galon - yn gwaedu,  
a'i godwm ger Irfon;  
chwi'r ifanc, dewch i'r afon,  
ireiddiodd ef ddyfroedd hon.

Angof na foed ei gofeb, - ei angau,  
ei ing a'i wroldeb;  
breiniol yw uwchlaw bron wleib  
a cheunant y drychineb.

The ceremony ended with seven minutes of silence, one for each of the centuries which have passed, and then the throng walked from the monument in Cilmeri to Pont Irfon where they gathered in the market hall for speeches from Angharad Tomos, Micheál Ó Laoire of the Irish Language Movement, and Danny Borel from Catalonia who spoke of his people's struggle to retain their language and culture under the Spanish government.

Micheál Ó Laoire received resounding applause when he cautioned the audience against making the same mistake as the Irish of adopting the English language. He encouraged them to retain their language within the context of a Welsh society and to beware of the strong destructive force of Anglo-American culture on their children through the media. For non-Welsh speakers, Ó Laoire gave encouragement against feelings of inferiority and strongly urged them to insist that their children received a Welsh education.

This 700th day of remembrance for Llywelyn II of Wales also served to show the continuing bond between people of all Celtic nations by the presence of representatives from each of them. Representatives from Alba, with banners and in traditional dress lead the march from Cilmeri to Pont Arfon.

Leigh Verrill

# Welsh schools in English-speaking counties

The political prospects of nationalism in Wales may look more hopeless than at any time in the last twenty years, but culturally the prospects are bright - and it is culture which decides whether a nation exists for politicians to be nationalist about. In March 1981 the Digest of Welsh Statistics showed that 14% of children in Wales under the age of ten speak Welsh fluently. As this proportion was down to 10% in 1976, this means that it has started to increase for the first time since Brad y Llyfrau Gleision (the government report whose publication in 1847 began the systematic anglicisation of education in Wales).

The only important cause of this increase has been the development of Welsh-language schools. Perhaps the most significant event of all was the founding of the Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin (Nursery School Movement) at the Bangor Eisteddfod in 1971.

## No. of children in 2 - 5 age range in Wales.

1971	131,900
1981	108,000

## Children in Welsh nursery schools:

	number	as a %age of all children
1971	1,850	0.73%
1981	5,500	5.1%

(It is noticeable that there has been a drastic fall in the birth-rate in Wales, which produces yet more problems for the survival of our nation, but it does mean that there are empty schools available for the expansion of Welsh-language education.)

There has been a great increase in numbers at the Welsh or bilingual primary schools in the most English of areas (in fact, in Welsh-speaking Dyfed the decline of Welsh-

language teaching has continued). In Canol Morgannwg (Mid Glamorgan), part of Morgannwg, where in 1971 11.8% of the people spoke Welsh in 1968 - 1,272 pupils attended  
11 Welsh-language primary schools

in 1968 1,272 pupils attended  
11 Welsh-language primary schools

in 1981 4,071 pupils attended  
22 Welsh-language primary schools

and in 1981 9% of all primary school children in the county were at Welsh schools. In Gwent, more or less coterminous with Sir Fynwy (Monmouthshire), where in 1971 2.1% spoke Welsh, the increase has been more recent and more rapid:

in 1977/8 239 children (0.5% of total)  
attended 4 Welsh primary units

in 1980/1 500 children (1% of total)  
attended 4 Welsh primary units.

As I have commented in CARN 34 p.10 Welsh units inside English-language schools are not very desirable, though one of those in Gwent, Pengam, like Dolau, one in Canol Morgannwg, has now grown larger than the English section of the school; in these circumstances the units may not produce quite the results intended by the anti-Welsh councillors and educators who support them.)

Because the Welsh-language schools are attacked by Labour politicians from Neil Kinnock M.P. downwards as being provided for a middle-class elite - at least that is the public reason they give for their opposition; one suspects that their private reason is that they think the schools breed nationalists - it is interesting to read "Addysg t rwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg mewn ardal Seisnig: Nodweddion ac ymagweddau'r rheini" by Eluned Bush and others in Education for Development - Journal of the Faculty of Education, University College, Cardiff Vol.6 No.3 (April 1981). Mrs. Bush discusses in it the nature and motives of those who send their children to the Welsh units in Gwent. She shows that the social class of distribution of these parents showed no great variation from the rest of the people of Gwent. (This contrasts with the situation in the all-Irish primary schools in Dublin, where only 8% of the fathers are unskilled or semi-skilled as against 23% of all Dubliners - one suspects Kinnock would find Dublin much more to his taste.) However, the parents do have somewhat higher educational attainments than the average for their class (though 32% of the fathers of one unit had no qualifications at all, not a single 'O' level or C.S.E. pass), and they also have an average age in the mid-thirties, much higher than that of most parents of primary school-children. The meaning of these two facts is probably



Llywelyn II Commemoration: Oration at the stone; note Celtic League flag.

(Photo: Michéal Ó Laoire)



that, unless you have more education or experience of the world than average, you don't succeed in beating down the kind of bureaucratic opposition your desire to have your child educated in Welsh generally meets, as I described in CARN 34.

The parents were not asked for their political allegiance; but 8% of families received a Plaid Cymru newspaper. This must be about ten times the average in Gwent. It would suggest to me, however, that the majority of the parents are not politically nationalist and vote rather for the unionist parties.

Their main motives for sending their children to Welsh-language units are fairly similar to those of the Dublin parents (percentages are given of those saying that a factor was 'very important' or 'fairly important'):

Wanting the child to be fluent in Welsh because we are Welsh	- 73%
Teachers are more interested in the children	- 60%
Academic achievements are higher	- 54%
Smaller classes	- 43%
Better educational methods	- 39%
Closer relationship between parents and teacher	- 38%
More emphasis on the basics of education	- 28%

Incidentally, the parents are often mistaken in thinking the Welsh schools provide all these advantages: because of their popularity the classes are often larger than in nearby English-language schools; and in one of the Gwent units a shocking method of teaching is used - the same teacher talks to the children in Welsh in the morning, in English in the afternoon - which is well-known to confuse them deplorably.

51% of the parents were born in Gwent; 18% in England; 9% in Welsh-speaking rural areas and most of the rest in adjoining parts of industrial South Wales. Though there are large numbers of Irish immigrants in Gwent, there is no mention of any of them sending a child to a Welsh-language unit, which does not really surprise me: it is a regrettable fact to any member of the Celtic League that Irish immigrants to Wales are far more bitterly opposed to the Welsh language than English immigrants are.

The statistics which cause most worry in the whole article are that:

22% of the fathers	26% of the mothers are Welsh speakers
29% of the fathers	37% of the mothers have learnt / are learning Welsh

but only:

6% of the fathers 9% of the mothers speak mainly in Welsh to their children.

Though in 60% of the homes it was claimed that Welsh was used occasionally, it seems the parents are dumping the responsibility of passing on their own language entirely on the schools. The result is likely to be,



Llywelyn II Commemoration: Interceltic support - "Sìol nan Gaidheal" from Alba.  
Photo: Michéal Ó Laoire.

again judging from Irish experience, that the language will become associated with school alone. The problem is that the parents, even those fluent in Welsh, have ceased speaking it because there is no occasion, outside their own front doors, when they are not obliged to speak English. The revival of Welsh, or any other Celtic language, will require the development of more than just schools and television in Welsh: chess clubs and gardening clubs and evening classes and every other kind of social contact needs to be available in Welsh; shops where Welsh is spoken; and, perhaps most vital of all, work in which it is the normal language used.

## ...and in Welsh-speaking ones?

A report published at the beginning of the year shows that the policy of Gwynedd County Council to encourage the use of Welsh in its schools is failing. As more and more immigrant children flood into them and the decline in the numbers of native Welsh-speaking children accelerates, the teachers are simply ignoring the policy: English is being used more and more and in many schools Welsh is heard only in the obligatory 'lesson Welsh'. Five years ago Cymdeithas yr Iaith (the Welsh Language Society) warned that this would happen

unless the schools were designated as Welsh-language schools where the bulk of the curriculum was to be taught in Welsh (and that a certain number of English language schools should be provided for the more incorrigible of the immigrants). The Council took no notice of advice which was based on a certain understanding of the sociolinguistics of the situation, wasted a great deal of time in arguments with the immigrant parents of Bangor and Llandudno, and now finds its whole policy collapsing in ruins.

Ifan Lloyd.

# By-election disaster for Plaid

The by-election in Bro-Gwyr (Gower) on 16 September produced no surprise in its victor. The result was:

	Proportion of total vote	Proportion of total vote in 1979 gen. elec.
Lab	17,095	43%
SDP	9,875	25%
Con.	8,690	22%
Pl.Cym.	3,431	9%

The surprises come lower down the list: the Social Democrat and Liberal Alliance made a fair impact on a working-class Valley constituency where half the electors speak Welsh, despite their candidate, Gwynor Jones, being accused of treachery and worse because, so it was said, he had not left the Labour Party until he had been assured of the Social Democrat candidacy; Plaid Cymru made none at all. Ever since it began to fight by-elections forty years ago, Plaid has usually doubled its general election vote when it came to a by-election in the same constituency - and sometimes it has done far better than that, helped by large numbers of volunteer canvassers from all over Wales and the absence of the mass-media campaign for the English parties, which we always face at general elections.

This time Plaid increased its vote from 3,357 in the general election to 3,431: the mass canvassing and the rest of the by-election lallyhoo brought in 74 extra votes. Afterwards Plaid spokesmen covered up the failure by pointing to the 2% increase in the share of the vote. This

resulted, however, from abstentions, mainly by Labour voters who often fail to turn out in by-elections, and partly by disillusioned Conservatives. The cruel truth is that the statistics show that in all Plaid Cymru's history it has never suffered such a by-election catastrophe.

The party conference held at Llandudno from 28 to 30 October thus faced a dilemma. A year ago Plaid Cymru changed its first aim from "to secure self-government for Wales" to "to secure a democratic Welsh socialist state". This change was supposed to be the way to win support in the industrial constituencies of South Wales, of which Bro Gwyr is a characteristic example. Ieuan Owen, Plaid's candidate there, had much to say about socialism - he was, he boasted, the only socialist candidate standing: almost nothing about nationalism. Yet he lost so badly that some observers forecast that Plaid faces oblivion in the next general election, which will probably come within a year. Should the basic aims of Plaid Cymru be changed back to what they used to be? was the question facing the conference. A motion to delete references to a "socialist state" from the basic aims of the party was supported by the majority present, but not by the two-thirds majority needed for a constitutional change. As a result Plaid Cymru now faces the next general election encumbered with a fundamental socialist commitment which, it appears, most of its activists regard as a millstone round their necks.

Ifan Lloyd.

## éire

# Turas ar Tír na mBascach

Tá na Ceiltigh imeasc na gaolta a luaitear leis na Bascaigh nuair a bhíonn bunús an chine sin faoi chaibidil. Is cinnte nach bhfuil aon ghaol idir an teanga Bhasach agus na teangacha Ceilteacha; sí an teoiric is déanaí faoi bhunús na Bascaí go bhfuil gaol aici leis an tSeoirsis .i. teanga Tír na Seoirseach san Aontas Soibhéideach. Is cosúil go bhfuil trí chéad seasca focal i gcoitinne ag an dá theanga chomh maith le pointí comhreire, agus deirtear gurb ionann na hamháin is na rincí ag na Bascaigh agus sinsir na Seoirseach. Tá fianaise éigin ann ó inscribhinní gur fhág na mílte daoine Seoirse nuair a tharla crith talún agus gur thaistil siad 'leis an ngrian i bhad siar'.. Bíodh na

teoiricí fíor bréagach tá stáid polaitiúil agus cultúrtha na mBascach gar go leor do shaol na gCeiltigh le go gcuirimís suim ar leith iontu.

Don chéad uair ariamh thugas cuairt ar Tír na mBascach i dtús an tSamhraidh seo caite. Tá trí cinn de na seacht gcúige atá i dTír na mBascach suite ar an dtaobh ó thuaidh de na sléibhte Pyrenées laistigh de theorainn na Fraince, ag síneadh ón Atlantach níos fúide soir na Lourdes. Ní dheachamar chomh fada sin soir ach go dtí baile beag ag bun na Pyrenées timpeall fiche míle isteach ón gcósta. St. Jean Pied de Port ainm Fraincise an bhaile, ach bhí an tainm i mBascais, 'Donibane Garazi' scríofa i mbláthanna ar imeall an bhaile. Bhíodh

an baile seo ina lárionad d'oilithrigh ar a mbealach go Santiago de Compostela sa mheánaois agus tá an tsean Eaglais agus cuid de na foirgintí ón aimsir sin slán go fóill. Ionad mor saoire inniu é, leis na sluaite cuairteoirí lae agus daoine eile ar ndálta féin, ag fanacht ann ar a mbealach thar teorann. Sa phroinnteach ina chaitheamar beile d'fhiafraíomar den cháilín óg a bhí ag freastal cén brí a bhí leis. Bhí an teolas aici agus d'inis sí dúinn freisin gur fhoghlaím sí ní amháin labhairt na teangan ach conas í a scríobh sa mbaile óna tuismitheoirí. Ní raibh an Bhascais a muineadh ins na scoileanna go dtí le fíor dhéanaí. Faoi lathair tá an taitheantas céanna ag an mBascais is atá ag an mBriot-

## éire

áinís sa chóras oideachais, agus tá sé sin easnamhach go maith.

Ach anois tá fás ag teacht ar na naíonraí Bascaise, na 'Ikastolak', ar thaobh na Fraince den teora, le timpeall seacht gcéad páiste ag freastal ar tríocha scoil díobh. Sa teach lóistín cúpla míle lasmuigh den bhaile, áit a chaitheamar an oíche, dhearbhaigh fear a 'tí gurb i an Bhascais a labhraíonn siad sa mbaile eatorra féin. I mBascais a bhí an tainm ar an teach amuigh. Dreach ar leith atá ar tithe na mBascach, tithe móra cearnógacha le ainm an té a thógduine de na sinsir go hionduil - agus an dáta os cionn na ndoras. Cúig mhíle uainn atá an teora i ngleann doimhin áit ar a dtugtar Arnéguy. Ina dhiadh sin a thosaíonn an bóthar ag éirí níos géire agus níos crochta, ag dreapadh thar chonair cháiliúil Roncesvalles.

timpeall 3000 troigh ar aoirde. Anseo a rinne na Bascaigh sléacht ar chuid d'arm Charlemagne faoi cheannas Roland sa mbliain 778, ar a bhfuil cursíos i "Chanson de Roland". Tá leacht cuimhneacháin ar mhullach na conrach, slua páistí scoile ar turas lae o Pamplona thart air. An chead rud a tugtar faoi ndeara taréis an teora a threasnú ná go dtéann na bóithre in oclás agus nach bhfuil slacht agus dea-eagar na Fraince le sonrú níos mó; brúscar caite anseo is ansiúd cois bhealaigh mar shampla, rud nach bhfeicfeá ariamh sa bhFrainc. Saol níos réchuisí atá ar an dtaobh seo agus is mó a bhraithfeá an tÉireannach sa mbaile ann. Cumá níos boichte ar an dúthaigh freisin, cé nach hí Tír na mBascach an réigiún is boichte sa Spáinn. Tá an tionsclaíocht bunaithe go láidir ann, go háirithe ins na cathracha móra ar nós Bilbao, Victoria agus Pamplona. B'oideachas ann féin taistal ar na bóithre ann. Is beag áit nach raibh na comharthaí bóthar Spáinnise peinteáilte dubh agus na hainmneacha Bascaise scríofa ina náit. (ba mhaith an rud go raibh

eolas ag duine amháin againn - ní mé fhéin - ar na hainmneacha) Go minic ní raibh fiú an tainm Basciase le feiceáil tríd an phéint; ní raibh le déanamh ansin ach dul sa tseans, mar da maolófaí luas d'fhonn an

bealach a aimsiú, bheadh na hadharca ag séideadh. Gan amhras níl na Bascaigh buartha faoi turasóirí a chur ar seachrán; is tábhachtaí dóibh a dteanga dhúchais (ní mór a rá go raibh na daoine an réidh chun treoir a thabhairt nuair a hiarradh sin orthu)

Ní raibh balla ná spás folamh nach raibh clúdaithe le scríbhinní, a léirigh an speictream iomlán den tsaol polaitiúil; idir manai lucht oibre is an eite chlé, na míleataigh náisiúnta ar nós ETA agus HERRI BATSUNA, lucht frith-eithneach - bhíodar uilig ann, cuid mhór díobh scríofa i mBascais, an tiomlán beagnach ag na náisiúnaithe. Ní ar na ballaí amháin a bhí an Bhascais le feiceáil, ach i ngach banc agus áras poiblí eile; tá stadad oifigiúil tugtha don teanga ag an rialtas reigiúnach, ina bhfuil tromlach ag na náisiúnaithe.

Caithfidh na múinteoirí uilig an Bhascais a fhoghlaim de bhrí go mbeidh an teanga le teagasc i ngach scoil feasta.

Tá ranganna speisialta ann chuige seo. Tá seo dian go leor ar na múinteoirí toisc na huaireanta fada a oibríonn siad, daichead cúig uair sa tseachtain, tríocha díobh ag múinteoireacht agus an fuíollach ag ullmhú is ag ceartú na gceacht - ní mór gach uair den 45 a chaitheamh taobh istigh den scoil. Cairde a thug an teolas seo dom, lánúin gur múinteoirí iad beirt i Mondragon, baile mór istigh faoin dtír. Thugadar cuireadh dúinn deireadh seachtaine a chaitheamh leo ar an goosta ó thuaidh ó Guernica, áit a bhfuil árasán ag muintir na mná. B'fhiú go mór é cé nach raibh an aimsir ró mhaith.

Is beag duine nar chuala iomrá ar Guernica. Níl aon rud suntasach faoin mbaile inniu. Atógadh é a bheag nó a mhór ar son dul leis an tsean bhaile a scriosadh i 1937. Faraoir bhí an crann cáiliúil imithe, tógtha isteach sa bhfoirgneamh ina tionoladh chéad Dáil Bascach i 1936. Bríomhar go maith a bhí an baile maidin Shathairn, slua ag díol is ag ceannach sa mhargadh. Tá comharchumann láidir sa cheantar agus siopa mór aige ina dtig leis na baill earraí a cheannach ar



### BRAN'S HEAD

24 inch. oaken neo-celtic modern sculpture.

By Ian Bân

luach íseal. Ar maidin Dhomhnaigh bhí sé beagnach chomh bríomhar céanna, slua thart tareis Aifrin, ag ól caifé agus deochanna eile ins na tábhairní is ag ithe soláistí beaga, mar is nós leo. Imeach na nuachtáin a bhí ar díol bhí páipéar seachtainiúil ETA, agus ba léir go raibh díol maith air. Tá an ghlaaiseacht láidir sa cheantar seo, rud a mheabhraigh an cosaint daingean ar bheairic na bpoilíní dúinn.

Níl sa méid seo ach spleáchadh ar shaol na mBascach, ceal spáis. Níl aon amhras ach gur áit shuimiúil i Tír na mBascach áit gur fiú cuairt a thabhairt uirthi.

Bríd Heusaff.

The above considers some aspects of life in Euskadi as seen by the writer during a recent visit there. The linguistic and political problems are of particular interest, having many parallels with those of the Celtic countries. The situation there can inspire optimism because of the improved status of the Basque language in the Spanish State and the slight but steady gains on the French side of the border.



# Ten years in the EEC

The Republic of Ireland joined the EEC ten years ago after an 82% vote in favour of membership. Economists claim that it has so far brought financial benefits which largely outweigh the losses due to the abolition of trade barriers. For instance for 1981 this State is said to have got a net EEC budget contribution of Ir£439 million - equivalent to 4.2% of its Gross Domestic Product. In proportion to population, it got 6 times more from the Regional Fund 10 times more from the Social Fund and the fund for agricultural development than other member countries on the average. For infrastructural development, it got over 8% of the total loans made by the European Investment Bank. As a result of easier access to a market of 270 million people Irish dependence on the British market was reduced from 56% in 1971 to 34% while the share of exports to continental countries rose from 14% to 38%.

All these figures are given by an Irish Times European correspondent (I.T. supplement, 30. 12. 82). He does not say how much money the percentages and multiples quoted above represent in absolute figures. He gives no estimate of how much it cost the country to have its indigenous-based industries (textiles, shoes) ruined since 1972. Their place was taken by new, not Irish-owned, industries producing for export: how much has been spent by the State to entice them by providing their infrastructure and how much has been lost on account of their being exempted from taxation and of their readiness to move to other countries once the tax holiday was over?

EEC apologists also claimed that the Republic gained in prestige by being able through membership to participate more actively in world affairs. It is not clear how this is being substantiated. The case which readily springs to mind is the rather embarrassing situation in which this country was put by the war-

mongerers during the Falklands crisis. It could have taken at the beginning a less mercantile approach to the English

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" neutrality ...  
clashed with obligations of solidarity  
... towards the UK "

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demand for joint EEC trade sanctions against Argentina (not trying to barter these against concessions on EEC farm policy). In any case its affirmation of neutrality after armed hostilities had started clashed with the obligations of solidarity which other member states (except Italy) felt they had towards the 'UK'. Whatever about Irish mistakes, EEC membership did not exactly work in favour of this country's prestige during that period. It is in the United Nations that it had the best opportunity to play a world role, as happened during the past two years while it had a seat on the Security Council. (It was through no fault of the Irish ambassador if resolutions concerning the Palestinian problem, drafted by him and adopted in part, were rejected or disregarded).

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" the prospects  
for the next decade  
... look distinctly  
unfavourable "

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But what are the prospects for the next decade of Irish EEC membership? They look distinctly unfavourable.

The cash flow towards Ireland is certainly going to be curtailed as pressure from London and Bonn increases to reduce the Common Agricultural Policy subsidies and to divert available monies from the peripheral to the industrial areas where unemployment is most acute. Should Spain and

Portugal join, Ireland's share of the various subsidies would be further eroded. In the EEC Ireland is allowed only a minor share of her fishing resources - some spokesmen say 5% - whereas, had it stayed out, it could have used them to develop a prosperous, much needed industry on its Western seaboard or negotiated agreements with continental countries eager to have access to her territorial waters.

Three major worries agitate the Irish mind today: the huge public debt, unemployment, the war in Northern Ireland. The threat of nuclear war should be a fourth one but one may wonder whether most people here take a fatalistic attitude or believe that nuclear radiation would not spread across the Irish Sea... ..

The national debt: servicing it swallows a high percentage of the budget, so successive governments now want to eliminate it within a few years. Unfortunately their calculations are found to be wrong, the debt keeps increasing. Loans from the EEC are obviously not a solution, unless one begins to sell big chunks of the country to the friendly partners! Unemployment: it has risen in a short span from 80,000 to 170,000 in the State, with attendant social disorders. It is rising also in other EEC countries, so the "safety valve" of emigration so dear to a former Fine Gael leader no longer exists, although one of the EEC mottoes is "manpower mobility". With the fall in subsidies and a taboo on borrowing, Ireland must depend on her own resources to contain this growing scourge. The outlook is depressing.

Pro-EEC campaigners had argued that once Ireland and Britain had both joined the EEC, the other members would not allow a conflict to continue poisoning their relations without pressing for its resolution.

This has not happened and there is no sign that it will be different in future. Nor has membership of a multi-lingual organisation helped the Irish language to gain greater recognition: the



## éire

Irish government meekly agreed that, alone of the EEC national languages, it would have no status in EEC institutions - it could hardly be otherwise when Irish has hardly any place in official business in its own country, and the efforts being made at European Parliament level in favour of recognition of the "lesser spoken languages", praiseworthy though they are, find no resonance among the Dail politicians and the members of the Dublin govern-

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" it does not occur ... that it is worth ... much money ... maintaining 'small' languages "

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ment. Far from fostering an appreciation of the European cultures and languages in all their diversity, Little Europe finds it too expensive to operate a system of translations between its six official languages, so that finally French and English will have the field between them. Not a situation which Celtic-minded people could welcome! It does not occur of course to *Homó Oeconomicus* that it is worth spending much money on maintaining "small" languages - their value in petrodollars is nil! - but the EEC Bureaucracy could spare a good deal by devising a system of consultation and communication requiring but one tenth of the present amount of print churned out by its various organs - it would help to forestall much soil erosion by saving forests to begin with.

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" Ireland backs disarmament ... but loses her ... independent voice "

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Coming back to the nuclear threat, it appears to us that the best contribution any country, but particularly a small one like Ireland, can make towards reducing international tension is to back the demand for disarmament and encourage its people to join

mass campaigns to the effect. Ireland backs disarmament but by becoming more involved in EEC Councils of Ministers meetings, she loses her ability to speak with an independent voice. She finds herself in the company of States interested in selling arms (which, as in the case of the French Exocet, boomerang against their own allies!) and tied by military alliance to a system of exploitation of the underdeveloped countries.

As a sovereign State, Ireland could maintain neutrality in military matters (although the wisdom of leaving herself almost unprepared to meet external attacks is open to question), but pressure is growing for her to abandon that policy. Already it was suggested that Mrs. Thatcher might have agreed to a gradual reunification of Ireland in exchange for the country's membership of NATO. The present Taoiseach is probably less adverse than his predecessor to some move in that direction which his coalition partners in the Labour Party may not be willing to oppose. Without directly joining NATO, this government will come under pressure to support the Genscher-Colombo plan for (West) European political union which would entail a commitment to common defence and security policies. The greater the economic difficulties in which Ireland finds herself, the more vulnerable she becomes to such blackmail. Will popular common sense be strong enough to realise that once this State has lost the very principle of its sovereignty, limited though it is now, but so dearly acquired by the Tones, Pearses and De Valeras, the more difficult it will be for it to obtain the consideration it has enjoyed during the past ten years. Indeed, all the bonanza payments were not due to the kindness of heart of its EEC partners. These are now preparing to present their counter-claims on Irish solidarity. Have the Irish statesmen enough desire or courage to reject them? They need the support - or the prodding - of the people for that. But have the people enough confidence in their ability to stand on their own if necessary, are they willing to accept a

lowered standard of living in order to retain some freedom to shape their own destiny as a nation? To uphold this freedom, they must become less dependent on financial 'help' from outside and at the same time develop their national

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" the country needs to change radically its outlook "

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resources. So much of the Irish agricultural land is uneconomically used. The unemployed young people should be helped to learn agricultural science, to obtain the lease of communally-acquired land and to shift back from overcrowded cities to the rural areas. To achieve this, the country needs to change radically its outlook on work and property. Is this utopic? We read of the threat of collapse of the international banking system and of its dire consequences for the whole world (editorial of *The Ecologist*, Vol.12 Nr 5, 1982). Ireland has put herself in a dangerous position with her emphasis on cattle rearing and industries for export instead of based on indigenous raw materials. Her fields are green but will her people not have to regret that they soon will no longer know how to grow grain crops and vegetables? The more they get caught in the EEC machine, the less fit for survival they become.

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" freedom "

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I hear the outcry: But what freedom would there be without the NATO umbrella or an eventual (West) European Defence System? I would answer that freedom like charity begins at home. Let the EEC transform itself in such a way that Ireland, and the other Celtic countries, can be free nations, ie. free to maintain and develop their languages and cultures and they can then bring their contribution to a federation of the European peoples, not of States as at present constituted. That would be worth defending. But a 'Community' dancing to the tunes of Paris, London and Bonn. ....?

A.Heusaff.

# Coalition again

The predictions of most political commentators that the Government of the Republic elected in Spring of this year ('82) would last the full term came to naught in the autumn. When one T.D. (MP) died suddenly and another was absent due to a heart attack the Fianna Fail government of Mr. Charles Haughey was defeated in the Dail on a motion of confidence and the state faced its third General Election in eighteen months. Due to the time of year and lack of funds apparently it was a rather low key affair being waged more in the mass media than at the hustings or on the doorsteps.

The opposition Fine Gael and Labour Parties ran separate campaigns with the Labour Party making a virtue out of running its own campaign. Just a month previously the leader of the Labour Party had quit the party following the annual conference's decision not to leave any decision on a post-election coalition to the parliamentary party and administrative council but rather to hold a special post election delegate conference to decide the issue. The new leader Mr. Dick Spring succeeded in uniting the party and running a vigorous election campaign. The ex-leader Micheal O'Leary stood for Fine Gael in the election.

The election was held on Nov. 24th. With very little basic difference in economic policy between the main parties, the credibility of the party leaders and their different approaches to the North were among the major issues raised with the question of abortion and the pro-life amendment

surfacing also despite a commitment from both main parties to hold a referendum on the insertion of a pro-life amendment in the constitution.

The result was: Fianna Fail 75, Fine Gael 70, Labour 16, The Workers' Party 2, Independents 3.

(On dissolution the position was Fianna Fail 80, Fine Gael 64, Labour 14, Workers Party 3, Independents 4.)

The overall majority for the combined Fine Gael and Labour Parties appeared due more to gains from Fianna Fail in crucial marginal constituencies than to any overall swing to them on a national level. There followed some weeks of secret negotiations between Fine Gael and Labour until a settlement which the Labour leader presumably thought would be ratified at the special delegate conference was arrived at. The deal involved provisions for a property tax, increased capital taxes, a National Development Corporation and a softening of Fine Gael's line on the elimination of the Budget Deficit. Although critics could point to many loose ends in the arrangement and pitfalls for Labour's future there was enough to convince the majority (846 - 522) at the special conference of the desirability of entering coalition.

When the Dail resumed Dr. Garret Fitzgerald of Fine Gael was elected Taoiseach and Mr. Spring Tonaiste (Vice Premier) and a cabinet formed with a minority Labour participation. With a comfortable majority it would seem set to last its term unless the strains of Coalition and unpopular economic measures that might yet be proposed to deal with the ever-worsening situation (a deficit exceeded by 50% due to a gross short fall in anticipated taxes - expenditure was actually held at the proposed level) prove too much for those in Labour who still see it as some kind of left wing party.

A. Mac G.

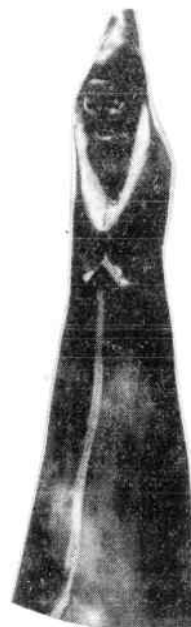
## The Irish Democrat

greet the readers of Carn. It is a monthly paper, of some 40 years standing, published in London. It campaigns to mobilise the Irish in Britain, and to influence British public opinion, for the unification of Ireland as an independent democratic republic.

It provides commentary on political and cultural issues as well as book reviews and news items. Regular writers include Desmond Greaves (Editor, and author of biographies of Connolly, Mellows and O'Casey), Anthony Coughlan, Donal Mac Amhlaigh and Roy Johnston.

The annual subscription is £5.00 sterling, payable to the Manager at 177 Lavender Hill, London SW11 5TE, or, if more convenient, £IR6.25, payable to Janice Williams, 22 Belgrave Road, Dublin 6, Ireland.

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Neo-celtic hooded figure,  
18 inches, cypress,  
By Ian Bán

Support EVID AR BREZHONEG, monthly illustrated magazine (12pp, in Breton, with translations in Franch under each line or otherwise. Useful to those who know French and who want to develop their knowledge of Breton. 60F (70F abroad) to CCP 1076 86 X Rennes (Editor BP 93, 22 202 Gwengamp Cedex).

## éire

# Where have we been all these centuries or the sick sides of contemporary Europe

Reports that the Japanese were trying to emphasise their aggressiveness this century in history text-books provoked angry responses from neighbouring states and more honest historians at home. The Celts may have the nous but not, yet perhaps, the clout to make French and English triumphalism choke in facts.

But geography is being set out of joint in a massive way too by pundits, apologists, politicians, commentators and upholders of the EEC. And with geography in this way the sense of history, the tradition of place, and the background of movement in terms of trade and culture are all being shunted out of perspective - and no-one's shouting stop! Why we don't take this seriously is a puzzle: perhaps we think it is not important, that "it's only propaganda anyway". If so we're fools; all we need to do is listen to the youth and note how that "only propaganda" has become fact for them, and how ignorant they are consequently, how out of focus their vision accordingly. If that were not enough one would have thought that any reading of the success stories of psychological warfare, war-time propaganda, or electioneering "coups" would give us pause.

By too readily / lazily accepting the shorthand (*recte* mindbend) of "Europe" instead of EEC we aid and assist and perpetuate that attack on history, geography tradition and heritage. We are being disoriented, either unknown to ourselves or with an indolent acquiescence.

Community Report, Vol. 3, no.1, (January 1983) is to hand as I write. If I cavil at the use of "Community" in the title I may be deemed meticulous (in its real not vulgar sense). But blazed across the cover is the slogan 'Ten Years in Europe'. Where in the name of Toutatis have we been all these centuries (and were the Poles, the Finns, the... and so on).

### 'Newspeak' how are you ?

And if we read closer inside we find example after example of this misuse of words (at best) or (at worst) deliberate distortion of place in time and space. In a prefatory note for example by Gaston Thorm there are the following sentences "We cannot expect to create instant Europe" and "In the 1950's we started out to create Europe". "Newspeak" how are you!

And within the perpetuation of the partitionist mentality comes from almost every contributor - Raymond Smith eg. writing "when Jack Lynch and Dr. Hillery signed the Treaty of Accession on behalf of Ireland" (at least the title of his piece is "Always Good for a laugh"). OK when it's a laughing matter. Is NATO? For Richard Burke "Ireland.....is not a member of NATO" but part of Ireland whether it or we like it or not, is. But then Burke seemingly doesn't know where he comes from: "Ireland is a tiny country in the community both in terms of population (3.4 million. ...) as well as operationally....." he says, taking the population of the state named the Republic of Ireland as that of the whole country.

Dermot McAleese of TCD writes of the "Changing patterns of trade" and almost every statistic he uses is wrong for the simple reason that he too sloppily or deliberately gives the name Ireland to the state and reserves the adjective 'Irish' for matters relating to that state to the exclusion of the six-counties designated 'Northern Ireland' in English law.

With the 'European' economists now talking of our unemployed figures peaking at 350,000 and plateauing at about the same perhaps it is time to re-open the debate again. The same journal records that 20 civil servants were awarded specially struck medals by Jack Lynch's government for their part in the negotiations towards membership of the EEC.

One of Mr. Lynch's then cabinet ministers tried to have another civil servant sacked for speaking against the proposed membership in what was then supposed to have been a national debate. The next debate may be more open and more honest - especially if we rediscover where Europe is and that there are 32 counties in Ireland.

Padraig O Snodaigh.



Llywelyn II Commemoration: Gathering at the stone that marks the site of Llywelyn's murder. Photo: M. O Laoire



## kernow

# Mar pen-ny oll Sawson !

Yn fenough y lennyr y'n paperow newodhow po clewyr war an radyo po gwelyr war an bellwolok fatel yu an Sawson an dus usy war ben an norvys - gwyn aga bys! "Nyns yu henna gwyr!" y clewaf. Wel, my a wor henna kefrys mes gwreugh lenna yn-rak.

Mans yu bledhen po adro dhodho, yth esa mur a bonvotter yn nebes cytyow - Loundres, Lyverpol, Keroder yn mysk erel yn Pow Saws - ponvotter ynter an Creslu ha tus yowynk dywyth ha lywys. Mes pyth a vu scryfys y'n paperow newodhow? "Pyth yu cam gans agan cytyow Bretenek?" Nyns esa ponvotter -vyth a'n par-ma mes yn re-na usy saflys yn Pow Saws. Yth hevel dhym bos res dhe'n bobel Geltek dhe vlamya rak peghadow an Sawson.

Ha fatel ova yn kever an scodhoryon peldros-na? Wosa bos kevres a wharfedhyansow war an brastyr, pup oll anedha gans scodhoryon a baryon Sawsnek, arta yth esa penlymen yn nep paper newodhow wharthus a leverys, "Deth du rak peldros Bretenek! Arta yma ethom dhe'n Gelyon dhe vlamya yn le an Sawson.

Lemmyn, gwren-ny whythra an leow mayth us gormola dhe vos res. Y'n gwaryow 'Emperoreth' a vu syns agensow, ha kefrys an Gwaryow Olympek, puprys y wharfe pan esa tryghor dyworth bro dhyffrans es Pow Saws nyns esa lyes leverys abarth dhodho dre forth a wormola mes yn y le geryow avel, "Ya, gwayn pur dha dhe'n tryghor, mes yth esa cales luk dhe'n Saws", po, "Gwayn pur dha, mes del wodhon

-ny oll, an Saws re bu claf an seythen-ma", po nep ascus avel henna. Nefra ny wruga-v/ clewes an deryvador leverel "Tecca gwayn rag an (pyupynak a ve ), del dhegoth dhodho."

Wel, a'n geryow-ma a grothval ny a wor yn poran an pyth dhe wul - res yu dhyn trelya agan kenethlegeth ha dos ha bos Sawsnek, awos, mar peugh Sawsnek, ny alseugh gul cam! Yth hevel dhym mars ough Sawsnek ha leverel ags bos gothys anodho, tus a lever, "Hen yu den dhe sewya, ef a'n jeves an spyrys ewn." Mes mars ough Keltek ha leverel agas bos gothys anodho, why yu esel a nep bagas despaghek a vyn omwheles an Fundyans hag a dal bos defendyes dhe-ves.

Tewennow.

## Victory for Stannary

The campaign by the Convocation of Cornwall, more usually known as the Stannary Parliament, for the recognition of its jurisdiction over many aspects of Cornish life has not been at the forefront of media attention recently. Attempts on the part of Stannators to have their case recognised in the central state's courts are bogged down by the horrific costs involved. Meanwhile local police turn a blind eye to those Stannators who still refuse to display Road Tax licences on their cars.

Perhaps because of this general air of calm an attack was recently made on a cherished Stannary 'right' - that of 'bounding' areas of land for tin exploration purposes. By this right any individual can lay claim to the right to mineral reserves in a given area as long as their claim or 'bounds' are duly recognised by the Stannary Parliament. This right to tin bounding is not challenged easily by the English legal system.

The opportunity was therefore taken to slip a clause into a Cornwall County sponsored Bill in the Westminster Parliament

which would have abolished this right. When the clause was discovered Council officers claimed bounding was a 'feudal anachronism'. The Duchy of Cornwall is also a 'feudal anachronism' yet no move has been made by the same council officials to abolish that institution!

As the Bill was a long one it transpired that most of our elected councillors had not noticed the offending clause. The matter was hastily brought up for discussion at Truro as the Bill was already in the Lords. Despite the Stannary setting a brave face and claiming they wouldn't recognise an edict from Westminster sponsored by the illegally established Cornwall 'County' Council the passing of this clause would have been a serious embarrassment to them.

To prevent that a demonstration was organised comprising Stannary supporters, MK members, other nationalists and some anti-nuclear power activists to lobby councillors against the clause. To many people's surprise it worked! The clause was thrown out by a healthy vote of 58 - 11 and Cornwall Council have

## Brezhoneg

In the list of ways and methods available for learning the Celtic languages published in Carn no. 38, we did not include evening classes organised in many towns and cities throughout the year. However, at the request of Mrs. Jannig Stephens we draw attention to a Breton class run every week at the City Lit, Stukely St., Drury Lane, London WC2B 5LJ. Phone: 01 242 9872

asked for it to be withdrawn from the Bill.

Questions remain unanswered. In whose interest would it be for bounding rights to be abolished? Certainly the multi-national mining companies and 'English China Clays' would prefer what they regard as an irritant to disappear. And why were the executive officers so keen on writing this into their Bill and so quick to defend the abolition of bounding?



## mannin

# Microwave mystery

The Leagues growing concern about the use of Mann for military purposes caused us to pay particular attention to a planning application lodged with the Local Government Board for the construction of a Micro-wave link transmitter at Carnagrie near Glen Maye.

In April this year we applied to the L.G.B. to examine British Telecoms application for the site made in the name of the 'Property Services Agency'. The L.G.B. replied saying we could view some of the planning application, but not it all. Subsequently at the L.G.B. offices a clerk produced the file and showed some parts of it to the Celtic League branch secretary and

another league member. It was made very clear that some sections of the application were not open to the Manks public.

Far from dampening our inquisitive spirit, it was sharpened by this official 'cold shoulder'. Our first assumption was that the construction of the installation, which along with others in the British Isles had a heavier capacity than its remote location would justify, was to improve links with British military forces at present in North-East Ireland. Delving deeper into the mystery a much clearer picture emerged.

Carnagrie is a small, but none the less vital part in a spiders web which leads back to the United Kingdom/N.A.T.O. Air Defence system. Carnagrie is particularly essential to the operation of that part of the system centred around the UNITED KINGDOM AIR DEFENCE GROUND ENVIRONMENT SYSTEM (UKADGE) station at Bishops Court in N.E. Ireland.

Bishops Court Radar is part of a series of Radar networks which plug the so-called

North Atlantic Gap and is a vital component of NATO. Radar signals received there are beamed to the Standing Stones Hill micro-wave station and thence via two current routes to Defence centres in S.E. England. The primary route is via a station at Portpatrick in Scotland. The secondary route is through the Irish Republic and here problems arise. Ireland's neutrality makes this route vulnerable to a public reaction against this breach of it - in fact, criticisms are already being made of this occasional electronic military traffic. This is where Carnagrie 'link' comes in; once completed, it will provide, the United Kingdom government hopes, a secure secondary route for communications from Bishops Court.

Which brings us back to the planning committee of the LGB - did they know the purpose of this link and keep it from the Manks people? If so, what other secrets are they attempting to conceal?

## kernow

### Minority

The latest Census figures show that the population of Cornwall rose by over 10% between 1971 and 1981. That was an increase only matched by certain outer suburban London regions. Given the age structure the excess of deaths over births should have resulted in a slight population fall. The difference is a result of the migration of a vastly increased number of settlers from England, a new phenomenon being the arrival of people in the 25 - 40 age group in large numbers.

As Cornish people still followed the traditional path of emigration in search of work in those years it is very likely that the Cornish are now a minority in their own country. Does this matter? How does it affect the strategies adopted by the Cornish cultural and political movements? No doubt nationalists will be turning their attention to this factor over the next year. Maybe there are lessons we can learn from those in other Celtic countries experiencing an influx of white settlers - notably Mann and parts of Wales.

## letter

Letter to the Editor, Carn

I was most surprised to read in Carn 39 p.23, that in Brittany 'there is no obvious autonomist group ready to assume the responsibilities which go with self-government to however small a degree'

There exists such a group, the well organized 'UNION DEMOCRATIQUE BRETONNE' or 'UNVANIEZ DEMOKRATEL BREIZH'

ARMOR, monthly magazine, short news or articles on all aspects of the political, economic, cultural life of Brittany, regionalist in tendency. 72pp in French. 93F,60/annum (+37% outside 'France') to CCP Armor 26 91 70 Y Rennes. Editor, 7 Pont St Jacques, 22400 Lambal.

Apart from the experience of running the party in the whole of Brittany and outside, the UDB has also gained practical experience in running public affairs, with the 36 members elected to local councils in 1977.

It hopes to increase that number in the forthcoming elections of 1983.

The party also produces two magazines - the monthly 'Le Peuple Breton' and the bi-monthly 'Pobl Vreizh', one in French the other in Breton,

There is much more to be said about the ability of UDB at running political matters and you can find out for yourself by contacting the Parti Representative, BP 304 BREST - 29273 BREST-CEDEX or myself at Hafod, 9 Bramfield Road, Datchworth Green, Herts.

J.Stephens.

# Celtic nicknames

I should like here to draw the attention of as many Celts as possible to the interest of studying nicknames and the importance of massively collecting them while memories of bygone days remain among the traditionally Celtic speaking populations.

I myself have been engaged in that type of work since 1976. I had to restrict myself to the languages of which I have a working knowledge - my own Breton, Welsh, Scottish Gaelic as well as French and English. I now have more than 20,000 individual nicknames in my files. Of these some 15,000 are Breton, from all dialect areas but mostly Leon (where my research for my first doctorate was based) and Kerne. Further field research in the Scottish Gaidhealtachd yielded around 3,000 items. I have a fair sample of Welsh bynames from all areas, totalling about 2000. Finally the collection includes about 2000 in French and 1000 in English (equally shared between Wales and the Gaidhealtachd).

While this study progressed I realised that there is far more to it than meets the eye. In my opinion it is far more fundamental to an understanding of Celtic naming than anything done up to now. The names collected from an oral tradition that is still vivid and profusely rich are just as Celtic as those we may patiently glean from archives. With the difference that, in many cases, one may hear why they were given in the first place and there is no need to indulge in wild guesses as in the case of those very few names which were handed down from earlier ages, usually without any explanation.

It is all very well to argue whether an ancient name means "Big Bull" or "Slipshod Fool" but what difference does it make? I can tell you that plain obvious naming does not account for all nicknames. An individual called "Big Bull" could well have been a shy slight-looking maiden.

The present-day Celtic scholar can learn much more about

ancient naming patterns by roving around country pubs and at cross-roads than by burying himself for all his worth in the dry dust of archives. The latter, if properly looked after, will be with us to study at any time while the wealth of oral tradition that still exists will have vanished unless we do for it the same work as has been done for folk songs and tales.

A serious collector must in my view take note of such fundamental data as the correct rendering of pronunciation (use the International Phonetic Alphabet), a fairly precise indication of the circumstances in which the nickname was attributed if they are remembered, unusual linguistic facts relating to it. I tend to ask when and where the name was first used: sometimes it goes well back in history and one can get a geographical classification. If the fact is not self-evident, the bearer's sex should also be noted.

With experience an ability develops to distinguish immediately names which are used by very few people, or newly created ones, from genuine widely used ones which are part of the cultural heritage of any community. As I am still researching such non-essentials as classifications, I shall reserve my conclusions but in order to show how valuable the investigation is I'll give a few examples which will demonstrate that common Celtic patterns do exist.

One of the ancient naming devices used by the Celts - though by no means only by them - is the old patronymic - or matronymic for that matter. We are all familiar with the Gaelic mac (son of) and the Irish ó (grandson of). This pattern survives in a few Leon surnames (Abgrall, Abhamon, etc.) where ab derives from mab = son) and, further disguised, in some Welsh names (Price for Ap Rhys, Bowen, Bevan for Ap Owen, Ab Evan, for instance).

But what Gaels still call

"sloinneadh" exists among P-Celts as well. In this century one finds, alongside the entire styling "Domhnall Mac Iain 'ic Sheumais" (d. son of I. son of S.) which any Gael worth his salt would boast, such reduced forms as "Seonaidh Alasdair Sheumais" for a Skyeman (with the genitive expressed in the 2nd and 3rd names). This type is frequent in Brittany too, particularly when the Christian name of the bearer is followed by that of his or her father. The type "Aleksi Cheun Beñch Nus" linking four generations is admittedly rare, but you have it there, from Plougastel. This was by no means felt to be too cumbersome for daily use. From Wales I can mention a "John Wil Dai" who was no rural patriarch but a coal-miner from Ystalyfera.

The second neutral method of nicknaming individuals was according to their trade whenever it was not practised by others in the community. The figure of the smith, looming large in Celtic tradition, is still with us physically and linguistically. I thus found "Calum Gobha" near Dunvegan in Skye, Alun Gof in Bethesda in Gwynedd and Chamari ar Gow in Belz in Bro-Gwened.

A third method is one by which people are named after the place in which they live(d). They accepted that without any sense of being made fun of. Thus the Breton Visant al loc'h (Sant Wenole, Bro-Vigoudenn) lived near a "lochan" (pond) much like Murchadh nan Loch in that area of Lewis. Jan Haro, living on a tiny island called Garo off Landeda, Leon, has a parallel in Seonaidh Mòr Eilean Taighe, the only resident of E.Taighe, off Raasay. And what about Twm y Mynydd (Tom of the Mountain) living near Ffynnongroyw at a time when Aonghas nam Beann was roaming the high ground separating Harris and Lewis? Or Jac Coed y Glyn, Gwilhou ar C'Hoad Sec'h and Alasdair na Coille (chief of Clanranald of Glengarry, 15th century) all three associated through their connection with woods (coed, koad, coille)?

# general

Midway between trade and residence we find the millers Loui ar Vilin, Huw Felin and Aonghas Muillear representing respectively Bro-Gerne, Gwynedd and Lewis.

An obvious source of nicknames has always been the physical aspect of individuals. Let me introduce Yann Gamm, the well known chouchenn (mead) maker from Kore (Kerne) and his near namesake Iain Cam (Ness district of Lewis), both lame; Ned Pen Cam from near Lynbych and plain Penn Kamm (Pleuveilh, Kerne), both suffering from a wry neck; Penn Gwenn, a fisherman from Keriti, Bro-Vigoudenn and Sioni Pen Gwyn (strangely enough a coal-miner in Bedlinog.)

Hosts of other nicknames can be more or less closely paralleled eg. Ceann a'laoigh (Calf's head, Eriskay), Nel Pen Tarw (Bull's Head, Bangor) and Chakez Penn Oc'h (Hog's Head, Bro-Vigoudenn), or again Beul Cam (wry mouth, cf. officialised form Campbell) from Eriskay, Marged Ceg Fawr (big mouth) from Llanrwst and Beg Du (black Mouth) from An Alre.

Certainly one of the oldest and forcefully peculiar name types common to all the Celts is the one in which the possessive is used between an adjective and the qualified noun, or a remarkable characteristic is affixed to its owner's christian name as a living motto. So Geal a chag (white his leg, a character in a Gaelic folk tale), Berr he gar (short her leg, official name of my mother-in-law, Leon) and Main ei goes (slender his leg, another Bangorese). Or alternatively Eobhann a' Chinn bhig (Ewen his small head, a Mac Lean of Loch buie killed in a clan battle about 1540 and believed to haunt his descendants ever since) and Calum a' Chinn Mhoir (a famous Scottish king, anglicised as Kenmore). Somewhat similar in the P-Celtic domain are the three Bretons Koll e groc'henn (loses his skin), Dreb e dok (eats his hat) and Kac'h en e voned (shits in his bonnet) using verbs, and the Welsh Llawn ei got (full his coat) and Jac ar ei glwyd (on his barrier).

Comparisons with animals are

found in the three languages: Aonghas Cu (Nova-Scotia), Ci Du (Mon), Biel ar C'Hi Du (a Roman Catholic priest in Leon) remind one of the dog; An Cat cam (a Raasay woman) Lisa Cath (a friend of mine so nicknamed in her village school), Naig Bisig (the kitten), the latter having at least two counterparts called Piseag in Lewis; the Coileach of Kintail who imitated the cock when he was drunk, and Twm Ceiliog, an early riser from Bangor who shared something of that bird's characteristics with Yann Gilhog from An Ospital, Kerne. The lobster gave its name to Huw Gimwch from Llangoed, Mon, who ate it as his favourite dish, to the many Giomaich found all over the Hebrides (almost one in every island) and to more than one Legestr on the Leon coast. As for the herring, a man in Oban whose mother sold it got named Sgadan after it, and so did Rhys Ysgadan in Pontardulais (Morgannwg).

A common Celtic feature is evidenced in the following random examples: Now Bara Gwyn (Cymru) - a whole family of Bara gwenn = white bread, (Roskov, Breizh); Twm Dwy Waith = twice; Marig 'benn diw wech; Dai Ty Gwyn has scores of equivalents in Brittany. Linking Welsh and Gaelic, names like Dafydd Bwgan (=bogey) remind one of quite a few people nicknamed am bocan (the ghost).

Many of the nicknames of Wales and Scotland are composed with words which sound almost familiar in Breton: Dafydd Dwp (topez in Leon = dull); Hannah Bogail Haearn (begel houarn = iron navel); Twm Caseg Wen (Kaseg Wenn = white mare); Wil Dryw (surname An Drew = the wren); - Domhnall Sgith (skuizh = tired), Aonghas Tana (tanav = thin); am Brigas (bragez = breeches); Iain Dall (dall = blind); Griogair Glun Dubh (glin du = black knee).

In writing this article I did not intend a systematic survey but just a little walk around the nicknames already on my files. I have a variety of books and papers in the three Celtic languages referred to, at different stages of preparation. A book in Breton about Leon nicknames is with

An Baner Kernewek, Cornish Nationalist Party's quarterly magazine. 50p / copy. Subscription £3 (Overseas air-mail £4.50) to CNP Publications, Trelispen, Gorran, St Austell, Kernow/ Cornwall.

the publisher; another in Welsh about both Welsh and Breton ones is written out and so is a third in Breton concerning Wales alone; and recently I started a regular chronicle in the Gaelic magazine Cairm. Not to mention twice as many projects.

I did not include Ireland in this study, for one reason because I started with the impression that it has enough full-time researchers in folklore and tradition and they might resent my intrusion. I may add that this is not my professional occupation. I may be wrong about the Irish interest in such research. In the Edinburgh School of Scottish Studies, nobody appeared to be concerned or even to consider that it was worthy of attention.

As regards the Isle of Man, the fact that there are no longer any native speakers does not preclude, any more than in other countries, that some people who cannot speak the language may still understand it to some extent. And wherever a language is/was spoken, there is/was a certain amount of nicknaming, or at least nicknames in that language still being used. I thus got very good lists of nicknames, mostly in Breton in places in Brittany where the language had died out, for more than twenty years in some cases. But in such areas one had better hurry!

I hope that some readers will now agree that nicknames are worth collecting and studying. If anyone wants to ask me questions about it all or wishes to contribute names from their own place, it will be welcome. My address is: Keredol, 29220 Sant Tonan, Brittany.

Mikael Madeg.



## general

## Edward Lhuyd - a forerunner

Among the wide range of works which can be borrowed from the library of Conradh na Gaeilge (6 Sr. Fhearchair, Áth Cliath 2) I found a 92 page bilingual book\*, Cymraeg on one side and English on the other, about a Welsh scholar who contributed considerably to the study of botany and geology (he was one of the founders of the study of fossils) as well as to that of archaeology and linguistics. He was perhaps the first to recognise the relationship between all the Celtic languages. His research led him through Wales, Ireland, Scotland and to Cornwall and Brittany (perhaps also to Mannin). To him science owes the discovery of numerous species of mountain plants in such places as on the highest rocks of Snowdon or Beann Mor (Isle of Mull). His excursions were far from comfortable or uneventful: "near Cill Airne torries or outlaws curtailed his sample collecting activities", "in Brest he was

imprisoned as a suspected enemy agent" by the French authorities. He brought great insight to the study of the prehistoric monuments scattered throughout the Celtic countries. To us however the most interesting aspect of his remarkable and too short career is the part he played in the rebirth of Welsh learning and his pioneering work in the field of comparative Celtic philology where he preceded J.C. Zeuss by more than a hundred years. He wanted to check the ideas that bundled the traditions of Wales with those of England" according to which the two formed "a single British nation descended from Brutus, who came from Troy". Unfortunately he could not dissuade his successors from continuing, like the Breton Paul Pezron, with the attempts to prove that the Celtic languages were derived from Japhet's Hebrew. He at least knew that our peoples had enough titles of nobility of

their own and did not need, for self-respect, to look to Oriental antecedents. "Lhuyd hoped to expand the Breton patriotism he saw in Pezron to achieve a strong national or cultural feeling that would embrace all the Celtic peoples. 'Celticism' could make them feel they belonged to an ancient pattern of related nations, giving them a sense of unity that might be harder to find in terms of religion or social class. It was a new idea, it played its part in the cultural awakening of Wales in the 18th century. Lhuyd has received the highest praise from other scholars yet he has got so little recognition, says the author. We should know him.

A. Heussaff.

\*Edward Lhuyd, F.R.S. 1660-1709. By Frank Emery. Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, Caerdydd (Cardiff) 1971. £0.50 (11 years ago.....)

## UNESCO - help or hindrance?

Not that I'm going to answer that question - I merely want to pose it in one small aspect which affects all numerically weak peoples in terms of culture.

In 1980 Thule Press of Stornaway published a translation into English of the Swedish writer Stig Claesson's fine novel Ancient Monuments. They were assisted in publication by the Scottish Arts Council and also by UNESCO. The copyright page bears this legend "UNESCO Collection of Representative Works / European Series / This book has been accepted in the / European Series of the Translations / Collection of the United Nations / Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)". Well and good. That particular series has as policy the encouragement of translations from the minority languages so to speak. The aim of a wider recognition and a bigger audience is good insofar as it goes. But it goes too far in two directions and nowhere

in most.

If, for example, one wishes to translate an Estonian novel into Norwegian say one might expect this UNESCO scheme to be helpful. Or, for members of the Celtic League, if we wish to translate from Welsh to Gaelic, from Irish to Breton, Cornish to Manx say can we expect support under this scheme?

Unfortunately not, since the translations they would support are into English and French!

Perhaps we should make representations to UNESCO about this - if so it would be best done direct since their local representatives are often nominated civil servants with a reluctance to communicate as one Welsh publisher discovered in attempting to raise this and related questions with the UNESCO's Irish committee.

P O'S.

## Film festival

The Fourth International Festival of Film and Television in the Celtic countries will be held on March 21-25 in Glasgow with the support of (among others) the Scottish Arts Council and BBC Scotland. The provisional programme (partly in Gaelic) includes lectures on such topics as "The future for broadcasting through cable and satellite" and "New information technologies and their impact on peripheral and sparsely populated areas". The full programme will be available late in January. All information from the festival Secretary General, Library Farraline Park, Inverness IV1 1LS, Scotland.

## Gaeilge Brezhoneg

Skol Ober, the long established free correspondence school that already teaches Breton, Welsh and Esperanto through Breton, is about to start a course in Irish (for information: SKOL OBER, GWAREMM LEURVAEN, PLUFUR 22310 PLESTIN-les-GREVES.



# The oblong ball

On 20 March 1982 an era came to an end for Welsh Rugby football: the national team was beaten on its home ground by Scotland (34 points to 18). It had already lost to Ireland (20 - 12) and to England (17-7), so Wales took the 'wooden spoon' among the teams of the British Isles and shared the bottom place in the international (which in this context means European) championship. The last time that such a disaster befell Welsh rugby was in 1963. In the intervening period we had seen a remarkable achievement: in the sixteen years 1964-79 the Welsh team won the international championship eight times, and shared the top place in two other seasons; won the Triple Crown six times (that means they beat all the British teams in the same season); and on three of those occasions beat France as well. The 1982 results show that that is all over for now.

CARN readers may be a little surprised to find a sports column in our magazine. We don't often write about such flippancy matters, but I think CARN should cover all important aspects of society in the Celtic lands; and rugby football is certainly important in Wales. It is the national game in the opinion of the majority of our nation. (I may prefer sheepdog-trials, a sport which we did at least invent, whereas rugby football was brought from the English public-school of that name, but mine seems to be an eccentric opinion.)

So now, what are we left with after Barry John the magnificent fly-half, John Williams the full-back, Gareth Edwards and all the other great players of the 1964-79 epoch have retired, giving place to somewhat less magnificent successors? Apart from the fading memories of those of us who saw them play, not much!

Sport seems unique among activities on which a nation can set its heart. Economic endeavour isn't possible without having large numbers

of hard-working and well-trained individuals among its people; and, even when it fades, it is likely to leave some worthwhile memorial like the churches and calvaires which, standing in desolate Breton villages, testify that in the 15th and 16th centuries when they were erected, Brittany was one of the leading trading nations of the world. Similarly artistic success cannot exist in a vacuum: Dafydd ap Gwilym and the other brilliant Welsh poets of the 14th and 15th centuries could not have existed without a large audience, most of whom could never have composed a cywydd but were educated enough to appreciate hearing one. Nor can scientific progress occur in a social vacuum: 18th century Scotland had a unique system of general education for its people and a concern for practical results in its universities, which account for how it produced engineers like James Watt, chemists like John Roebuck, without whom the Industrial Revolution, of which the English are so proud, would never have got started.

But sporting success doesn't seem to have any connexion at all with competence on the part of the people as a whole. It would be pleasant to think that the Wales which produced the rugby teams of 1964-79 had been a relatively physically fit and healthy community. The statistics show that the average Welshman or woman was visiting the doctor more often than the average English person. Though one might like to blame the English oppressor for this state of affairs, honesty forces me to admit that the direct causes are that the Welsh ate more junk foods (which often cost more than real food), smoked more cigarettes, drank more (especially the men), and took less exercise (especially the women). Nor does sporting success necessarily have a beneficial effect outside the games-field itself, but on this point there is some dispute in Wales.

Carwyn James, the coach of the Welsh rugby team, one of the great trainers of all

time who was largely responsible for the successes of the years 1964-79, argued that victory on the rugby pitch was an important part of building up national morale, giving confidence that they could do something better than anyone else on earth. And, if one looks at the dates of the rugby victories, it does seem that there was some connexion, whether cause or effect, with political events: they began in 1964, two years after the drowning of Tryweryn to provide water for Liverpool stimulated Welsh national consciousness, and two years before Gwynfor Evans was elected as the first Plaid Cymru MP ever; they ended in 1979 with the referendum disaster and the Welsh team has gone steadily downhill since. Carwyn James had some reason to know what he was talking about: a devoted Welsh patriot, he stood as a Plaid Cymru candidate for Parliament more than once.

On the other hand there are those who say that the cleverest thing the English ever did was to allow the Welsh and the Scots to enter teams for international rugby football, soccer (the other kind of football with a round ball), chess and every other game

under the sun. No other state in the world permits such a division of national sporting representation among its subjects; it allows once proud nations to degenerate imperceptibly into football supporters' clubs. I have known many men in South Wales who are in every respect Englishmen and have never done anything for Wales in their lives, but, as they turn out to cheer the Welsh team at the Arms Park in Caerdydd, they regard themselves as loyal Welshmen. And we all know of countries in Latin America whose economies and societies are a shambles, and of other countries in Eastern Europe where brutal tyrannies run equally bankrupt economies, and both types of regime divert attention from their disastrous policies and silence criticism by offering the people modern

concluded overleaf...

## Echoes & reports

A Celtic League member in Australia, after reading in D.B.Gregor's book 'Celtic - a comparative study' p.33b that there was in 1947 a parish in Edmonton, Canada, founded by a Breton in 1913 and still in 1947 mainly Breton, at least in origin and character', would like to know where he could get more information about this and perhaps other similar communities.

From our friend J.L.Pacios, Gijon, comes news of a lecture organised by the Lliga Celta of which he is the Secretary, about 'Celtic Rites in the Asturias' which underlined the importance of natural, climatological and astronomical phenomena in the traditions of the area. Celtic cultural characteristics had been weakened there under the influence of romanisation and christianisation, and also by the transition from a rural to an urban industrially-dominated order. Feasts and customs, related to those of other peoples which had preserved stronger marks of the Celtic influence, had lost their meaning in contemporary Asturian society but the speaker mentioned a number of them which, like the mid-summer bonfires, had survived until today.

As a further sign of interest in Celtic matters in the North-West of the Iberian peninsula, a Basque friend has sent us a cutting from *El Pais* (Madrid, 20. 9. 82) titled 'Investigadores europeos analizan la cultura celta en Galicia'. It refers to new data brought by various

(Spanish, Irish, German, Czech) scholars to the study of the Celticisation of Galicia at a seminar organised in Pontevedra by the Universidad Internacional Menéndez y Pelayo of Santander. The different papers would soon be published by the UIMP under the editorship of Fernando S.Drago and Juan Cueto. Opinions seemed to differ regarding the origins of fortifications and burial practices (as if peoples in former times could not have innovated without conquest by others?). One speaker concluded that the 'celticisation' of the 'idiom' spoken in N.W.Spain went back to the Bronze Age and not to the later invasions from Central Europe (4th Century BC?). Another pointed out that the dearth of knowledge about the culture of the Celts was due to a whole Celtophobic literature originating from Greece and later from Rome. B.Raftery from Dublin hinted at similarities which could have existed between the celticisation of Galicia and that of Ireland.

In the year 385 the Roman general Maximus crossed over to Gaul with a British army to do battle with the Emperor Gratianus. The young British soldiers never returned to their homeland. Some were lost in battle but others settled in Armorica. (See *Les Origines de la Bretagne*, Leon Fleuriot). This was the beginning of the 'British' immigration to Armorica which reached its height in the 6th century.

Before leaving Britain, Maximus handed over responsibility for the defence of Britain to the Brythonic leaders from whom the Welsh kings and princes traced their line of descent.

In the summer of 1983 this event will be celebrated when over 200 Welsh and Cornish members of the Gorsedd of Bards cross over to Breizh to join their Breton counterparts in a colourful ceremony to be held in front of the Breton Parliament building in Roazhon on Sunday, August 21st.

Dr. Gwynfor Evans is at present writing a book on the historical significance of these events.

## Housing

Are you interested in the consolidation of existing Celtic speaking areas and the creation of new Celtic speaking communities?

If we recognise that housing provision is one of the major factors influencing the everyday life of every community, then any practical survey into housing need and the elements contributing to shortage is worthwhile.

Our Celtic speaking communities are mostly in scenic areas, the envy of the second home seeker. We all know of the severe economic pressures on the young to seek employment outside of the Celtic speaking communities. But when job shortage is coupled to housing shortage then the pressure is unbearable. Additionally there is a need for new communities to serve urban Celts or newly reviving languages such as Kernewek.

The London Branch is putting together a 'think tank' on housing and its relevance to the Celtic speaking community. All enquiries and offers of help or information are very much welcomed. Please write to London Branch Secretary (address on back cover).

## Soccer

A new association called "Araok Vreizh" aims at setting up a Breton National soccer team and an inter-celtic championship in which Brittany would be represented alongside Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Galicia. It was started by a Dr Gaubicher (Centre Medical Kastell Uhel, rue du Prieure de Bere, 44110 Chateaubriant). He has got the backing of some industrialists and appears to be pursuing his aim with energy and imagination. Brittany has 140,000 registered soccer players and could hold her own in international competition. Dr. Gaubicher is confident of popular support but he is likely to meet opposition from the established structure, particularly from the French soccer federation who could use a lot of red tape to prevent players from joining a Breton federation. We wish him success!

### The oblong ball (from previous page)

circuses - the sporting successes of national teams, athletes and the like. Has nothing similar happened in Wales? Surely one can adapt the words of a great 19th century sociologist and say that sport is the opium of the masses.

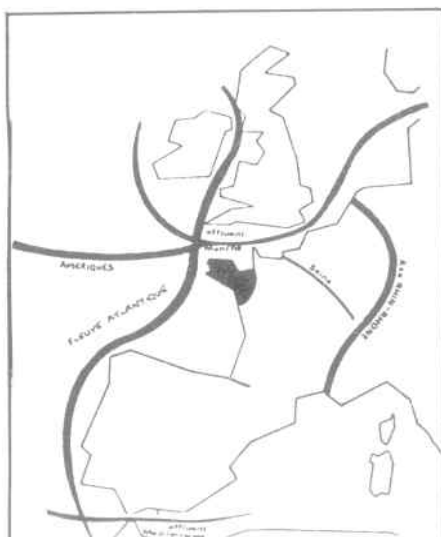
Ifan Lloyd.

## general

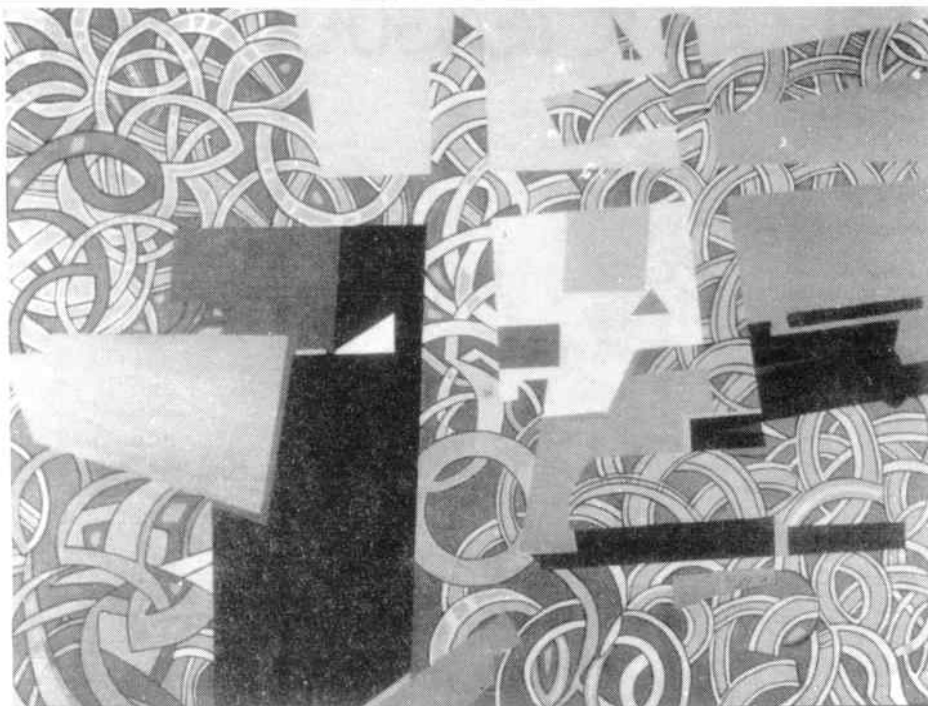
## Review

*Du a gwyn / Gwyn ha Du*, a collection of 51 modern poems in Breton, with translations into Welsh printed on the opposite pages, was briefly mentioned in CARN no. 39. It is available from Y Lolfa, Talybont, Ceredigion, Cymru. It is well worth its price (£2.95). I will confess that I am often out of my depth in modern poetry (am I too rationally minded, not a real Celt?) so I was pleased to find that I could enjoy this selection. The editors, Dewi Morris Jones and Mikael Madeg, the one a Cymro who spent years in Breizh, the other a Breton who must have been frequently in Cymru, have done an excellent job of presenting thirty poets who express their feelings and attitudes faced with problems and situations which are shared by the Bretons of today - those of a personal nature as well as others to do with the lack of Breton freedom or with the tensions of the modern world. Indicative of the spirit and mood in which several of the poems were written are the pictures on the book's cover: a photo of a Breton language demonstration and a poster showing a prisoner breaking his chains. The biographical notes in Welsh about each of the 30 poets will be welcome.

A. Heusaff.



From "La Troisième Voie". This map demonstrates the key position, not only of Brittany, but also of all the Celtic countries.



*REEL: a neo-celtic, acrylic and oil painting on maisonite by Ian Bân. The painting, which measures 3 ft by 4 ft, draws its inspiration from Stonehenge, monoliths, carns, woven crosses and interlaced circles and is a modern application of an ancient Celtic tradition.*

## Reminders

Most members of the Celtic League or subscribers to CARN are due to renew after receipt of this issue. The rates are indicated on the back page. Will you all please give this matter your attention as soon as possible so that reminders will not be needed and we can be in a better position to decide how many copies of forthcoming issues are required.

Due to the long delay in the production of CARN 39, this issue is labelled "Winter 1983". The next issue will be produced at the end of April and the following one in July. Deadline for copy is March 25th for CARN 41. Please feel free to submit material before the deadline as this would in fact improve our production methods. In any case, if you are writing in any language other than Cornish or English, please mark the script with those less-important paragraphs so that articles can be shortened if space is restricted.

## Celtic Congress

The Celtic Congress 1983 will be held in the Panty-celyn Hall, Aberystwyth on July 25 to 30, 1983. Full board here will cost £60 for the period. The Congress is seeking cheaper accommodation for young people who will be especially welcome. The theme of the Congress is 'Communication' ie. between the Celtic nations, between non-Celtic speakers and Celtic speakers and the use of the Media. Mr Owen Edwards, the head of the very successful new Welsh Television Channel, will be the Welsh speaker. Many events are being prepared, and the Congress is fortunate in having the Arts Centre, which has splendid facilities, in close proximity. The Welsh Branch look forward to a good Congress and a great gathering of the Celts.

Delwyn Phillips.



# CELTIC LEAGUE



## 1983 AGM

This year's AGM will be held in Kernow, from 2nd September to 4th September. During the following week (5th - 9th) the Cornish Branch will be organising various events which should be of interest. Talks and workshops on Kernow's history, culture, political situation, etc.; Cornish language courses (with the option of instruction through Welsh and Breton or French if there is a demand); troyls and concerts; etc. Hopefully, translation services will be available for talks and lectures.

Full details will appear in CARN 41 and all Branch Secretaries will be notified as soon as possible. The Cornish Secretary, Jenefer Lowe, may be contacted via her address on the back of CARN.

## Kernow

## Sept 2nd»4th

## MEMBERSHIP & SUBSCRIPTIONS

All those who agree with the Constitution and Aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership fee (entitling to CARN) and the subscription rates are IR£5 (Ireland), Stl£4 (Britain), 50FF (Continental Europe) and \$12 (US) [non-European countries - air mail]. For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscriptions, etc., write to any of the following CL Branch Secretaries:

Alba: Mrs Mairi Denovan, 9 Dalgleish Rd., Dundee DD4 7JN;  
Breizh: Jacques Y. Le Touze, 3 Place Paul Bert, 56100 An Oriant / Lorient  
Cymru: T. Ifor Williams, 2 Ty'n Pwll, Rhostrehwfa, LL77 7AZ, Llangefni, Gwynedd;  
Éire: Máire Bhreathnach, 27 Corrán na Coille Giúise, Ath Cliath 11;  
Kernow: Jenefer Lowe, Boundy's House, Lower Lelant, Porthya/St. Ives;  
Mannin: Bernard Moffatt, 24 St. Germain's Place, Peel;  
London: Micheál Ó Laoire, 5 Belton Rd., Berkhamsted, Herts., England;  
U.S.A.: Madeleine M. Tokach, PO Box 322, Rego Park, N.Y. 11374.

General Secretary: Alan Heussaff, 9 Br. Cnoc Sion, Dromchonrach, Ath Cliath 9.

Help to sell CARN at gatherings, or by finding booksellers to stock it (20% retail allowance with sale or return), or by advertising it in national periodicals. Articles for CARN should be tidily typed or in clear handwriting, with double spacing. Those written in other than Kernewek or English should be marked to facilitate editing (if necessary). Endeavour to express ideas clearly, bearing in mind that some readers are unfamiliar with English and/or the context of events referred to. Support arguments with facts and be precise. Send us reports, letters and cuttings of interest.

REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION WILL BE DEALT WITH ONLY IF SAEs OR INTERNATIONAL REPLY COUPONS ARE ENCLOSED AND THE REPLY NEEDS RELATIVELY LITTLE TIME.

CARN is published by the Celtic League, 9 Br. Cnoc Sion, Dromchonrach, Ath Cliath 9. The Editor is Pedyr Garry Prior, c/o PPSU, Drake Circus, Plymouth, England and any contributions should be sent to him. Views expressed by contributors, where diverging too much from general Celtic League policies, should be signed by their authors. Use of material published in CARN is granted free provided the source is acknowledged, in which case, an indication of our address would be greatly appreciated.