

carn

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

Nr. 55

AUTUMN 1986

80p Sterling

Dancing to the American Tune?

Kendalc'h Etrevroadel
Ar C'hataloneg

Poems from Scotland

The North —
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Cornish Tin Aid

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HONNO — Welsh Women's Press

CELTIC LEAGUE



ALBA: COMUNN CEILTĒACH • BREIZH: KEVRE KELTEK
CYMRU: UNDEB CELTAIDD • ÉIRE: CONRADH CEILTĒACH
KERNOW: KESUNYANS KELTEK • MANNIN: COMMEEYS CELTAGH



ALBA

MA IS FIOR

*gun deach an latha leis na h-Albannaich
air Blàr Chùil-lodair 1746*

Thuig Seòras Tònfhada (dà chèud bliadhna air ais bha an t-ainm ris an canar "Longbottom") . . . thuig e gu math gun robh ceannsachadh Shasuinn air Blàr Chul-lodair sa bhliadhna 1746 cho doirbh ris a' cheannsachadh sa bhliadhna 1066.

Sa chiad dol a-mach sa bhliadhna 1066 theab nach do mhuch an Fhraingeis a' Bheurla ach bha a' chànan Shasunnach buadhmhor mu dheireadh thall. A nise an deidh a' bhliadhna 1746 bha a' Ghàidhlig a' mhùchadh na Beurla.

Bha Seòras na mhaighstir-sgoile mu dhà fhichead bliadhna a dh'aois a bha caran maol agus caran tiugh. Bha deise 'pin-stripe' daonnan uime ged a bha feile-beag air a h-uile duine eile feadh Sasunn gu leir aig an àm sin.

Choinneadh am mhaighstir-sgoile seo dithis neach an diugh . . . agus bha eagal air nach deach an latha gu math leis idir. Sa chiad dol-a-mach feumaidh e tachairt ris an fhear-stiùiridh fhoghlaim. Bha amharus mór aige gun robh a dhreuchd gu bhi air chall. Ach an deidh sin cò? Dhi-chuimhnich e.

Chuala e Mairearad a' gairm air, shìos 'san chidsin.

"Sheorais, a thasgaidh, trobhad sìos. Tha do bhracaist air a' bhòrd".

Mar a bha e a' tighinn a-nuas, shaoil e gun robh a ghaol, Mairearad, cho boidheach agus a' coimhead fada nas òige na bha i. Bha froca dearg agus pinnidh no pinafore pinc uimpe.

Cho luath is a chuir e a fhoc agus a sgian sìos agus dh'òl e a thea, dé thuirt Mairearad ach. . .

"A thasgaidh, do phìos. . ."

"Chruitheachd bheannaichte! Dhi-chuimhnich mi e. Cà bheil e?"

"Chan eil pìos a dh'òrt ort an diugh, a thasgaidh. Ithidh tu le Uncle Gordon ann an Taigh-osda a' Phrionnsa aig uair".

"O nach ceart thusa, dhi-chuimhnich mise", ars' esan.

"... agus innsidh e sgeulachdan dhut mu na làithean a dh'aom nuair a bha e na bhalachan òg, a thasgaidh".

"Gun teagamh sam bith. . ." fhreagair am mhaighstir-sgoile agus thog e 'ad.

Aig deich uairean dh'fhosgladh dorus oifis an fhear-stiùiridh fhoghlaim dha. Bha aghaidh chruinn chruaidh sheòlta aig an fhear-stiùiridh agus bha speulcairean tiugh air.

"Mhaighstir Seòrais Tònfhada, mhaighstir-sgoile a' teagaisg na h-Eachdraidh ann an Acadamaidh Whitburn, nach e?"

"Se, a mhaighstir".

"Dean suidhe. Chuir thu dragh mór oirnn.

A reir aithris sgaoil thu gach seòrsa de bhuaireas timcheall ort san sgoil na feadhna

òg. Thuirt thu, gu ceart, gun robh Ceannsachadh na Sasuinn sa bhliadhna 1066 nuair a fhuair an Fhraingeis buaidh thar na Anglo-Sasuinneis. Ceart gu leoir. . ."

"Thairis air a' Bheurla. . . a' chànan Shasunnach, a mhaighstir".

"B'fheàrr leinn an Anglo-Sasuinneis mar ainm oirre. . . cha robh cànan Shasunnach ann riamh againn. . . chan eil ach beagan ga bruidhinn sna h-Eileanan Wight is Lundy, sa Pheak District agus sa Chumberland. Chan eil ach a' Ghàidhlig againn a-mhàin agus na di-chuimhnich sin!"

"Chan eil ach aon chànan againn a-mhàin feadh Sasunn gu leir agus 's i sin a' Bheurla; a' chànan Shasunnach. . ."

"Bi samhach. A reir aithris thuirt thu iomadh brèugan a thaobh Blàr Chùil-lodair. . . gun robh buaidh a' Phrionnsa ann an Darna Cheannsachadh na Sasuinn agus gum bheil a' Ghàidhlig ach na cànan Albannach. . . brèugan. . . brèugan. Tha fios aig a h-uile duine gum bheil a' Ghàidhlig na cànan Shasunnach, ged a tha iad ga bruidhinn ann an Albainn cuideachd. Mar a tha fios agad, tha iad ga bruidhinn sna Stàitean Aonaichte cuideachd agus anns a' Chanada, anns an Afraca mu Dheas, anns an Astràilia agus anns an Zealand Nuadh. A bheil thu as do rian, a bhrèugaire gun nàire?"

"Le'r cead, a mhaighstir, 's i a' Bheurla an aon chànan a tha annain againn feadh Sasunn gu leir."

Chunnaic Seòras bochd gun robh fallus air aghaidh chruinn a' bhugair agus gun robh a shùilean, fo na speulcairean tiugh, a' lasadh le fuath-ro mhóir.

"Bi samhach. Chuala sin cuideachd gun robh thu a' teagaisg na Anglo-Sasunnach do sgoilear san sgoil. Aidich, nach eil sin ceart?"

"Bha mi ga theagaisg na Beurla — ar cànan Shasunnach — nuair nach robh teagasg ann — mar uair na dinnearach".

"Mata, dh'aidich thu. Thalla. Cuiridh sinn thu a' dreuchd an drasca. Thalla, mach a seo. . . agus na till a chaidh!"

Aon uair deug agus bha e gun dhreuchd air

an sràd. . . agus cha robh a phìos aige. . . nach robh e air fhàgail ann an seòmair a' bhugair. . . coma leis.

Chaidh e a steach do Bhàr Taigh-osda a' Phrionnsa agus dh'òl e trì gloineachan dh'uisge-beatha ged a bha a h-uile facal air a' bhotul sa Ghàidhlig. Reiceadh an càr bho'n nach robh dreuchd aige a nis. . . chuireadh e dàil air na làithean saora ann an Torremolinos. . . agus cha cheannachadh e deise ùr. . .

Aig cairteal gu uair, chuimhnich e air Uncle Gordon — a bhràthair-athar — a bha ann an ceannard na Comhairle Bhreatainnach. Bha am bodach mu trì fichead bliadhna a dh'aois. Ged a bha feile-beag den bhreacan Chloinn Thòinfhada daonnan uime, 's e duine coir coibhneil a bha ann. . . gun teagamh sam bith. Chuimhnich Seòras air na thuirt Mairearad ris mu Uncle Gordon. . . nuair a chunnaic a bhràthair-athar reamhar a' dlùthachadh ris. Bha ceann a' bhodaich a' deàrrsadh bho'n a bha e cho maol ri ugh. . . ugh donn.

"A mhic, nach mi tha toilichte gad fhacinn a risd", arsa bodach na Comhairle. Bha e cho coibhneil ri athair Sheòrais. "Ciamar a tha Mairearad?"

Mar b'abhaist dha, bha ceannard na Comhairle Bhreatainnach ro fhialaidh. Bha am biadh agus am fion freagarrach air son bùird an rìgh. Bha a h-uile cail cho math gun do dhi-chuimhnich Seòras nach robh dreuchd aige fhathast.

"A mhic, ars' esan, "fhuair mi do litir. Tha mi cho duilich gun do chail thu an dreuchd agad. Ach tha deagh fhios agam. Tha dreuchd agam-sa air do shon-sa. . . a theagaisg litreachais Sasunnaich do choigrich agus eilthirich à dùthchannab chfn".

"A bhràthair-athar, nach mi tha toilichte leis a sin. . . litreachas Sasunnach. . . Auden. . . Dylan Thomas. . . Muir. . . Eliot. . . Compto-Burnett. . . Dickens. . . Galsworthy. . . Graham Greene. . . Huxley. . . Maughan. . . Snow. . ."

"Obh, obh, a mhic, chan eil an dreuchd seo idir mar sin. . . Cailean Spencer. . . Tormod Burns. . . agus cach mar sin. . . daoine a' fuireach ann an Sasunn ach a' sgriobhadh 'sa Ghàidhlig. . .!"

Theab nach robh Seòras ri gul. Bha a shùilean lan de dhèòir.

"Tha fios agam. Tha mi duilich. Tha mi tuigsinn. Is cuimhne leam gu math, nuair a bha mi 'nam bhalachan òg rè àm a' chogaidh. Chuala mi daoine a' seinn mar ainglean agus chunnaic mi air an inneag coisir nam prìosanach-chogaidh Eadailtich 'nan deise dhonn air am baidhsigalan a' gluasad seachad gu mall. . . triuir ri ghualaidh a' chéile anns gach sreath."

"Agus ciod e an laoidh a bha iad ris, a bhràthair-athar?"

"Laoidh nan tràill Eabhrach ri taobh nan aibhnichean de Bhabiloin' le Verdi. . . a' mhic. . . mar sin. . ."

Aig sruthaibh coimheach Bhabiloin,
shuidh sinn gu brònach bochd;
An sin air Sion chuimhnich sinn,
is ghuileadh leinn gu goirt.

Air gheugaibh seilich chrochadh leinn
ar clàrsaichean an sin.

Oir iadsan a rinn braighde dhinn
dh'iarr òran oirnn is gean:

Seadh iadsan le'n do chreachadh sinn
dh'iarr luathghair oirnn is ceòl;
Seinnibh de laoidhibh Shioin duinn,
(ars' iadsan) mar bu nòs.

'N tìr choigrich cia mar dh'fheudar leinn
oran Iehobhah sheinn?
Mur cuimhn'cheam thu, Ierusalem,
ri m'dheis nior lean a seirm.

Mo theangadh leanadh teann ri m' ghial,
mur cuimhnichear thu leam;
Mur feàrr leam na m'uil' aoibhneas àrd
cathir Ierusalem.

Clann Edoim cuimhnich thusa, Dhé,
oir thubhairt iad le tàir,
An làithibh truagh' Ierusalem,
leag, leag i, sìos gu làr.

O nighean uaibhreach Bhabiloin,
a dh'fhàsaichear gu léir:
Is sona dha, mar rinn thu oirnn
a dhiolas dhuit d'a reir. . .

Mata, a mhic, mu dheireadh thall, shaor na
lùdhaich iad fhéin agus dh'aisig iad a' chàinain
aca do Israel gu leir . . . ni sinne an aon rud
fhathast . . . aisigidh sinne ar càinain a streach

do gach ceàrn feadh ar saor-stàit uile gu leir
. . . gun teagamh sam bith, a mhic. . .

GILLEASBUIG MacMHÙIRICH
Gilleasbuig Lachlainn 'Illeasbuig

*We understand that if one asks the question
'What if something happened or will happen?'
we find one's imagination stirred or even
inspired by the answer. The above exercise
might prove this proposition has some validity.
As the title says, 'Let's pretend that the Scots
had won the Battle of Culloden in 1746'. We
must bear in mind the utterly draconian steps
in the aftermath, persecutions and clearances
as well as the rooting out of the language and
its plight ever since.*

Say No to Devolution!!! Independence — Nothing Less!!!

When an imperialist state is faced with growing demands for independence from a nationalist movement the imperialists frequently resort to the age-old con-trick of proposing or promising "Home Rule" or "Devolution" as an alternative to independence.

The aims of the imperialist state are not to actually **grant** devolution — devolution is **never** granted except in rare cases when the state is faced with determined armed resistance (e.g. as a response to — and an attempt to undermine — the military campaign of ETA, the Spanish imperialists granted **part** of the Basque country a limited degree of devolution some years ago.)

However, in the normal circumstances the imperialist state never seeks to **implement** devolution. It always deliberately makes **false** promises of devolution which are merely an expedient tactic designed to:

a) confuse the issue by diverting attention from the **real** issue — independence.

b) divide and confuse the national movement — and the people of the subject nation — by offering never-to-be-granted devolutionary "concessions" as an alternative to the nation's legitimate **rights**.

c) defuse the national movement and halt its progress by involving it in long drawn-out (and fruitless) participation in the debate about devolution.

Offers or promises of devolution are only made in order to encourage the national movement to accept false promises of "constitutional change" as an alternative to the nation's full and legitimate rights to self-determination and complete independence. Devolution is only a means to confuse, divide, divert and defeat the national movement and

the legitimate national aspirations of the subject people.

These facts are clearly understood by most genuine Scottish nationalists in view of the Scottish experience which, on 1st March 1979, culminated in humiliation for the Scottish national movement which had actively collaborated with the then Labour government's "commitment" to devolution for Scotland. The SNP now campaigns under the slogan "Independence — Nothing Less!!!" and "devolution" is a dirty word to most genuine nationalists.

However, the state has not dispensed with devolution entirely. The Labour, Liberal and Social Democratic parties still play with the idea, the Campaign For A Scottish Assembly is still in existence and there is no doubt that, when, inevitably, the Scottish national movement recovers its momentum, the state, and its Unionist agents in the British political parties and the Campaign For A Scottish Assembly, will once again seek to sabotage the national movement by reviving the "demand" for devolution in opposition to the genuine demands for self-determination and independence.

Already, with the signs of a nationalist revival on the not-too-distant horizon, the danger posed by the devolutionary lobby is growing. A "Scottish Constitutional Convention" has been set up and even a number of SNP members have become involved in this Unionist front organization, while whole SNP branches have actually affiliated to the pro-devolutionary Campaign For A Scottish Assembly!!

This is curious in view of the SNP's rejection of devolution and adoption of the "Independence — Nothing Less!!!" slogan. How can the SNP effectively campaign for nothing less than independence when a

minority of its own members would seem to be campaigning for a great deal less than independence? If the SNP cannot convince its own membership to reject the sham of devolution then it is unlikely to convince the Scottish electorate.

Clearly the SNP must campaign more effectively **for** independence and equally it must mount a sustained campaign **against** the false promises of the pro-devolutionary parties and **against** devolution itself. To do otherwise is to court disaster. The SNP must stand by its slogan: "Independence — Nothing Less!!!"

A.B.

Let me do my thinking for you

Sweet lord of the land
sweet land you bought
and rough
with the sharp edge of foreign finery.

Sweet man of the plan
sweet plan you thought
and taught
with the abortive art of dominance.

But you can't yet
quite
yet quite quite yet
buy our language
quite

and so,
well, se seo e,
cha do cheannaich thu a' mhac-
mheanmhainn fhathast.

MAIRI NIC GUMARAID

Comrades, Papists and the Strange Story of Samuel Campbell

le P. J. Mac Giolla Bháin

British Prime Minister Harold Wilson's observation that a weeks a long time in politics couldn't have been more apt to the first and, indeed, subsequent weeks of the month of July in Scotland.

When the dust had settled over the regional election results in May it was clear that labour were still safe in their heartlands — especially in areas of high Irish migration that contains the country's 20% Catholic population — (see Carn 54).

Although the SNP had increased their share of the vote and coming second to Labour almost everywhere — the SNP did not take votes from Labour.

In fact the share of the Labour vote increased markedly in many central belt areas. Obviously if the SNP is to achieve its self-stated mandate for independence — 37 MPs — then this situation would not only have to be altered, but reversed.

Despite this gloomy scene opinion polls — especially Systems three polls carried out for the Glasgow Herald — indicated that the majority of Scots wanted some kind of assembly or complete independence and the Scottish Government Yearbook 1986 stated that 69% wanted an independent parliament as opposed to London rule.

Now if even these polls are half right then that means that many labour voters are actually separatists to a degree that would terrify the labour party — and certainly any labour government.

One of the reasons that the SNP cannot at present reap that particular political harvest have already been outlined in Carn 54 — i.e. the majority of West of Scotland Catholics consider the SNP to be an anti-catholic party and conversely the labour party to be the protector of Scotland's large religious/ethnic minority — (in that most Catholics in Scotland consider themselves Irish) — and to be the protector of the Catholic schools system in particular.

These beliefs have been prevalent on the doorstep to SNP canvassers in Glasgow for a generation or more.

However at the start of July, Christmas arrived early for those wishing to break the Orange/Green logjam in the Glasgow consciousness.

Santa Claus was personified by one Samuel Campbell, West Lothian District Council convenor, Chairman of the National Committee for Non-Denominational schools, Orangeman and Labour party member.

Convenor Campbell was addressing the Orange Order Rally at Leith links in Edinburgh — guest of honour was Harold McCusker Ulster Unionist MP.

Campbell launched into a tirade against the Catholic church, priests, Catholics in general and Catholic schools in particular.

"The best way to save money on education is to shut down the papist schools". "They

(Catholic schools) are an insult to everything you and I stand for." — (The Scotsman 2nd and 3rd July 1986.)

He then launched into song — "... give me a home where there's no Pope of Rome. . . ." This apparently even embarrassed McCusker and the rest of the "dignitaries" on the stage.

Campbell claimed later that he would not retract the statement and, in any case, the closure of Catholic schools was official labour party policy.

Pressure was, however, put on West Lothian District Council, of which Campbell was elected leader a short time before, by the local government union NALGO.

They threatened to "black" all council meetings if Campbell remained convenor — Campbell resigned, but to date remains a labour councillor, party member and chairman of the national committee of non-denominational schools.

The only major newspaper to carry the story in any detail was the Scotsman — carrying the story for three days running and giving it major feature article space.

The papers that predominate in the West of Scotland — all leaning towards labour — effectively silenced the story until Campbell resigned as convenor — therefore serving it up as a dead story — issue finished.

However the SNP in the east end of Glasgow — in Glasgow Shettleston constituency — which the present writer is PRO — realised the harm this could do to the labour party's hold on the area and perhaps it could swing the people towards the national party if only they knew what this man — an important figure in the labour party had said about them.

Given that the national and local press (with one honourable exception) had studiously ignored the issue and had printed no press releases or taken no comment from SNP activists willing to make them — they themselves being in a minority in the SNP — it was decided in several east end of Glasgow areas to leaflet houses with the choicest Campbell remarks.

The effect was electric, long term labour voters have renounced their allegiance to their party.

It was not, however, merely Campbell's anti-Catholic remarks that may prove to be the most damaging to labour, but Campbell's statement regarding the status of Catholic schools in the climate of financial cuts that pervade the atmosphere of local government in Scotland under the Tories.

Labour local authorities — particularly Strathclyde — will be closing schools this year and next to comply with government cuts.

After some research it emerged that it was indeed labour policy to close Catholic schools which they considered "socially divisive" and they favoured amalgamation "on a piecemeal basis" which would eradicate the Catholic school involved in school merger.

It is hard to quantify the long-term damage that this will do to the labour party in Scotland — or, indeed, to convey how potentially damaging it could be if the reader is not acquainted with life in the West of Scotland and the importance of such issues to thousands of ordinary men and women here.

What is certain is that the labour party have fashioned a weapon for their enemies with life snuffing power — it is now a question of whether or not those enemies — particularly the SNP — has the courage and the imagination to pick it up and use it and perhaps deliver the Glasgow Irish into the ranks of the national party — for they are already separatists themselves by nature — and make again the Clyde a centre of revolutionary ferment. It will be a test of the national party's mettle if they have the instinct for the jugular — if not they will remain a polite, quaint, insignificant on the British political landscape.

DAN AS ALBA

Cha deidhinn fo bhinn
ri linn no caran
a chanadh gur ann leotha bha latha
nuair a thug iad orm a bhi nam
shrainnsear
rium fhin.

'S cha chuirinn a brigh
air ni na m'anam
a bheireadh orm mo thuigs a threigs
son leth-chrun na gainne nach cosnainn
dhomh fhin.

. . . se cail a' chumhachd
no cumhachd na cail le acras na sail
a dh'fhoadadh mo ghiubhlainn
thairis
air a' chuimhne thug thu dhomh.

MAIRI NIC GUMARAID

I would not go under the judgement
long or short a time
that would say that the day was theirs
when they made me be a stranger
to myself.

And I would not put its meaning
to anything in my soul
that made me betray my understanding
for the half-crown of want that I would not
earn
for myself.

. . . it is the taste of the power
or the power of the taste with hunger on
its heels
that could carry me
across
the memory you gave me.

DANCING TO THE AMERICAN TUNE?

Because F111s regularly go through their paces in the Scottish Highland low flying zone, few remarks were made about the noise and frequency of air activity around the Tain bombing range in Easter Ross in early April this year. However the US reprisal attack on Tripoli a fortnight later, mounted from US airfields in Southern England, throws into sharp focus one of the cold war secret accords that gives US forces the use of bases in Britain to pursue US interests whether they concern NATO or not.

The exact conditions of the accord are known only to a few top politicians on both sides of the Atlantic but its effects, taken along with the concentration of nuclear deterrent submarines on the Clyde, places Scotland in the front line of East West confrontation. We face a double bind in our geo-political position and lack of control over the decisions taken by UK governments.

In the last 25 years, however, there have been two important changes in our position. While the Nassau agreement between Premier MacMillan and President Kennedy in 1960 marked the end of an independent UK nuclear weapons system it also broke the old consensus of post war British politics which turned people towards solving pressing domestic issues after the "winds of change" had finally brought home the demise of the British Empire after the Suez debacle.

"... long standing, Scottish Nationalist stance to remove the US bases ..."

In the early 60s only the non-violent protests of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament rippled the waters of political consensus. Despite the potential danger of siting US nuclear submarines and their Polaris missiles 20 miles from the centre of Scotland's major conurbation, Harold Wilson's incoming Labour government in 1964 endorsed the Tory nuclear deterrent policy and was not immediately punished by Scottish voters for this. But a sea change in Scots politics since then has marginalised the Tories to 21 out of 72 Scottish MPs in 1983 as opposed to the overwhelming English Tory majority. Although Labour looked like the dominant force, the emergence of the Scottish National Party which reached 30% support in 1974 permanently altered the picture. Now Scotland, with its identity enhanced by the Nationalist presence, votes much more anti-Tory than the rest of the UK but also has a four party break down. While a long term economic decline has most influenced voting habits the nuclear issue has resurfaced among the non-Tory parties. Alliance disquiet over Cruise missiles sited in England, has added to calls from the Alliance and Labour for the scrapping of Polaris and non-acceptance of Trident which has been capped by a long standing, Scottish Nationalist stance to remove the US bases, and all nuclear related installations from Scottish soil.

As a growing national self-awareness took on political expression the complacent 70s gave way to the new Cold War of the 80s as the Reagan years brought an increased use of warlike rhetoric and an equally unwelcome

increase in defence spending on such projects as SDI. In the wake of Soviet and US adventurism in Afghanistan and Central America respectively European reactions against nuclear war grew. The new lease of life for CND and the widening doubts about the effectiveness of the nuclear deterrent became obvious in opinion surveys. In the months after the Reagan/Gorbachev summit at Geneva last November there came the high level argument over a US or European dominated Westland helicopter business and the US raid on Libya which provoked widespread hostility among people throughout the British Isles and Europe. A major poll in late February, taken after Westland and before the Libyan bombing showed that 53% of Scots saw Britain's best long term interests lying with Western Europe to only 20% with the USA. But the 1,085 respondents to the MORI poll¹ have no illusions about Britain's scope for independent action as 63% believe that the USA has the upper hand in the US/Western European relationship.

Questions about the image of the superpowers reflect pro US/anti USSR slants in much of the British news coverage, so 48% think the USSR wishes to extend its power over other countries compared to 36% for the USA. In the light of the Afghan and Nicaraguan episodes the result is much closer, 40% consider Russia interferes in the politics of developing countries to 37% for the USA. The soundness of judgement of the opposing leaders gives Gorbachev only 10% and Reagan 17%; but on the crunch question on who genuinely wants world peace Scots believe by 2:1 that the USA is ahead in the peace loving stakes.

"... US and UK military planners deliberately exposed the Scottish people to front line dangers ..."

The Westland Affair revealed splits at the highest levels of government over the continued domination of UK defence systems by US companies and the blunt lesson of US self interest in the Tripoli bombing has produced a 70% opposition rate in UK opinion polls by Gallup and MORI in the days after the event. This shows that the myth of US

bases in Britain being for collective defence is fatally flawed while the manoeuvres of US policy to keep strategic control of Middle East oil supplies emerges from the smokescreen of anti-Gaddafi righteous wrath.

Scots now have 25 years experience of US Polaris bases on the Clyde, at Holy Loch along with the UK base of more recent origin at Faslane. This includes both the blighting of the natural environment and the exploitation of the human communities. Sited 20 miles from Glasgow, in a region containing half of Scotland's five million people, the strategic decisions of US and UK military planners deliberately exposed the Scottish people to front line dangers without their consent.

As Keith Bovey, one of the early protestors and now Chairperson of Scottish CND says "What is the payoff for a foreign armed presence with no accountability to the elected government of the land?" Furthermore he says the very presence of such bases at Dunoon raises other concerns which may be a matter of life and death.²

"... increasing evidence of poisonous waste contaminating beaches; of leukemia clusters ..."

There is increasing evidence of poisonous waste contaminating beaches; of leukemia clusters in the vicinity; and of the scars of installations on the landscape. These have to be added to the simple restriction on access to beaches for swimming and the lack of fish for sport not to mention the dropping of a Poseidon missile in the loch in 1981!

As to the economic fate of the Dunoon area Keith Bovey is equally pessimistic, "A few bars may be doing better, as taxis do. Shops do not on account of the PX and a very highly developed self sufficiency in the USN." Though tourism patterns now by-pass places like Dunoon and Rothesay the base is no attraction, visually or in any other way.

At the British nuclear submarine base at nearby Faslane evidence of nuclear waste discharges into the water confirms peoples' fears; if ill effects are cumulative, where and when will they stop, or be stopped?

Hence the reason for the growing belief outside the British Conservative Party that not only must foreign bases be removed but all nuclear weapons development must be stopped for the vastly increased fire power of the Trident, destined for the Faslane base, is the most costly and deadly import of US technology to date. The reasoning amongst the public is that we could be spending scarce resources on far more pressing problems no matter what the Thatcher/Reagan grand design. What Scots rarely hear is the views of a wide range of US citizens. Despite the success of so many Scots in the USA the communications between our two countries has often been at the hazy level of tourist promotion on the one hand and on the other an admiration for the open society of the States which Scots compare to the stuffy hierarchical picture of England and its elitist profile. A great cross-over exists in popular music, in terms of folk, country-and-western and even today in pop where Glasgow

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BREIZH

KENDALC'H ETREVROADEL AR C'HATALONEG

Ar rann binvidikañ eus tiriegezh ar Stad spagnat eo Katalonia a-dra-sur. N'eo ket a-youl-gaer e rofe gouarnamant Madrid muioc'h a frankiz dezhi. Koulskoude n'eus diwanet netra heñvel ouzh ETA e-touez Kataloniz. Ha sevenetoc'h, dougetoc'h d'ar peoc'h eget Euskariz e vent'ta, (o varn diouzh kriterioù boutin)? Pe krediñ a reont ez eo kreñv a-walc'h o broadelezh, o yezh peurgen, evit gallout herzel ouzh ar gwask hag an dilanvadoù o tont eus ar gornôg war o zu? Franco n'eo ket deut a-benn eus o yezh. Skrivet e vez enni levrioù a vil vern. Douget e vez gant ur ganol skinwel betek pep korn eus ar vro.

Div all a zo evelato o skignañ kastilhaneg adalek Madrid. E-metoù ar milionoù a gatalonegerien ez eus o chom marteze daou vilion hag a ra gant ar yezh liesvroadel-se, hag un darn vat anezho ne da ket don o gwizioù er bobl kataloniat. Gant Madrid emañ atav ar veli e kement kevrenn bouezus eus ar vuhez foran. Ezhomm a vez e seurt plegennoù da skoriñ ar bobl en ur ziskouez dezhi nerzh he yezh hag he sevenadur. Setu moarvat an abeg nemetañ ma voe aozet e miz mae Kendalc'h Etrevroadel ar C'Hataloneg '86.

Unan all a oa bet e 1906. E-pad an daou ugent vloaz eus renadur Franco ne oa ket anv eveljust d'ober tra eus ar seurt. Ha goude heskinerezh ken hirbad e tremen buan dek vloaz ken na vezer kreñv a-walc'h evit distreiñ war an dachenn foran. Oadvezh ar moederezh eo hemañ. Klask a ra pep broad enni an disterañ lorc'h diskouez he zu gwellañ d'ar bed, ha pa oar an dud e vez prizet o sevenadur gant an estrenien e kresk en-dro o emvri hag o emfiziañs.

Diouzh ar sellboent-se e komprenner penaos e voe aozet ar c'hendalc'h-mañ. N'eo ket marc'hadourien-saout a zivizas ober an traou war un ton bras evel-se, o kemer warno dispign, war a glevis, kement ha dek milion a lurioù gall evit kas an displegadeg da benn. Netra nemet o paeañ mizoù beaj ha leti 300 kouvriad bennak eus ken pell ha Norzhamerika, Aostralia, Alamagn pe Iwerzhon e tle bezañ koustet dezho un tamm brav a arc'hant.

Met sellomp kentoc'h ouzh munudoù ar raklenn. Div ribinad c'hoarvezadoù a oa. Er rummad kentañ e oa abadennoù — dihued, met gouestlet e oa da gentañ-holl d'an imboure'h ha da gendaeloù gouizie. En eil e oa ar pouez war ar bruderezh. An eizhdevezhiad kentañ, eus an 30 Ebrel betek ar 7 Mae, a oa dreist-holl mennet evit Kataloniz o-unan, daoust ma oa enrollet arbennigourien estren evit prezegennoù ha breutadennoù oa. Kinniget e voe a bep seurt abadennoù sonerezh, koroll ha kan, diskouezadegoù arzh, diskleriadurioù, "Cyrano de Bergerac" troet e kataloneg eveljust, ha darlizhennoù e-giz ma tere. E

Perpignan e oa ur vodadeg a-zivout bernelezh ar yoc'hstlenn hag ar galvezoniez: a-dra-sur e vern efed ar re-se da gatalonegerien an tunorzh eus ar Pireneoù! E Barcelona e voe prezeget a-zivout "ar c'hartennerzh er broioù katalonek gwechall"; en Andorra dioulet un delwenn en enor d'ar yezh; e Lleida aozet ur gendael a bemp devezh diwar-benn he feurunvanadur un neuz pouezus eus ar c'hendalc'h e oa, rak fellout a ra d'an emsav katalonek azasaat o yezh da holl ezhommoù ar vuhez a-vremañ, lakaat anezhi da dalvout en holl zarempredoù, en deskadurezh, er stlenn, er velestradurezh, kement-se o vezañ ret evit dezhi kevezata gant ar spagnoleg (hag ar galleg), se a ouzer mat. D'ar 7 Mae, d'ar memez eur e voe distaget prezegennoù e kant kêriadenn komzet enno kataloneg.

E-pad ar pevar, devezh diwezhañ, adal ar 7 betek an 11 a viz mae e oa kinniget traoù o tennañ muioc'h d'ar bruderezh, evit ar gouviaded estren: prezegennoù, sur, (ne blegjod ket da dreññ kalz diwar ar c'hataloneg), met ivez degemerioù, gweladennoù da lec'hioù brudet, abadennoù sonerezh ha, da echuiñ, ur mell pred. Degemeret e voemp gant pennoù bras, diskouezet e voe deomp Ti an Dael Broadel lorc'hus gant e golonenoù hag e vannoù-diri marbr koulz ha salioù kaer ar Generalitat goleet o mogerioù gant livadurioù eus darvoudoù heverkañ iator ar vro pe delwennoù eus o zud anvekañ. Kaset e voemp, pirc'hired mod nevez e kirri-boutin, d'ober un droiad da vanati Montserrat, lec'hiet tregont kilometr bennak diouzh ar gêr-benn uhel ouzh tor ur menez, bannoù kerreg noazh o valirañ a-us d'e savadurioù; an deiz goude da vanati Poblet ouzhpenn kant kilometr er mervent, en tu all da winegoù Torres, da glevout un abad o kanmeuliñ roll an ensavadur-se en istor ar rouantelezh aragonat-kataloniat hag en herouezadur ar yezh: troet e voe e brezegenn e galleg, saozneg hag alamaneg. D'ar gwener noz e oa nouspet dekmil den o selaou tri eus kanerien vrudetañ ar vro war ul leur-gêr vras sko ouzh iliz diechu ar Sagrada Família — goude un eurvezh hanter em boe ma gwalc'h a zesibelioù; kalz

muioù e plijas din an nozvezh war-lerc'h an abaden sonerezh klasel kinniget e C'Hoariva Bras "del Liceu", unan eus ar c'henaozadurioù, "L'Alta Naixença del Rei en Jaume" o tennan dre e gempouezioù hag e voullde d'ar pep gwellañ eus dibenn an 18vet kantvloaz. D'ar seul adalek unneg eur betek div eur e oa koroll war vali Passeig de Gràcia en enor da yezhoù ar bed-holl: war ar peulioù e oa istribilhet posterioù o reiñ stlenn diwar-benn yezhoù henvel dre niver o c'homzerien ouzh ar c'hataloneg. "A-douez an 2.000 yezh konzet ar muiañ e teu hemañ er 60vet renk", a zispleger war unan eus paperennoù-bruderezh ar c'hendalc'h. E-leizh a dud yaouank a oa o tañsal ar sardana war ar vali stanket d'ar c'hirri-tan, ar memez ton o vont en-dro diastal ouzh o unaniñ er genskiant eus o broadelezh. Ar re yaouank amañ ne droont ket kein da yezh o bro! Hervez ma voe diskleriet, ur garantez hogozik korfel a ere Kataloniz ouzh o yezh.

D'ar sul e oamp kouviet da verennañ en Drassanes, (anv katalonek) un arsanañl kozh hag a zo anezhañ ar skouer heverkañ eus an tisaverezh gotek trevourel. Nav nev a oa ennañ gwechall. Div anezho a oa bremañ staliet taolioù enno hag en unan all e-kichen e oa un adkenderc'had eus lestr Don Juan trec'hour morgad Lepanto (1572), estlamus ar gwel eus ziv renkennad a zaouzek skaoñ hir hag e roeñvoù ramzel. Ar roll-meuzioù a oa bet aozet e doare da reiñ da anaout ar pep gwellañ ha dibar eus a vez debret e rannvroioù Katalonia vras. Ambrouget e voe darn eus ar gouviaded da gaout ar Prezidant-Gouarnamant Jordi Pujol, en o zouez Aine Nic Mhurchadha hag a oa deut evel dere'houezerez Sinn Féin. Ouzh taol e oamp azezet e-kichen ur c'hannad Dael Katalonia, unan eus ar pemp dilennet gant dalc'hidi ur strollad sokialour republikan, un den en doa gallet sachañ e skasoù gantañ e 1939 hag en doa ranket bevañ 36 vloaz en harlu e Venezuela. Seurt tud a gompren gwelloc'h ar stourm a vez renet gant Republikanenn Iwerzhon.

E-ser kejadennnoù gant arvesterien eus kêr em boe tro da glevout menoioù diwar-benn ar goul na glotent ket tre gant an diskleriadurioù kefridiel. Er c'harr-boutin da b-Poblet e oan azezet e-kichen un armerzhour ampart war ar saozneg hag a lavaras din e tastume Madrid div wech hanter muioù a arc'hant e Katalonia eget na zaskore dezhi. Korvoet e oa-hi evel ur gwir drevadenn. O komz goude gant ur mignon euskarat e tiskuilhas hemañ din ar vroadelourien-vourc'hiz-se hag a harpe emrenezh Katalonia en abeg ma c'halle reiñ tu dezho da virout evito ar pep brasañ eus he finvidigezh ha da nac'h reiñ darn da vroioù isdiorreet. Ur wech all e oan aet d'un ostaleri war ribl ar Passeig de Gràcia da zebriñ un tamm pa zeuas tre un toullad paotred gwisket

en un doare n'em boa gwelet biskoazh. Goulenn a ris outo petra oa ar gwiskamant-se. O welout em boa poan o kompren ar respont e chomas un den a-sav hag e tisklêrias din e galleg e teue ar re-se eus kostez Valencia, na gomzent ket kataloneg ha ne selle ket ar gatalonegerien outo evel ouzh gwir genvroiz. Un ton damanavezet e Breizh met un dra bennak gwirion zo aze peogwir ec'h arouez ar yezh evel ul liamm kreñv a gumuniezh. An den-mañ oa gwisket gant ur flotantenn c'hlas berr a lakae ac'honan da soñjal e oa anezhañ ur micherour emgelenet. C'hoant en doa da gaozeal ha digantañ e klevis en doa klasket Franco gwanaat ar vroad gataloniad en ur zegas e-leizh a dud eus rannvroioù all Iberia da labourat amañ. O klevout diganin meneg eus "Unterwanderung" e troas da gomz en alamaneg, pezh a zeue kalz aesoc'h gantañ eget ar galleg. Labourer en doa en tu-hont d'ar Roen. Kalz eus an enbroerien spagnat, emezañ, a oa bremañ o treiñ a-enep d'ar c'hataloneg, o herzel ouzh ar redi lakaet war an holl vugale-skol da zeskiñ ar yezh. En arvar e lakaent ar c'henstrivad d'he startaat. Gouez hezhañ ivez e oa gant ar preder eus un dilennadeg da-zont eo o doa aozet tud ar gouarnamant, dehouterien anezho, ar gouel bras-mañ. Gouest e vefent da fougeal o doa gounezet doujañs d'o bro e-touez an estrenien,

e oa kresket hec'h arouarzh a-drugarez dezho. Evelato, e soñjen-me, mar deo prest ar bobl d'o zrugarekaat da heul un oberiadenn ken ker n'eus ket da vezañ chalet e tizerfe o spered broadel. Chomet e vije an den-mañ betek serrnoz d'am c'henteliañ ma'm bije karet kroaziañ war ar pred en Drassanes. Gwazh a se evitañ n'on ket douget d'an askez. Diskouez a rae bezañ skoliad en dalererezh politikel ken e kave din e oa anezhañ marteze ur brogomunour pe ur c'hleizour-broadelour e-benn-e-unan. Eus feulster ne rannas grik. Ha reizh e oa e varnadennou a-zivout ar gouel? n'oufen ket lavarout! Gouzout a reas an aozerien, petra bennak e oa o mennad, lakaat o c'houviaded da laouenaat ouzh kaerder o bro ha bevbuezegezh o sevenadur. Harpet e voent gant un oabl digoumoul e-pad da vihanañ ar pevar devezh a dremenis eno.

A. HEUSAFF

Geriou divoutin: dilanvad:influence; moederezh:propaganda; emvri: self-esteem; leti:hotel; raklenn:programme; arbennigour: specialist; darlizhenn:lecture; bernelez: importance; kalvezoniezh:technology; yoc'hstlenn: mass media; herouezadur:promotion; stlenn:information; adkenderc'had: replica; arouarzh: prestige.

Summary: A twelve-day International Congress of the Catalan Language was organised last May throughout the various regions of Catalonia. Numerous manifestations of the Catalan identity took place, the main attention being directed to language and music. Scholars from faraway countries participated in the work of committees set up to propose ways and means to give Catalan the place it needs in all spheres of life if it is to resist the pressure of Spanish and French. The foreign guests were given a very convincing demonstration of the vitality of the Catalan nation.

"Les Nationalistes Bretons de 1939 à 1945" by Bertrand Frelaut, reviewed in CARN 54, was published by Editions Beltan, 43 r. St. Mikael, 29190 Brasparzh, Brittany. Its price: 125 FF. Apologies to the publishers for the omissions.

ERRATA

The figures given in the 2nd paragraph on page 8, Carn 54 for the number of votes given to candidates of ethnic groups in "Brittany-4" (and in Catalonia, Occitania, the Basque Country, Corsica?) were grossly in error! For B-4 the total was 27.211 and for the whole of Brittany 32,079.

NO TO NUCLEAR STATIONS

Five years ago, plans by the EDF (the French electricity supply board) to set up a nuclear station in Plogoff in the west of Brittany had to be abandoned after weeks of clashes between demonstrators and the forces of law and order. Undeterred, the EDF went on looking for alternative sites, and found Le Carnet near Nantes, Plouezeg north of St. Brieg and St. Yann-ar-Biz near Montroulez/Morlaix to be suitable for its purpose. By law, however, the commune in which a nuclear station is to be built must first give its agreement, its elected councillors are told by the pro-nuclear lobby that sorely needed employment could thus be secured. Backing the EDF were the Nantes, St. Brieg and Montroulez Chambers of Commerce and the main French parties, Left and Right.

The Chernobyl disaster threw a mighty spanner in their works!

On May 10, 2,000-3,000 people demonstrated in Plouezeg to press the Mayor and the councillors to debate publicly the issue of a station in their commune. A week later, a Breton Anti-Nuclear Coordination committee was set up by representatives of environmental associations from several towns. On June 1, 2,000 people gathered in Le Carnet in opposition to EDF's proposals. In St Yann-ar-Biz, the Communal Council was divided on the issue. A number of those in favour of the station resigned reckoning that in the resulting by-election, the hope of new jobs in the commune would swing a majority to their side. They were disappointed: 62%

of the voters gave their support to the anti-nuclear candidates who took all the vacant seats.

On June 22, the Coordination Committee organised a demonstration, with Glenmor singing, in St. Yann-ar-Biz — it was attended in spite of the rain by thousands of people (4,000-5,000) predominantly from the area, but with strong participation also from Plouezeg, Plogov, Le Carnet, and central Brittany where the French company COGEMA has not given up its plans to mine uranium (see Carn Nr. 41). The Coordination Committee will next organise support for Le Carnet where a public enquiry concerning EDF's proposals is to take place early in the

autumn.

The French media were the last in Europe to inform the public of the dangers arising from Chernobyl: are they in the hands of the nuclear lobby? The big daily *Ouest France* also observed great discretion about the Breton anti-nuclear demonstrations. It had only 4 lines about the St. Yann demonstration in its edition for Côtes-du-Nord, a département which lies only a short distance to the east.

Yet, in this matter, the Breton people take a very strong stand: they refuse to have their country spoiled. The other "Hexagon" citizens do not understand this attitude at all, says the editor of L.P.B.



Anti-nuclear demonstration in Plouezec in May (3,000 plus).

AFTER THE ELECTIONS: PAUSE TO THINK (continued) Need for ONE Breton Party

I don't think that the two articles referred to (p. 8, Carn 54) tackle the problem of reorganising the Breton forces in a sufficiently radical way. The Union Democratique Bretonne and some of its partners in "Convergence Bretonne" represent only part of these forces. Is no attempt to be made to include the others in the "broad union"? I have no illusions regarding the difficulties nor about the readiness on the part of the existing organisations to consider my arguments. To dispel possible misinterpretations of my position, let me state that I don't feel tied to any social class. I am a nationalist but I stand for social equality and for the control of our national resources for the benefit of all my fellow Bretons, as advocated in the Celtic League constitution. I am not an autonomist. Though I recognise the interdependence of all nations and the closer relationship existing between the European peoples. I want Brittany to be as independent as possible of France so that we can restore our language without her interference, encourage financially our cultural development and safeguard adequately our economic interests. I readily admit that the different views of how our country should be governed should continue to find expression and seek support through publications such as EMGANN making the case for full national freedom or LE PEUPLE BRETON/POBL VREIZH advocating socialism for Brittany. What is more urgent however is to unite all the Breton forces in a struggle to win self-government. And for that, one political organisation is what is needed.

The great majority of our people want to remain Breton but do not recognise the need for self-government, be it within a French federation or within a European federation or as a sovereign country. But what does it mean to "remain Breton"? It risks becoming meaningless as the people continue to be treated as "Frenchmen/women like the rest". We must convince them that it is in their interest to govern themselves in order to remain *themselves* and protect their vital interests. It has been proved that a leftist French government in itself, no more than the preceding rightist governments, can not ensure this protection.

To do so a strong Breton party is needed and *at present only one*. The only justification for any Breton party *at present* is that it should serve to bring a majority of our people to support the struggle for self-government. This party would be opposed to all the French parties in Brittany, alert to their failure to defend the Breton interests and capable of proposing adequate solutions to our problems. It would limit its participation in contests to the communal and "regional" elections and use French general elections only to show the shortcomings of the French parties; it is a waste of financial resources to engage in electoral processes in which the focus is aimed entirely on French political issues and personalities with the cooperation of the media. Given the weak awareness of the common Breton interests, realistically the Breton party must set itself moderate mean-term aims. This is accepted by the UDB, POBL, Frankiz Breizh. They all seem now to admit that a broad Breton union is needed. But they disagree on the social aspects of policy and appear unwilling to make any concession to one another in that respect.

In my view, if those who advocate some form of socialism and those who for various reasons take a conservative stand cannot find



Ex-Prime Minister

"Something should be done for the Breton language.

"When we are back in power, we'll do it."

Courtesy of Bemañ.

a common platform in the struggle for self-government, they will be routed again and again. It may be exciting for some but disastrous for Brittany. The socialist-autonomists have proved more capable of winning votes than the "centrist" autonomists but it is obvious from the fact that the majority of the people remain conservative in social matters that a broad union composed only of leftists has no chance in the foreseeable future of winning majority support.

The UDB is by no means the only organisation to be criticized for the present impasse. But it is the oldest one in the field,

having split in 1963 from the M.O.B. which disintegrated a few years later. The UDB founders could not co-habit with social-conservatives but where are they today? Retired or in the French Socialist Party? While the UDB-exercise may have been useful in refuting the calumny that "autonomist" meant reactionary or fascist, it has not been conspicuously successful in welding socialism and autonomism within its ranks. It won an appreciable number of seats in local elections because it identified with the concerns of the "ordinary people" and published well-researched studies of various aspects of the Breton problem in its monthly *Le Peuple Breton*, but it has been almost torn asunder by the tensions among its "socialist-first" members and probably tensions between them and its "autonomist-first" members. I doubt very much that a *durable* alliance with other minor leftist parties for which Breton motives are relatively unimportant could be formed as a development from last winter's "Convergence Bretonne". Much energy risks being wasted in trying to reconcile fundamental divergences regarding the need to find a specific solution to the specific Breton problem. What interest has the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire in maintaining a Breton identity? Even assuming that a majority of the Breton voters would some day come around to see the advantages of having an autonomous socialist Breton government, too many among them would in the elections consider it more useful for the furtherance of their socialist aspirations to vote for the French Socialist Party, likely as it is to achieve power before a Breton government could be set up. Similar considerations apply to Breton-minded rightists.

DIFFICULT QUESTIONS

There are indeed numerous Bretons who have no stomach for making common cause with people belonging to another social class. But surely those who refer to the *Breton people* or the *Breton nation* must agree that the great majority of the inhabitants of the peninsula have common interests in certain areas, that they have to co-exist and in some way to co-operate. Or do we want to imitate the Ulster Unionists who speak of "the people of Ulster" and mean only the Unionist 60% of the Six-County population? Is this not a time in *Brittany*, in the critical situation in which *Brittany* finds itself, when one should seek the common ground rather than dwell on sectional interests? There will always be opportunities to address ourselves to sectional matters but the specifically Breton matters which concern us all cannot wait.

I am fully aware that it will not be an easy task to convince a majority of those think "Breton first" but differ on social questions of the necessity of a broad union embracing socialists and social-conservatives in the pursuit of a common goal: self-government. Is it possible to formulate a programme with "autonomy" as its essential, realistically achievable aim but including other elements to attract the support of a wide cross-section of the Breton population? Is it possible to mobilise active (militant) commitment to put this programme before the people with hardly any help from the press and none from television? Will less energy be wasted trying

to reconcile ideological divergences within such a Union than in the case of a leftist "Convergence" including components with a lukewarm interest in "autonomy"?

CONDITIONS

I believe that, if the experience of the past 20-25 years is duly kept in mind, a Breton Party would have a better chance of lasting and winning popular support. But there are conditions.

Such a party would call for service and not personal ambition; for far sightedness not for internal chess-playing with a view to securing sectional advantages; for great ability on the part of those in positions of leadership; for a leadership elected by and responsible to the district federations but solidly bound by constitution to pursue its aim and capable of impressing on the diversity of social aspirations of its members the discipline required in any efficient party.

The experience of other Celtic countries has shown how difficult it is for a purely nationalist programme to win mass support, or even to mobilise members. It may well be necessary for the Breton Party to adopt a position on social matters if it is not to be considered irrelevant to the people's everyday preoccupations. In that case the policy to be adopted should be one deemed capable of satisfying the aspirations of the greatest number of Bretons. It may well be a left-of-centre position in view of the fact that there is a higher proportion of "inveterate", irrecoverable French Loyalists among the Rightists than among the Leftists in our country. The party should also include in its programme such obvious causes as disarmament, the protection of the environment, opposition to multi-nationals: it would be for research sections to show clearly the links between them and our essential aim, so that in elections the party's candidates might get support from people concerned with these issues. There should be no compromise or equivocation regarding the essential Breton aspirations, whatever it may cost to uphold them: it is they which will inspire an active unshakable commitment on the part of the party's members. I have in mind particularly the demands of the Breton language organisations: they should receive the party's unambiguous support.

Majority votes alone are not sufficient to obtain self-government, determination and resourcefulness are also needed. I am not dismissing the divergences which exist in Brittany as elsewhere on social issues nor suggesting that the wrangles between workers and employers, wealthy and poor, conservatives and progressists, could be suspended. I am urging the setting-up of an organisation devoted primarily to win popular support for Breton self-government and I believe that it can best be achieved by cooperation between all those who already share that aim.

Have we anyone able to undertake the task of uniting them? Where there is a will there is a way: "An neb a venn hennezh a c'hall" in the words of Barzhaz Breizh (there is a second part to that sentence, but its fulfilment depends on the first part).

ALAN HEUSAFF

S.A.B. WILL WIN!

Last summer in the euphoria of the Lorient Interceltic Festival, the French Minister of Culture agreed that bilingual signs should be put up on the Breton roads. Stourm ar Brezhoneg (S.A.B.) which had damaged or removed some 2,000 "French"-only signs during the previous year or two suspended its campaign in order to give time for this undertaking to be carried out. The Rennes Regional Council was also in favour of it, but the cost was to be borne by the Département councils, and here was the test of earnestness! Seeing that feet were being dragged, S.A.B. decided to go back into action.

On May 30, hundreds of monolingual road signs were tarred over or removed throughout the five Breton départements, but the operation also extended to the French capital where slogans were painted on a dozen buildings belonging to the Ministry of Transport so as to bring home to its officials that the campaigners were in earnest. On June 7, a protest attended by about 100 people was mounted in Plougernev, on the north-west coast, against the failure of the Finistère Council to honour a public pledge made last November that there would be bilingual signs on the new Lanniliz-Plougernev road. The latter was opened recently but of Breton no sign! On this occasion S.A.B. operated in full daylight in removing the offending "panneaux". Later in the day, a Fest-Noz attended by 200 people took place in

Plougernev to publicise the S.A.B. campaign.

The local municipal council was undoubtedly moved by all this determination as shortly afterwards it decided to erect the required signs on the commune's territory.

On a larger scale, the Côtes-du-Nord Council got moving at the end of June by putting up the first 20 bilingual signs on the departmental road from Lannuon to Landreger (Tréguier).

On July 10, delegates from four associations which are active in the Paris area (Unvaniezh ar Gelennerien, Diwan, Kendalc'h, the Breton Emigrants Organisation) met officials of the Transport Ministry and were told that Breton signs would not be put up on the National roads ("it is not the time"!), but the State would bear the cost of having them on cultural sites and places of recreation (?) throughout the five départements — a symbolic rather than substantial concession but a noteworthy one since it is the first time that a financial contribution is forthcoming from central funds in this particular field. The associations' delegates are to meet the Transport Ministry officials again in October.

However reluctantly, the public authorities have in effect to concede that S.A.B. is on the right track. The campaigners have been fined rather heavily but they are prepared to face further penalties to win official recognition for our language. S.A.B. needs all the financial help it can get. Send cheques to Herve Kerrain/S.A.B., Ti Kelc'h Sevenadurel Gwened, 21 st. al Lezioù-Barn/r. des Tribunaux, 56000 Gwened.

Dalc'homp Sonj Brings History to Life

Radio France Bretagne Ouest (same as Radio Bretagne Occidentale?) recently agreed to broadcast every Thursday from 8.30 to 9.00 p.m. a history programme "La Bretagne à la rencontre de l'histoire", which is prepared in cooperation with the association DALC'HOMP SONJ ("Let us Remember"). Answers are given to listeners who phone in about various points or aspects of Breton history.

D.S. is demanding that this subject be made part of the school curriculum. As last year, they organised a seminar from August 4th to 9th within the Lorient Festival. Seven lecturers spoke on the theme "Brittany from 1532 to 1715". There were also discussions, films, music, and excursions.

Another conference on the theme of "Celtic Civilisation" was held by Dalc'homp Sonj in An Oriant from August 11th to 14th. It dealt with the situation of the Welsh language, the European Bagpipes, Death in Folklore, the Celtic Society in Scotland.

Let us again draw attention to the excellent special issue of Dalc'homp Sonj "La Révolution Irlandaise" devoted to the Irish struggle for independence (1880-1923). 45FF + 10% postage from 36 r. E. Zola, F-56100 An Oriant/Lorient.

Also available from D. Sonj "L'Atlas Historique de Bretagne" a work prepared in 1943-1947 by two reputable scholars and left

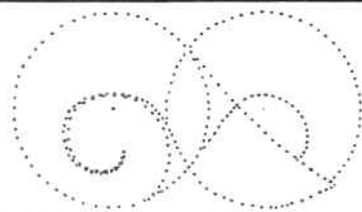
unpublished because of the then prevailing climate of repression. It contains 17 maps in colour and costs 150FF in the bookshops. Only 1,000 copies printed. In spite of progress made since in research, it is still a valuable work.

How Much Breton on Free Radios?

In Carn 54 we indicated the latest position as regards the time given to the Breton language on State-funded radio and television. *Bremañ*, which brings out monthly in Breton very detailed and up to date information about the Breton struggle in all its aspects, reported in June on the work of *Radio Kreiz Breizh* (Centre of Brittany). This station, run by a two-man team, broadcasts on the 99.2 MHz frequency two hours of Breton daily. Every Wednesday it devotes ½ hour to the other Celtic countries. It began in 1984 with ½ hour of Breton daily, gradually increased the language's share to the present level, and soon hopes to give it 2½ hours. Its aim is to spread information through the medium of Breton, familiarise its listeners (who generally are familiar only with their own sub-dialect) with other ways of speaking the language, make them realise its value and acquaint them with new words expressing modern life. Its motto is: let the people speak of their own experience as much as possible.

CYMRU

ETHOLIADAU CYNGHORAU RHANBARTHOL YN YR ALBAN



Cynhaliwyd etholiadau yn y naw cyngor rhanbarthol yn yr Alban ym mis Mai eleni. Yn y canlyniadau, "roedd newyddion da i'r Rhyddfrydwyr, Llafur a'r S.N.P., ond din ond colledion i'r Ceidwadwyr. Yn Strathclyde mae Llafur wedi cryfhau ei gafael ar y cyngor gyda'r S.N.P. a'r Ceidwadwyr yn colli seddau. Gwelodd y Rhyddfrydwyr seddau newydd yn Fife a Grampian. 'Roedd gan Llafur berfformiad da hefyd yn Lothian a central. 'Roedd gan yr S.N.P. ymgeiswyr ym mhob rhanbarth gayda'r canlyniad o gynyddu'r seddau o 28 i 37, gyda'r perfformiad gorau yn Grampian a Tayside. Collodd yr S.N.P. ddau sedd yn Cumbernauld ond enillodd ddau sedd yn Argyll ac un yn Kilmarnock yn Strathclyde. Yn Central mae'r S.N.P. yn ail i Lafur gyda'r 34% o'r pleidleisiau. Yn Grampian maent wedi cryfhau eu safle gyda'r gobaith o ennill dau sedd seneddol. Yn Tayside gwelodd y Blaid Genedlaethol enillion yn ardal Angus a'r posibilrwydd o ail-ennill sedd San Steffan yna, ond siomedig oedd y pleidlais yn Dundee, lle mae sedd Cadeirydd yr S.N.P., Gordon Wilson. 'Does dim mwyafrif gan Llafur yn Grampian na Tayside, ond gyda chymorth oddi wrth yr S.N.P. gellir rheolir ddau gyngor. Ar dystiolaeth yr etholiadau rhanbarth bydd y Toriaid yn colli 13 o'u 21 seddau yn yr Alban — 2 i'r Rhyddfrydwyr, 3 i'r S.N.P. a 8 i Lafur.

Tabl 1. Seddau'r pleidiau yn 1986 (a 1982 mewn cronfachau)

	Llafur	Tori	Rhyddfrydwyr	S.N.P.	Annibynwyr
Yr Alban	226 (208)	65 (123)	40 (26)	37 (28)	75 (89)
Border	— (—)	6 (8)	2 (3)	1 (3)	14 (12)
Central	23 (22)	4 (4)	1 (1)	5 (5)	1 (2)
Dumfries + G.	7 (4)	— (4)	4 (2)	5 (3)	19 (22)
Fife	30 (27)	4 (10)	8 (4)	2 (1)	1 (2)
Grampian	17 (15)	19 (28)	13 (6)	8 (3)	3 (2)
Highland	7 (5)	2 (1)	3 (2)	3 (2)	37 (42)
Lothian	32 (22)	13 (22)	3 (3)	1 (1)	— (1)
Strathclyde	87 (79)	6 (15)	5 (4)	3 (3)	1 (2)
Tayside	20 (12)	14 (27)	1 (—)	9 (5)	2 (2)

Tabl 2. Canlyniadau pleidiau o'r pleidlais (1983 mewn cronfachau)

	Llafur	Tori	Rhyddfrydwyr	S.N.P.	Annibynwyr
Yr Alban	43 (38)	17 (24)	15 (18)	18 (14)	7 (5)
Border	— (—)	20 (34)	5 (23)	19 (—)	57 (24)
Central	48 (43)	10 (13)	5 (12)	34 (28)	1 (4)
Dumfries + G.	20 (5)	9 (13)	14 (16)	11 (15)	46 (51)
Fife	47 (40)	12 (20)	18 (21)	18 (10)	5 (9)
Grampian	25 (27)	27 (40)	26 (17)	16 (11)	6 (4)
Highland	14 (15)	2 (—)	3 (5)	8 (9)	73 (71)
Lothian	42 (31)	23 (30)	19 (26)	13 (12)	3 (1)
Strathclyde	52 (46)	13 (22)	14 (17)	18 (12)	3 (2)
Tayside	30 (25)	28 (36)	11 (13)	28 (20)	3 (5)

(The above sets out the results of the local elections in Scotland in 1986, comparing them to the 1982 figures (in brackets). The tables speak for themselves.)

ADDYSG TRWY'R WYDDELEG YN TAMHLACHT

Mewn un o faesdrefi Dulyn, mae mudiad o'r enw "Cumann Gaelach" wedi bod y tu ôl i ffyniant y Wyddeleg yn yr ardal ym mhlith 15,000 o dai. Mae grŵp gwirfoddol o bobl leol wedi bod yn gyfrifol mewn nifer o feysydd:

a) Ysgolion Meithrin — mae gandd un grŵp fwridd amser hir ar gyfer pob stad o dai yn yr ardal.

b) Ysgolion Cynradd Gwyddeleg — Disgwylir 450 o blant yn Scoil Chaitlín Maude yng ngorllewin Tamhlacht, sydd wedi cael ei sefydlu ar ôld cyd-weithrediad rhwng Adran Gynllunio'r Cyngor Sir ac Adran Addysg y Weriniaeth. Cyn bo hir bydd trydydd ysgol yn ardal Ballycreagh erbyn 1986.

c) Ysgol Uwchradd — Ar hyn o bryd mae plant yn mynd i Coláiste Chillian, Clondalkin ar ôl yr ysgol gynradd, ond ar ôl 1987, ni fydd digon o le yna. Felly y mae'r awdurdodau addysg yn archwilio am safle ar gyfer coleg cymuned Gwyddeleg yn ardal Tamhlacht

erbyn Medi 1988.

d) Dosbarthau Gwyddeleg i oedolion. Mae darpariaeth o naw dosbarth ar gyfer oedolion yn yr ardal.

e) Gweithgareddau cymdeithasol. Mae hynny yn cynnwys:

- offeren Wyddeleg bob Sul
- clwb nofio
- wythnos ddiwylliannol Wyddeleg gyda 3000 o bobl yn cymryd rhan ynddi
- céilís bob mis
- gwersyll haf ar gyfer y plant
- clwb ieuencid

Trwy eu gweithgareddau, mae Cumann Gaelach wedi profi bob y pobl gyffredin yn fodlon derbyn yr iaith Wyddeleg fel rhan o'u ketifeddiaeth nhw.

CLIVE JAMES

(How the numbers of Irish-language schools, classes and social activities for people of all ages are rapidly increasing in the Dublin suburb of Tamhlacht.)

UNIVERSITY RESEARCH STANDARDS

The University of Wales' constituent colleges have come out badly in a University Grants Committee survey of research performance. Only three subject areas were classified as "outstanding" — Mathematics and Mechanical, Art and Production Engineering at U.C., Cardiff and Planning at U.W.I.S.T., Cardiff. Above average were Chemistry, Geology and Italian at U.C., Cardiff, Physical Oceanography, Electrical and Electronic Engineering at U.C.N.W., Bangor, Chemical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Social Anthropology, Sociology, German, History and Philosophy at U.C., Swansea and Clinical Dentistry and Univ. College of Medicine, Cardiff. One-third of work was assessed as below average. As a result the Welsh colleges could receive more reductions in grants.



GWASG I FENY WOD CYMRU
WELSH WOMEN'S PRESS

honno

Leigh Verrill-Rhys

Take a country with a population of 3 million where 500,000 of the citizens speak the native language and the rest speak a foreign one; add to that a still flourishing mediaeval bardic tradition which more or less continues to exclude women; add, finally, a culture dominated, if not actually suppressed, by its nearest neighbour and you have a situation ripe for literary deprivation and loss caused by racism, sexism and chauvinism. And yet, a rich literature thrives despite these conditions, although publishing inadequacies, lack of funds and disinterest indicate eventual collapse.

The literature of Wales today is the child of a great literary tradition which gave birth to the medieval verse and legend of the MABINOGL, inspired Arthurian legend, supported such poets as Dafydd ap Gwilym and on through the centuries to Dylan Thomas.

Yet, as in so many other countries, the literature produced by women in Wales has received very little attention. Perhaps Kate Roberts, some of whose novels have been translated (FEET IN CHAINS and THE LIVING SLEEP, for example), is a familiar author to some and recently it is possible that Dorothy Edwards may have received notice since two of her novels were reprinted by Virago.

These add to the list of works which have come from the hills and valleys of Wales to

enhance world literature, of course, but there is so much more to come!

Jane Williams, Fanny Smith, Gwerful Mechain, Ann Griffiths, Winnie Parri and Alis Ferch Gruffydd are only a few of the hundreds of women, writing in either Welsh or English, whose work could easily disappear.

Because their work is unlikely to catch the eye of the major, London-based publishers, a women's non-profit community co-operative press has been established in Wales at last. Eight women, all with literary or publishing interests, have registered their company as "Honno" (literally "that female one") — a press for women in Wales.

Like Virago, Honno will be reprinting literary works by women which have gone out of print — specifically, works by Welsh women. But Honno will also publish new works by contemporary Welsh women and women living in Wales. Honno has a strong commitment to the Welsh language — only one of the eight women on the executive committee is not Welsh-speaking — and therefore, at least half their publications will be in the native tongue of Wales.

As a non-profit co-operative, Honno will turn all proceeds from sales of its publications back into future publications and second, even third, printings!

As a community co-operative, Honno is

able to solicit support from Welsh women and women with an interest in Wales (the press's defined community) in the form of shares. These shares are available to Honno's community at a cost of £5 each and shareholders will be invited to attend Honno's Launch Reception as well as Annual Meetings to determine Honno's future.

Having secured a small grant from the European Economic Community, Honno is now beginning the process of producing what will be its first publications: a reprint of the oral history of a 19th century Welsh Girl (with strong opinions about her contemporaries — one of whom was Florence Nightingale) who travelled the world (in English); and the diary of a contemporary woman journalist whose years in broadcasting coincided with great upheavals in the Welsh and English media (in Welsh).

Honno is particularly interested in marketing its publications in countries outside of Wales to ensure that the wealth of literature which exists in this country will have the widest possible audience, especially among other women who have an interest in Wales.

Honno is not in the business of making money but of preserving and encouraging the literature written by women living in and/or with an interest in Wales. We welcome inquiries and contact with women in other countries who have Welsh connections or who would like to know more about Honno. We invite support and contributions, as well as practical assistance and advice in distributing our publications.

For further information, please write to:

Honno
d/o Leigh Verrill-Rhys,
'Penyberth', 12 Parc-yr-afon,
Caerfyrddin, Dyfed SA31 1RL
Cymru, Wales.

Diolch yn fawr!

WELSH-USE SURVEY BY COUNTY

Dyfed County Council in south west Wales is currently undertaking a survey on the usage of Welsh as a first step towards safeguarding its future and introducing further developments. Also involved will be the six district councils, the two health authorities, the two electricity boards, the Welsh Water Authority and voluntary bodies such as the Urdd youth movement, young farmers' clubs and Welsh nursery schools. One aim will be to try and integrate learners of the language into the community.

CELTIC STUDIES REVIEW

The University Grants Commission has commenced on a review of university teaching of and research in Welsh language, literature and culture. At the same time other Celtic languages will also be examined. Student numbers in the 1990's will be one of the outcomes of the survey. Meanwhile University College Swansea is still without a Professor of Welsh.



Honno Cooperative's Advisers.

National Rally to Commemorate "Burning of Bombing School"

On September the 6th of this year Pwyllgor Coffa Saunders Lewis will hold a National Rally at Pen y Berth to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the "Burning of the Bombing School" in 1936 by three prominent members of the Welsh Nationalist Party, namely Saunders Lewis (President), Reverend Lewis Valentine and D. J. Williams. During the rally a memorial to commemorate "The Three" and the event will be unveiled by relatives.

Pwyllgor Coffa Saunders Lewis was formed shortly after the death of Dr. Saunders Lewis by former members of Plaid Cymru (formerly the Welsh Nationalist Party) who felt that the party had abandoned traditional Welsh nationalist aims and values, in favour of pursuing a Marxist course of a "multi-culturalist society". Recent changes in the Party's constitution can only be seen as leading to a single party state.

It is our deeply held belief that Marxism has nothing to offer the nationalist movement; holding as it does a nations' language and culture in contempt and eventually destroying them. It was the rise of Marxism in the valleys of South Wales that led to the emergence of Socialist Councillors who were fiercely anti-Welsh. Even today the socialist tradition prevails and parents wishing to establish a Welsh medium school in these areas have to fight tooth and nail against these anglicised socialist Councillors.

Over the past few years support for Plaid Cymru has fallen away; traditional nationalists can no longer identify with the Party's aims, nor would it seem can the youth. This Committee hopes to harness the values of Welsh Nationalism, as defined by the late Saunders Lewis. This will be achieved by emphasising our distinct cultural identity and Christian tradition by studying the works of Saunders Lewis and our history.

THE BACKGROUND

"The Battle Against the Bombing School" has its origin in 1932 in Geneva when the World Disarmament Conference attempted to get an international agreement to ban ariel bombing. The English Government was among the most vociferous in their objections, claiming that it needed this technique to be used within its own empire's boundary to defend "territory and treasure". This reluctance by the English Government led to the eventual collapse of the motion, yet later that Government arrogantly claimed that it was unable to persuade other governments to support the ban!

In response to the fears of some members of the English Government concerning events in Germany, England increased her air force dramatically, including the building of air fields to train pilots in the ariel bombing technique. (The ariel technique was also sold

to Nazi Germany on a government licence, the then Chairman of I.C.I. is quoted as having said "I am not opposed to selling arms to both sides". And this was done by a government that claimed it had opposed ariel bombing.)

The plans to build the airfields in 1935 met with local opposition. Two of the sites were in England and the other was at Pen y Berth in the Llŷn Peninsula. Due to strong and influential opposition to the building of the two sites in England, at Abbotsbury and Holy Island, the plans were withdrawn on the grounds of the historical and conservation significance of the sites.

The objections to the building on the site of Pen y Berth were equally as valid as those forwarded to the sites in England: Pen y Berth had strong roots in Welsh religious history. It had been on the road of the pilgrims to Bordsey Island (reputed resting place of over 20,000 saints) in the Middle Ages. It had associations with Owain Glyn Dŵr and with the history of Welsh literature. It was one of the oldest and most historic houses in Llŷn. The Llŷn Peninsula had connections with the early literature of the Mabinogi, and it was considered the most Welsh part of Wales and the purity of her spoken Welsh was precious. It was feared that a garrison of English forces would corrupt all that was around it; the anglicising influence of the garrison was seen as the death-knell of the language and culture of the area.

The above objections had far more significance than anything seen in both campaigns in England, centred as it was on the very survival of the nation's language and culture. Hundreds of public bodies and religious organisations supported the campaign and thousands of people signed petitions and attended protest meetings to object to the plan.

The English press played the situation down and the Government refused to meet a delegation of protestors. Ignoring all protests and in sharp contrast to their handling of the English campaigns the English Government moved on with their plans. The ancient farmhouse of Pen y Berth was demolished and the surrounding area levelled out.

In response to this blatant and wicked act of vandalism "The Three" burnt the contractor's buildings on the site and gave themselves up to the police. The case came up in Caernarfon but the jury could not agree and no decision was reached. The trial was then transferred to the Old Bailey in London, where "The Three" refused to defend themselves. They were jailed for nine months for what was, in effect, the first act of defiance against English rule since the rebellion of Owain Glyn Dŵr.

As can be seen the Pen y Berth struggle is central to the values of national sentiment and it is those values which we seek to re-establish in Welsh politics.

R. GLYN JONES

CHILDREN'S T.V.

In an attempt to win young viewers S4C is to retire its children's programmes in Welsh to 4 p.m. in the autumn. It is hoped that Welsh speaking youngsters will tune into Welsh programmes and then remain with the Channel.

RADIO CYMRU

Soon after the axeing of evening Welsh radio programmes (excluding Sundays), the BBC announced that from the autumn Radio Cymru would broadcast in Welsh virtually uninterrupted from 6.30 a.m. to 6.30 p.m. The main expansion will be in the afternoons, including a Sunday afternoon pop music programme.

WELSH ENCYCLOPEDIA

After 12 years the Welsh language encyclopedia for second schools has reached volume 4. However it is hoped to complete the final three volumes by early 1987 thanks to increased grants and more authors.

LANGUAGE SECOND TO SERVICE

Arfer Borough Council (serving the Caernorfor/Bangor area) have decided that the provision of services must come before support of the Welsh language. However of the 237 professional staff 87% are bilingual and of the 64 appointments made between April 1985 and March 1986 five did not know Welsh, all of whom are attending Welsh courses.

TOURISM AND THE LANGUAGE

The European Centre for Folk Studies at Llangollen has received a research contract from the Welsh Tourist Board to investigate the cultural, social and linguistic impact of tourism in Wales. Whatever they are, the findings are bound to be controversial.

HOSPITAL WAITING LISTS

Despite Tory claims of more investment having been made by them in the health service in Wales than any other government, there are 129,000 people waiting for hospital treatment in Wales — an increase of 11,000 over last year. The average wait is 46 days, the maximum being 84 days at St. Lawrence Hospital, Chepstow, the least at Llanelli General Hospital.

VITAL COURT DECISION

At the end of July Gwynedd County Council won their appeal in the Appeal Tribunal against a Commission for Racial Equality tribunal ruling that the Council was guilty of racial discrimination by refusing to employ two women in old persons homes in a Welsh speaking area because they didn't speak Welsh. The Chairman and two members of the Appeal Tribunal agreed that the language could not be used in law as grounds for racial discrimination and rejected the idea that there were two distinct ethnic groups in Wales — those who spoke Welsh and those who did not. The two women involved can however now appeal to the High Court. The case highlights again the need for new legislation on language policy and language rights.

CLIVE JAMES

ÉIRE

POLASAITHE GAEILGE DO NO SÉ CHONTAE

Ar an 24 Meitheamh san Ostán Forum i mBéal Feirste, tionóladh Preas Agallamh le Polasáí Chonradh na Gaeilge do Chearta Teanga ins na Sé Chontae a chur os comhair an phreas agus an phobail. Tugadh poiblíocht mhaith don ócáid agus san iomlán glacadh go fábhach leis na moltaí a rinne an Conradh ag an chuid de na meáin chumarsáide a bhí i láthair. Laistigh de sheachtain bhí Preas Agallamh eile ag an SDLP len a bpolasáí Gaeilge féin a fhógairt. Is léiriú breise é seo ar an spéis thar cuimse atá á cur sa Ghaeilge agus i gcur chun cinn na teanga ins na Sé Chontae le blianta beaga anuas. Bhí an méid seo le brath cheana ón bhfás atá tagtha ar an éileamh do scolaíocht trí Ghaeilge agus ar an líon mór daoine fásta atá ag freastal ar ranganna Gaeilge ar fud na Sé Chontae ach go háirithe i mBéal Feirste agus i nDoire.

Ach mar is eol do chách níl aon stádas oifigiúil ag an nGaeilge ins na Sé Chontae agus dá bharr seo níl aon tseirbhís i nGaeilge le fáil ón gcóras stáit ná ó na hÚdaráis Áitiúla: tá cosc ar chomharthaí sráide i nGaeilge; go hiondúil ní ghactar le Gaeilge ins na cúirteanna agus tá sé de nós ag an RUC gan glacadh le hainmneacha daoine i nGaeilge. Maidir leis an gCóras Oideachais, cé go bhfuil aitheantas oifigiúil tugtha anois do Ghaeilge scoileanna Bhéal Feirste agus Doire, ní ábhar riachtanach í an Ghaeilge i scoileanna na Sé Chontae, agus brathann sé ar na scoileanna féin ranganna Gaeilge a chur ar fáil ag gach leibhéal. Meastar go bhfuil méadú tagtha ar líon na mbunscoileanna ina bhfuil an Ghaeilge á teagasc, ach ar an taobh eile de tá titim ar líon na ndaltaí a thoghann an Ghaeilge mar ábhar do na scrúdaithe O-Leibhéal agus A-Leibhéal. Tarlaíonn seo toisc go gcaithfidh an Ghaeilge dul i gcomórtas leis an bhFraincis mar theanga "iasachtach", agus glacann formhór na scoileanna leis gur tábhachtaí agus gur úsáidí í an Fraincis. Is beag aitheantas a thugtar don Ghaeilge ar na meáin chumarsáide; ní bhíonn aon chlár teilifíse i nGaeilge ag an BBC nó ag UTV, agus ní raibh ach leathuair a chloig ar BBC raidió le linn na scoilbhliana sa tseachtain; níl teacht ar Raidió na Gaeltachta fiú sa chuid is mó de na Sé Chontae.

POLASÁÍ CHONRADH NA GAEILGE

Tá éilimh agus moltaí an Chonartha dírthe ar na constaicí thuas a sháru trí stadas oifigiúil a fháil don Ghaeilge ins na Sé Chontae agus cearta theanga a bhaint amach do phobal na Gaeilge ansin.

STADAS OIFIGIÚIL

Sé an chéad éileamh atá ag an gConradh stadas mar theanga oifigiúil a thabhairt don Ghaeilge. Aithníonn an Conradh óna tháithí ins na 26 Chontae, nach leor stadas oifigiúil le teanga a chur ar bhonn slán; éilítear chomh maith Bille Cearta don Ghaeilge chun an stadas oifigiúil a chur i bhfeidhm go praiticiúil i gcúrsaí riaracháin, sa chóras oideachais agus ins na meáin chumarsáide — mar atá a éileamh ó rialtas na 26 Chontae.

Bheadh sé de cheart ag duine úsáid a bhaint as ainm Gaeilge in aon phlé le hÚdaráis an Stáit, agus cásanna dlí a reachtáil trí Gaeilge ins na cúirteanna: an príomh éileamh eile atá ag an gConradh faoin mhír seo aiseghairm an Acht Sláinte Poiblí agus Rialtas Áitiúil 1949 a choscann ainmneacha Gaeilge/dhátheangacha ar eastáit tithíochta nó ar chomharthaí sráide!

OIDEACHAS:

Moltar go mbeadh an Ghaeilge in hábhar roghnaitheach i ngach scoil ins na Sé Chontae cé gurb é an sprioc fadtréimhseach ábhar riachtanach a dhéanamh di; tá spreagadh ag teastáil ó údaráis scoile agus ó mhuinteoirí chun Gaeilge a chun chun cinn mar abhar scoile; is gá tacaíocht ceart do na naíonraí agus scoileanna lánGhaeilge atá bunaithe cheana agus cuidiú le cinn nua a bhunú; tá gá le hoiliúint i dteagasc na Gaeilge d'ábhair múinteoirí.

NA MEÁIN CHUMARSÁIDE:

Moltar cláracha Gaeilge a bheith a gcaoladh ar an raidió agus ar an teilifís do dhaoine fásta, do dhaoine óga agus d'fhoghlaimeoirí: mar éilimh ghearrtréimhseacha iarrtar ar IBA agus BBC clár teilifíse amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine dóibh faoi seach — trí chlár teilifíse sa tseachtain: moltar trí uair a chloig de chláracha raidió a chraoladh gach seachtain.

NA PRÍOSÚIN:

Éilítear na cearta seo leanas do phríosúnaigh: litreacha a fháil agus a scríobh i nGaeilge, ábhar léitheoireachta idir irisi, nuachtáin agus leabhair Ghaeilge a fháil; áiseanna foghlama ar nós téipeanna agus ceirníní a bheith ar fáil; ranganna Gaeilge agus seirbhísí creidimh doibhsean ar mian leo freastal orthu.

Baineann moltaí eile le Comhairle Ealaíon na Sé Chontae — iarrtar ar an gComhairle deontais a chur ar fáil do litríocht, dramaíocht agus féilte as Gaeilge ar an mbonn céanna is a déantar i gcás a leithéid i mBéarla.

POLASÁÍ GAEILGE AN SDLP — PÁIRTÍ DAONLATHACH SÓISIALTA AN LUCHT OIBRE

Pléphaipéar Pholasáí na Gaeilge a tugtar ar cháipéis an SDLP. Tá cuid mhaith de na moltaí ar aon dul le moltaí Chonradh na Gaeilge go háirithe i gcás cúrsaí oideachais agus craolacháin. Cé nach néillíonn an SDLP stadas oifigiúil don Ghaeilge, moltar go mbeadh an stadas céanna ag an Ghaeilge ins na Sé Chontae is atá ag an Bhreatainis i Gymru; moltar do Rialtas Shasana Acht Parlaiminte a chur i bhfeidhm dá réir sa dóigh is go mbeidh an Ghaeilge ar aon chéim leis an mBéarla ins na cúirteanna dlí agus i ranna stáit. Tá an SDLP ar aon intinn le Conradh na Gaeilge go gcaithfear Acht 1949 a chur ar ceal láithreach agus dar ndóigh bhí a leithéid i gceist faoin socrú Angla-Éireannach. Moltar chomh maith deireadh a chur leis an dlí seanaimseartha a cheadaíonn don RUC ainmneacha Gaelacha a aistriú go Béarla ar chaipéisí oifigiúla .i. *The Administration of Justice (Language) Act (Ireland) 1737*.

Páipéar cuimsitheach atá sa phléphaipéar agus níl na moltaí teoranta don Ghaeilge ins na Sé Chontae, polasáí ginearálta don pháirtí chun an Ghaeilge a chur chun cinn ag leibhéal éagsúla atá i gceist. Tá sé roinnte i ndá mhórchuid A: *Polasáí Inmheánach* agus B: *Polasáí Seachtrach*.

POLASÁÍ INMHEÁNACH:

Tá na moltaí sa chuid seo dírthe ar chur chun cinn na Gaeilge laistigh den pháirtí féin: iarrtar ar urlabharaithé an pháirtí feidhm a bhaint as an Ghaeilge an oiread agus is féidir; an Ghaeilge a úsáid ina gcuid litríochta, billeoga, bunreacht agus cártaí dhátheangacha a eisiúint; polasáí dearfa i leith na teanga a bheith ag Comhairlí Áitiúla an pháirtí; cuidiú a thabhairt d'eagraíochtaí Gaeilge agus cumann Gaelach a bhunú taobh istigh den SDLP ina ndéanfaí plé ar chúrsaí polaitiúla trí mheán na Gaeilge amháin.

POLASÁÍ SEACHTRACH:

Bheadh an chuid seo le feidhmiú ar trí leibhéal:

1. An leibhéal idirnáisiúnta: obair agus acmhainní an Bhiúró Eorpach a leathnú agus moltar don Chomhphobal Bille Cearta a leagan amach do na teangacha neamh-fhorleathana.

2. Leibhéal Náisiúnta: Glacann an SDLP le Plean Gníomhaíochta don Ghaeilge ag Bord na Gaeilge agus moltar go gcuirfí i bhfeidhm é.

3. Leibhéal na Sé Chontae: Chomh maith leis na moltaí atá luaite cheana tá neart moltaí eile anseo maidir le hoideachas, craolacháin agus na healaíona. Is fiú moladh amháin díobh a lua (ceal spáis ní féidir dul go mion sa scéal) — Institiúid Oiliúna do Mhúinteoirí Gaeilge a chuirfeadh comhairle agus áiseanna teagaisc

THE NORTH — INTERNMENT AGAIN?

The Anglo-Irish Agreement, which forms the basis of the British and Irish governments' policy towards the trouble torn North, has managed to come through the Orange marching season intact. But if this supreme test, when loyalists intended to field their maximum forces and extend street trouble to an almost intolerable level, has not smashed the Agreement, there are many who admit that it has discredited it.

The Agreement has been dealt a number of serious body blows which have sapped its credibility. In the south, a referendum on the issue of divorce spelt out very clearly that southern Catholics were unwilling to make the smallest accommodation for their Protestant fellow countrymen. In a resounding two to one vote, they signalled to the world that the "Republic" is, in fact, a confessional Catholic Social Democracy. So much, for the

aspirations of the southern Government to remove articles from the constitution which might stand in the way of eventual unity.

The Unionists, predictably and, it must be said, with some justice, interpreted the result of the referendum as confirmation of their worst fears that "Home Rule is Rome Rule". The setback for Garret FitzGerald's government and its policy direction was undisguisable. Some of the major British papers commented coldly on the result, wondering if, after all, their government should have made any agreement with so backward and conservative a state. The leader of the S.D.L.P., John Hume, hid himself in France on holiday but was said, by close friends, to be a bitterly disillusioned man. He had made the mistake of taking part in the debate, favouring a change in the divorce laws

which the Anglo-Irish Agreement would perish. A number of marches through predominantly Catholic areas were either banned or rerouted bringing about a confrontation between the loyalist community and the Royal Ulster Constabulary, a predominantly Protestant police force. The R.U.C., on the ground, came through this ordeal rather well.

But, the decision at a very high level to allow one of the marches through a Catholic estate in Portadown, Garvaghy, raised serious doubts about the will of the British government to face down the challenge of militant loyalism. There were serious clashes all over the North after most of the Orange parades and in the rising tension, there emerged something which has not been seen in Belfast for quite a long time . . . the

Aisling Sráide

Chonac beirt veidhleadóir dall
Ar Bhóthar na Trá
I nGaillimh an samhradh seo chaite

Taobh le taobh ag seinm
A méara fada ar mire
Ar na h-uirlisí ceoil

Ag cumadh tré shúile dorcha
Aisling rúndiamhair lonrach
Ar foluain san aer

Mar thaipéis ornáideach dhaite
Crochta ar bhalla draíochta
Ar thaobh sráide tráthnóna

MÍCHEÁL Ó RUAIRC
Samhradh '86.

ar fáil do mhúinteoirí agus cúrsaí inseirbhíse agus araile a eagrú.

B'ábhar dóchais do Ghaeilgeoirí na Sé Chontae agus go deimhin do Ghaeilgeoirí uile na tíre dá gcuirfí fiú cuid de na moltaí san dá cháipéis seo i gcrích.

The above considers the position of the Irish language in the Six Counties and summarises the main recommendations in two policy documents presented at Press Conferences in Belfast at the end of June. The first is the Conradh na Gaeilge policy on Irish Language Rights in the Six Counties which calls for official status for Irish and a Bill of Rights for the implementation of such a status in administration, education and broadcasting. The SDLP asks that Irish in the Six Counties be given the same status as Welsh in Wales; both demand the immediate repeal of the Public Health and Local Government Act 1949 which forbids the use of Irish in street names and housing estates.



Loyalists run for cover as a crate of petrol bombs is thrown during disturbances in Dundalk at the appearance on remand there of Peter Robinson.

as a gesture of good will towards Northern Protestants. But if the referendum left a good deal of doubt about the willingness of the Catholic south to draw closer to the North or implement their part of the agreement, it was the two main forces opposed to the Agreement, the Unionists and the I.R.A. who were to escalate their campaigns to a level which brought to mind the fierce street violence of the early 1970s. The Unionists have withdrawn from practically every tier of government in the North in which they were involved. They no longer send M.P.s to Westminster. The British government decided to end the short life of the Northern Assembly which had become nothing more than a propaganda platform for the Unionists, having been boycotted by Sinn Féin and the S.D.L.P. Their next move was to disrupt local government and this they have managed to do in those areas where they had a majority. The name of the game was to make government of the North by the British impossible, ironically the same aim as the IRA.

It was thought that the oncoming marching season would provide the battleground on

indiscriminate murder of ordinary Catholics by gangs of the "Ulster Freedom Fighters", a sub-organisation of the Ulster Defence Association. This is a knee-jerk response by loyalist paramilitaries to any escalation by the IRA.

Mr. Peter Robinson, the deputy leader of the Democratic Unionist Party (leader, Ian Paisley) distinguished himself by leading a band of 100 loyalists over the border and taking over the Co. Monaghan town of Clontibret. He faces charges of assault, illegal assembly and malicious damage. His leader, the Rev. Ian Paisley, was in America at the time and flew back to support his deputy and dispel rumour that Robinson was out to upstage him and eventually topple him from leadership. Despite widespread press speculation on this matter, there is no possibility that Robinson could take the leadership off Ian Paisley until that gentleman is good and ready to give it. The Democratic Unionist Party is too intertwined with the Free Presbyterian Church of which Paisley is the founding father. He would swat Robinson away like a fly if he felt threatened in any way.

The Provisional I.R.A., meanwhile, has

just continued its campaign of killing members of the Ulster Defence Regiment and the R.U.C. But in the last two months, there has been a dramatic escalation of their campaign which could almost be out of a textbook of revolution. From the pattern of their activity, it is now clear that the Provisionals see themselves as being in the penultimate stage of their war. They are, to put it at its crudest "clearing land".

Since the start of the year, the IRA has turned its attention to military bases and R.U.C. installations. Their members have carried out devastating attacks on these bases by mortar, in one case claiming the lives of many RUC men in Newry, Co. Down. Their strategy is to make the administration of British law in the North impossible, particularly in nationalist areas.

Having attacked a number of these bases and destroyed them, they found that the British simply built them up again, often using local contractors. To counter this, the IRA, in an amazing extension of their list of what they call "legitimate targets", killed some of these contractors and have now threatened to kill anyone who services the bases . . . from the supplier of building materials to the person who only delivers milk.

This has brought a response from the loyalist paramilitaries who have now threatened to kill Catholics who work in loyalist areas.

The IRA's latest strategy is seen as the most serious threat to British security policy ever. If British bases in Catholic areas cannot be rebuilt or serviced, the IRA will have effectively "cleared ground" in which they can operate freely and become the new force of law and order. Not only can the British not



Ian Paisley, William McCrea and Peter Robinson cross the border on the way to Dundalk.

allow this, but the southern government is scared stiff of such a prospect. The stability of both states, north and south, would be under intolerable pressure.

If the IRA continues with its strategy, one can expect a very tough response from both governments in concert. What form that might take, is hard to say, but internment of republicans North and South could not be ruled out. The "security of the state" is paramount and no southern government would be afraid to implement a policy which has been seen to work in the past.

With the end of the marching season, the British government will now try and get the Unionist leaders back to the negotiating table.

They will try to get acceptance of a devolved government with powersharing between the S.D.L.P. and Unionists. Whatever chance the British may have of getting some of the Official Unionists to talk to them, there seems to be no possibility that the extreme Democratic Unionists will talk until the Anglo-Irish Agreement is scrapped.

The Agreement itself comes up for review in the autumn, but it is thought unlikely that, having come through a year of opposition in every form, either side will abandon it. The northern cauldron seems set to bubble on.

PEADAR MAC AIRT

Irish Language Policies for the 6 Counties

The Irish language enjoys no official status in that corner of Éire still ruled by Britain. However, there have been some recent developments in that respect. Conradh na Gaeilge has launched a manifesto entitled "Irish Language Rights in the Six Counties", while the "constitutional" nationalist party in that state: the Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) has, as it were in tandem started to talk about drawing up their own policy on the same subject. In the latter case the programme has yet to be accepted by the party's Annual Conference in November.

That of the Conradh opens with a preamble which reads: "The Irish Language has no official status in the Six Counties. The Irish language is almost completely ignored by the Broadcasting Services in the Six Counties. No local authority is entitled to use any language other than English on street signs, according to the Public Health and Local Government Act 1949.

Some might think that the last item is hardly of mighty significance. The SDLP proposals

refer to the same 1949 Act but go a step further back into history in mentioning "The Administration of Justice (Language) Act (Ireland) 1737 under which the police have automatically to change Irish names into "English". Of course, what they do in fact is to substitute some gibberish supposed to be English.

The Conradh's document touches on six areas: official status; broadcasting; education; the arts; the churches and the prisons. It reads in some parts like a watered down version of the Conradh's objectives in the 26 counties, particularly in the section on "Official Status".

It must be acknowledged that there has long been a Gaelic plank in the SDLP programme. Neither can one discuss this subject and ignore the very considerable emphasis given by Sinn Féin to the language in its internal workings and in their public relations.

The SDLP proposed policy (as yet unofficial) arises out of the proceedings associated with the recent Anglo-Irish Agreement, an agreement in which Garret FitzGerald, Taoiseach, traded in substance in return for shadow. The SDLP support the agreement, whereas the other nationalist party, Sinn Féin, opposes it.

But the Unionist population also oppose the agreement for reasons the very opposite to those of Sinn Féin (or any genuine republican). The Unionists see, or pretend to see, that they lost out in that agreement since

it professes to give the 26 county state a say in certain areas of the affairs of the 6 counties. This role amounts in reality to the British Government saying that the 26 county state might complain on behalf of the nationalist minority in the northern state and it is phrases such as "might complain" in the Anglo-Irish Agreement I am referring to when I speak of "shadow" rather than "substance". The Conradh should have had a coherent 6 county policy for a long time and to announce such a policy at that particular point when the SDLP were also formulating one in the context of the Anglo-Irish Agreement cannot but tend to further identify the Irish language as the territory of the nationalists, north and south, in Unionist eyes. This is, I think, most unfortunate and could be seen as being rather at variance with the Conradh's policy of the early and middle seventies when it was being stressed that Unionists to a not inconsiderable degree shared common ground with the nationalists in regard to the language. This was the period when Pádraig Ó Snodaigh, President of the Conradh in the mid-seventies, launched his "The Hidden Ulster", a booklet which was about the role of many Unionists in their interest in and support for the language and their involvement in its promotion.

In association with the Anglo-Irish Agreement there has been a lot of talk about the Unionists and Nationalists coming to tolerate and respect each others' traditions (which are not so vastly different) and the

Gaelic ethos is being made to appear as an aspect of the nationalist tradition only.

A leader in the weekly Irish language paper "Anois" (meaning "Now") reads, (I translate) "Whatever might be said about the Anglo-Irish Agreement, it is obvious to Gaeilgeoirí (i.e. speakers of Irish) up north that they are given their chance in that clause which promises respect for the two traditions (i.e. Nationalist and Unionist)".

And so by implication it is conveyed that Irish is virtually a purely nationalist affair.

The leader proceeds, "The demands of the Conradh — and those which the SDLP will be making, it would appear, are totally reasonable".

Was it, one might ask, the wisest move for representatives of the Conradh to travel north from Dublin to announce their policy: from the Catholic capital down south, the name of which like that of Rome, is enough to make many a Unionist froth at the mouth — not that they, with their shenanigans, should be pandered to either. Surely if the demands were to be made at that ill-chosen time an appropriate northern Conradhthóir could have been appointed to do so.

There is an Irish language organisation in the Church of Ireland, the largest Protestant church in the 26 counties which has its own Irish language organisation: Cumann Gaelach Eaglais na h-Éireann some of whose members are also members of the Conradh. There are close on 100,000 members of that church in the same part of the country and in the six counties there are about 330,000. There are also Gaeilgeoirí of other Protestant churches in the 26 counties. Surely a fresh and imaginative approach could be conceived involving these members of the community. It would be very desirable and healthy to have a society of vibrant protestant supporters of the language straddling the border with sufficient of them in the northeast to demonstrate to their co-religionists up north, by their very existence, that the Irish language is very definitely not the exclusive property of either nationalists or Catholics.

In recent years numbers of the more militant Protestants in the 6 counties are showing a desire to go it alone and establish a statelet independent of Britain and of the rest of Ireland. A feature of such groups is a lately awakening search for their original roots. Some of them claim that they were the original inhabitants of Ulster who colonized Scotland in very early times and subsequently returned as planters in the seventeenth century. There is a sufficiently reliable historical basis for such a claim to be valid roughly speaking. But its implications are of considerable interest. It amounts to their having been original Gaelic speaking Ulster stock or more or less identical with the whole panoply of these legendary heroic figures, such as Cúchulainn, Fergus Mac Roigh, Conor Mac Neasa and all the mighty characters of the oldest epic tale in Western Europe, Táin Bó Cuailnge, the greatest epic in the Irish language. We can celebrate Easter Week and they the Battle of the Boyne, but could the future possibly hold the hope of both of us jointly commemorating Cúchulainn's legendary death at the ford in Muirtheimne? I realise of course that that event could be dismissed as just another Irish myth.

P.ÓC.

Eisteddfod Abergwaun 1986

"Rain, rain, everywhere, and not a drop to drink", might epitomise this year's national Eisteddfod. The torrential downpour in the early part of the week turned the Maes into a quagmire. Reports on the state of the field seeping out (!) of Fishguard deterred very many would-be visitors with the result that there was a substantial drop in attendance. On top of this loss of revenue Eisteddfod officials had to order £5,000 worth of emergency repairs because of damage to tents and especially to y Theatr Fach.

Nevertheless the adverse conditions (and whining of the press) created a spirit of determination among Eisteddfodwyr and that feeling of comradeship which always unites people sharing a common hardship. For many it became almost a matter of pride to walk (or paddle) the field every day. One entertaining sculptor, Paul Davies from Bangor, built a mound of mud with the help of a JCB and as soon as it began to dry proceeded to form a giant map of Wales. By the Cymdeithas concert on Friday, Dafydd Iwan had a new song, "Does dim ots am y mwd" ("It does not matter about the mud")!

More serious matters were discussed at this year's Eisteddfod. It was revealed that the Director of the Festival, Emyr Jenkins, with the support of his Council, has been defying the law continuously by insisting on his right to file the annual accounts with the Registrar

of Companies in Cardiff in Welsh only. The Registrar has been insisting that to be legal accounts must be submitted in English. If he decides to prosecute, Emyr Jenkins could face a fine of up to £2,000, if not imprisonment.

The Eisteddfod Council has called for a review of the Welsh Language Act 1967. Two bills to upgrade the status of the language have been prepared in fact, one by Dafydd Wigley, and the other by Lord Prys-Davies. The Welsh Language Act was a great step forward in its day but more radical measures are required in 1986.

Fifty members of Cyndeithas yr South Gymraeg occupied the BBC stand on the Tuesday of Eisteddfod week to protest at the corporation's policies. Specifically they objected to changes to be introduced in October which will mean more broadcasting in Welsh during the daytime at the expense of programmes in the language in the evening. There will be virtually no Welsh on Radio Cymru after 6.00 p.m.

On the first weekend of the Eisteddfod government offices in Phos-on-Sea were broken into and slogans painted on the wall calling for a Welsh Language Education Authority. On the Monday Ffref Ffrancis gave himself up to police on the Eisteddfod field, producing a file taken from Phos to prove his culpability. After a hearing in Welsh in Colwyn Bay he was released on bail.

The new Archdruid of Wales, Emrys Roberts was introduced on the Thursday. Mr. Roberts is the winner of two Eisteddfod chairs, one at Bala in 1967 with a poem on the sciences and another at Bangor in 1971 when his theme was "Quarrymen". The new archdruid is a public opponent of the designation "Royal" in the official title of the national festival.

HONOUR FOR ALAN HEUSAFF

The former General Secretary and principal founder of the Celtic League, Alan Heusaff, was received into the Gorsedd of Bards at this year's national Eisteddfod in Fishguard. The occasion marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the League at the National Eisteddfod in Rhyl in 1961. Membership of the Gorsedd is an honour rarely conferred on non-Welsh people. For his bardic title Alan took the name Gwyddnerth which was the name of a 9th century Welshman who migrated to Brittany.

Alan Heusaff was born in Sant Ivi near Kemper. As a young man he served in Bezen Perrot, the Breton military unit, and was condemned to death by the French. He came to Ireland in 1950. Three years later he married a Donegal woman, Bríd Ní Dhochartaigh, who herself has been to the forefront in Irish language struggles and in the work of the Celtic League since its inception.

From 1960 to 1972 Alan Heusaff published Breton News which spread the nationalist

view of events in Brittany throughout the world.

He was the prime mover in establishing the Celtic League and from 1961 to 1985 he was General Secretary and backbone of the organisation. No cause has ever been served better by any individual.

Over the years he has been a prolific contributor to Breton magazines. His range of writings include Breton and Irish affairs, politics, philosophy and language. He is engaged at present on a study of his native dialect, the Breton of Sant Ivi. Some of the results of his work have been published in the magazine Hor Yezh.

In July he retired from his work as a meteorologist at Dublin Airport and is in the process of moving to Connemara. A Festschrift, "For a Celtic Future: a tribute to Alan Heusaff", edited by Cathal Ó Luain was published last year by the Celtic League.

Members of the Celtic League everywhere will applaud the honour accorded to Alan Heusaff by the Welsh Gorsedd. May we wish him and Bríd very many years of happiness and satisfaction in their new home.

MÍCHEÁL RÉAMONN

KERNOW

THE FIFTH PERRANPORTH CONFERENCE

The fifth conference took place at the Ponsmere Hotel, Perranporth, at the beginning of June, 1986. The theme of the weekend was "Manifestations of Cornishness" or "What does being Cornish mean to you?"

"CORNISH SCENE"

In the field of journalism and publishing where the achievements of Len Truran, Donald Rawe, Graham Sandercock and several others (forgive me for not naming you all) are already well known, it was extremely encouraging to hear about the birth and progress of the latest publication concerned with all matters Cornish, namely "Cornish Scene". The editor, Sarah Foot, emphasised that the magazine was there to be used by Cornish people and she hoped that contributions would continue to pour in. So, start writing! It was also heartening to learn, later in the weekend, of another project being undertaken by Denzil Crowle, of Helston, who, with a small group of friends, has just produced the first edition of a new Cornish newspaper. It will be brought out on a quarterly basis and is called "An Kenethlor". Again, all contributions are welcome.

CORNISH PSEPHOLOGY

Adrian Lee, the Head of the Department of Social and Political Studies at Plymouth Polytechnic, gave a most interesting address on the voting patterns of the Cornish electorate, concentrating mainly on General Elections. He suggested that one of the reasons why the Liberal vote had remained relatively buoyant in Cornwall, even during the party's nadir in the 1950s, was because, with the exception of the Falmouth/Camborne constituency, it had never been replaced by the Labour vote. There were various socio-economic reasons for this, and it was also tied to a certain independence of mind and spirit and a Non-conformist tradition. On occasion, these same sentiments express themselves in support of what might be broadly termed the nationalist cause, as for example, in 1979, when Richard Jenkin, received 10,000 votes (or 9% of the Cornish vote) in the Euro-election of that year.

CORNISH EDUCATION

What Cornish content is there in education in Cornwall? In certain schools, such as St Petroc's primary school, where John Jenkin is headmaster, a fair amount, and he told us that his children, a large proportion of whom are not Cornish, are encouraged (not forced) to learn about the Cornish heritage and environment. But with a few other notable exceptions, several people expressed the view that still not enough was being done in this area. The Deputy Secretary for Education in Cornwall, Roff Rayner, said that in fact an enormous amount of work in local studies was being done in schools, including visits to a wide variety of places of interest. He was picked up on his use of the phrase "local

studies" by Roger Holmes who maintained passionately that "Cornish Studies" were not to be equated with "local studies", nor compartmentalised. "Cornish Studies" embraced a wide range of other subjects — history, literature, geography, language, religion, music, drama, etc. — and there should be someone responsible for the whole spectrum on the permanent staff of the Education Authority. Roff Rayner replied that the funds for this were simply not available.

CORNISH MUSIC

Jory Bennett led a lively discussion on the music scene in Cornwall. The conference was informed of the recent Cornish Composers' Workshop held on Trevithick Day in Camborne, which had successfully brought together many Cornish musicians and composers. Out of that event had arisen several ideas for the future, chief among them being the formation of a Cornish Composers/Musicians Guild; the creation of a Cornish Music Archive — a project warmly supported by the Cornwall Music and Drama Librarian, Jonathan Lloyd-Roberts; the holding of a Summer School for musicians; and the commissioning of variations on a theme by a number of different composers.

CELTIC FILM AND TELEVISION FESTIVAL

John King's report to this conference was much more cheering than his last one. Then, one thought, the game was up! In the meantime, though, Jenny Whitely, Tom Goodison (of T.S.W.) and Judith Higginbottom (of S.W.Arts) have courageously secured an understanding from the International Committee that, provided the

various requirements are met, Cornwall will be offered the hosting of the Festival in 1989. To this end, a meeting will be held in August to form a National Organising Committee, which will then no doubt subsume the existing committee set up at the Second Penanporth.

CORNISH CULTURE

An absorbing and amusing account of the development over the centuries of various strands and elements in Cornish cultural life was given by Bernard Deacon. Pasties, being yet another Cornish invention of the Industrial Revolution, were part of 18th/19th century Cornish culture and are now perceived, along with disused engine-houses, Methodist chapels and rugby, by the Cornish "Man on the Camborne omnibus" as being representative and contemporary Cornish culture. Older Celtic traditions and organisations, such as the Gorsedd, were adopted by the late 19th and early 20th century revivalists as being more representative of Cornish culture, and over the years this has led to a clear dichotomy in current cultural perception. A similar dichotomy now exists in the more particular sphere of the Cornish language, and for not too dissimilar reasons.

CORNISH AUSTRALIA

Mrs. Betty Eggleton, whom we were especially pleased to welcome into our midst, gave a fascinating account of the growth of the three Cornish Associations in Australia — the South Australian, the Sydney, and the Victorian — and of the formation of a Federation of these Associations last year. Dinner parties, outdoor picnics attracting over 600 people, and the Kernewek Lowender, attracting 25,000, were now all part of the highly enjoyable Cornish cultural scene in the Antipodes.

DEBATE ON THE TIN CRISIS

On the Saturday morning, at the outset of the conference, we were privileged to have with us Ken Gilbert, Executive Vice-Chairman of Geevor Tin Mine, Ray Rodden Senior Shop Steward, as well as other Union leaders, Mick McCardle and Terry Addicoat. Ken Gilbert brought us up to date on the latest position regarding negotiations with the Department of Trade and Industry and said that an announcement would be made on the following Monday as to whether the package deal put forward by Geevor was acceptable to the Government. We now know, of course, that it was not, and a sop of £1 million is being offered to ease unemployment in the area. A decision on Carnon Consolidated will follow shortly. Most of those present at the conference signed a Petition in support of Geevor, but, with the latest news, it is now difficult to see what further assistance can be given.

FUTURE CONFERENCES

We hope to hold the next Conference in November, and to continue the theme of "Devolution" which formed the basis of the Fourth Perranporth Conference.

It is important that work is continued between conferences, either by the working parties already established or by other group or individual initiative. Please contact John Fleet, 47 Lawrence Weston Road, Bristol 11 (0272 827895) if you would like to take part in this work, or if you have any suggestions as to topics for future conferences.

TIN AID

Just nine days before their closure, and at the same time that it was disclosed that Margaret Thatcher will be holidaying in Cornwall, the London Government has announced that it is to give a £15 million interest-free loan to develop two Carnon Consolidated (R.T.Z. subsidiary) mines. For the present, 640 jobs in the Cornish tin industry are saved, but the "sting in the tail" is that there will be a reduction in numbers employed.

The £15 million is part of a twenty-five million pound Government package; the other ten million pounds coming from Tory guarantees on commercial loans. What persuaded the London Government to do what has been called a U-turn is only conjecture at present. The united lobby from Cornwall, the knowledge that Cornwall has the only substantial tin reserves in the E.E.C., the threat to Tory parliamentary seats, or the pressure on Thatcher from influential M.P.s have all been put forward as reasons. What is clear, is that this substantial loan to Carnon Consolidated, still leaves 50% of Cornwall's tin industry out in the cold. Geevor, who requested a mere \$150,000 to keep its pumps working for a year has received nothing, and has dropped to the level of raising finance through guided tours of the mine at £10 a time.



Pedyr Prior, Mebyon Kernow's External Affairs Secretary, speaking at Tin Miners "Last Ditch" Rally prior to the London Government's initial decision not to assist the first of Cornwall's mines to close.

Cornish 'Tin Crisis' Appeal

The League's Cornish branch would like to thank those branches that responded to their appeal for pressure to be kept up on the London Government, by way of letters to Cornish M.P.s and Government Ministers, during the period prior to that Government's decision to give or not to give financial assistance to the Cornish tin industry. The Manks branch has sent copies of its letter to the London Government, to all Cornish M.P.s, and have sent a donation to the Tin Miners Support Group. The Irish branch has also sent a substantial donation to the tinner's support group.

A suggestion by the Celtic Leagues Cornish branch, that the Tory opposition in Cornwall should unite to field a single candidate in each parliamentary constituency against the Tories in the next General Election, has met with a predictable response from the main centralist political parties. The Liberal/S.D.P. Alliance, 'almost as one man', agree generally with the idea, but suggest that Labour candidates should stand down as the Alliance stand the better chance of taking Cornish seats from the Tories. The Labour Party in Cornwall, while supporting the League's statement on the disastrous consequences of the Thatcher Government's policies on Cornwall's industrial base, say the Labour Party constitution prevents any deals with other political parties.

Where there's a will there's a way does not enter into the argument when the choice is between the wellbeing of the Cornish people and the scrabble for power between the London based political parties. It is unfortunate, in one way, that the Thatcher Government's non-reaction to the Cornish tin industry's pleas for assistance has given a false hope to the Labour and Alliance parties. The thought that they stand a chance of picking off one or two Tory seats, even though in the

case of Labour it's an exiguous one, makes co-operation less attractive. The one hope is that the Cornish will recognise their second class position in respect to the London parties. The question is when!

'Kernewek Dre Lyther' exam successes

The second annual report of 'Kernewek Dre Lyther', the Cornish Language Board sponsored correspondence course, says the course has had another successful year following on from the previous year (see Carn 51), when a third of all the candidates taking the Language Board examinations were K.D.L. students. The course, which is dedicated to teaching Unified Cornish, has been running for three years, enrolling ninety-seven students in that time, and claims it has made a marked impact on the Language Board's exam past list.

A tape recording is now available to go with the second grade K.D.L. course on two 90 minute cassettes costing £3.00 (includes post), but this is additional to the £10 course fee.

For more information on K.D.L. courses, publications and their news letters, write to Kernewek Dre Lyther, 6 Halton Road, Sutton Coldfield, England.

● APPEAL

This is the second issue in which no article in Cornish has appeared. I would appeal to writers in Cornish to submit articles via the Cornish secretary.

Editor

The Militarisation of Cornwall: Part 2

In the first part of this article (Carn 54) we saw how an out of control arms race was affecting Cornwall. Two major air bases, a NATO radar station, the influence of the navy in the South East have all conspired to turn Cornwall into a militarised zone. It is likely, given our strategic position and the super-power interest in anti-submarine warfare, that the pressure from military activity will grow in intensity. But militarisation is not just a question of a few people playing with rather expensive toys. It has serious ramifications for Cornish society.

THE SOCIAL EFFECT

The first thing to note is the sheer number of service and related personnel involved. At present the cohesion of Cornish communities is threatened by an immigration level which stands at an all time high. Militarisation, along with tourism, plays a key role in attracting increasing numbers of white settlers to Cornwall.

Whereas only 2.4% of household heads in "Great Britain" are members of or employed by the armed forces, in Cornwall that rises to a staggering 6.7% (1981 Census). As many as one in five (20.6%) of *all those* in employment in the Caradon district in the South East of Cornwall work directly for the Ministry of Defence, as do one in eight (12.1%) in Kerrier, which plays host to RNAS Culdrose.

Therefore, some towns near military bases have become all but garrison towns. In Helston, near Culdrose, a full 34% of household heads are connected with the armed forces. In Torpoint, across the border from Plymouth, 22% come into this category and at St. Columb, near St. Mawgan airbase, this figure reaches 18%. Porthleven, Mullion, Padstow, Newquay, Saltash and Callington all have more than one in 12 of their household heads in an occupation connected with the MOD.

By their very nature military bases circulate thousands of people through Cornwall during a relatively short period. Many of these decide to stay (or return) when they leave the forces. Thus the C.O. of Culdrose was quoted in the Western Morning News last year as saying "many (of our people) settle down and make permanent homes." Just like tourism the military bases stimulate the movement of English people to Cornwall.

As well as introducing English settlers the presence of the bases also works insidiously to militarise the resident population. Annual airdays display the "human face" of state terror, over 30,000 people attending each of these last year. Uncritical local newspaper coverage works to make the military presence seem inevitable, acceptable, even beneficial,

and rarely, if ever, investigate the context of the arms build up or the consequences of these bases for the long term security of the Cornish people.

Attention is focussed on the role of the bases in "supplying employment" and unfortunate incidents like the fairly regular brawls in Newquay involving drunken American marines are not allowed to become part of popular consciousness. The US presence in mid-Cornwall illustrates the fundamentally anti-democratic nature of the military occupation a few years ago when an American serviceman at St. Mawgan was involved in a hit and run accident which resulted in the death of a local man. The US invoked their special privileges and refused to allow their man to be tried in the civil courts. To add insult to injury he was later fined \$1 (one) by the US military!

THE CULTURAL EFFECT

Closely connected with the social and demographic havoc wrecked by thousands of English servicemen and women is their cultural impact. Local town leaders, blackmailed by the supposed employment advantages (although unemployment is not noticeably lower in the vicinity of the military bases) rush to prostitute themselves to the colonialist presence. Thus St. Columb is "believed to be the only town in Great Britain where by common consent of the parishioners, the national flag of the USA may be paraded, unfurled and with an armed escort." When a rumour surfaced a year ago that military bases might be moved to the North of England a former Mayor of Helston fell over himself to complain about this, claiming Helston would be a "ghost town" without the military presence. He needn't have worried. They need us more than we need them.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECT

Militarisation exerts a steady pressure on the environment. To the inexorable encroachment of the bases themselves we can add the constant demand for land for housing and roads. Increased people inevitably means increased pollution and extra pressure on an overloaded sewerage system. Meanwhile the expansion of the bases and military activity generally is reflected in constant overflights by more and bigger helicopters and planes. These intrusions can sometimes be more than just a nuisance — especially for the old and nervous. In 1984 a low flying RAF Buccaneer maritime attack aircraft caused a woman near Mylor to collapse with shock.

THE POLITICAL EFFECT

The presence of the English and American armed forces, as well as being an affront to any self respecting Cornish nationalist on grounds of democracy and sovereignty, locks Cornwall further into the logic of the police state. Militarisation and a police state go hand in hand.

There are numerous examples. After the US attack on Libya earlier this year a demonstration was arranged by peace activists outside the American arms dump at St. Mawgan. Fifty-eight were arrested but, more ominously, the police began to use road blocks

to stop potential demonstrators well before they reached the base.

American forces at St. Mawgan seem to trigger off, or provide the excuse for, somewhat over sensitive reactions by the local constabulary. Thus in 1984 two "known CND demonstrators" were removed from the vicinity of a parade of US marines at St. Columb and held in police custody during the rest of the march. This happened despite the fact they had committed no offence — an interesting reflection on the much vaunted "freedom of expression" that we are supposed to enjoy on these islands.

Thus militarisation should not be seen as merely being a problem of foreign occupation. It is part of a wider process — one also involving tourism and deindustrialisation — that seems to have designated Cornwall as a holiday/military zone for the English and condemned our people to a future as ice cream sellers, cleaners at military bases or to a life on the dole. Cornwall was one of the first centres of European industry, the first society to experience massive de-industrialisation and is now one of the training grounds for the post industrial leisure/military state.

NEW MAGAZINES

Since the demise of An Wern in 1982 the Cornish political movement has only produced one magazine — the CNP's Cornish Banner. That now seems to be changing. In the summer the first issue of An Kenethlor (The Nationalist) appeared. This four page broadsheet has an interesting style and can broadly be said to reflect the views of the Stannary inclined right wing of the movement.

Perhaps spurred on by this we now hear that MK has decided to produce its own magazine — Cornish Voice, in the same four side format as An Kenethlor and edited by ex-Carn editor, Pedyr Prior. The first issue is due out in early September.

COWS EN EWHEL

A course in traditional Cornish.

Lessons 1-6 and cassette No. 1 are now ready. The cost of the current batch is made up as follows:

Reproduction £1.40 (28 sheets); Cassette £0.95 (Memorex C60); Envelope £0.09; Postage £0.45; TOTAL £2.89.

For any correspondence, and for the return of marked exercises etc., please enclose a FULSCAP s.a.e.

If you send cassettes for marking, please include a suitable envelope and the postage for its return.

The above costs are those of production only. There is no profit, and no charge is made for the marking of work.

Cornwall's heritage is for Cornwall's people. It is our right.

All correspondence, payments and enquiries to: Richard Gendall, Treggrill Vean, Menheniot, Liskeard, Cornwall. Tel. Liskeard 43366 (Please mention the Celtic League in any correspondence).

MANNIN

NY CELTIEE AS POOZE CHESH- VEANAGH

Ta'n drogh-haghyrt sy stashoon chesh-veanagh (nuclear) ec Chernobyl ayns Mee Averil er chaghlau yn agh ta ymmodee sleih smooïnaght mychione pooar chesh-veanagh. Ta'n drogh-haghyrt shoh er nyeeaghyn dooin dy vel stashoonyn chesh-veanagh ro ghaueagh. Ren Chernobyl soilshaghey magh dy vel y licklaght jeh drogh-haghyrt clesh-veanagh foddey ny smoo na va ny hoaylleeyn gra. Son y chooid smoo, ta ny hoaylleeyn shoh nyn soie ayns oikyn stoamey raad t'ad gobbraghey er claaryn-earrooder (computer programs) vees cur fys dooin cre cho liklee as ta drogh-haghyrtyn ayns stashoonyn chesh-veanagh. Ta'n sleih ooasle shoh jannoo ymmyd jeh oltsarrey-gaueid (risk analysis) as earrooderyn feer niartal. Agh s'cummey shen: ta'n faaishyns-gaueid oc ny smessey na'n faaishyns-emshir ayns ny hellanyn shoh! Cha vod yn oltsarrey-gaueid goaill stiagh y gaueid jeh marranyn dooinnoil. Er y hon shen, she boghtynid ny faaishyns-gaueid ta cheet magh ass oikyn stoamey ny saggyrtyn chesh-veanagh (er nonney, bare dou gra, ny fir-obbee chesh-veanagh). Ta ny Rooshee ginsh dooin nish dy row drogh-haghyrt ec Chernobyl kyndagh rish marranyn jeant ec ny deiney va gobbraghey ayns shen. Paart dy hiaghteen roish y drogh-haghyrt v'ad gra dy beagh drogh-haghyrt ec Chernobyl un cheayrt

ayns thousaneyn dy vleantyn, ny ommidjys ennagh myr shen.

Ren Chernobyl caghlau ny haignaghyn ec paart dy leih. Cha ren eh caghlau aignaghyn erbee ayns ny reiltyssyn Sostnagh as Frangagh, t'eh jeeaghyn. Cha mie lhiennyn, ny Celtiee, shen y chlashtyn. Er lhimmei jeh'n chooid smoo jeh ny Yerne, ta ny Celtiee dy bollagh fo smaght ny Sostnee as ny Frangee. As ec y tra t'ayn ta'n reiltys ayns Divlyn cho faase as biallagh rish Lunnin nagh vel monney anchaslys eddyr Nerin seyr as Nerin fo smaght Sostnagh.

Ta ny reiltyssyn Sostnagh as Frangagh slane soiet er freayll (as mooadaghey) ny stashoonyn chesh-veanagh t'oc. Mastey ny Celtiee, foddey ta ny Britaanee as ny Manninee sy stayd smessey bentyn rish cooishyn chesh-veanagh. Ta ram ynnydyn chesh-veanagh (cannagh as theayagh) ec ny Frangee sy Vritaan. Ta ayn mooar jeh'n lectraghys Frangagh goll er giennaghtyn ec stashoonyn chesh-veanagh. Mastey ooilley ny reiltyssyn Europagh, ta'n reiltys Frangagh ayns foayr mooar jeh pooar chesh-veanagh. Oddagh oo gra dy vel y reiltys shoh slane keoi mysh y chooish. T'eh ny smessey na'n reiltys Sostnagh. Myr shen, cha vod ny Britaanee jekal rish myghin erbee veih Paris. Ta shin ayns feme jeh caggey sharroo as liauyr dy woalley shæse ard-vooaralys ooilley niartal ny deiney keoi ta foast plooghey shin lesh stashoonyn chesh-veanagh. As ta ny deiney shoh ry-gheddyn ayns ymmodee cheeraghyn: Sostyn, y Rank, y Roosh as ram cheeraghyn elley.

Ta Mannin ayns gaue er y fa dy vel ee faggys da Sellafeld. Ta gaue dy liooar sy stoo cughtee ta lught Sellafeld ceau stiagh sy cheayn gagh laa, as ta'n gaue shen gaase gagh laa. Agh er lhimmei jeh shen, ta gaue ayn

dy bee polt mooar ec Sellafeld as dy bee geay niar ayn. Dy beagh drogh-haghyrt ec Sellafeld cho olk as y fer ec Chernobyl, veagh reiltys Vannin eignit dy gharraghey pobble Vannin ass yn Ellan! Veagh eh olk agglagh dy beagh drogh-haghyrt ec stashoon Wylfa sy Thaloo Vretnagh, myr sampleyr, agh cha beagh ooilley y Thaloo Vretnagh currit mow lesh stoo goul-rooragh (radioactive). Dy beagh drogh-haghyrt olk ec Sellafeld, cha beagh sleih abyl cummal ayns Mannin!

Yn ynrican red oddys mayd y hauail veih'n phooar chesh-veanagh, shen saase elley dy yiennaghtyn lectraghys. Sy tra ry-heet, cha bee geayl, ooil ny gas dooghyssagh faagit. Shegin dooin giennaghtyn lectraghys er agh elley. Ayns ny cheeraghyn Celtiagh, oddagh lectraghys goll er giennaghtyn ec pooar veih'n cheayn as veih'n gheay. Ayns Sostyn, ta'n Central Electricity Generating Board stiurey aa-hirrey ayns ny cooishyn shoh. Agh quoy fer-toshee jeh'n CEBG? Y Chiam Marshall, y Dr Stragelove jeh'n ghleashaght chesh-veanagh. Er y hon shen, ta'n CEBG slane shickyr nagh vel pooar-marrey ny pooar-geayee feeu monney. Ren ny Sostnee cur ersooil nyn aa-hirrey ayns pooar-marrey da ny Loughlynnee. As nish ta ny Americaanee son ceau ram argid er pooar-marrey as pooar-greiney. Shegin da ny Celtiee jannoo nyn gooid share dy scapail veih ny fir chesh-veanagh ayns Sostyn as sy Rank.

It can be argued that, among the Celts, the Bretons and the Manx are most at risk from possible accidents in nuclear installations. The long term solution lies in the development of power sources utilising wave and solar energy.

BRIAN MAC STOYLL

NAIGHTYN VOISH BRETYN

Ta ny Bretnee jekal rish nyn ghleashaght g'aase eer ny stroshey ayns ny bleecantyn ry-heet. Ga dy vel cooish ny ghaa goll nyn oi ta reddyn cheet lhiu beggan er veggan.

Ta Cymdeithas yr Iaith nish failley three fir oik dy obbraghey dy-kinjagh, as myr shen foddey ad jannoo tooilley as cosney smoo geill. Ta tooilley sleih cummal seose Cymdeithas eer mannagh vel ad nyn h'oltaghyn jeh'n Cheshaght. T'ad fakyn dy vel reddyn cheet lesh Cymdeithas ayns shymmei chooish as t'ad kionefenish ec jaglymyn chionraa.

Ayns ny barrantee Bretnagh neesht t'ad

jannoo nyn ghooide share dy 'ailley sleih as yn chengey oc. Ta sleih ayn as adsyn gra dy vel ad jummal tra t'ad cur obbyr dauesyn as beggan Cymraeg oc, as dauesyn ta gieldyn dy ynsaghey ee ny s'anmey. Aghterbee bare lhiu failley Gaelgeryn dy beagh ad briaght orroo son obbyr. S'bastagh nagh vel obbyr dy-liooar cooie daue. T'ad er chee cur er bun bing ayns Dyfed dy hayrn cooidjagh ooilley ny jannooaghyn bentyn da'n chengey. Ta treiltys oc dy chur coorsyn giarey jeean dauesyn g'obbragh da cooinseil coondae Dyfed gyn Cymraeg.

Ta ny Bretnee cosney argid voish yn Chovargey Europagh dy chooney lhiu bishaghey Cymraeg. Ta'n Chovargey g'eeck £400.000 yn blein shoh cheet er mynchengaghyn, agh foddey dy d'aase yn ayn cosnee ny Bretnee ny sloo nish ta'n Spaaney cheet stiagh 'syn Chovargey. Bee ny Catalanee as Uskadee

g'earree ayn jeh'n argid son nyn jengaghyn hene neesht.

Ta ny ard-ynsee g'yllagh er'n Chiannoyrtys Sostnagh dy jannoo red ennagh vees greinnaghey sleih as Cymraeg oc cheet dy ve nyn 'ir-ynsee g'obbragh ayns schoillyn trooid nyn jengey. T'ad gra nagh vel wheesh fir-ynsee cheet voish ny Gaeltaghtyn Cymraeg Tra v'ad briaght jeh kiare feed scollaegyn ayns yn cheyoo keim, cha row agh shey jee smooïnaghtyn er g'obbragh myr fir-ynsee kyndagh rish drogh 'aill, drogh cheimmeeaght as drogh staydyn-obbyr. Ec yn un tra ta tooilley sleih g'earree gynsaghey trooid Cymraeg ayns y nah rheyn-edjaghys.

The Welsh language movement, despite some set-backs, is steadily growing and broadening its appeal.

COLIN Y JERREE

STORY OF A MILITANT MANXWOMAN

*Sophia Morrison Was A Champion
Of Manx Culture*

*"She Accomplished More In Her Short Life
Than Most People Do In Double The Time"*

In the late 1880's a teenager was growing up in Peel who loved the Island and all things Manx with a passionate intensity unusual in one so young. Her love and service of the Manx national cause was like a religious vocation.

Her father was the owner of many fishing boats carrying on a business in the town, and the Manx-speaking fishermen and farm folk with whom she was in continual contact from early childhood made her virtually a native speaker of the old tongue, and gave her a rich store of folk stories, songs, customs and beliefs.

She was one of the earliest Manx nationalists to realise that for the preservation of a country's true individuality its characteristic culture is no less important than its political independence and institutions, and that the priceless heritage of an ancient and beautiful language, in which is preserved one of the great classical literatures of the world, is a basic and essential part of that culture.

Before she was twenty, Sophia Morrison had joined with William Cashen, that grand old leader of the Peel fishermen, and other native speakers, in establishing a class for the study of the Manx Gaelic and its relationship with the other two branches of the Gaelic, Irish and Scottish; and as a music pupil of Edmund Goodwin she was the chief mover in persuading him to produce his *First Lessons in Manx*, which as stated in an earlier article, is still regarded by most students as the best elementary primer of the language.

In 1898 she attended a meeting of persons from all parts of the Island who were concerned for the preservation and restoration to general use of the old tongue; and when, in the following March of 1899, Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh (The Manx Language Society, later called in English The Manx Society) was formed, she became a Founding Member.

Through this body she was brought into close association with such Manx scholars as Speaker A. W. Moore, J. J. Kneen, William Cubbon and others, and also with many eminent Celtic scholars outside the Island, among them Professor John Rhys and Professor Quiggin of Oxford and Cambridge, Professor Watson, of Edinburgh, Dr. Douglas Hyde, of Dublin, and Mr. E. E. Fournier d'Albe of France.

Then came her inclusion in the Manx delegation to the first Pan-Celtic Congress in Dublin, where her enthusiasm received further encouragement and inspiration for the propagation of Celtic culture and where she formed many friendships which were to last all her life, notably one with Miss Mallt Williams, a great Welsh nationalist. She also

remained a member of the Pan-Celtic Association, later renamed the Celtic Congress, for the rest of her life, and contributed many articles on Manx subjects to its magazine *Celtia*.

Peel, at the time, was largely Gaelic-speaking still, but in other parts of the Island the Manx Gaelic was losing ground due to various new influences; and the gallant small band of workers in Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh redoubled their efforts for its preservation with Sophia Morrison in the vanguard.

She gave unsparingly of her time, her outstanding ability and her money to the cause, and it was largely due to her initiative that a number of works in Manx and for Manx students were brought out. In 1901 she became secretary of the Society and set herself to influence its policy more and more towards publications and regular classes. Attempts to get Manx Gaelic included in the regular curriculum of primary and secondary schools proved abortive, but evening classes sponsored by the School Boards were established.

One of the most important publications of this period was the reprint for students, in a five shilling edition, of *Cregeen's Manx Dictionary*. Manx classes in the annual Music Festival were also established, and in connection with these the Society published a number of Manx songs in leaflet form for the use of competitors. This effort was actively supported by W. H. Gill, who arranged and printed some of the songs, all of which were published with Manx Gaelic words, at his own expense.



Miss Sophia Morrison.

In the early years of the century phonographic recording was just coming into use, and Sophia Morrison, as modern in her outlook upon folk-lore recording and language teaching as she was traditional in her

conviction that the best method of preserving and handing on songs and speech was the old way of the Gael, "From mouth to ear," at once persuaded Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh to purchase a phonograph and make records straight from the lips of Gaelic-speaking old people.

It was not her fault, though it was something of a tragedy for our folk-life records, that after her death some of the early records on wax drums were allowed to fade before an attempt was made to transfer them to a more permanent medium.

But Sophia Morrison's work for our national culture was not confined to the Manx Gaelic language, though that held first place in her affections. She gave keen and eager service to every branch of that culture which presented possibilities of development. She was the initiator, financial supporter and general nurse of the original Peel Players, who produced the fine Manx dialect plays of Christopher Shimmmin, the sailor, and later stonemason, who became a Member of the House of Keys and achieved fame as a playwright far beyond the confines of the Island.

When the Peel Players staged a performance in Liverpool they were hailed by the Liverpool and Manchester papers as a Manx equivalent of the famous Abbey Theatre group in Dublin — high praise indeed!

They also produced "Cushag's" series of Peel Plays, and for a number of years were regarded as having established a high standard for Anglo-Manx drama.

Sophia Morrison was an authoress of considerable ability. Her *Manx Fairy Tales* first issued by that well known house for folk-lore publications, Alfred Nutt, and later reprinted with delightful illustrations by Archibald Knox, is a charming little work, and as popular with children (and not only Manx children) today as when it was first published. She also wrote a very beautiful Manx section for a book entitled *The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries*, edited by W. Y. Evans-Wentz of Oxford, who later became known internationally for his interpretation of Tibetan religion and mysticism and other works on religion and philosophy.

She contributed articles to *Folk Lore*, the official journal of the Folk Lore Society, and collaborated with Charles Roeder of Manchester, in a book of *Manx Proverbs and Sayings*, with P. G. Ralfe in one on *Manx Wild Flowers*, with her sister, Miss Louisa Morrison, in a *Manx Cookery Book*, and with Miss Ada Corrin, of Castletown in a paper on Manx national dress.

She numbered among her friends and correspondents most of the leading figures in the Celtic movement, and also many of international fame in the fields of folk-lore and folk-song. When A. W. Moore died she wrote the article on him which appears in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and another memoir for the *Celtic Review*. She was associated with Moore and Goodwin in the

compilation of the *Anglo-Manx Vocabulary*, and did most of the work of seeing it through the Press.

And perhaps her greatest achievement in the literary field was the magazine *Mannin*. She established, financed and edited this outstanding journal, obtaining for it contributions from all the best Manx writers and artists, and many from well-known literary figures outside the Island, such as George Borrow's diaries of his explorations in Mann, previously unpublished, the securing of which from Clement Shorter was something of a journalistic coup.

Even in its early days *Mannin* was hailed as a worthy successor to *The Manx Note Book*, and one of the best literary journals published in the British Isles; and when it ceased publication, shortly after Sophia Morrison's own lamentably early death (she was only forty-two), the Island lost something of real value which has never since been replaced. Whether it ever will be seems extremely doubtful — but it would be a venture well worth making from the cultural point of view if we could find a Society or a philanthropic individual, able and willing to finance it.

But a very high standard would need to be maintained in both material and production if any new journal aimed at becoming a worthy successor to *The Manx Note Book* and *Mannin*.

Like her friend and fellow worker in the Manx cause, William Cubbon, Sophia Morrison had the faculty of inspiring with her own ideals, her burning faith in Manx and Celtic culture and her severely practical insistence upon active work in its service, most people with whom she came in contact, especially young people.

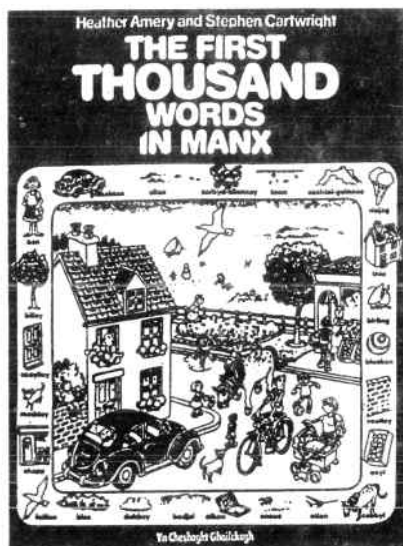
When she died I wrote for the last number of *Mannin*, which was, most fittingly, a memorial number for her, the following lines, which I gave the Manx title of *Ersooyl* (Away):

We walked among the mists in eager quest
Of fairy-lore, and talked with eyes aglow
Of all the old, invisible Powers that go
About that seagirt land we love the best;
And ever the grey mists whirled and took no
rest,
The tide came sliding shoreward, soft and
slow,
And wheeling gulls troubled dim sands below,
And soft, wet winds came blowing from the
west . . .
Now you have passed out from these shadowed
lands
By unknown ways, to seek the Light of lights;
Still the pale winds whirl mists across the sea,
And white gulls cry, and rain beats on the
sands —
But you are away, among the strange delights
Whereof the unquiet waves sing endlessly.

Sophia Morrison was carried to her last resting place by four members of the Peel Players, and practically all Peel, besides many prominent people from all over the Island, followed her. That was in 1917, but her name is still one to conjure with in the Western City which is held by many to be the most characteristically Manx town in the Island.

MONA DOUGLAS

Printed by kind permission of Miss Douglas.



This book contains a series of brilliantly colourful and amusing panoramic pictures by Stephen Cartwright, illustrating a basic vocabulary of words in Manx Gaelic.

Around each large picture is a frame of repeated pictures of individual items, accompanied by the appropriate Manx word, with its definite article to establish gender where necessary. This encourages direct association of the Manx word with the object, while the action and detailed-filled main picture will provide plenty of stimulus for phrase and sentence formation for more advanced learners.

At the end of the book there is a complete Manx/English alphabetical dictionary of the words in the book, with a new phonetic pronunciation guide.

This book is also available in German, French, English, Spanish, Italian, Russian and Hebrew.

Published in hardback by Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh at £4.95 plus £1.40 postage to Britain and Éire. Six or more copies post free. Joan Caine, 23 Straid ny Keilley, Purt ny h'Inshey/Peel, Mannin/Mann.

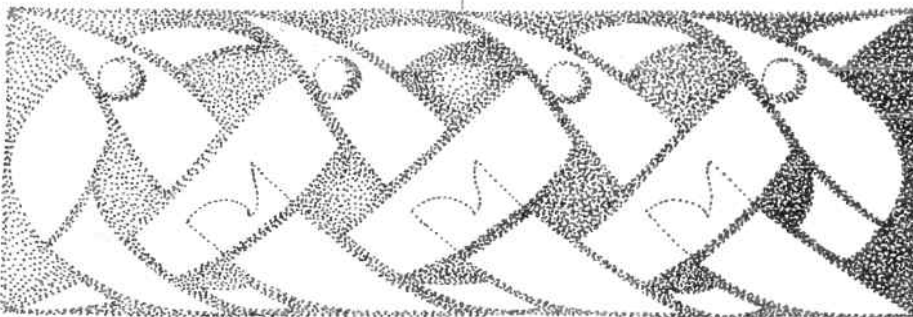
GAELIC CIVIL WEDDING

The Mannin branch, has been happy to assist in arranging for a translation to be available of the civil marriage vows, in Manks Gaelic through the kind co-operation of Dr. Robert Thompson and Coonseil ny Gaelgey, for a wedding which is to take place in Peel this August. This will be the first time, as far as we can ascertain, that Manks Gaelic has been used in a civil marriage ceremony. As the law stands at the moment, English must be used also. To conduct this ceremony in Gaelic only would involve an amendment to the Marriage Act, 1984. I am informed that the Attorney General would be amenable to an amendment being prepared, but on the basis that while the words used in either a Church or civil ceremony could be in Manx Gaelic only, the records in the Registry would, for the "sake of convenience", be in English.

It will be remembered that it was Mr. Charles Cain M.H.K. who tabled the Resolution to Tynwald for the "Greater Use of Manx Gaelic". Mr. Cain does not intend to stand for the House of Keys in the November General Election, so we have lost an ally in the furtherance of the status of Manks Gaelic, for the time being. Mr. Cain does hope to seek re-election at some point in the future, although it would be hard to imagine any successful candidate arising that will carry on the good start he has made in gaining the official recognition of the language that it deserves.

In the meantime, the Mannin Branch has high hopes that we will at least achieve a successful amendment to allow the marriage ceremony to be spoken in Gaelic only.

C.J.K.



Lowender Peran

FESTIVAL OF THE CELTS
15th — 19th October 1986

PONSMERE HOTEL — PERRANPORTH

For Further Information:

FESTIVAL OFFICE

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Last year Mec Vannin voiced grave concern when it was discovered that the Manx Heritage Foundation was seeking as its patron, a member of the English Royal family. The party felt that a patron should be chosen from amongst the long serving and dedicated promoters of Manx language and culture.

We are gratified that the Foundation has realized the error of its ways, and has announced that Ms. Mona Douglas is to be its patron.

Continued from page 5

has often more in common with New York than the London or Birmingham music scene.

One musical event at the time of the 1960s CND protests on the Clyde deserves a mention.³ It is not generally known that many of the Scots songs like "We dinnae want Polaris", and "Cheapjack the Millionaire" attacked President Kennedy and his wife in the peculiar Scots tradition of personalised flytings, long a feature of Scots literature. The US record company Folkways refused to "press" such tracks in the "Ding Dong Dollar" LP because they attacked the Kennedys with such consistency and praised Yuri Gagarin and Fidel Castro into the bargain. The authentic Scottish voice of protest was stifled in the USA and such weaknesses in the American left twenty-five years ago have contributed to the lack of dialogue even today in the age of Reagan.

"... the Scots experience of being an economic and military colony of the USA is extensive and debilitating. ..."

The other main Scots experience of American outlooks comes through employment in the micro-processing industries in branch factories, usually run with non-unionised labour. These transnational toe-holds in the EEC, paradoxically primed by generous UK government inducements, treat their Scottish units as little economic colonies to be rapidly exploited during favourable times and abandoned at the first sign of recession.

So the Scots experience of being an economic and military colony of the USA is extensive and debilitating. While influence to change rapacious US economic and military policies seems very limited here, it is hard to see any progress in the USA to control the warmongers in the White House.

With the diverging Scottish voting pattern from that of English electors and the real difficulties of the Labour Party in forming an effective British government, because of the mold breaking three and four party situation,

the need for success by the US peace movement is all the more urgent. Of course the Scottish National Party has for many years questioned whether any UK government could dare to dent the "special relationship" with America by rejecting US weapons on British soil.

However it has been Scotland's experience that both Conservative and Labour governments have pressed ahead with the development of the British deterrent and made no concessions to the area of West Central Scotland which they picked to house the hardware. Labour, by far the largest party in Scotland, took an unequivocal, if at times secretive stand as a pro-nuclear weapons party. The Callaghan government in the late 70s had secretly embarked on the Cheveline project to update the Polaris system without a discussion in Cabinet, far less in parliament. Now in prolonged opposition Labour has begun to reflect the new found fears of the new Cold War of the '80s with its revived peace movements and growing awareness that some break is needed in the monolithic confrontation between East and West. What pressures they might find if ever returned to power, presumably with a small majority, suggest that a removal of nuclear forces from the British Isles is far from sure. Meanwhile the country is ringed with communications systems, as likely a first strike set of targets as the nuclear submarine bases themselves. The plans to place a huge 12 mile low frequency aerial in the Glengarry Hills is but the latest example of the US imposition of military hardware on a people whose own government is prepared to rubber stamp such American government actions without question.

With the blatant examples of the US terror raid on Tripoli fresh in mind there is likely to be a growing self-consciousness of a national need to remove the so-called defence systems which so obviously will not defend anyone. It is plain that no matter what force the USA throws at mavericks like Col. Gaddafi that even such a small power can organise revenge on US citizens and their allies.

The obvious failure to address the pressing

problems of the Middle East and the current shadow boxing with the Soviets over some concrete arms controls suggests that European reactions may well be to distance themselves from the US actions and it gives fresh impetus to smaller nations and emerging nations to duck out of the nuclear firing line and address the problem of being an economic and military colony of a large aggressive power. The idea of a nuclear free European zone is increasingly attractive. Neutral Ireland is an example to the Scots in this sense and the unlikely wish of Irish people ever to return to British domination is a lesson yet to be learnt by a small, stateless nation on NATO's Northern flank.

"... The idea of a nuclear free European zone is increasingly attractive. ..."

By the 1820s the landowners of the Scottish Highlands had begun to clear out the people to make way for more profitable sheep farms, and a recent song by the Gaelic language pop group, Runrig, centres on a dance called America. It tells of the gentry mimicking the "peasants" in their misery of forced departure to the New World. The old ruling class set up branches overseas also so today we are dominated by the huge power of the US government. Our call is for progressive parties and peace campaigners on both sides of the Atlantic to bring about a rapid change of tune in the so-called democratic governmental systems which have treated so many of us as mere pawns in the mighty struggle for world domination. What notes of a new song of peace can we hear from the USA?

REFERENCES

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2. Glasgow Herald (newspaper) 3.3.86 — "CND's long Polaris vigil at Holy Loch" by Keith Bovey.
3. Chapman 32 (magazine of Scottish literature) "Thurso Berwick — Solidarity without compromise" by Raymond J. Ross.

ROB GIBSON

The History of the Irish in Britain, a Bibliography

Just published, this slim volume will take little space on your book shelf, take little money from your pocket, yet is guaranteed to be well thumbed by those interested in the Irish diaspora, for this bibliography contains a section on the Irish in other parts of the world as well as the main section, over 700 entries concerning many different aspects of the history of the Irish in Britain. There is also an extremely useful subject index, including bibliographies, women's issues, Chartism,

Catholic Church and Orangeism, among others. This index has been cross indexed both chronologically and according to subject matter, so that it is possible to isolate for example, information on the Irish in Manchester from 1850-1900, and so on. It will prove invaluable to researchers and teachers and to all who interest themselves in sociology, the problems of urban settlement and growth, the Irish angle in British politics, etc.

Published by the Irish in Britain History Group, whose projects include an archive of photographic and documentary evidence, and a library containing all the listed works in this bibliography, it is priced at £2.50 sterling, or direct from the IGHG, 76 Salusbury Road, London NW6 6NY, for £2.80 including postage.

SÉAMAS Ó COILEÁIN

GWYDDELEG YN YSGOLION LLOEGR?

Mae rhieni Gwyddeleg yn Llundain a Leeds yn hawlio addysg ar gyfer eu plant sydd yn cydnabod eu hanghenion diwylliannol arbennig. Mae'r Gwyddyl yn grŵp lleiafrifol mwyaf yng nghanol Llundain (o'r boblogaeth) ond does ganddynt ddim cydnabyddiaeth fel lleiafrif ethnig gan yr Awdurdod Addysg lleol.

(Irish-speaking parents in London and Leeds are demanding rights, as an ethnic minority, to mother-tongue education for their children).

The price of "Kintyre: the forgotten Past" by Angus Martin, reviewed in CARN 49, was Stg\$12.00.

THE BIRMINGHAM SIX

The campaign for the release of the Birmingham Six is gaining support among a wide spectrum of people in England as well as in Ireland. The Birmingham Six are six Irishmen who are serving sentences for something they did not do.

On November 21, 1974, two pubs were blown up in Birmingham. That evening five Irishmen travelling to Belfast were arrested at Heysham, a six man who had seen them off was also taken. The six men were badly beaten by police and prison officers. On August 16th, 1975 they were sentenced to life imprisonment by Mr. Justice Bridge. An appeal was rejected by the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Widgery.

The forensic evidence against them suggested that four of the six had handled explosives. Since then two forensic scientists, Dr. Brian Caddy and Mr. David Baldock, have declared the evidence totally unsafe. Dr. Caddy, head of the forensic science unit at Strathclyde University, has gone further. He has shown that the Geiss test used on the men's hands would prove positive if they had handled playing cards. They had been playing cards on the train before their arrest.

A "World in Action" television programme made by Granada came to the conclusion there had been a miscarriage of justice. An English journalist, Chris Mullin, has gathered the evidence in a book entitled "Error of Judgement: the Birmingham Bombings" (Chatto and Windus).

The former Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, has admitted to "a lurking doubt as to whether the convictions are safe". Prominent people who are convinced of the innocence of the Six include Sir John Farr, a Conservative MP, John Hume, Leader of the SDLP, and Dr. Cathal Daly, Bishop of Down and Connor. Dr. James Kavanagh, Auxiliary Bishop of Dublin (and delegate to the 1981 National Eisteddfod), is a patron of the Birmingham Six Campaign.

The people who carried out the Birmingham bombings and who escaped are known and Chris Mullin has interviewed one of them for his book.

The final word must be left to Lord Denning, Master of the Rolls: "Just consider the course of events . . . if the six men win, it will mean that the police were guilty of perjury, that they were guilty of violence and threats, that the confessions were involuntary and were improperly admitted in evidence and that the convictions were erroneous."

MÍCHEÁL RÉAMONN

EXCHANGE PUBLICITY

AL LIAMM — bi-monthly literary magazine in Breton, 80 pp. 130 FF/annum (140 FF outside the State), to P. Le Bihan, 16 r. des Fours à Chaux, 35400 St. Malo. Issue Nr. 236-237 carries an appreciation of the work of Yann ar Beg (1911-1986) who took a very active part in the Breton movement from 1932 till his death: he was prominent in the national party during the war (being in charge of its organisation in "Finistère") and later in the language field: in Kuzul ar Brezhoneg, an organisation which groups at least a dozen publishers and educational associations, also in the OBER school by correspondence of which he was a teacher and the treasurer. He was jailed in 1944, exiled with loss of civic rights (no dishonour for a Breton!). As soon as he could return to Brittany he was ready to take up the struggle for Breton today. Two at least of his children are equally involved in it today. A man of conviction indeed! I often visited him in his chemist's shop in Kemper while in the teachers' training college nearby, in 1938-1940 and found him always eager, between two preparations, to impart his knowledge of the Breton scene and his motivation (though the later was hardly needed . . .).

A.H.

EUROPA ETHNICA

A quarterly for problems of nationalities containing official news of the Federal Union of European nationalities and the International Institute of Ethnic Groups Rights and Regionalism. Annual subscription DM46 to Wilhelm Braumüller, Universitäts-Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1092 Wien, Austria.

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Our next deadline for Carn 55 will be 1st November 1986.

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

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