

# carn

## A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

No. 65

SPRING 1989

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# ALBA

## A' TUITEAM AIR AR CINN

Ann an Alba cha bhi a' chis chinn — no a' chis choimhearsnachd, ma a' dh'abras na Tòraidhean rithe — fada gun tighinn oirnn. Tha an iomairt "Stad I" aig a' Phàrtaidh Làborach air tighinn is air falbh gun cho math ri dàil a chur oirre. Tha e nis suas ris an SNP agus an iomairt neo-phàighidh aige, agus ris "a' Chomataidh de Cheud" (air a stèidheachadh le Làboraich reubaltach) gus a' chis agus an Riaghaltas a thoirt gu dubhlan.

Tha sinne a-nis am imis an strì-fhèin a chur, agus tha roghainn shoilleir air beulaibh nan Albannach. Ach anns a' Chuimrigh tha an deasbad is an deasachadh dìreach an dèidh toiseachdainn — cha bhi a' chis a' bualadh air na Cuimrich (no air na Sasannaich) airson bliadhna an dèidh a' chiad togail ann an Alba. Agus mar-thà tha e coltach gun cluin na Cuimrich na h-aon argamaidean is breugan 's a tha sinne air cluinntinn.

Dh' aontaich Plaid Cymru aig a' Chòlabhairt Nàiseanta aca an ùraidh gun dèan iad strì chruaidh an aghaidh na cise agus air 14 Faoilteach mhol Pannal na h-Iomairt gun cuir am Plaid an gnìomh iomairt "'s urrainn pàigheadh, diùltadh pàigheadh" mar a th'aig an SNP. Ma thèid gabhail ri seo leis a' Chomhairle Nàiseanta dhen phàrtaidh air 25 Gearran bidh iad ag iarraidh orrasan a 's urrainn na cosgaisean a bharrachd fhulang gun a' chis a phàigheadh. Tha an SNP a' sireadh 100,000 Albannach a tha deònach a ghabhail

anns an iomairt aca — àireamh a tha gu math àrd — ach chan eil Plaid Cymru a' gealltain ach gum bi ceud dhe na prìomh bhuill aca air ceann na h-iomairt Cuimrich. Anns an dà dhùthaich cha bhi an iomairt aig na Nàiseantaich a' cur stad air gnìomharran ioma-phàrtaidh an aghaidh na cise.

An dà chuid ann an Alba agus sa Chuimrigh tha a' ghairm gus an lagh a bhristeadh stèidhte air da argamaid — nach eil a' chis idir ceart cothromach, agus nach eil còir aig na Tòraidhean a leithid a chis a thogail ann an dùthchannan a dhiùlt iad agus an cuid pholasaidhean. Agus tha na Làboraich anns a' Chuimrigh a' dèanamh soilleir mar-thà gum beil dìon na h-Iompaireachd nas cudromaich dhaibh na dìon an t-sluaigh.

Cho luath 's a chuala John Smith, Cathraiche nan Làborach sa Chuimrigh, gur dòcha gum biodh iomairt neo-phàighidh aig Plaid Cymru rinn e ionnsaigh orra, a' cantainn gun robh na Nàiseantaich gun bhonn cùraim poilitigich dar bu chòir do na pàrtaidhean uile a bhith dìon an lagh an aghaidh nam bomairean teine. An Lagh roimh Cheartas, Breatann roimh Chuimrigh, an Riaghaltas roimh Shoiséalachd. Mar nas motha a thuigeas na Cuimrich is na h-Albannaich nach bi Riaghaltas Làborach ann a-rithist, 'sann nas motha a chì iad fìor nàdar nan Làborach. Gu dearbh, anns a' phola bheachdan mu dheireadh anns a' Chuimrigh dh' eirich an taic

aig Plaid Cymru uidhir eile gu 11%, is iad a' toirt taic bhon Phàrtaidh Làborach.

Ach chan i a' chis chinn an aon rud a bhios a' tuiteam oirnn. Mar a' fhuair muinntir Locairbhidh a-mach tha sgrios nas miosa buileach ann dar a thig pleana a-nuas ort. Fhad 's a bhios feadhainn ann a bhios deònach daoine neo-chiontach a mharbhadh gus follaiseachd no dìoghaltas a chosnadh, chan urrainn duinn a bhith cinnteach nach tachair a leithid rithistich. Ach tha call Locairbhidh air sealltainn gu soilleir nach eil neach no nì sàbhailte bho thubairt adhair fiu 's anns na ceàrnaidhean dùthchail far am beil na bailtean beag is sgapte. Bha a leithid a mhòr-thubairt an dhan dhuinn uair air choireigin — ach is iongtach nach b'e itealan cogaidh a thuit air baile an toiseach. Gus an cuir sinn stad air na geamannan cogaidh fos ar cinn feumaidh sinn a bhith an dùil ri sgrios a' tuiteam oirnn a-rithist.

*Falling on our heads — the poll-tax is almost upon us in Scotland, but England and Wales have another year to wait. Already the situation in Wales looks like a replay of that in Scotland, with Plaid Cymru likely to follow the SNP in heading a "can pay, won't pay" campaign, and Labour bitterly attacking this breaking of the law. To them defence of the British State in the face of a nationalist upsurge is more important than justice or socialism. Meanwhile the Lockerbie disaster reminds us that the small towns of rural areas are in constant danger from the war-games played above them.*

PEADAR MORGAN

## CRAOBH-SGAOILEADH

Chan aithne dhomh duine sam bith a bhiodh deònach a ràdh gu bheil gu leòr de Ghàidhlig ri fhaighinn air an teilibhisean neo air an rèidio an duigh; (uill, ach airson Ban-Shasannach a tha a' fuireach faisg air an Gearasdan agus a' gearain nach eil i a' faighinn nam prògraman à Sasann gu soilleir mar bu chòir.) Ach, dona 's a tha an suidheachadh an duigh, tha e coltach gum bith e a' fàs fada nas miosa. Aig deireadh an ùiridh, chuireadh "pàipear geal" a-mach leis an Riaghaltas ann an Lunnainn air craobh-sgaioleadh anns na bliadhnaichean a tha romhainn. Tha iad airson leasachadh gu math farsaing a dhèanamh air a' chraobh-sgaioleadh agus is math an rud sin fhèin. Ach nuair a ghabhas tu sùil gu mionaideach air na tha iad a' cur air adhart, chì thu gum bith na molaidhean aca a' bualadh gu math trom air

na cànan Ceilteach ann am Breatainn, agus gu h-àraidh air a' Ghàidhlig.

Tha na molaidhean a' toirt taic dhan na seirbhisean anns a' Chuimris. Thatar ag aontachadh gu bheil feum sònraichte aig na Cuimrich agus gum bu chòir dhan na seirbhean aca a bhith a' dol air adhart mar tha agus airgead fhaighinn bho na companaidhean Sasannach. Ach chan eil guth air a-leithid airson na Gàidhlig! Thatar ag ràdh gum bith cothrom aig na Gàidheal seirbhis ùr a stèidheachadh dhaibh fhèin agus ga craobh-sgaioleadh troimh cables neo microwave. Ach cha tèid a-leithid a dhèanamh air a' Ghàidhealtachd gun a bhith a' cosg an t-uamhas de dh'airgead, rud nach eil ri fhaicinn anns na molaidhean aca idir, idir.

A bharrachd air sin, tha am "pàipear geal" a' cur air adhart gum bu chòir dhan na

companaidhean saora na cosgaisean chraobh-sgaioilidh aca fhèin a phaidheadh iad fhèin. A-nis, tha e fada nas daoire teilibhisean a chraobh-sgaioleadh air a' Ghàidhealtachd na ann an Lunnainn. Mar sin tha e coltach gum bith e ro chosgail do chompanaidh mar Grampian seirbhis a thairg do luchd na Gàidhealtachd; agus 's e call mòr a bhiodh ann do phrograman Gàidhlig agus Beurla cò-ionnan nan tachradh sin.

De tha fainear dhuinn ma-thà a-thaobh Gàidhlig air an teilibhisean anns a' phàipear gheal seo? Mar as coltach, cha bhi Gàidhlig sam bith ri fhaighinn ach aig a' BhBC agus a' chuid aca a' sìor gearradh sìos airson cion airgid. (Cha mhòr nach e an aon suidheachadh a tha ann a-thaobh Gàidhlig air an rèidio.)

Feumaidh an Riaghaltas seo aideachadh gur e cànan beo a tha anns a' Ghàidhlig agus gu bheil còir aig na Gàidheal do làn-sheirbhis anns a' chànan aca fhèin air rèidio agus air an teilibhisean. Tha am "pàipear geal" seo

# A MAN FOR ALL PEOPLE

David Stephen who died at the end of January this year was one of Scotland's greatest nationalists. Above that, he was many things — farmer, writer (journalism and fiction), linguist (translator of Spanish, as Spain was a country he loved having lived there in his youth), broadcaster and talker (no one has ever done more to enlist young and old to caring for the world around them, photographer (see his own books), and possibly after his years as a local government officer a most sympathetic human being.

Where he will be missed most at the moment will be from his column in the "Weekly Scotsman", "The Outside World". From comments made since his death it is obvious that many people read his sane words of wisdom first before tackling another work of the reported sayings and doings of that most dangerous of mammals — man.

However there will still be his books — since a lot of them were published by Collins perhaps a great demand for them soon might have an effect on the new bosses there! If you think that no matter how young they are children deserve fascinating facts not anthropomorphic fiction than "Wild Animals and their Ways" is the book. "A Guide to Watching Wildlife" is aimed at many people but no one should ever be too old for it, with "Nature's Way" written in collaboration with Jim Lochie the ecological aspects are introduced.

The Highlands and Islands Development Board published, in the seventies an excellent "Highland" series — Man — Animals, Birds, etc. and since excellence was required David Stephen was asked and accepted the remit for the book on animals. After a lifetime's work in many practical areas no one could have done better. In the foreword he thanks the many people who collaborated and being the scholar he is refers to the "many books and papers consulted". Three of the books are named (listed below) but in his opinion, "the modern classic" is still Fraser-Darling's "Natural History of the Highlands and Islands".

Circumstantially, one of this week's headlines in the "Scotsman" was "Treasure Island waiting for the highest bidder". The text went on to tell that Tanera Mor one of the Summer Isles just off the west coast from



DAVID STEPHENS

Ullapool is for sale. The last owner has died after spending a lot of money and effort for two decades in an attempt to make the island "viable" — repairing derelict houses — starting a fish farm. Not that the island has always been a desert — its fortunes had always depended on fish and its excellent, natural harbour was a factor in its prosperity when fish was plentiful. The last of the "natives" left in 1931 and the island was uninhabited by man until Fraser Darling rented 25 acres and spent four years there, an account of which is in his book "Island Farm". It would be viable for ordinary people with some financial aid but at the moment the fate of the island will be decided by the next owner — the upset price for the island is £800,000 and though there is no "upset" price for the fish farm, the turnover is agreed to be about £2 million — if you have a few million to spare the agent to contact is Savills. No sign yet that any national policy is being implemented. Still there is hope — to quote directly the first few paragraphs in David Stephen's introduction to "Highland Man". "Up to the Second World War the Highlands and Islands were still pretty much of a closed book to people living outside; for two hundred years before that they were a book that successive Governments would have liked to see closed. Generations of politicians worked their lips to death in the Highlands service, hiding behind mountains of paper while the real mountains were being degraded by misuse, and a culture and a way of life were being eroded away.

Hail sacred cow of economic growth! One day thou shalt find quiet pasture in the Celtic twilight.

That was the hope — I say hope because I am one of the unrepentants who still believe that the rundown of this unique area was a definite policy. *But it wasn't quite achieved* — despite de-population, deforestation, the coming of the sheep, the creation of wet deserts and intensive game preservation."

So he hoped that bodies such as the Nature Conservancy and the H.I.D.B could even at this late hour preserve what is still a rich and varied fauna. However with the first body run by Civil Servants and the second a government appointed quango, perhaps a fitting way of keeping David Stephen's memory would be for all of us to take a closer interest in this work.

Not that David Stephen was interested only in the Highlands — he lived in the "Lowlands" and — Palacerigg — the Country Park which he and his wife created, near Cumberland was the best known and most visited in the country. Ten years ago it was proposed that a walkway be made across the Central Belt of Scotland and he supported the idea. Nothing has been done to date so now the idea is being revived and this time to be the "Stephen Memorial Walkway" — 125 miles long from Dunbar to Helensburgh or Dunbarton taking in four other country parks in addition to Palacerigg. Let's hope it will materialise this time.

Books referred to in foreword to "Highland Animals":

"The Influence of Man on Animal Life in Scotland" by James Ritchie. Cambridge University Press (1920).

"Natural History in the Highlands and Islands" by F. Fraser Darling. Collins (1947).

"Ecology and Land Use in Upland Scotland" by D.N. McVean and J.D. Lockie.

M.D.

## NEW SCOTTISH MAGAZINE

A new Scottish nationalist publication, "Scottish Review", will be available from March 1989.

The magazine will advocate a "back-to-basics" Celtic nationalism in Scotland and, based on the Gàidhlig Republicanism of the late R. Erskine and the Scottish National League, will strive for complete national freedom and national revival through the restoration of Gàidhlig as the national language of Scotland.

Subscription: £3 per annum

"SCOTTISH REVIEW",  
8 Synott Place,  
off Dorset St.,  
Dublin 7,  
ÉIRE.

a' toirt cothrom àraidh dhuinn fìor leasachadh a dhèanamh air an suidheachadh. Tha Mghr Rifkind 's a chàirdean air a' bhith a' bruidhinn a-mach mu na Gàidhlig bho chionn fhada. Seo cothrom aca ri rudeigin a dhèanamh!

Seo na rudan a tha a-dhith oirnn:

- seirbhis rèidio anns a' Ghàidhlig a tha a' dol a-mach air feadh na h-Alba agus troimh an latha air fad.
- seirbhis teilibhisean coltach ris an fhear a tha aca anna a' Chuirigh a tha freagarrach do fheuman agus do ùidh nan Gàidheal
- taic gu leòr dhan na seirbhisean seo a bhios gan cumail aig ìre àrd.

Uill, a Mhghr Rifkind, dè do bheachd?

AILPEIN STIÚTHAIRT



# "INDEPENDENCE IN EUROPE" — AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW

The sensational SNP victory in the Govan by-election on November 10th 1988 is being seen as an endorsement of the SNP's new pro-EEC policy of "Independence In Europe". This policy was adopted by, or, as some SNP activists have complained, forced down the throat of the SNP National Conference only a few weeks before the by-election.

However, the SNP's new policy was not responsible for the SNP victory in Govan. An exit poll conducted in Govan revealed that 69 per cent of SNP supporters were opposed to the new policy.

Among SNP activists there are also grave doubts about the new policy. How can there be "Independence In Europe", for Scotland (or any other country), when the EEC is anti-national, undemocratic, has already eroded the sovereignty of all its member States, and its ultimate aim is the creation of a unitary "European" State — a Superpower based in Western Europe? As anyone who has studied the Single European Act knows, membership of the EEC simply means the crushing of national and democratic rights in order to create a supranational imperialist State which will only serve the interests of a handful of leading monopoly capitalists. How can the SNP, while claiming to be a "nationalist" party, support the inclusion of Scotland as a mere peripheral region within an imperialist State? How can Scotland achieve "Independence In Europe" when there will be no independent member States in only a few years time?

The SNP, true to its stated aims as a nationalist party, was originally strongly opposed to the EEC and to Scottish membership and many of the SNP traditionalists e.g. Jim Fairlie, Isobel Lindsay, remain strongly opposed to the EEC.

The architect of the SNP's "Independence in Europe" policy is Jim Sillars MP, who went on to win the Govan by-election for the SNP and who has claimed that the new policy had "considerable support" among the Govan electorate — although, as already pointed out earlier, 69 per cent of the SNP supporters in the Govan by-election declared themselves opposed to the policy.

Sillars, a shrewd career politician, entered parliament as Labour MP for South Ayrshire in 1970. Known as the "Hammer of the Nats" (Scottish Nationalists), Sillars declared that "separatism has been hit on the head for once and for all." However, as "separatism" (i.e. Scottish Nationalism) continued to grow in strength, Sillars, always a populist, linked himself to the pro-devolution lobby in order to avoid political isolation. Sillars later formed the Scottish Labour Party which had a vague policy of devolution combined with "a strong voice for Scotland within the E.E.C." This party quickly crumbled largely due to Sillars' mass expulsions of members and his insistence on running the party as a one-man band.

By the 1980's Sillars — the "Hammer of the Nats" and the man who could never describe himself as a "Nationalist" — had joined the SNP, quickly forming alliances with opportunist and careerist elements and rising rapidly through the ranks to a position on the NEC. At the SNP's 1988 National Conference the party "re-defined" (i.e. abandoned) its traditional aim of Scottish Independence in favour of full member status of the EEC and the empty, misleading slogan of "Independence In Europe". But even this slogan and the continued use of nationalist rhetoric cannot disguise the fact that the SNP is now a pro-"European" regionalist party.

In reality the SNP has succumbed to populism, rejecting its own aims in order to gain electoral success by currying favour with the British mass media which is overwhelmingly pro-"European" in policy — and media sympathy, support and attention played a major part in the SNP's victory in Govan. The SNP has also joined the unspoken but nevertheless united coalition of pro-"European" political groupings which dominates the major British parties and the British political system. Undoubtedly this will bring continuing political and personal "success" to the careerists who lead the SNP, but what will be the eventual outcome?

The Scottish people have legitimate rights to national self-determination and genuine democracy. These rights belong to the Scottish people themselves, not to any section of the people or to "representative" organisations such as political parties, the trade unions, churches, etc. It will be the Scottish people themselves who will democratically decide their own future.

The SNP's claim to uphold the legitimate rights of the Scottish people is obviously not consistent with a policy of support for an anti-national, undemocratic and oppressive "European" State. It is equally obvious that genuine patriots and democrats within the SNP must either unite in opposition to "Independence In Europe", or leave the SNP and set up their own organisation to renew the struggle for Scottish self-determination and democracy.

"Independence From Europe" would be a useful slogan for such an organisation.

A. BUSBY

## Formation of National Liberation Front for Scotland (NLF)

Following discussions by revolutionary Scottish nationalists and republicans, a special meeting was held in Dublin, Ireland, on 10th January 1989, at which the decision to form the National Liberation Front for Scotland (NLF) was unanimously taken.

The meeting of the founder members was held in Dublin to allow the attendance of Scottish patriots who are currently in exile or "wanted" for patriotic activities by the English State. Additionally the venue prevented interference by the English Special Branch and, for this reason, the meeting also decided that the headquarters of the NLF will be based in Dublin initially.

The delegates, including past and present members of the SNP, agreed that the SNP had nothing to offer the Scottish people, and the urgent need for a new type of mass political organisation could only be met by the formation of the NLF.

The NLF will function as a fighting political organisation rather than a tame political "party" (such as the SNP) enmeshed in the corrupt "British" electoral system.

The sole aim of the NLF is the basic right of national self-determination for the Scottish people i.e. the seizure of State power by the Scottish people themselves, by whatever means are necessary.

The NLF regards the foreign occupation of Scotland as illegal and criminal, and only recognises the sovereignty of the Scottish people in Scotland. The NLF does not recognize the "British"/English state or its "laws" or "authority", and the NLF will organize itself on this basis.

Further meetings will take place soon and a direct action campaign of militant resistance is being planned.

The NLF welcomes support from all sections of the Scottish national movement including SNP members. However, it has been agreed that, while SNP members who join the NLF may remain in the SNP, all NLF members must give first loyalty and allegiance to the NLF.

Details and membership (£2 per annum) from Ms. M. Mitchell, NLF, 8 Synott Place, Dublin 7, Éire.

## WILLIE McRAE 4TH ANNIVERSARY

The 6th of April 1989 is the fourth anniversary of the killing of Scottish nationalist Willie McRae (see Carn 61).

Despite a sustained campaign for a Fatal Accident Inquiry, the British authorities have refused all demands for a public inquiry, and have failed to answer, or respond to, the charges that Willie McRae was murdered by agents of the British State because of alleged links with the Scottish National Liberation Army (SNLA).

The campaign for a public inquiry continues. . . .

# BREIZH

## GALLOUD D'AR RANNVROIOÙ?

Evel ma iavare Rob Gibson en hon niverenn diwezhañ emañ al luskad a-du gant frankiz politikel Bro-Skos o vont war greñvaat. Dilennet eo bet Jim Sillars, eus an SNP, da gannad en unan eus kelc'hparzhioù-dilenn Glasc'ho. Eñ a oa gwechall e Strollad al Labour Breizhveuriat. Drouklaouen gant an diouer a evezh er Strollad-se ouzh ezhommoù Bro-Skos en doa savetg ur Strollad al Labour Skosat met ne reas ket berzh. Aet e oa neuze e-barzh ar Strollad Broadel Skosat. En un addilennadeg eo en deus gounezet ur sez e Westminster: peadra da galonekaat ar vroadelourien.

Atizet gant al luskad-se e teu izili eus Strollad al Labour e Bro-Skos da soñjal ez eus traoù mat e menozioù an SNP! N'eo ket diouzhtu ec'h en em zisklêrio ar pep brasañ eus ar renerien a-du gant ur gouarnamant skosat. Ar brezegenn-se gant John Pollock oa heverk koulskoude. Pa'z a un den hag a zo bet kadoriad ar strollad e Bro-Skos hag ivez sekretour-meur sindikad-kelennerien brasañ ar vro betek lavarout he deus bremañ muioc'h da c'hounit o kemer perzh war-eeun en aozadurioù kenvarc'had ar Gumuniezh "Europat" eget dre hanterouriezh gouarnamant London, se a zegas dour d'ar vilin vroadel, ma n'eo ket da hini an SNP end-eeun. Sur a-walc'h ez eo nec'het an It. Thatcher hag unanourien he strollad gant an emdroadur-se. Aet eo-hi da C'Hlasc'ho e derou C'Hwevrer da ziskleriañ dirak pennaouerien gelaouennoù hec'h enebiezh dibleg ouzh digreizennadur an disterañ galloud eus London ha kentoc'h reiz ouzh emrenerezh Bro-Skos. "Ma gouarnamant, emezi reut, zo mennet da virout unaniez ar Rouantelezh. Reiñ muioc'h a c'halloud d'an hiniennou ya!" (Piv a hiboud n'eo bet live ar frankiz hiniennel ken izel er United Kingdom ha ma'z eo bremañ abaoe dekvloavezhioù?) "Krouiñ ur solieradur-gouarnamant ouzhpenn, o forañer arc'hant an dud, NANN!" Un arguzenn honnezh a sacho hep mank truajidi a-du ganti.

Ha da leuskel ur bir all:

Ma teufe an disrannourien da drec'hiñ e vefe darnaouet ganto ar Gumuniezh Europat, lakaet harz d'hec'h araokaat ha distrujet he nerzh".

An "disrannourien", ur ger-spontailh! Ar ouenn skosat anezho ne glaskont ket mont er-maez, atav o deus disklêriet e felle dezho bezañ e-barzh ar G.E., hogen ret dezho en divizout evel pobl dieub. N'int ket gwashoc'h disrannourien eget an Itron hag a embanne warlene e rankfed derc'hel da harzoù'zo e diabarzh ar G.E. ha diwall da ziorren Europiz Peurunvan ("identi-kit"). Warlerc'h hon eus klevet ar Pab ha Gorbatchov ivez o sevel a-du gant al liesseurtiezh met int n'o deus ket diwallet da venegiñ gwirioù sevenadurel ar

pobloù-bihanniver. Evel just n'eus ket da abegañ er Bennvaodiernezh pa sav he mouezh a-enep ar beurunvanidigezh europat met da ziskrediñ 'z eus p'he gwelomp o nac'h ouzh Skosiz ha pobloù diemren evelto ar pezh a gav mat evit muianiver ar Rouantelezh, ar Saozon: ar galloud da aozañ o buhez vroadel int o-unan.

Pa oad o prientiñ ur referendom en Iwerzhon a-zivout an emezelañ d'ar G.E., unan eus an abegoù a-enep eo he doa bet ar vro-mañ da stourm a-hed kantvedoù ouzh ur galloud impalaerel, e oa galloudoù ez-trevadennel eus holl vroioù ar G.E. (warbouez Luksembourg) hag e ranked doujañ e chome an tech d'an impalaerouriezh gwriziennet-don e div pe deir eus ar broioù-se. Spurmantiñ a reer an tech-se pa zisklêr an It. Thatcher "e fell da dud ar Rouantelezh Unanet bezañ kreñv evit ma vo klevet o mouezh en Europa. N'eo ket avat ur c'hreñvlec'h serret, un din, e tleer ober eus Europa met un embregerezh gouestl da gevezañ gant ar galloudoù bedel".

Ma n'eus ket tu da herzel ouzh alouberezh (kenwerzhel paneveken) ar galloudoù nanneuropat estreget dre ar c'hevezerezh e ranker a-dra-sur kenurzhiañ strivadoù e diabarzh ar Gumuniezh. Met ret eo deomp gouzout da betra en em ouestlomp. Klevet hor boa Pompidou o tismegansiñ ar vrezhonegerien — ne oa ket plas d'ar brezhoneg en ur Vro-C'Hall *tonket* da waskañ he siell war zremm Europa. N'eo ket disheñvel an ton gant gwreg an Toer: n'eus ket plas evit pobloù bihan el laz-hkanañ. Daoust ha piv a zo e penn 'ta?

Deurus e vo da emsavioù politikel ar pobloù diemren gwelout peseurt efed a vo d'ur reoliadur diwar-benn an diorroadur rannvroel degemeret e miz mezheven 1988 gant Kuzul ar G.E. Evodet eo eus an ezhomm da unvanaat programmoù ar G.E. hag an doare da implij ar c'hredadoù gouestlet ganti d'ar frammadur — kredadoù frammadurel. War an Akt Europa-Unan end-eeun e harp ar reoliadur-se. Drezañ e fell d'ar Poellgor Europat lakaat harz d'an implij a vez graet gant Stadoù'zo (evel Bro-C'Hall) eus ar

c'hredadoù-se evel pa vefe anezho un darn eus o arc'hantroll-i. Gouzout a reer e klasker lezel Breizhiz en dic'houzvez eus orin ar c'hredadoù pa vez kaset da benn ur steuñvad bennak en hor bro gant skoazell ar G.E. Diwar vremañ e ranko bezañ sklaer ez eo ar seurt arc'hant da gontañ distag diouzh ar pezh a zivizo ar Stadoù gouestlañ da frammadur an diorren en o rannvroioù: ez eo da lakaat OUZHPENN, neket E-LEC'H!

Goulenn a ra ar Poellgor e ve digreizennet ar galloud da zivizout penaos implij skoazelloù ar Gumuniezh: koulz hag ur roll-aliañ e tleo ur roll-merañ he skoazelloù bezañ aotreet da aozadurioù rannvroel. Kement-se zo ret evit parraat ouzh an diefedusted hag ar c'hwitadennoù a zo c'hoarvezet en abeg d'ar c'hreizennerezh. Mont a ra pelloc'h c'hoazh pa lavar e rankor krouiñ aozadurioù-rannvro da gemer perzh kevrennek gant ar Poellgor hag ar Stadoù er gefridi aozañ kinnigoù-steuñvoù, arc'hantaouiñ ar re a vo divizet o seveniñ, evezhiañ ouzh o erounezadur ha tennañ kentel dioutañ.

O lakaat an dud da gemer perzh oberiant evel-se eo e vo gallet tennañ ar brasañ gounid eus danvez-madoù ar rannvroioù. Dont a raio nerzh d'ar re-mañ diwar o emskoazell.

Daoust hag e vo graet er pleustr diouzh ar reoliadur nevez-se? Nevez'zo c'hoazh e oa ur penn bras bennak e Bro-C'Hall o c'houzav e oa arabat da zileuridi eus he rannvroioù mont da genbrezeg gant kargidi ar G.E. Setu ur c'hamalad mat d'an It. Thatcher. . . . A-dra-sur n'eo ket prest gouarnamantoù Paris ha London da lezel ar Poellgor Europat da oberiañ en dizalc'h met kinnig a ra ar "c'hrouadur" ober diouzh e benn e-unan muioc'h-mui. Er sachadeg-fun a savo etrezañ hag ar Stadoù-kreizennerien e vo mat dezhañ kaout kevredidi er rannvroioù ha sachañ d'e du darn eus al lealded o deus gouestlet betekhen d'ar Stadoù. Diskouezet o deus Breizhiz ez int tuet a-walc'h da dremen e-biou da Baris evit mont war-eeun da Vrusel. Met aon o deus da dapout bazhadoù. . . . Ha gouest eo c'hoazh ar wrac'h Mariane, koulz hag ar wrac'h Marc'harid, da c'hwezhañ e fri d'ar c'hanfard europat ivez.

Marteze e teuo der hent Brusel muioc'h-mui eus hor c'henvroiz da deurel brasoc'h evezh ouzh ar pezh o diforc'h diouzh ar C'Hallaoued ha da vagañ c'hoant d'en em ren. An digreizennouriezh diouzh doare ar Gumuniezh Europat n'eo ket koulskoude ar pezh a spiro d'ar broioù kelt evit adsevel o broadelezh. Klask a ra kreskiñ an efedusted armerzhel, aesaat loc'husted an dud hag ar c'hevala a-dreuz hag a-hed he zirigezh. Daoust hag ar pezh hon eus ezhomm n'eo ket ur skoilh war an hent-se? Tennomp splot par ma c'hallomp eus an avel met dalc'homp start da sturial hor hag war an tu mat evidomp.



# A LOOK AT THE BRETON POLITICAL MONTHLIES

In its Autumn issues, *Le Peuple Breton*, organ of the U.D.B. (28 pp., subscription 120F/annum but 150F Surface mail/180 Airmail outside French State) surveyed the transformations which have occurred in Breton farming. Social differentiation has resulted in lack of unity in the defence of its interests. Bretons are playing a driving role in the new Confédération Paysanne-Ouest which groups small and medium farmers. A series of hunger strikes have been staged in relays in protest against the EC milk quota system which victimizes small milk producers: they are fined 0.43 F per litre in excess of the 24,000 litres allowed annually per farmer whereas big ranchers producing up to 10 times more pay only 0.06F per litre. Brittany, in spite of a 25% drop in its farming population in 5 years, remains a country of relatively small rural enterprises and is thus heavily penalised by the regulation. The UDB advocates a quota system that would guarantee a minimum income to all farmers.

Following its review in December of the positive gains made during the past 25 years by the Breton movement, the January issue outlines urgent steps which need to be taken: a) transfer to the region of powers similar to those enjoyed by the German Laender (education, planning, communications as well as health, tourism, culture, protection of the environment); b) reunification of Loire-Atlantique with the rest of Brittany; c) attribution to the region of a definite percentage of the taxes collected by the State; d) direct regional representation at European level; regional councillors to represent the region only; e) constitutional recognition of the existence of the Breton people on the cultural level; f) setting up of a public Breton employment service.

In the December issue of *l'Avenir de la Bretagne* (organ of the P.O.B.L., BP 103, 22001 St-Brieuc-Cedex, 130F/140F per annum), Yann Fouere recalls ex-PM Chirac's denunciation of direct contacts between elected representatives of the French regions

*Gerioù ha n'emaint ket e Geriadur R. Hemon:*  
kelc'hparzh: constituency; pennvaodiern (ez): Prime Minister; Poellgor Europat: European Commission; erounezadur: implementation; loc'husted: mobility; tiriegezh: territory.

A. HEUSAFF

## Summary:

*Stirred by Scottish nationalist progress, Mrs. Thatcher has proclaimed her championship of U.K. unity in a way which hardly accords with her opposition to an "identi-kit Europe". French and English centralism serves to boost ambitions which run counter to a recent EC regulation aiming at the establishment of a partnership with the regions in the use of EC structural funds. Decentralisation would indeed serve regional economic development but does not answer our needs in the cultural and linguistic fields.*

and those of other regions of Europe as putting "out foreign policy in a weaker position and thus damaging the national interest". Is it because of such scolding that the Rennes Regional Council is taking no initiative at European level, leaving it to the private enterprise of such people as A. Gourvennec (cauliflowers, artichokes, Brittany Ferries) to fight for our economic interests by opening an office in Brussels?

In the January issue, M. Texier sees the breaking-up of artificial States and empires which started in the 19th century continuing to-day in various parts of the world and urges the readers to reject a recent call to "stop thinking in Breton terms" as contrary to the historical trend. France is waging a rearguard action in peevishly refusing to recognise DIWAN as a public service, to put up bilingual road signs, to allow Loire-Atlantique to join the rest of Brittany. Astronaut Jean-Loup Chrétien (from Karanteg near Montroulez/Morlaix) who shouted "Vive la Bretagne" when boarding a Soyuz spacecraft in Baïku-Nor testified to the permanence and vitality of Breton feeling in the space age.

Before coming to EMGANN, let us draw attention to an investigation carried out on behalf of the Breton Cultural Council in the activities of the various cultural associations which are specially concerned with Brittany (language, theatre, history, radio, TV, wrestling, etc.). The study, published by a new market-research organisation "Infos-Bretagne-Services (11 rue J. Jaurès, 29.000 Kemper) shows how many people are employed or directly involved in the associations. It should convince elected

representatives that our cultural activities are an important potential source of employment and income for our people.

The book, 88 pages in a large format, contains a very revealing map which illustrates how the credits allocated by the Culture ministry were allocated among the 21 administrative regions of France in 1986. The Paris region got 68% (more than 550F per capita) while Brittany — 4 départements had to make do with 1.2% (less than 50 F per capita).

Asked at a press conference in St. Briege about this glaring discrimination, the minister for Culture brushed the question aside with: "Let us not talk figures!"

EMGANN (16 pp., BP 71, 22202 Gwengamp-Cedex) goes on to report that at the same conference the president of the Côtes-du-Nord département council threatened to stop putting up bilingual road signs (that has been at a standstill for more than a year now) if daubing of the monolingual signs continued. He was worried that German tourists might lose their way and not return. The fact is that precious little money is made available by the State to the départements for things to do with the Breton language. It is not like the commemoration of the 1789 Revolution for which the equivalent of Stg£20 millions are already budgeted, 143 times the amount available for the Breton TV programmes.

At its AGM held at the end of November, EMGANN (Socialist Movement of National Liberation) decided to seek to present Breton unity lists of candidates for the March municipal elections (ruling out any alliance with French parties). They would also endeavour to find agreement with the political organisations of other minorities, in particular those which are members of the Conference of Stateless West-European Nations, with a view to present candidates at the elections to the European Parliament.



Diwan's outgoing and new president A. Lavanant (left and Y. Bodenneg. By courtesy of EMGANN.

Youenn Bodenneg has been elected to succeed Andre Lavanant as president of the DIWAN association. Interviewed by EMGANN, he said he would strive to obtain official recognition for DIWAN and its schools, to win support from elected representatives for a better place to be given to our language and

culture in the country's life and (in particular) to better inform the population of what DIWAN is and how successful its methods are. No diminution in the time given to Breton at the different stages of the children's education could be contemplated.

## DEMONSTRATIONS FOR DEUG IN BRETON

Demonstrations in support of a Diplôme d'Etudes Universitaires Générale in Breton took place through the streets of Gwened/Vannes (in November) and of St. Brieg/St. Brieuc (4.2.'89) with cars blowing their horns and with lights on. They were organised by the association of Breton teachers (Unvaniezh ar Gelennerien Brezhoneg), with the support of many other organisations. In a letter sent by A. V. Chapalain, secretary of the European Bureau for "Lesser-spoken" languages ("French" Committee) to all elected representatives in Brittany, attention was drawn to the Ministry of Education's refusal to create this diploma, which exists for a multiplicity of languages including Corsican and Catalan. Without this DEUG which is obtained after two years at the university, the Degree and the CAPES in Breton are of little use. The official excuse is that THERE IS NO MONEY and that the demand for teachers might not be there. Such



*Demonstration in support of DEUG in Breton — by courtesy of EMGANN.*

is not the case: the Rennes University has enough staff for the course, so no extra expenditure is required; and many demands for Breton classes cannot be fulfilled because there are no teachers with the necessary qualifications. There are other areas, apart from primary and secondary education, where a DEUG in Breton would be useful (media, tourism, business). Several Breton members of parliament have expressed support.

At present, to teach Breton in secondary schools, a DEUG in English, Spanish, French, anything at all, will do, but what sort

of teaching is that? As for the primary schools, "National" Education does not bother to train teachers for it, the brief and rare "stages" cannot be considered serious.

**Serge Richard**, with whose prolonged struggle against a transfer to other posts our readers are now familiar, has succeeded in obtaining his appointment officially as a teacher of Breton in schools of the Versailles Académie: he has only 12 hours however, of 18 which teachers have normally. And he must travel to 4 schools.

## THE BRETON PLOT OF 1791

For the centralistic State History is the skeleton in the cupboard. It is bad manners to mention its crimes. Only a travesty of history must be presented. Accordingly the Breton revolt known as the Chouannerie was just a royalist insurrection: that is accepted by the average Frenchman. As for its instigator, La Rouërie, his name is absent from the Larousse des Familles.

This is the age of the State-sponsored Big Lie. What counts is the image. No need to go to Eastern block countries to find well-funded teams of historians busy writing official history.

While millions and millions of taxpayers' money are being lavished on the commemoration of the 1789 Revolution we wish to draw attention to a courageous and absorbing little book which throws light on the origins of the Chouannerie: *La Conjuraton Bretonne de 1791*, by Yves du Menga (Editions du Thabor, Rennes).

It was undoubtedly religious persecution and military conscription which triggered off that large-scale explosion against the tyranny of the Parisian revolution. It might have been only a powerless and short-lived wave of anger had it not been for La Rouërie, a very gifted organiser, strategist, man of vision who laid the basis for its development and trained its leaders by founding the ASSOCIATION BRETONNE, in reality a secret army with ramifications extending also across Brittany's borders to neighbouring provinces.

Without that organisation there would have been no Cadoudal, Tinténiaç, Boisguy, no Charette and Jean Chouan.

Armand Tuffin de la Rouërie was born in Fougères on April 13th, 1759. With other young Bretons he shared an enthusiasm for the new ideas of human freedom and equality.

In February 1777 he embarked in Naoned/Nantes to take part in the war of American Independence, a civil war waged for the sake of fundamental freedoms by people of English origin against England. Let us stress that the future instigator of the Chouannerie was a supporter of the principles defined by the constitutions of the first American States, notably that of Virginia of which the French Revolution's Declaration of Human Rights was but a belated version. This has to be said in the face of detractors who would have us believe he was the upholder of absolutism, obscurantism and oppression of the weak and the poor.

Known to the Americans as Colonel Armand, for six years he led a commando recruited at his own expense and was involved in guerilla operations in which he distinguished himself by his courage, dynamism and tenacity. It was Washington himself who conferred on him the grade of brigadier-general and the famous Cincinnatus cross. The experience he gained there was used in conceiving and preparing another war of liberation, the Chouannerie. From 1790 to 1792 he gathered an impressive number of associates many of whom, still very young, were to prove incredibly daring. He brought them to share his ideal, taught them the essential rules of his strategy. They would soon be at the head of the Chouannerie.

The aims of the Breton Association were defined by La Rouërie himself: as well as the restoration of the monarchy in France they were the reestablishment of religious freedom and of Breton self-government (which had been reasserted in the period from about 1760 to 1788 but abolished by the Revolution in contravention of the 1532 Treaty of Union on

August 4th, 1789). La Rouërie wanted the status of autonomy reinforced but some went further and envisaged a return to undiluted independence. This caused the exiled Bourbons to distrust the whole movement.

The plan was for the Breton army with its auxiliaries in Anjou and Poitou to march on Paris while the Bourbons' army and their allies would close in from the East. A large part of the liberated population would come over, disgusted with the excesses of the Terror regime.

This plan collapsed due to the Prussians' surprising retreat after the skirmish at Valmy (September 1792). In spite of the general disarray La Rouërie decided to carry on. But on January 30th, 1793 the hero who had escaped from countless ambushes and snares, hunted, outlawed, died of disease and exhaustion, an irreparable loss!

But his ideas were alive. When the peasantry revolted in the same year, the men he had trained were ready to lead them. Unfortunately none of them was universally recognised as the overall leader and organiser whom they would listen to and obey. Nor do they appear to have had a sufficiently clear view of the original reasons for the struggle. In spite of astounding feats of heroism the movement ran out of steam during the next 4 years. It got but wavering support from the French princes, unworthy characters who, once back in power, showed the Bretons no gratitude for their devotion and sacrifices, not to mention restoring the slightest bit of their ancient freedom.

**HERVE LANNDIERN**

*(In our next issue we hope to review another booklet "La Revolution et les Bretons", Elans et déceptions published by Le Peuple Breton, BP 301, 22304 Lannuon, Brittany, price 20 Fr).*

# CYMRU

## PIGION CELTAIDD

### Dialann/Dyddiadur Dwyieithog

Cyhoeddwyd dyddiadur dwyieithog (Gwyddeleg-Saesneg) gan Comhairle an Iuir agus Mhonn (Newry and Mourne D.C.) am 1989. Yn ogystal â gwybodaeth am y Cyngor ei hunan, mae'n cynnwys polisi dwyieithog y Cyngor, hanes yr iaith yn yr ardal, gwybodaeth am addysg Wyddeleg, clybiau cymdeithasol yn yr iaith a sut i ddysgu iaith Iwerddon.

### YNYS MANAW — Mewnffudo

Ym mis Mai llynedd, cyhoeddwyd gan lywodraeth yr ynys ddogfen ymgynghorol ar sut i reoli twf poblogaeth yr ynys. Erbyn rwan 70,000 yw poblogaeth yr ynys — cynnydd o 6,700 ers 1981 trwy fudo net. Cydnabyddir ffigwr o 75,000 fel poblogaeth i gynllunio amdanynt. Argymhellir gan yr adroddiad y gellir gwahodd rhywun i fyw ar yr ynys gan fod cysylltiadau teuluol, cyfraniad economaidd i'r ynys, rhesymau dyngarol neu'r gallu i wneud cyfraniad cymdeithasol. Mae'r adroddiad yn argymhell "UNLESS A PERSON IS EXEMPT OR IS REGISTERED HE IS NOT PERMITTED TO OCCUPY RESIDENTIAL ACCOMMODATION ON THE ISLAND".

Trwy hynny disgwylir rheoli pwy sydd â hawl i drigo mewn eiddo ar yr ynys (ac nid i'w prynu). Ar hyn o bryd mae 24% o'r boblogaeth dros oed ymdeol, a dim ond 70% o ddynion a 38% o ferched sy'n weithgar yn economaidd. Dim ond 53% o'r boblogaeth a anwyd ar yr ynys yn 1981. Heb fudo buasai'r boblogaeth yn syrthio i 62,000 erbyn 2026.

### YR ALBAN — Bethyg Llyfrau

Ar ôl cau siopau An Comunn yn yr Alban, Inbhirnis a Steornobhagh, mae'n anodd iawn i brynu llyfrau Gaelleg. Heb werthu llyfrau mae'n anodd i awdur cael incwm. Yn anffodus, nid yw awduron yn yr Aeleg yn medru derbyn arian oddi wrth y "Public Lending Right". Nid oes un llyfrgell, mewn ardal Aeleg, yn y sampl o lyfrgelloedd cyhoeddus yn yr Alban. Yn llyfrgelloedd yr Ucheildiroedd cedwir tua 1,000 o deitlau a benthycir tua 700 o lyfrau Gaelleg y flwyddyn.

### Is-Etholiad Govan

Enillwyd sedd San Steffan, Govan (Glasgow) gan yr SNP gyda newid o 33% o Lafur i'r blaidd genedlaethol a'r aelod newydd, Jim Sillars. Gwelir hyn fel rhan o ail-adeiladu cenedlaetholdeb yn yr Alban ar ôl cwmp 1979. Erbyn diwedd Ionawr 'roedd yr SNP yn ail yn y pŵl (32%) y tu ôl i Lafur (36%).

### Cyngor Llyfrau Gaelleg

Yn ystod 1986-87, talwyd £29,400 mewn grantiau cyhoeddi. Gwelwyd cynnydd yn y nifer o lyfrau a werthwyd o siop lyfrau symudol i gyfanswm o £7,900 — ond 'roedd gwario £4,340 i gynnal y gwasanaeth! Gwerthwyd £2,200 o lyfrau trwy'r post yn ogystal. Yn nhrefn gwerthiannau gwelir y pynciau canlynol i lyfrau plant: cerddoriaeth, crefydd, beiblau, barddoniaeth a deunydd dysgu'r iaith. Cyfieithwyd "Llyfr Mawr y Plant" i'r Aeleg cyn y Nadolig.

### Fferiau ar y Sul

Mae Cwmni Fferiau Macbrayne yn ceisio hwylio ar y Sul rhwng Uig ar Ynys Skye i Tarbert (Harris) a Lochmaddy (North Uist). Cynhaliwyd pŵl piniwn gan bapur wythnosol lleol gyda'r canlyniadau canlynol:

### Ynys

Lewis	
Harris — Tarbert	
North Uist	
Benbecula — Lochmaddy	
South Uist	
Skye	

### Eglwysi Gaelleg

Pan fo dyn yn ymweld â'r dinasoedd gall fynychu gwasanaeth Gaelleg yn eglwysi Eglwys (Bresbyteraidd) yr Alban yn Glasgow (St. Columba, 300 St. Vincent Street am 11 y bore) ac yng Nghaeredin (Greyfriars, Highland am 3 yn y prynhawn).

### Gobaith i Ynys Vatersay

Gaelleg yw iaith yr ynys, ond gan fod prinder gwasanaethau ac absenoldeb fferi addas, gwelwyd lleihad ym mhoblogaeth yr ynys hon, i'r dde o Ynys Barra, o 120 yn 1981 i 65 erbyn heddiw. Ar ôl pwysau mawr, mae Swyddfa'r Alban wedi caniatáu i Comhairle nan Eilean adeiladu sarn i'r ynys.

### Polisiâu Gaelleg

Cyhoeddwyd polisi ar gyfer yr Aeleg gan Cyngor Dosbarth Earraghaidheal agus Bhoid (Argyll and Bute) sy'n cynnwys ynysydd Islay, Mull a Tiree. Hefyd mae Comunn na Gaidhlig wedi cyhoeddi cynllun datblygu deng mlynedd ar gyfer yr iaith ar Ynys Muile (Mull).

### Gaeleg yn yr Ysgolion Ywchradd

Gyda'r lleihad yn nifer y disgyblion, gwelwyd lleihad yn y nifer o ddisgyblion sy'n astudio'r Aeleg, e.e.:

	1980/81	1988/89
Port Righ (Skye)	316	268
Lochaber (Ft. William)	123	87
Arn Ploc (Kyle of L.)	60	41
Cyfanswm	798	575

### Economi yr Ynys Hir

Pysgota yw'r prif ddiwydiant yn yr Ynys Hir erbyn heddiw. Gwelir gwaith am 1,000 o bobl yn y diwydiant sy'n werth £16.2 filiwn. Yn 1987 gwerth y diwydiant brethyn oedd £20. Beth bynnag mae diweithdra ar yr ynys oedd wedi codi i 22%.

### Ysgolion Meithrin

Mae nifer y grwpiau wedi tyfu i 56 gyda chyfanswm o dros fil o blant. Dechreuir cyrsiau hyfforddi ar gyfer arweinwyr.

O Blaid	Yn Erbyn	Cyfanswm
15%	85%	252
5%	95%	179
46%	54%	124
85%	15%	53
100%	0%	88
11%	89%	637

### Ysgolion Cynradd yr Ucheildiroedd

Mae Cyngor Rhanbarth yr Ucheildiroedd wedi penderfynu canolbwyntio ei adnoddau ar ddysgu Gaelleg yn yr ysgolion cynradd. Ar hyn o bryd mae'r 10 athro Gaelleg teithiol yn ymwneud a 70 o ysgolion a 2,500 o ddisgyblion. Yn y dyfodol bydd y staff yn canolbwyntio ar 10-12 o ysgolion "dwyieithog" ar y tir mawr, yn yr ardaloedd hanesyddol modern Gaelleg, neu'r canolfannau fel Inbhirnis a Ft. William. (Heb newid y 20 o ysgolion "dwyieithog" ar Ynys Skye.) Bydd pecyn ymwybodaeth iaith ar gael ar gyfer gweddill yn ysgolion cynradd.

### Byth ar y Saboth

Ym mis Awst eleni agorwyd yr ysgol uwchradd cyntaf erioed ar gyfer ynysydd deheuol yr Ynys Hir. Cynlluniwyd yr ysgol fel ysgol cymuned ar gost o £10 miliwn, gyda phwll nofio, canolfan hamdden, theatr, ystafelloedd cyfrifiadur a chaffe. Ond, yn ôl polisi Comhairle nan Eilean, mae'r cyfleusterau dan glo ar y Saboth — fel rhan o draddodiad Presbyteraidd cul Ynysydd Lewis a Harris.



Er hynny, Catholigion yw mwyafrif y boblogaeth ar yr ynysoedd deheuol, gydag agwedd gwahanol at y Sul — ar ôl mynychu'r Offeren, wrth gwrs. Hyd yma mae'r cyfleusterau ar gau o hyd.

#### “Can Seo II” Axed”

Yn groes i addewid cynharach, mae Teledu Grampian wedi cefni ar eu cynlluniau i gynhyrchu cyfres newydd ar gyfer dysgu'r Aeleg i oedolion.

#### Teledu Gaelic

Mewn ymateb i bapur gwyrdd y llywodraeth ar ddarlledu, mae Comunn na Gaidhlig wedi cyhoeddi dogfen drafod i hybu datblygiad gwasanaeth teledu Gaelic. Trafodwyd nifer o ddewisiadau ar gyfer teledu Gaelic ar un neu ddwy sianel am 520 awr y flwyddyn, gyda chylfndrefn i sicrhau datblygiadau, cyfuddo, comisiynu, arfarnu ac adrodd yn ôl y llywodraeth.

Yn y Papur Gwyr, ym mharagraff 6.37, dywedir, “The new local franchises may also provide the means of delivering the additional services to Gaelic speakers in parts of Scotland. The Governor recognises the importance of broadcasting to the Gaelic language and its future development, and, while no change is implied on present policies towards Gaelic broadcasting at national or regional level, new local services could be an important means of meeting Gaelic needs.” Mewn ymateb, mae Comunn na Gaidhlig yn awyddus i weld Cyngor Darlledu'r Alban gyda chyfrifoldeb am wasanaeth yn yr Aeleg.

#### Panto Gaelic

Eleni gwelwyd Pantomeim Gaelic ar Ynys Lewis am y tro cyntaf erioed. Roedd y daith yn llwyddiant mawr.

#### Colaisde Sabhal Mór Ostaig

Ymddiswyddodd prifathro'r coleg addysg bellach Gaelic o'i swydd ar ôl dwy flynedd. Yn y diwedd bydd staff presennol eraill y coleg yn rhannu ei ddyletswyddau.

Mae'r cyn-brifathro, y Dr. Colin MacLeod wedi ysgrifennu yn feirniadol dros ben am y coleg — am ei lediad, ei effeithlonrwydd, safon ei ddarlithwyr, perthynas y cyrsiau i'r byd Gaelic heddiw a'r ffaith bod dros hanner o'r graddedigion allan o waith o hyd. Mae'n argymhell ail-leoli'r coleg i hen goleg Castell Duncraig ger Am Ploec, dewis newydd o gyrsiau, a chysylltiadau agos i'r byd Gaelic newydd.

CLIVE JAMES

## MUDIAD YSGOLION MEITHRIN — THE FIRST EIGHTEEN YEARS

Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin — the Welsh Nursery School Movement — comes of age in October of this year. Before the establishment of M.Y.M. in 1971 Welsh medium schools were few in number and on the whole were reliant on the enthusiasm of a small number of parents. The Trefor Morgan Trust known as Cronfa Glyndwr had been established in order to promote Welsh medium education. Mrs. Dorothy Dolben was appointed as the national organiser for the fund, and she devoted a lot of her energy to promoting and funding the setting up of Welsh medium nursery schools, but on her death the schools once more lost touch with each other. Then at the National Eisteddfod in Bangor in 1971 two meetings were held during the week to draw attention to the need for Welsh medium nursery education and the need to unify efforts throughout Wales. U.C.A.C. (The National Union of Teachers in Wales) were responsible for one meeting, the other being sponsored by the former Undeb Rhieni Ysgolion Cymraeg (Parents Association for Welsh medium schools) which has now become Undeb Rhieni dros Addysg Gymraeg (Parents Association for Welsh medium education).

As a result, a national meeting was convened at the Urdd Headquarters in Aberystwyth in order to discuss the establishment of a Welsh medium nursery movement. The hall was packed with enthusiastic supporters of the idea from all parts of Wales, and as a result M.Y.M. came into being with Emyr Jenkins (now Director of the National Eisteddfod) as the first Chairman, Bethan Roberts from Cardiff as Secretary and the late Oliver Gregory, Aberystwyth, as Treasurer. A National Committee was also established and everyone set about with great energy and zeal to promote Welsh medium nursery education.

Such were the efforts at this time that soon nursery schools were opening all over Wales, and the workload increased at a tremendous rate; so much so, that an office had to be established and a Director appointed. Field Officers were also appointed to direct operations in the various parts of Wales.

Eventually the Welsh Office recognised the excellent work being done by the movement and began giving M.Y.M. an annual grant which has increased from year to year.

Other Celtic countries took note of what was happening in Wales, and soon Diwan was established in Brittany to promote nursery education through Breton, and a similar movement in Ireland (they both celebrated their tenth anniversary last year), and also in Scotland where there have been exciting developments during the last few years. Attempts have also been made to set up schools in Cornwall and the Isle of Man.

M.Y.M. is acknowledged by most to be a most effective organisation, and more and more parents in Wales are demanding Welsh medium nursery education followed by Welsh medium state education for their children. At present there are about 550 Welsh medium nursery schools functioning throughout Wales, and about 325 Welsh medium mother and toddler groups. As a consequence of the success of M.Y.M., the pressure for more and more Welsh medium state education is increasing, and the Education Authorities are at times hard-pressed to keep up with the demand. In Cardiff alone there are five Welsh medium primary schools and the need for a sixth, and before long there will be the need for a second Welsh medium comprehensive school in the country of South Glamorgan.

If the Celtic languages are to survive, then it is essential to see that all young children in the various Celtic countries have the opportunity to receive nursery education followed by an adequate provision of state education through their national tongue. Long may the Celtic nursery schools movements live and flourish, and a special greeting to Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin in Wales on reaching its eighteenth anniversary.

GWILYM E. ROBERTS

## BRUZUN KELEIER

The Breton language national festival will take place in Karaez/Carhaix on 28, 29 and 20 April.

An exhibition was staged at the Brest Municipal Library from January 24 to March 31 in connection with the tenth anniversary of the death of Roparz Hemon, the man who did most for the Breton language in this century (and in previous ones, one might say). The theme was: GWALARN, history of a literary movement. It was R. Hemon who was responsible for the publication of GWALARN, a magazine around which he gathered a pleiad of writers who gave our language a modern literature, he being foremost among them. It may be possible to obtain copies of the brochure of 40 pages published by the library's conservateur, M. Le Dro; it contains (mainly in French) testimonies to the influence exerted by Gwalarn on people of his and younger generations. Those who are unaware of the immense amount of work accomplished under R. Hemon's leadership will find it a revelation!

JOHN HUNTER

## HYSBYSRWYDD YN GYMRAEG YN YR ALBAN!

Y mae rhywbeth arbennig yn y dref “An Craoibh” (Crieff), Tayside, Perthshire, i ymwelwyr o Gymru!

Yn y swyddfa “BÒRD NA TURUSDACHD” (Bwrdd Croeso'r Alban) y mae sgrin cyfrifiadu'r lle'r gewch chi hysbysrwydd mewn iithoedd o Ewrop yn ogystal â Chymraeg! Y mae manylion parthed

gweithgareddau ac atyniadau lleol yno. Y cwmni sydd yn gyfrifol am y syniad yw

EMU Information Consultancy (Scotland) Limited,  
3 Bridgend Road,  
Inbhirphèòtharain (Dingwall),  
Ross-shire IV15 9SL  
Alba/Yr Alban.

Pob chwarae teg iddyn nhw am y syniad, a gobeithio bydd y ffasiwn beth ar gael mewn llefydd eraill yn y dyfodol hefyd.

# MEIBION GLYNDŴR — RECENT EVENTS

The Welsh holiday home bombing campaign has gone on for over ten years now. In the North Wales area alone the number of homes attacked totals well over 100 and there have also been attacks in South Wales. However in recent months those claiming responsibility, a shadowy organisation called Meibion Glyndŵr (Sons of Glendower), have changed tack and now estate agents in high streets selling holiday homes are the target, both within Wales and across the border in England. The reason for the change is fairly evident. Burning isolated holiday cottages may affect sales of holiday cottages and obviously causes inconvenience to individuals — according to estate agents it is now almost impossible to insure second homes in some areas — but the problem is that isolated cottages have little propaganda value. Attacks on high street offices, especially across the border, demand, and receive, a far wider response. It is this very intensification of attacks, including the extension of the campaign across the border to estate agents in England, that is leading to a great deal of concern and has brought the issue firmly out into the open; new urgency is given to questions of economic policy and immigration.

Condemnation of the attacks has been virtually unanimous throughout Wales from local councils, public bodies and political parties. Recently Plaid Cymru MP Dafydd Wigley warned of the danger of Wales "going down the road to Northern Ireland" and criticised the police's failure to bring the situation under control.

The Chief Constable of North Wales, David Owen, said that the comments were "incorrect and singularly unhelpful". Police deny they have been unsuccessful. They claim there have been 19 convictions in connection with the holiday homes campaign although they admit these were mainly in its early days. Puzzlingly police sources also say that a political motive was present in only a few of the cases brought to the courts. Moreover many of these convictions were of young people engaged in "copycat" actions.

Mr. Wigley added that the police should review their operation in order to make arrests and not make political "suggestions". This latter comment evidently refers to some of the spectacularly heavy handed actions of the police involving harassment of prominent nationalists. In another example David Owen recently commented that Meibion Glyndŵr's devices have increased in sophistication since, he explained, "certain groups" have had links with Sinn Féin. It was clear that he meant Cymdeithas yr Iaith, the Welsh Language Society. The Cymdeithas organised reciprocal visits with Sinn Féin in 1987. However CYIG insist that these were essentially cultural links. Furthermore they point out that such arson attacks are at variance with their avowed policy of non-violent direct action.

Such blunders by the police suggest that they lack hard evidence. This has been further underlined by the higher police profile adopted through their recent appeals on television and in the press for information. The response has been variously described by police as both "small" and "encouraging".

Encouraging or not it appears the police have been unable to track down the self-styled Meibion Glyndŵr (Sons of Glendower) and while crimes of this sort obviously present problems to investigation it is puzzling that they have not made more progress considering

the small tight knit communities in which these arsonists work. Recently an article published in a local newspaper "Yr Odyn" in the Conwy Valley stated that the reason for the failure of police to bring the bombers to justice is because local people have "sympathy with the arsonists and many express the hope that they will never be caught". One prominent politician in Wales made a comment recently that all the bombers came from one family, needless to say without further elaboration.

Plaid Cymru MP Dafydd Elis Thomas claims that it is an excuse for police to blame lack of co-operation of the public. He too called on the arsonists to desist, pointing to Plaid's policies to strengthen planning regulations, demands for money to provide housing for local people and help for people on low incomes to compete in the housing market. There have been some moves by the Welsh Office in planning regulations as a response to this.

However Ellis Thomas has recently come under the lash of Dafydd Iwan, the vice-president of Plaid Cymru and former chairman of CYIG, who claimed Elis Thomas was not taking the problem of holiday homes seriously enough. Indeed some suggest that Elis Thomas is not truly representative of Nationalist feeling. His remarks on the well-known poet R. S. Thomas further exemplify this distance from other nationalists.

The poet R. S. Thomas raised a surprisingly mild response a year ago when at a ceremony to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Penberth arson campaign (when three prominent nationalists and pacifists burnt a RAF bombing school before it was completed) the poet called for a "secret army" to defend Welsh Wales against the influx of people from over the border. Although he was suitably guarded in his response to interviews after this claiming that he had meant his words in a metaphorical sense there are claims that people in paramilitary uniform were present at the ceremony. He stated unequivocally that policies to stop the influx of people from England must be undertaken and where necessary repatriation encouraged. More controversial still he has said he admires the

bombers' bravery and, more inflammatory still, that should someone be killed in one of these attacks, that he would sympathise with the victim's family, but that it would be better for one person to die than for a whole culture to be destroyed.

Elis Thomas has been strongly criticised for his attacks on the poet, even by the most respectable elements e.g. Bedwyr Lewis Jones, professor and editor of *Taliesin*.

The arson campaign is obviously touching a raw nerve in contemporary Wales and it has focussed attention on the perceived threats to its rural communities. Debate has developed and is continuing over the buying of holiday homes being seen as a threat to the indigenous language and culture and forcing up prices of land making it more difficult for local buyers in an area where wages are notoriously low. Many would add that many dwellings which begin as holiday homes end up as permanent homes for incomers.

Holiday homes being turned into permanent residences raises a far more fundamental issue. The viewpoint is widely held that something must be done to stem the flow of people into Wales. Dafydd Wigley put it like this: the "situation of local people without jobs and without a house" is "explosive" and Plaid Cymru now propose a policy to curb development of second homes and up-market housing developments out of the range of local people. Local councils are very concerned by the influx. It is believed to be necessary to reduce it not just by the extremists but the moderates who attack them most virulently. Immigration is seen as seriously undermining the Welsh way of life. Certainly the influx does cause problems, particularly in education where schools are continually faced with expensive efforts to teach newcomers a modicum of Welsh before they go through the system. Also as many incomers are retired people it is claimed they put a greater strain on the welfare structure while weakening the areas economic position.

Importantly it is no longer merely the nationalists who are adopting this task. Richard Livsey SLD MP has warned of the dangers of immigration and Alan Williams (Labour) has also spoken out. But there is still Peter Walker, the secretary for Wales; the fact that so far Mr. Walker has made no significant comment on the matter is taken as a promising sign. Indeed changes are being conceded by the Welsh Office through the back door as it were. Concessions are being given to local authorities on planning through allowing the effect on the Welsh language to be taken into consideration when considering planning applications. This especially applies to new holiday or leisure developments and new estates intended for commuters (usually English speaking). Pressure is also mounting for powers to ensure that a house may only become a holiday home after permission has been sought for change of use.

In principle, the issues facing rural Wales are very disturbing for a variety of people. Demands are met by indifference, by misunderstanding and it is only by bringing the matter to the attention of Wales as a whole, and indeed Britain, that they will be solved, the only problem is that there seems no real will by the media to bring the matter to



# NEWS OF WALES

**Dry Sundays again?** The 7 year poll over Sunday opening in Wales is possible again this year. At the moment only Dwyfor and Ceredigion of the 36 district council areas are "dry" on Sunday. It is expected that polls will be called to "wet" these two districts and to try and "dry" out Arfer, Meirionnydd, Neath and Carmarthen.



"Wales map in wood".

Well known Bangor-based land artist, Paul Davies, uses his sculptures to make people aware of their Welsh roots and history. A member of the Beca Group — a collective of artists who surfaced 10 years ago at the Wrescam Eisteddfodd. Paul Davies says: "You will see that the work of our Beca Group, often produced collaboratively, addresses issues of Welsh and Celtic identity. We often use map imagery but also other symbols."

Recently, Paul Davies, was appointed environmental artist in residence in Merthyr Tydfil. "Latterly, I personally have moved into universal images and plan a world map for Merthyr Tydfil in South Wales, where Art, on this scale, and other cultural activities spearhead ambitious redevelopment programmes."

attention because it is perceived as merely a local problem, not a national and cultural struggle. Because Wales is so close everyone believes that they understand it. Unfortunately the only successful ploy so far has been the attacks on estate agents across the border. Future developments and the effect of the present campaign by Meibion Glyndŵr remain to be seen. But their intensification of arson attacks is a potent, if unpredictable factor in the increasingly volatile Welsh political scene.

MICHAEL COX

**Decline in the heartland:** A parent originated survey of 39 primary schools in central Ceredigion within the catchments of Aberaeron, Llanbedr pont Steffan and Tregaron secondary schools revealed that the percentage of Welsh speaking pupils has dropped from 45% in 1985 to 35% today. Only in 7 schools does the percentage rise above 50%. So parents are campaigning for an official bilingual secondary school for the area probably in Llanbedr. Tregaron school would probably close and Aberaeron become totally English medium. Of the towns in the area only Tregaron has a narrow majority of children Welsh speaking. Newquay, Aberaeron, Llanbed and Llanbydder see Welsh children a minority. There is also a case for official Welsh primary schools, such is the extent of immigration from England.

**Welsh in Schools:** In 1986 the percentage of primary school children assessed as being fluent in Welsh as either first or second language was 13.1%. The total varied from 59% in Gwynedd to 1.0% in Gwent. Whereas 52% of pupils in secondary forms I to V were being taught Welsh, the range was between 98% in Gwynedd and 8% in Gwent.

**Planning Circular:** On 20 December 1988 the Welsh Office issued Circular 53/88: "The Welsh Language: Development Plans and the Welsh Language". This at long last recognises the Welsh language to be a material consideration in determining planning applications. Policies relating to the language may be included in Structure and Local Plans, as in the new draft Structure Plan for Gwynedd.

**Support for Arson Campaign:** An opinion poll by HTV of 1,200 Welsh and English speakers in Wales showed that more than half of Welsh speakers support the aims of the holiday homes arson campaign, but not the methods — in Dwyfed support rose to 85%.

**Welsh Tertiary Education in Clwyd:** Clwyd county council is still debating how best to provide Welsh medium tertiary (16-18 year olds) education in the county. Current proposals are for a college jointly with Gwynedd in the north west, one in Wrescam in the east and a bilingual college in Dyffyn Clwyd in the centre of the county.

## Use of Welsh by High School Children

The survey of the use of Welsh by pupils in three Welsh bilingual secondary schools in South East Wales realised the following results:

Welsh better than English	61	58	46
Welsh used at home	15	41	21
Welsh used in the yard	79	44	19
Welsh regularly used out of school	26	35	13
Read Welsh books and magazines	41	34	40
Listen to "Radio Cymru"	11	20	12
Watch S4C	44	57	42

**Poor and poorest:** A survey by the Cardiff Business School showed that Welsh speaking rural Wales is amongst the poorest areas in Wales. There is in fact an East-West split from Rhyl to Bridgend excluding the upper Valley districts. In three districts of Gwynedd more than 45% of households have less than £4,000 p.a. combined incomes. Amongst the criteria used by the researchers to gauge prosperity were unemployment, low household incomes, high household incomes, unfit housing, car availability, population changes, concentration of professional people and the concentration of employers and managers in a particular district. The bottom ten include nine South Wales industrial districts and Arfon in the north.

**More immigrant information:** A recent survey by N.O.P. for H.T.V. showed that the average percentage of Welsh speakers in the 125 wards where over half of the population spoke Welsh in 1981 had fallen from 71% to 64%. Half the sample of 1,195 interviewed has lived elsewhere for at least five years and of those a fifth had moved into the area within the last two years.

**National Curriculum and Welsh:** Under the new guideline all schools in Wales, except if specially excused by the Secretary of State will have to teach Welsh either as a core or fringe subject. Currently the percentage of high school children not taking Welsh falls from 21% in Form 1 to 93% in Form 6.

**S4C Annual Report:** The output in Welsh from S4C rose from 25½ hours per week to almost 27 hours last year. It is scheduled to reach 30 hours in the early 1990's.

**Welsh Language Board:** The new Board has set up expert working groups in the field of Legislation, Marketing, Private Sector, Local Government/Public Sector and Special Projects. The Board is expected to issue a major report demanding legislative changes before the summer.

**Magazines in Welsh:** The new weekly magazine in Welsh "Golwg" has now established itself. Its presence has revitalised the formerly subsidised "Y Faner" from which it won its grant aid. The other national weekly "Y Cymro" has also been revamped. The two Gwynedd Welsh weeklies, Herald Cymraeg and Herald Môn, are now said to be profitable. However the circulation of all is pitifully low — none exceeds 5,000. There is of course no daily Welsh newspaper. However the Icelandic capital Reykjavik supports seven daily newspapers in Icelandic and the total population of Iceland is less than half the total of the Welsh speaking population of Wales.

Rhydfelen	Glan-taf	Llanhari
%	%	%
61	58	46
15	41	21
79	44	19
26	35	13
41	34	40
11	20	12
44	57	42



# EIRE

## CNOC THEAS

Ba mhaith linn go léir treaslú le Gaelscoil Sheoirse Clancy ar an gCnoc Theas i Luimneach a bhfuil aithreantas oifigiúil faighte acu ón Roinn le déanaí.

Bunaíodh an scoil Mí Meán Fomhair 1986. Bhí ainm 30 páiste bailithe le freastal air. Níor bronnadh aitheantas oifigiúil ar an scoil an t-am úd toisc gur bheartaigh an Roinn Oideachtais go ndearna an Mhódhscóil feastal sáisiúil ar an éileamh ar oideachas lánGhaeilge i Luimneach. Ní raibh sé indéanta do mhuintir an Chnoc Theas freastal ar an Mhódhscóil de bharr deacrachtaí taistil.

I 1987 tugadh aitheantas do dhá-ghaelscoil eile a bhí ag feidhmiú go neamhoifigiúil ar na cúiseanna céanna (sé sin go raibh módhscóil sa cheantar a dhéanadh an freastal cuí), ach níor bronnadh aitheantas ar Ghaelscoil Sheoirse Clancy toisc nach raibh 20 páiste acu nár fhreastal ar scoil cheana. Riail é seo a bhí ag an Roinn i gcónaí de réir dealraimh ach nár cuireadh i bhfeidhm go docht go dtí 1987.

Is féidir a thuiscint gur chuir an t-*caspa*

aitheantais lag mhisneach ar roinnt tuismitheoirí ach mar sin féin chloigh siad lena dtacaíocht don scoil. Bhí roinnt mhaith teacht agus imeacht ón cheantar ach faoi Shamhain 1988 bhí an líon daltaí a bhí de dhíth ón Roinn ag freastal ar an scoil. Tá dalta agus tríocha ag freastal ar an scoil go h-íomlán anois agus tá ceapúcháin na Phríomhoide le faomhadh ag an Roinn.

Chabhraigh an t-Achainí Náisiúnta a bhunaigh Conradh na Gaeilge i gcomhar le Gaelscoileanna chun airgead a chur ar fáil don scoil chun a gcuid costais a ghlanadh. Bhí beirt mhúinteoirí fostaithe ag na tuismitheoirí agus chomh maith le sin bhí costais cíosa, teasa, árachais agus srl. orthu.

Níl deireadh leis na fadhbanna go fóill ach is fíor ará go bhfuil bunchloch maith curtha. Tá árdmholadh ag dul don Choiste Bainistíochta a bhí ag plé leis an scoil, don Chathaoirleach An t-Ath. Seosamh de Siún agus do Sheán Ó Nuanáin, Cathaoirleach Choiste Réigiúnda Thuamhumhan Ghaelscoileanna.

Tá buíochas ag dul freisin do gach duine a chuidigh leis an Achainí Náisiúnta agus gúimíd gach ráth ar an scoil sa todhchaí.

GAELSCOILEANNA

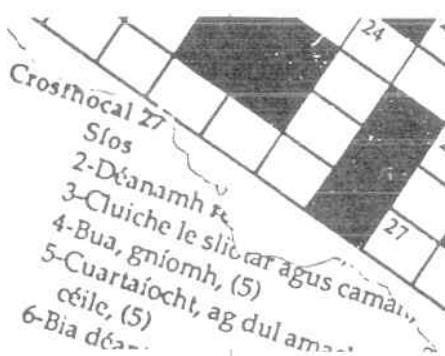
## "FITE FUAITE"

Is é "Fite Fuaite" an céad leabhar crossfhocail a foilsíodh sa Ghaeilge. Scríobhadh é ag príosúnach ó Dhoire Cholmille darbh ainm Eoghain Mac Cormaic, a daoradh chun saol sa bhliain 1977, agus atá go fóill i gCampa na Ceise Fada. Bhí "Gino", mar a thugtar air, i gcónaí gnóitheach ag scríobh leis ach, le deireadh "An Agóid Salach" agus i ndiaidh don Stailc Ocras in 1981, bhí faill aige tabhairt faoin scríbhneoireacht i ndáiríre. Ó shin i leith tá dánta, drámaí, gearrscéalta, litreacha agus altanna scríofa aige. Faoi láthair tá sé ag obair ar fhoclóir 8 dteanga, (na teanga Ceiltise, Fraincís agus Béarla), agus súil aige go bhfoilsíofar sin go luath in 1989.

D'éirigh leis, ins an leabhar crossfhocail seo, caoga chrossfhocal a chumadh a bhfuil léideanna iontu a chlúdaíonn réimse iomlán d'fhoclóireacht na Gaeilge agus atá, ag an am céanna, foirsteanach d'fhoghlaimoirí agus do chainteoirí líofa. Bheireann an réimse focail atá sa leabhar léid don leitheoir den ardchaighdeán Gaeilge atá faighte aige le linn do bheith faoi ghlas.

Cuireadh an leabhar i gcló ag "Nuacht", páipéar seachtainiúil de chuid Shinn Féin, agus tá sé le fáil anois i siopaí ar fud na tíre. Is áis úsáideach é do lucht na Gaeilge "Fite Fuaite" agus áit tuillte aige i measc leabhair Gaeilge na tíre seo.

Tá "Fite Fuaite" ar díol anois i siopaí i nDoire, i mBéal Feirste agus i mBaile Átha Cliath ar phraghas £1.80 (IR£2.00) nó ó oifigí "Nuacht" ag 147 Bóthar Bhaile Andarsan, Béal Feirste, nó ag 15 Sráid an Cabla, Doire Cholmille.



## AMHRÁIN AR AN SEANNÓS

Tá caiséad de 15 amhráin le Coilín Ó Conphaola curtha amach ag Cló Iar Chonnachta. Sé an teideal ná "Seal ag Farraingt Feamaine" agus sé an luach díolta ná £5.50. Tá go leor duaiseanna buaite ag Coilín agus tháinig sé sa tarna áit i gComórtas Seán Níos na bhfear anuraidh. Le fáil uaidh féin: Barr Roisin, Ros a Mhíl, Baile na hAbhann, Co. na Gaillimhe.

## OIDEAS GAEL

### IRISH LANGUAGE & CULTURE COURSES

Language, July 15-22, Glencolmille, £160.  
Language & Culture, July 22-29, Glencolmille, £170.  
Language, July 29-August 5, Glenfin, £160.  
Language & Culture, August 5-12, Glenfin, £170.  
Irish Heritage, July 8-15, Glencolmille, £200.  
Set Dances, July 8-15, Glencolmille, £140.

Fees are inclusive of classes, lectures, recreational and cultural events as well as accommodation. A self-catering option is available at lesser prices. Information from:

OIDEAS GAEL.

2 Ísle Harlech,

Baile Átha Cliath 14.

Teileafón: (01) 213566 or (01) 984774.

## IRISH LANGUAGE COURSES

Two-week intensive courses in spoken Irish are available in Carraroe in the Connemara Gaeltacht. They are run under the auspices of University College, Galway. The courses run for 14 days offering instruction from 10.00-21.00 daily including weekends. The fee is £200 plus accommodation from £12 a day. Dates from May onwards are May 8-21, June 12-24, July 3-15, August 7-19, October 16-28 and November 6-18.

Courses are also run for third level students with a working knowledge of the language. These run for three weeks, June 5-27, June 29-July 20 and July 24-Aug. 18. They are subsidised and consequently the cost is only £200 inclusive of tuition and accommodation.

For further information please contact:

The Centre for Language Acquisition and Maintenance,  
Áras Mháirtín Uí Chadhain,  
An Cheathrú Rua,  
Co. na Gaillimhe.  
Tel: (091) 95101/95038/95041.

OR

Bord na Gaeilge (U.C.G.),  
Coláiste na hOllscoile,  
Gaillimh. Tel. (091) 24411.

# IRISH IS IMPORTANT FOR OUR FUTURE

A major campaign to promote the Irish language was launched by Conradh na Gaeilge President, Íte Ní Chionnaith, in Dublin in February.

The campaign whose main slogan is "Irish is important for our future" redefines and explains the importance of the Irish language as the most distinctive element of our national identity and as a key to our future development. Over half a million leaflets, 40,000 posters and large quantities of other promotional material will be distributed widely throughout the country.

Branches of Conradh na Gaeilge, throughout each of the 32 counties will be distributing leaflets door-to-door, through schools and outside churches. Posters will be displayed in many shops, schools, public houses and public offices.

It was stated that this was without any exaggeration the biggest and most important campaign in support of the Irish language for very many years.

One very important aspect of this campaign is to show young people that Irish is important for them and relevant to their lives at present and in the future. Over 100,000 copies of the special leaflet entitled "Is maith linn an Ghaeilge" ("We like Irish"), incorporating the campaign logo will be distributed through the schools. These leaflets are aimed at the senior classes in Primary schools and the junior classes in Secondary Schools.

An essay competition for primary school children and second level students is also being organised. A scholarship to a Gaeltacht Summer College is the main prize in each of the three categories.

Over 100,000 badges incorporating the campaign logo are also being distributed as well as thousands of car stickers with the same logo.

## Why Irish is important

The attractive leaflet explains the importance of the Irish language in simple terms. Some of the main points are as follows:

- The Irish language is a basic and integral part of every one of us. It gives us a deeper

understanding of ourselves. It is our link with our own past.

- The Irish language is the strongest and most distinctive element of our national identity.
  - Irish gives us an independent way of looking at the world which is based on the history and experience of the Irish people.
  - Learning Irish is an important part of the development of every Irish child. We must give them the best possible opportunity to learn their own language and to gain a proper appreciation of their cultural heritage.
  - Our solutions for the future must come from within ourselves — from an attitude that we can overcome our problems, from an attitude of independence and self-reliance.
  - The maintenance and restoration of our national language is one of the most important gateways towards the regaining of that national self-confidence.
- A bilingual and an all-Irish version of the leaflets are available.

Conradh na Gaeilge has also organised a competition in conjunction with this campaign. People are asked to put 6 points relating to the importance of Irish in order of importance. Short Gaeltacht holidays in Ostán na Páirce (An Spidéal), Ostán na Sceilge (An Daingean), Ostán Cheathrú Rua, and return Aer Arann tickets for two to the Aran Islands are the main prizes as well as book-tokens and records.

Conradh na Gaeilge is confident that this campaign will be most successful.

Much help and co-operation is being received from other Irish language and cultural organisations in carrying out this important campaign. Bord na Gaeilge, Údarás na Gaeltachta, Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge, Ógras and Cumann na bhFiann have all given great support. Conradh na Gaeilge is, also, most grateful to the Department of Education for agreeing to send sample copies of the promotional literature to all schools in the State.

# COMHDHÁIL VICTORY

At the end of 1988 following a two year campaign by Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge (The national coordinating body for Irish language organisations) the Minister for Education, Mary O'Rourke T.D., undertook to implement the Comhdháil's recommendations with regard to the teaching of Irish. The recommendations were drawn up by the Comhdháil in consultation with all member organisations at the beginning of 1987 and were seen as the minimum necessary to restore Irish to its proper place in the educational system. There followed a campaign to promote the recommendations through public meetings, meetings with political parties, the teachers unions, parents associations, student bodies and representatives of church, industry and trade unions.

The first recommendation (of fourteen) asks for a public declaration from the Minister, on behalf of the Government, that the Department of Education will function with increased effort to ensure that all pupils in the State will achieve basic communication skills at least in spoken Irish. The second calls for specific responsibility on the part of the Department Secretary in implementation of this policy. Other recommendations cover the setting up of a planning and monitoring unit, syllabi of both primary and secondary level and in-service courses for teachers. It is recommended that at least one other area/subject in addition to Irish be taught through the medium of Irish in every primary and second level school. Further items deal with teaching training and recognition requirements and third level education. Finally it is also proposed that in future all computer equipment provided at State expenses for schools should henceforth be compatible with the use of Irish.

While such an acceptance of the recommendations by the Minister is to be welcomed it is essential that the momentum gained in this campaign, be maintained to ensure that they are in fact implemented.



At the launch of the campaign, from left, Meabh Ní Chléirigh (Campaign Director), Íte Ní Chionnaith (Conradh President), Proinsias Mac Aonghusa (Conradh Vice-President).

# COLOURS IN THE RAINBOW: Ecology, Socialism and Ireland

by John Goodwillie

Published by the author at 25 Mountain View Court, Harold's Cross, Dublin 6, 1988. £1.50.

From page one the author of this provocative booklet shocks us by painting a picture of the present state of the pollution of the environment, a picture worse, I'm sure, than any video-nasty.

"Food is polluted with pesticides and chemicals. Rivers and lakes are polluted with slurry and fertilisers. The air is polluted with the emissions of motor vehicles and of factories and power stations: the Moneypoint power station is now proceeding to add to the damage."

But Mr. Goodwillie is not concerned merely with saying how bad things are or with dispelling complacency. He is pointing to a possible and, perhaps, even radical way forward. He argues most cogently for the urgent forging of links between the environmentalists and socialists. He is very critical of present day (male dominated) socialism. The workers revolution is not at hand, rather they have entered, through their trades unions into a symbiotic relationship with their bosses. Left wing parties here at home are static. They offer no hope. "The socialist inspiration in Western Europe has ground to a standstill."

In the meantime other movements have manifested themselves, mainly outside and independent of the confines of socialism. Feminism, by no means new, admittedly, has made a great break through since the sixties. It is followed by the campaign for nuclear disarmament, the environmentalists, peace people and those who are seeking gay rights, one could include clergy active in the name of Liberation Theology. Most of these are making themselves felt.

"The social democratic parties and Eurocommunists are open to influence from the new social movements than the more Stalinist Communist Parties — a more broadly based socialism is required — but equally greens must consider the social implications of their ideas and see the necessity of incorporating much of the socialist heritage."

But is the letter not just wishful thinking? Left, right and centre have combined before on many issues and then gone their own ways. The combination of groups and individuals who opposed Ireland's membership of the Common Market was typical of such an alliance. Isn't the socialist sector itself, split into many opposing factions?

But "time does not stand still", warns the author, "Environmental problems are getting worse. Nuclear weapons have proliferated and the working class is as far from taking power

as ever. On the sheer basis of probability nuclear war, by accident, will occur sometime. As long as the bomb is in existence that time must be getting closer."

The author might appear to be saying, "Socialists of the world unite, you've only the world to lose" — or have I got it backwards.

There are other themes in this work particularly the destruction of man in the industrial world and its escalation.

In this booklet, Mr. Goodwillie, attempts, with considerable success to re-examine and re-assess the old ideas in the context of the new. The open-minded reader may well feel forced to do the same. There is much to think about in it and it lends itself to considerable discussion — but the time to do so is limited.

PÁDRAIG Ó CLÉIRIGH



## TIME TO GO!

A new mass movement called "Time to Go!" designed to agitate for English disengagement from Ireland, has been launched. Its charter has already been signed by many members of the Westminster Parliament representing the Labour Party, Democrats, Plaid Cymru and also by prominent personalities from many walks of life — actors and actresses, musicians, playwrights, writers, scientists, journalists, historians, lawyers, trade union officials, local councillors, community leaders, academics and others.

It is being regarded as one of the most important developments of its kind, uniting all shades of political opinion and all walks of life into one movement which recognises that there will never be peace in Ireland while the English presence remains.

"Time to Go!" as a mass movement was launched in November in London at a delegate briefing conference to which 575 delegates attended from many areas, trade unions, student unions, the Labour movement, women's organisations, Black organisations, Irish organisations and others.

The conference was opened by The Celtic League chairman, Peter Berresford Ellis, who gave a brief historical overview. He told delegates: "English imperialism has cynically created the problem in Ireland: English withdrawal from Ireland is not the solution . . . but it is the first necessary step on the road to the solution."

Other speakers who addressed the conference were Ken Livingstone, Labour MP and member of the Labour Party NEC) and Clare Short (Labour MP and also member of the Labour Party NEC). Also Kevin McCorry, founder member of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association and the recently launched Campaign for Democracy) and Dr. Bob Rowthorn, Reader in Economics at Cambridge University, author of "Northern Ireland: Political Economy of Conflict".

## EURO-ELECTION

Raymond Crotty whose Supreme Court victory led to the S.E.A. referendum is to stand in the forthcoming European Parliament elections. In a statement Mr. Crotty said: "Despite the fact that the SEA was ratified in the 1987 referendum by less than one-third of the electorate, and that 30% of those voting — 35% in Dublin — said No to changing the Constitution, the leaders of the main political parties in Dáil Éireann remain wholly committed to deeper involvement in, and greater dependence on, the EEC. The views of those who do not want to go deeper into the EEC or move towards European Union are in effect not being represented."

In recent months I have been approached by many people, including a number identified with welfare, community and Third World activities, suggesting that I contest the Dublin constituency in next June's European Parliament elections. Their common theme is that I should seek to represent the concerns of people about the effects on jobs, neutrality and democracy on the moves towards European Political Union now being openly canvassed. With the support of a number of people who have come together in a movement to defend and advance Irish citizens' rights in relation to the EEC, I have agreed to do this. A condition of my agreement has been that, if elected an MEP, all monies received in respect of salary and expenses should be managed by the trustees for public purposes — and particularly for encouraging a more critical public attitude to any deeper EEC involvement — and that I should be remunerated at a salary equivalent to the national average industrial wage, with minimal expenses."

## NEW NATIONAL RADIO STATION

Conradh na Gaeilge has written to The Independent Radio and Television Commission urging it to stress the importance of Irish language programming and of programmes relating to Irish culture in all of the broadcasting contracts it enters into.

In its letter to the Commission, An Conradh laid stress on the obligations relating to the Irish language which are contained in the Radio and Television Bill as passed by the Dáil and Seanad.

Conradh na Gaeilge notes that Century Communications Ltd., in its public submission to the Independent Radio and Television Commission, stated that they would have a "learn a phrase a day" scheme to develop people's knowledge of the Irish language and would develop other Irish language programmes. They did not say what these programmes would be developed, how many of them would be broadcast each day, the schedule times they would be allotted etc.

The fact that that company has been selected to run the new independent national radio station highlights the need, in Conradh's view, for specific obligations relating to Irish language programmes to be put in the broadcasting contract.



# KERNOW

## DAREVAS SAWINYANS THURT KERNOW

**Teere ha Tavaz** a vee dallathez en meez Mea 1986 gen towl sowya ha maintainya hengo Kernow en pub vor drolga boaz, rag servya vel crease deskans ha venton darevas war maters teithiack. Idn favour an whealma a cawas an tavaz Cornoack, specyall an tavaz dewathez buz gen goolack war gweall deean an Cornoack thurt kenefra oyde. Deaw levar deskans vee towlez ha wharrez, nebbaz assayis ha dowes ledan a gartednow-post. Enurma wheal parra geerlevar ha levar grammar ew gillez pell araag.

En meez Due 1988 **Teere ha Tavaz** reeg humgomeras rag parth pub zeithan en **Gwethyas Cornoack**, "The Cornish Guardian", dadn hanaw LAND AND LANGUAGE, en form kemesk war an gweall teithiack, sengez etn deskaz en tavaz. Andella, ma an Cornoack dreiz tho 38,000 a ridders kenefra zeithan.

En Kidniath rish deskans war istory Kernow vee sengez tho Tregill en pleau Venheniot dadn deskadgath Dr Philip Payton. Mesk an brogowthers leeb vee creiez tho cowz vel ostigy e fee Dr. Myrna Combellack leeb gowsaz war an gwary "Bounas Meriageth", Dr. James Whetter war an many Bodrigan, Peter Berresford Ellis leeb reeg gweetha nye dadn soon der e brogath war an rebellyans a 1497, ha Philip Payton e hunnen leeb gowsaz dro thon stenners han devroansow broaze.

Nessa rish thallathaz en meez Jenuar, 17vaz journa. Philip Payton lavarras thedn mouy war an deez bal, ha Bernard Deacon, cheef othor an levar "Cornwall at the Crossroads", a roze queedy convethians an hunneniath

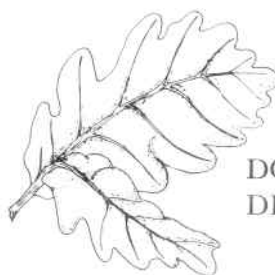
Cornoack hithew. Mesk an brogowthers erel ra boaz Dr. A. L. Rowse, istoryer gerriez an oyde Teudar, leeb vedn clappya dro thon many Colenso. Adrian Lee war istory pobel ha state, ha Jan Gendall leeb vedn comparya dewyowoniath Cornoack ort hedda kene powyow Keltack.

Sawinyans an resega ell boaz judgyez thurt boaz pub class quoffez.

Pub deskaz ha pub servis eeze profygez gen **Teere ha Tavaz** ew heb arveth, atter cost an daffer po hedda provygez, rag ther a nye crege tra gothe thon ertach boaz opeiz thon bobel Gornoack andella. Os hedda ma ry mean gollan thedn gallos darevas boaz receivez gen **Teere ha Tavaz** nebbaz rohow thurt teez keef a eeze mennas tha nye fara en taa. Kenza deaw vlethan ha hanter an bounas a **Teere ha Tavaz** a vee preze sawinyans, han termen vedn doaz ew spladn.

RICHARD GENDALL

*Summary: "Teere ha Tavaz" was founded to foster the traditions and heritage of Cornwall. The first 2½ years of its life have been marked by success and progress. Language courses have been published at cost price and a wide selection of language post-cards. Work on dictionaries is well in hand. The group has become responsible for a weekly column in "The Cornish Guardian" covering traditions and language lessons. Free history courses have been held throughout the winter with well-known guest speakers. The future of "Teere ha Tavaz" is full of promise.*



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## INTENSIVE CORNISH LANGUAGE COURSES SUMMER 1989

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP VISITS  
WELCOME AT THE NEW CORNISH  
LANGUAGE STUDY AND RESOURCE  
CENTRE

**AN GRESEN GERNEWK** — The Cornish Language and Resource Centre — has been created to provide courses, accurate information and resources for those who wish to learn about all things Cornish in Cornwall. The centre has a relaxed, informal atmosphere and visitors are welcome (by appointment) with anything from the simplest enquiry to a detailed research project. Intensive week-long language courses are available in the summer. Bed and Breakfast and guides to places and people of interest in Cornwall can also be provided throughout the year at reasonable rates for visitors especially interested in Cornwall and its Celtic Heritage.

**AN GRESEN** works closely with **COWETHAS AN YETH KERNEWK** (the Cornish Language Fellowship) and **DALLETH** (the children's language movement) as well as the Education Committee of **KESVA AN TAVES KERNEWK** (The Cornish Language Board) to teach and promote the Cornish language. Young people are especially encouraged and help with Cornish language and Cornish studies projects can be arranged.

The facilities at the centre include an extensive library of books, archive material, slides, tapes, videos and teaching aids. **AN GRESEN** can provide information on Cornish and Celtic culture along with details of Cornish language classes, courses and activities. There is a large range of books and tapes for sale including some out-of-print and second-hand books. Photocopying, duplicating and word processing facilities are available and rooms can be hired at reasonable cost.

Activities at **AN GRESEN** include residential Fun Schools for children, intensive Cornish courses, language classes and study days, visits from Celtic groups, as well as evening cultural events, lectures and seminars. Residential accommodation can be provided for course participants, interested groups and individuals.

For further information please contact Loveday Jenkin at **AN GRESEN GERNEWK, TREGARNE, CUSGARNE, TRURO, KERNOW/CORNWALL**. Tel. 0872 864157.

# CORNISH PAST

## "YOU DON'T KNOW WHERE YOU ARE GOING, IF YOU DON'T KNOW WHERE YOU'VE BEEN"

The great rejoicing at Redruth in January when Cornwall took Warwickshire to "Hell Fire Corner" at Redruth Rugby ground and surged into the final of the County Rugby Championships was great to see. And a stranger watching the T.V. reports seeing the Cornish banner of St Piran being waved all over the field might have thought that here was a crowd of patriotic people flying high their own flag and in many cases speaking their own tongue, as I hear that "Kernow Kernow" was heard all over the field. How wrong would they have been, I wonder? How many of those rugby supporters will vote for Mebyon Kernow, the only Cornish political party in this year's Euro elections?

How many Cornish, 20 years ago, stood behind the dedicated people who worked so hard in the Cornish organisations to encourage the Cornish people to band together and obtain fulfilment through their own efforts? Lest we forget, there have been many true Cornish men and women who worked hard and gave much to give Cornwall a chance to have a say in its own destiny. Sad to say, most Cornish wasted this wonderful opportunity, even tended to ridicule "those old Nationalists". Though they had been brainwashed for so many years by the English establishment, surely they must have known in their hearts that there was a need for the Cornish Nationalist, those dedicated people who peacefully agitated against alien forces all Cornishmen HATE?

Now, when so many Cornish people bemoan what they have lost and are desperate to see the survival of a Cornish Cornwall, I ask them the question: "Why did you not vote for your own party, M.K. or C.N.P.? You could have had five Cornishmen speaking out for you in Westminster now." And they reply with shame: "Yes, I know we should have."

Yet, I wonder how much they really know, because YOU DON'T KNOW WHERE YOU ARE GOING, IF YOU DON'T KNOW WHERE YOU'VE BEEN. Neglecting to teach Cornish history in our schools caused a great weakness in Cornish resolve; the past is a need of the spirit, and the education system made sure that the Cornish spirit was crushed. A great pity, this, as just think how the gullible Cornish would have soaked up all that wonderful Celtic history if it had been taught to them by an English teacher, and how well they could have used it to good effect later.

Now, when you tell some Cornish that they are Celts and have a history, they want to believe you but, then there is always that feeling of wanting to belong to the "master race"; subjugation is second nature to them now. Also, there is the feeling that because it comes from a Cornish person, it may not be correct. Perhaps if it had come from an English person . . . ? Are they afraid of ridicule? The type which made them learn to say "lunch" instead of "dinner", that made

them neglect all their old dialect words and Cornish manner of speech, and turned so many dear unpretentious clever Cornish people into caricatures of suburban English people, that oh so dull and uninteresting arrogant breed.

I can forgive the young of today who ape "Eastenders", and other T.V. programmes; that is a natural occurrence. However, I find it hard to forgive the older generations who sweat blood and tears to rid themselves of their country's way of speech for some odd snobbery's sake; that was a pathetic thing for a Celtic nation to do.

And perhaps I can forgive the Cornish who were given no past, so saw no future. Those I find hard to understand are the ones who did know and did nothing about it. Sir Arthur Quiller Couch in his "From a Cornish Window" writes: "Unless Cornishmen look to it their country will be spoilt". Yet despite his despair at what he saw happening in Cornwall, he said: "I confess with shame that I temporised". Ah yes, so many did just that, the very people who should have led us with their knowledge and abilities, in the main, joined forces with the English to submerge the Cornish identity under an Anglo-American type of culture. They joined the Council for the Preservation of Rural England rather than M.K. and voted outsiders on to Committees and Councils rather than keeping a Cornish dimension in the corridors of power.

What is it that makes the Cornish so servile to the outsider? It could be that they have always responded to strangers with that modesty which is the first secret of fine manners. It reminds me of the story of Mayow whom Kingston hanged at a tavern post in St. Columb. As his crime was not a capital one, his wife was advised to hurry to the town to plead for her husband's life. To render herself a more amiable petitioner in the Marshal's eyes, she spent some time attiring herself in fashionable clothing. She took so long, her husband was put to death before her arrival.

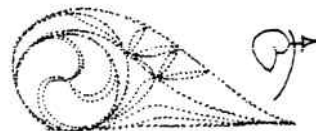
Perhaps too many Cornish have been so over the years being amiable to the outsider, they have ignored the death of the Cornwall we know.

Some have recently decided to think about our sad destiny, not I fear from a feeling of nationalistic pride, more perhaps because they are in fear of losing the view from their windows. The old Cornish Nationalist is not part of their world, nor is voting M.K. or joining the Celtic League, yet our own political party and a strong Branch of the Celtic League is the only way ahead for Cornwall. So called "Conferences on Cornwall" prefer to give the London-based political parties a platform, whilst our own political parties are ignored, and therefore weakened.

We must spread the word, we must stand up and be counted, because despite the centuries of political and cultural subjugation

and all the outrages we have endured, there is still a courage and tenacity and a dogged refusal to lie down, in Cornish hearts. This must ensure that the struggle for the survival of a Celtic Cornish identity can be won. There is an old Gaelic proverb which says: "Three things to beware of, the horns of a stag, the hooves of a stallion and the smile of an Englishman". I would add a fourth for us: "A conditioned Janner". They are our weakness and always have been. They don't like the outsiders and their ways, yet will join forces with them against their Cornish brother any day of the week. It is as if they do not have the grit to carry through what is in their hearts. They back down under the swagger of the outsider. We have got to reach out into their hearts and try to release them from the chains they inherited from their ancestors. Only then will we carry the pride of Cornwall, and being Cornish, into the Hell Fire Corners of every part of this Celtic land.

LOWENNA.



## CROSSROADS OR CROSSTALK?

January saw a number of developments on the planning front. It was marked by the official launch of the book "Cornwall at the crossroads" (see CARN 64) and the EIP (Examination in Public) of the Cornwall Structure Plan. At the same time the Tregothnan Estate owned by Lord Falmouth (the Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall), announced plans to develop land at Wheal Busy.

All three items reflect the divergence of opinion over Cornwall's future. The Wheal Busy proposals follow in the footsteps of Peter de Savary's plans for Hayle. This proposed development includes plans to build 1,750 houses, create an airstrip and provide an estimated 5,500 jobs. The probability is that of the various elements in the scheme only the housing will go ahead. However at present the local populace have not seen fit to imitate the people of Hayle in succumbing to the blandishments of the developers.

The EIP procedure touched on a number of the problems facing Cornwall today. However the format as such neither allowed for a full debate or covered all subjects. The major omission was transport policy, a topic which many consider plays a critical role in encouraging in-migration. The list of people invited to participate in the proceedings made interesting reading. Cornwall Council who are responsible for producing the Structure plan were there, together with the six District Councils. The Cornish perspective was put by three groups: CASP (Cornwall Against the Structure Plan), CoSERG (Cornish Social and Economic Group), and the Cornish Green Party.

Housing was the most controversial facet of the EIP. Three main groups emerged — the House-Builders Federation together with North Cornwall and Restormel District Councils, who wanted the housing allocation increased to 45,500; four of the Districts who supported the Cornwall Council's figure of 33,000, and the Cornish groups arguing for a reduction in the figures. Of these CoSERG suggested a maximum figure of 25,500 and a lower one of 14,000.

Other items under discussion were tourism, employment, minerals and shopping. The tourism debate showed the enormous gulf that exists between the established viewpoint and its opponents. The official line is that tourism is a "good thing". The Cornish groups had a rather more critical approach pointing out the harmful effects of the industry. In the short-term — low wages, seasonal work etc. and in the long-term — encouraging immigration on a massive scale leading to the demise of the Cornish people and culture.

The EIP was for the outsider seemingly a matter of simply arguing about figures — the number of houses, potential jobs, or tourists visiting Cornwall over the past decade. Most people in the street were probably unaware of these arguments, regarding them as totally irrelevant to everyday life. In one sense this is a correct interpretation of events. EIP's are structured to consider only a limited range of subjects. Even if the panel agreed with the views put forward by those presenting a Cornish angle, the Secretary of State can simply rewrite the Structure Plan as he sees fit.

There will now be a period of waiting to see what amendments the Secretary of State will make. If as seems likely he pushes up the housing allocation, what will happen? If such a policy were implemented the problems of chronic unemployment and lack of housing will only get worse. Will this lead to a major protest by the Cornish people, will the lack of effective opposition to Thatcherism create an opening for the nationalist parties to exploit? What will the role of CASP and CoSERG be in the future?

PETER WILLS

## PERRANPORTH CONFERENCE

The Kernow Branch is helping organise the first day of the Perranporth Conference on Saturday, 20th May which will be held at the Ponsmere Hotel, Perranporth. The day's proceedings will be entirely devoted to all aspects of the Celtic League and the guest speakers will include the Chairman, Peter Berresford Ellis and the General Secretary, Davyth Fear. It is hoped that as many League members as possible will be able to attend on 20th May. Also friends of League members will be made welcome. For further details, and possible accommodation, please contact the Kernow Branch Secretary: Alison Nicholls, 4 Paul Lane, Mousehole, Penzance, Kernow.

## OFFICIAL VISIT TO CORNISH BRANCH

The Cornish Branch, C.L., was visited in November by the League's chairman, Peter Berresford Ellis, accompanied by Director of Information, Séamas Ó Coileáin. The meeting, held at "Teere ha Tavaz", the Cornish Centre at Tregliff Vean, Menheniot, attracted a fairly good turnout.

Berresford Ellis made it clear that he had not come to "preach at" the Cornish Branch but to listen to their problems and try to answer their questions. It was his policy in the ensuing year, as well as that of the new General Secretary and the Director of Information, to try to establish personal contacts with all branches and to bring the branches into a closer relationship with each other.

It emerged at the meeting that Cornwall was suffering from bitter factionalisation within the national movement, between differing political groups and between language groups, now split into followers of Unified, Phonemic and Traditional or Cornocak. These differences emerged during a lively discussion at the meeting.

Berresford Ellis, summing up, said that the meeting had given an excellent demonstration

of what the Celtic League was in business for: to provide a forum of debate between the various factions and to seek to bring them together on a common ground, to discuss and agree on a common way forward. The League had a vital part to play in Cornwall, particularly during this difficult period of the development of the national movement. He urged members to take the spirit of their common concern for the welfare of the Cornish people from the Tregliff Vean meeting and use it to engender further meetings with the search for unity. The League was not just another "faction" within the Cornish national movement but stood above factionalisation.

He urged the Branch to develop two strategies, one a long term one aimed at 1992 when, if the opportunity were seized, Cornwall's grievances could reach a broader, international stage within Europe, and a short term strategy of campaigns which would provide a boost to morale and create publicity and increased membership. Above all, he urged the Branch to use their broadbase to act as a bridge between the diverse groups within the national movement.

## DYSKYN KERNEWEK

### The Cornish Correspondence Course

**DYSKYN KERNEWEK** (Let's Learn Cornish) is a complete course, arranged in two ascending grades, which can be studied separately over two successive academic years or, if the student so desires, run continuously with a minimal break throughout the entire

course. It has been designed by a Cornish speaker of the language, who is a Language Bard of the Cornish Gorsyth, and who uses Cornish everyday as his common tongue. It is simply laid out, easy to follow and is provided with a pronunciation guide. For further details of course commencements, write to: **ROD LYON, Gwel an Meneth, Nancegollan, Helston, Cornwall U.K.**

## CORNISH BUREAU FOR EUROPEAN RELATIONS

In June, 1987, two members of the Conference on Cornwall, Mrs. Rita Tregellas Pope and Miss Catherine Rachel John, attended the conference organised by the Foundation for International Understanding held at Copenhagen as representatives of Cornwall. So enthusiastically were they received by the other delegates and so relevant to Cornwall's problems were the matters discussed that they returned home, convinced that Cornwall urgently needed a presence in Europe.

Accordingly, the Conference gathered together a small group who, with our Member of the European Parliament, Christopher Beazley, discussed Cornwall's position vis-à-vis the constitutional, legal, social and environmental developments in the various capital cities/centres of Europe. This group then decided to form a body of persons who would seek for Cornwall the status of an historic region of Europe to submit to and receive from the various organisations in Europe material relevant to the

Cornwall/Europe relationship. They would also seek to be represented at meetings in any Continental organisations with similar aspirations.

This body of persons is known as CoBER — the acronym for CORNISH BUREAU FOR EUROPEAN RELATIONS — and meets regularly at OLD SCHOOL HOUSE, MYLOR BRIDGE, FALMOUTH. Tel: FALMOUTH (0326) 72736. John Fleet is the Secretary and oversees the day to day running of the Bureau. The CoBER library of European information is also held in the Mylor Bridge office and can be seen at any time by prior arrangement on the telephone.

As well as the regular meetings of the secretariat there are also monthly team meetings where future plans and actions are discussed and allocated. The team are in the process of preparing papers for submission to relevant organisations on the Continent and where appropriate, these are submitted through our MEP, while others are printed direct.

In this way, Cornwall's links with other European regions are being strengthened and developed and at the same time, CoBER is working on plans to bring all relevant news from the Continent to Cornwall.



# MANNNIN

## CHENGAGHYN CELTIAGH AYNS SCOILLYN

Neayr's ny laghyn va paitchyn eginit goll gys y scoill son y chied cheayrt. ta ny chengaghyn Celtiaagh er surranse dy mooar. Myr ta fys ayd, va shoh er y fa dy row (as dy vel) reiltyssyn joarree gymmydey ny scoillyn dy varroo chengaghyn ashoonagh ny Celtiaagh. Shione dooin nagh vel ny scoillyn ooilley niartal as aignaghyn paitchyn goll er kiaddey. Agh ta ny scoillyn feer scanshoil as shegin dooin jannoo nyn gooid share dy chur Celtiaaghys stiagh ayndaue. Tra va'n steat Yernagh currit er bun, smooinee ram Yernee dy noddagh yn chengey oc ve aavioghit liorish ny scoillyn nyn lomarcan, bunnys. Agh ta fys ain nish nagh ren shen taghyrt. T'eh fassanagh dy yannoo craid nish mysh yn eab niartal va jeant ayns Nerin dy aa-vioghey yn chengey. Tra t'ou geaishtagh rish paart dy 'leih, yinnagh oo smooingaghyn nagh row speideilys erbee ec ny Yernee. Va speideilys dy liooar oc, kiart dy liooar. Ta Yernish vie ec thousanenyn dy 'leih as hooar ad y Yernish shen ayns ny scoillyn.

Ec y traa t'ayn, ta reilys Sostnagh y Thooder soiet er chur er bun red t'ad gra "curriglym ashoonagh" (national curriculum) rish. Myr dy kinjagh, son "ashoon" toig Sostyn. Tra va reilys Hostyn loayrt mysh shoh hoshiaht, cha row ad son lhiggey da Bretinsh ve sy churriaglym "ashoonagh" ayns y Thalloo Vretnagh! Agh va sleih gaccan dy lajer as nish ta'n Vretnish "lowit", bwooise da Jee (ta shen dy ghra, bwooise da'n ardleeideilagh, y Thooder). Myr dy cliaghtagh, cha nel y sleih oikoil coontey monney jeh Yernish ayns Twoaie Nerin sy resoonaght shoh mychione y churriaglym "ashoonagh". Cha nel eh cho olk as v'eh ayns ny shenn laghyn tra va'n Yernish coontit dy ve myr chengey ny apaghyn (ga dy vel ymmodee sleih almoragh foast smooingaghyn myr shoh). Ta claar ny jees ayns Yernish er ve er y radio ayns Twoaie Nerin er y gherrit as ta paart dy politickeyryn mastey ny Unnaneyseyryn goaill rish dy vel y chengey scanshoil ayns bea ny cheerey.

Agh ny yeih shen as ooilley, ta'n shenn noidys foast ayn, ga dy vel eh fo cloagey jeh "ymmydoilid" — cha nel Yernish "ymmydoil" as myr shen t'ou beggan keoi my t'ou gysaghey ec. Er y hon shen shegin dooin goaill aggle dy bee assee dy liooar jeant da'n chengey dy jeeragh tra va treisht ayn dy

row reddyn sharaghey. As ooilley kyndagh rish y resoonaght mysh y churriaglym "ashoonagh" ayns Sostyn. Ayns Twoaie Nerin, t'eh jeeaghyn dy vel y fer ta stiurey coorseyn ynsee ayns shen slane soiet er reddyn vees cur yn olk er y chengey. Myr sampleyr, bee eh feer ghoillee dy yannoo studeyrers er Yernish ec leval-A my t'ou laccal jannoo studeyrers er reddyn goll rish earroodys (computing). Son shickyrys, ta'n reih doillee shoh er ve ayn son bleecantyn, agh t'eh gaase ny smessey nish.

Ta mee er lhaih dy vel curriglym "ashoonagh" ec Mannin nish. Foddym credjal nagh been monney Manninaghys ayn. my ta! Y sleih ta reill harrish Sostyn nish, surrys enn nagh vel graih oc er yn ynsaght. She sleih barbaragh, almoragh t'ayn. Sleih ta currit da'n argid as da pooar. Cha nel reilys Hostyn laccal y theay ta fo'n smaght oc dy ve mie ynsit: ta shen ro ghaueagh, ghooiney. Ta reilys Hostyn laccal y theay dy ve abyl lhaih as screeu stoo aashagh as dy choontey as shen ooilley, t'eh jeeaghyn. As ta lught y Thooder imneagh dy vel y sorch kiart dy hennaghys goll er ynsaghey ayns ny scoillyn ta fo'n smaght oc. Shennaghys ta biallagh rish ashoonaghys Sostnagh, shen y sorch dy hennaghys t'ad laccal. Ga nagh vel Mannin dy jeeragh fo smaght Hostyn, cha nod oo gra dy vel Mannin seyr, erskyn ooilley ayns cooishyn cultooroil. Ta mee goaill aggle dy vel ny moddee keoi ta stiurey Lunnin ec y traa t'ayn jannoo lheid y brock dy bee eh feer ghoillee dy chiertaghey eh tra vees y Thooder ayns yn oaie.

Ny yeih shen as ooilley, ta caa ayn dy bee Mannin scapail veih paart jeh ny reddyn agglagh ta taghyrt ayns ny scoillyn as colleishyn ayns Sostyn as Bretin ec y traa t'ayn. Erskyn ooilley, cha nel stoo-ynsee Manninagh dy liooar er mayrn foast. Cha nodmayd ve gaccan ro lajer mysh y chooish er y fa dy nhegin dooinyn, ny Manninee Gailckagh, y stoo-ynsee y chroo. Red ta shin laccal dy tappee, shen coorse GCSE ayns Gailck. Ta mee credjal dy vel ny coorseyn GCSE ayns chengaghyn ny share na ny shenn choorseyn leval-O. Va ny coorseyn shoh currit da'n chengey screcut as da reillyn gramadagh. Va shoh feer vie er agh ennagh, agh cha row eh foaysagh dauesyn va laccal gysaghey chengey dy loayrt ee er agh dooghyssagh gagh laa. Shimmey peiagh hooar leval-O ayns Frangish nagh row abyl kionnaghey cappan dy chaffee sy Rank. Er lhiam dy bee coorse GCSE jannoo foays da'n Gailck er y fa dy bee lheid y coorse cooie da feallagh aeg as da sleih shinney neesht.

Cha nodmayd croghey er yn chorys (system) oikoil ayns Mannin. Son shickyrys, shegin dooin streeu car y traa dy haraghey eh.

Agh sy jerrey ta shin nyn lomarcan. T'eh jeeaghyn dy beemayd eginit ny fir as mraane-ynsee Gailckagh y hraenal dooin hene, cheumooie jeh'n chorys oikoil. Dy beagh yn argid ain, oddagh shin jannoo obbyr niartal son y Gailck as cultoor Vannin cheummoie jeh'n chorys oikoil. Agh cha nodmayd jannoo mirrilyn.

*Celtic languages and cultures have suffered ever since compulsory education was introduced. The so-called "national curriculum" being forcibly introduced by the English government is a new menace. While every effort must be made to modify state education schemes and work with them, parallel efforts must be mounted to work outside state schemes.*

BRIAN MAC STOYLL

## A MANX CONNECTION?

A documentary, the "Bandung File" shown on Channel Four in January this year made it perfectly clear what many people know in their hearts to be true — that International Banking and laundering of illegal drugs money, are inextricably linked. Global banking networks and global drugs organisations are inter-dependent. The Bank of Credit and Commerce International, which has operations world-wide, including the Isle of Man, has had nine of its officials indicted in the U.S.A. for laundering of illegal drugs money, and a trial is to be conducted later this year.

The programme exposed the sophisticated methods used by international banking organisations for cleaning up profits from drug traffickers, using off-shore centres for greater anonymity and tax havens for greater profit.

International banking relies utterly on maintaining confidence, so they protect each other. Governments connive, either because they won't provide or have not the resources to prevent it.

What it boils down to is this: are governments prepared to relieve the sum of human misery by stopping it, or do they believe the profit motive to be paramount? — a rhetorical question.

The real question is — do we wish to live off other people's misery?

CRISTL JERRY

# ARSON CAMPAIGN AGAINST INVASION

In the past twenty-five years Mannin has felt the impact of two massive waves of enforced immigration as a result of economic policies implemented by the Manx Government.

The Tax Haven Policy and The New Resident Policy were first implemented in Mann in the early sixties as part of an economic revival programme. At that time these policies were strongly opposed by Mee Vannin (The Nationalist Party) and by the early seventies, Fo Halloo (Underground movement) had arrived on the scene. Its alleged activities included the burning down of a luxury dwelling at Ballabridson in Ballasalla, arson and sabotage at building sites, and other publicity-oriented activities, e.g. daubing, firey crosses etc.

Generally Manx national pride and indignation was aroused as new residents flooded in causing land and property speculation with the direct effect of homelessness, evictions and discrimination against the indigenous population.

In the 1976 General Election the Manx voters ousted over two-thirds of the sitting members of the House of Keys (M.H.Ks) with one nationalist gaining a seat. Other independent newcomers had even felt it necessary to express some nationalist sentiments. Unfortunately, but predictably, these new politicians turned out only to be election-time nationalists. A pattern which continues to this day; with most aspiring politicians declaring themselves nationalist in order to gain a seat in the Keys.

As outright support and pursuance of the above mentioned policies faded into the background, so too did Mee Vannin and nationalist feeling generally.

The more recent influx of the eighties began quietly with no vociferous advocates of the Tax Haven Policy in Tynwald (Parliament), nor sadly, any opponents, only 24 "Noddies", who by their silence condoned the sure destruction of the Manx nation.

Opposition from outside Tynwald came from Mee Vannin, the Celtic League (Mannin) and The Society of the Preservation of the Manx Countryside. However, the campaigns mounted by these groups were generally low-key. Some strong opposition came from the labour movement in the form of the Manx Transport and General Workers' Union. In a low wage economy the Manx worker was the first to feel the impact. In addition, some sectors of the Manx press highlighted the plight of the homeless who were being evicted as properties were bought up to be turned into finance houses.

The Manx people began to question Tynwald's forecasts that a population of 75,000 was tolerable. With the Manx-born numbering only 33% after the influx of the sixties and seventies, the threat to national identity this time could only be catastrophic. What had been a fight to revive the language and customs was in danger of becoming a farce; relegated to a hobby for the quaint and eccentric.

In response to the public outcry Tynwald set up the Social Issues Committee to look at ways to slow down the increase in population to the proposed Government level of 75,000. The Consultative Document which was produced by the Committee has too many anomalies to be truly effective, as is typical of any proposals from a body set up to investigate its own ideologies.

By deliberately ignoring public concern Tynwald precipitated the move towards underground activities which came in the form of the F.S.F.O. campaign.

Nobody seems quite certain what F.S.F.O. stands for, one interpretation "Financial Sector — Foreigners Out" seems most appropriate.



Fire damage on £160,000 houses at Beechwood Rise, Tromode.

A mainly publicity-oriented slogan campaign, begun in the latter part of 1987, quickly attracted media attention. The F.S.F.O. campaign sadly lacked any political voice but for some it was not hard to guess at, and sympathise with, its aims and motives.

The F.S.F.O. campaign came to an abrupt halt on the night of November 22, 1988, when three men, Gregory Joughin, Philip Gawne and Chris Sheard were detained by the police for questioning after a fire attack on 3 (£160,000) luxury dwellings at Tromode, near Douglas. They, Ny Trorr Tromode (The Tromode Three), face a total of 17 charges including arson and criminal damage. Also included in the charges are damaging a partially built house at Glenvine and the spectacular daubing of Beary Mountain and Tynwald Fairfield just prior to the 1988 Tynwald (Open air Parliament at St. Johns).

Ny Trorr Tromode were taken into custody early on the evening of November 22nd. They

have been on remand since that time. To this writers knowledge, having spoken to them, one at least did not see a lawyer for more than 48 hours, nor could concerned friends contact a lawyer "free" to visit the other two until the early hours of the morning of the 23rd November. Under these circumstances it seems hardly surprising that the police, who were under pressure from certain quarters, were able to make swift headway in their investigations.

Ny Trorr Tromode have apparently admitted their responsibility and state quite categorically that they were acting as a group independent of any political affiliations. After they were taken into custody some sympathisers continued to campaign. However, the group are at pains to distance themselves from a very misguided group calling itself The Manx National Front.

To many Manx people it seems easy to understand the frustrations which led to their alleged actions. Unlike the Manx press, who dubbed them "nationalist firebugs", the decision to begin a campaign of non-violent direct action, directed against property rather than against the individual was an inevitable.

completely justified and natural response to the massive assault against the rights and interests of the Manx people.

The arson campaign was a campaign against injustice. The alleged actions of Ny Trorr Tromode are not "crimes". They are political acts of national self-defence. As such these actions enjoy a considerable amount of public support and sympathy.

Whether or not they (2 of whom are Celtic League members) are found guilty of the alleged crimes when they appear in court in mid-March, Chris Sheard, Gregory Joughin and Phil Gawne deserve solidarity and support.

Ultimate responsibility for the arson campaign lies with the Manx Government which pushed these three ordinarily law-abiding Manx men to extreme non-violent action.

P. A. BRIDSON





David Stephens



Gregory Joughan



Chris Sheard

## STATEMENTS

**It is understood that the statements made at the trial express the sentiments outlined hereunder.**

We believe that it was necessary for someone to demonstrate the strength of feeling of the many Manks people against the fundamental social and cultural transformation/change which is taking place here. We could not stand by while the unique traditions and values which have grown up over the centuries, were allowed to vanish overnight for the sake of short term economic gain/success, only to be replaced by a spiritually barren, fundamentally materialistic society. Economic policy should be a tool for satisfying basic human requirements of food, clothing, healthcare and housing. Over here, it (materialism) has in recent years, been elevated to the status of godhead. It now seems there is no higher goal than economic growth for growth's sake, regardless of consequences. At this altar the "Manksness of Mann" has been almost irredeemably sacrificed. Even the concept of a Manks nation has been tacitly abandoned in favour of an economic vision — I.O.M.P.L.C.

We are Manks and felt compelled to protect our birthright and that of our offspring — our right to be Manks and live in a society that is distinctly Manks; one which knows and respects its past and traditions and draws strength, direction and common purpose from this knowledge/self-awareness. We are not against change or progress; only those changes which sever this continuity of past and present.

We acted because we believe that those in power have given up on the Manks people and abandoned them to the wind of market forces. They no longer believe that a revival of Manks fortunes can come from within ourselves, but have to be artificially grafted on from the outside. Some of the results are plain to see: An artificial scarcity of houses has been created by the uncontrolled inrush of wealthy new residents/outside, while Manks people are forced to scramble for the few houses left,

or emigrate.

The houses which we damaged by fire, were to us potent symbols of the new society and new wealth which is distorting Manks life. The homelessness, rising property prices which are beyond the reach of ordinary people, despoilation of the landscape and the development of a two-tier society without real roots in Mann, are all symbols of the malaise.

Our protests were intended to signal this discontent in a manner which could not be ignored. We had no ulterior motives beyond protecting what is rightfully ours. We were not part of any nationalist conspiracy, nor were we promoting any political cause/ambitions, or pursuing personal grudges. We simply acted as three deeply concerned Manksmen in defence of our way of life.

Some people will find it difficult to understand what drove three otherwise lawabiding citizens to resort to the strong, illegal methods of protests we used. At the time we could see no other way of effectively influencing the course of events. People were already writing letters which were being ignored. The only people our decision makers seem to listen to are those who accept their utilitarian economic rationale and perception of the common good, i.e. it's only possible to quibble with the details of what is going on, but not to question the underlying assumptions. We believed that the only way to break through the official veil of silence concerning the consequences of government economic and social policies, was to commit some newsworthy deed which would act as a focus for the discontent that many people were feeling but could not express. We accept that we may have gone too far, but on the other hand, it is only because we went that far, that the problem has been brought into the spotlight of public debate.

Extreme care was taken at all times to ensure that the properties attacked were only partially constructed, so that no personal injury or damage to personal property would be caused to anybody. We checked each property before attack and were careful to choose only those houses that were set apart

from occupied dwellings, so as to eliminate the possibility of the fire spreading. No individuals have lost out financially as a result of our actions — only insurance companies.

We were also aware that the insidious changes which are at work here, iradicating any meaningful notion of Manksness, are one and the same as the forces destroying native cultures and their natural environments throughout the world. The only differences are of degree. The changes occurring here are superficially hidden and less dramatically catastrophic than say, in the Amazon, but the engine of destruction is the same: a view that holds creation of wealth via the pursuit of open-ended economic growth, as the highest goal of the individual and of society, whatever the consequences in terms of traditional communities and their historic connection with their own land.

Therefore, the Manks Government's economic and social policies appeared to us to be doubly immoral — i.e. by gratuitously promoting the over-consumption of resources here, so that our standard of living may exceed that of the U.K. and eventually match that of Switzerland, which are fuelling existing inequalities between the rich countries of the Northern Hemisphere and the poor countries of the Southern Hemisphere, and contributing to the exploitation of many third world economies.

At the same time, the new so called "prosperity" is a betrayal of the Manks people, in that it undermines and devalues Manks ways of thinking about the world and approaches to life as, "traa dy liooar", backward, and only of use as an attraction for tourists. The consequences of such policies are that market forces, with very little let or hindrance are allowed to determine who lives here, who owns the land (the real wealth and foundation of any nation) and who runs the Government, i.e. change being promoted without regard for continuity of people, culture or tradition, instead of change based on those resources; change adding to and enriching Manks identity rather than supplanting it.



# THE GREAT GOD PROFIT

The F.S.F.O. campaign appears to those dedicated to reviving the national identity of this beleaguered nation, to have been a last ditch demonstration of national indignation. The future looks decidedly bleak. As numbers of immigrants increase so will national identity diminish. History has shown us that much. The prediction is that the next House of Keys will be less Manx than this administration — the trend is already set in that direction. To such a precariously small nation, proportions are inevitably critical and certainly many people are very anxious about the consequences to the environment and to the Manx people, and rightly so. This invasion by invitation is causing a certain amount of social disharmony amongst Manx people already, which will become more acute unless drastic measures are taken. The feeling of unease of many months past has been ignored and covered up, with Government refusing to either admit the urgency of the situation, or to take positive action — while there is easy money to be made.

The Social Issues Committee of Executive Council has produced a forty page document on the management of population growth, which states that it foresees the possibility that immigration might need to be controlled. Some of its recommendations are based on the experience of the Channel Islands. It sees registration of residential property as the main method of future control, although there is no definite population target and no mention at what stage controls should be employed. If controls are introduced in the future, prospective new residents would require residency permits issued under four broad categories, "each of which might be widened or narrowed according to the circumstances".

The four categories under the heading, POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS, are:

1. Residential or family connections.
2. Economic contribution.
3. Humanitarian reasons.
4. Social contribution.

The use of the word "each" suggests that any category/categories may be relaxed or tightened at the expense of any others. Such a concept has the worrying potential for particular discrimination according to the predilections of this or future administrations.

One can have little faith in the document as a whole. It will not protect the people of Mann from numerical or "cultural"? domination, which is supposedly in the Island's interest. The Society for the Preservation of the Manx Countryside is seriously worried about the survival of the "Manxness of Mann", although they are in favour of control by registration. There is a vast amount of land earmarked for development in this country where the profit motive has become the great god. One only has to look back to Mee Vannin's "Nationalist Notes" of the early seventies to see that the same mistakes are being repeated, only this time the problem has become far more serious and so too will be the consequences. A country that does not learn from its mistakes is condemned to repeat them. C.J.K.

## CAARJYN NY TROOR

A support group, Caarjyn Ny Troor (Friends of the three) has been formed to publicise the aims and motives of the three and to help their dependents. Two of the men, Gregory and Chris, have young families.

Messages of support, addressed individually, should be sent to: **H.M. Prison, Victoria Road, Douglas, Mannin.** Messages in Gaelic (all are speakers/learners) should be accompanied by a translation otherwise they may not be delivered.

Donations to help dependents should be made out to: **The Manx Social History Group, c/o C. Jerry, Slieau Shillee, 6 Glenfaba Rd., Peel, Mannin.**

## LETTER

Dear Editor,

Regarding an appeal by the Manx Branch of the League on behalf of three Manx nationalists accused of arson:

1) The appeal states that "we cannot approve of their actions". This is a matter for the Manx Branch, although it is difficult to see why the Manx Branch fails to approve of these actions.

2) The appeal also states that the League "confines its activities to all legal means". In fact, the League merely stated in its constitution that it will pursue its own aims by non-violent means. It does not condemn illegality.

3) The League has in the past given support to those whose actions were by no means "legal" e.g. the Breton insubordinates and the non-violent direct action of the Welsh Language Society. On one occasion the then Secretary of the League's Welsh Branch was sentenced to prison for "illegal" activities in pursuit of perfectly valid aims. Significantly, the three Manx nationalists are also accused of non-violent direct action in pursuit of perfectly valid aims.

Surely their alleged actions should be judged on whether they were morally right rather than legally "wrong"?

In the Celtic countries an absolute reverence for legality is a fault rather than a virtue.

ADAM BUSBY

## STOP PRESS

On the 20th March, the three were sentenced as follows:

Gregory Joughan	2 years
Christopher Sheard	2 years
Philip Gawne	16 months

## CELTIC LEAGUE A.G.M.

This will be held in 1989 in Cymru near Abergwaun (Fishguard) on July 28th and 29th (Friday and Saturday) which is one week prior to the National Eisteddfod. Members wishing to attend should contact their branch secretaries as soon as possible.

## "HOMES FOR CORNISH" CAMPAIGN

The Cornish branch of the Celtic League have accused estate agents and banks of creating dangerous social tensions because of their practice of promoting the sale of Cornish housing outside of Cornwall.

The League believes that those agencies involved in house selling, using brash headlines in their "in-house" newspapers, such as "exclusive retirement cottages and apartments for sale", are giving a slap in the face to local people looking for a home.

"They might as well say, for sale Cornish homes to all excluding the Cornish", says the League in a press statement. "In Wales and areas of England people have taken extreme action to stop housing being sold off to people with bigger cash balances moving in to buy up local housing, but there would have been no need for this to happen if the house-selling agencies were not blinkered to the problem."

At one time, says the League, there were local estate agents to contend with, but now that the main street banks and insurance companies had joined in selling off our land and homes with slick advertising in all parts of the British Isles, the chances of Cornish people getting a home had diminished even more.

The Celtic League will be approaching the head offices of the estate agent-bank conglomerates involved in selling housing in Cornwall, with a request that they put an end to their anti-Cornish activities, however indirect these may be, of promoting the sale of housing outside of Cornwall.

The League believe that more effort could be put into finding ways to counteract the soaring property prices and that the banks and estate agents concerned should co-operate with other organisations which have been especially set up to seek solutions to the problem.

## CELTIC LANGUAGES ARTICLES

All these must be submitted typed please or they cannot be accepted for publication. If Celtic placenames occur in English articles they should be written in capitals. Also all articles in Welsh should be submitted to Welsh Secretary, M. Philips, five days before the due date.

## INTERNATIONAL CELTIC CONGRESS

Lesneven (30 miles from Roscoff) in Brittany from 24th to 29th July, 1989.

Lectures, study groups, exhibitions, films, songs and music, a Celtic cabaret. Main Theme: Europe of 1992 and the Celtic Countries. Further information from: Kendalc'h Keltiek, Kreizenn Sosio-Saevenadurel, F-29260 Lesneven, Breizh.

# CELTICA

## FOR AN INTERCELTIC LANGUAGE

We have received from Youenn Olier, a prominent Breton writer who is also the editor of the Breton language magazine IMBOURC'H, a letter in which he outlines proposals for the adoption of a Common Celtic means of communication. We hope that in translating it from Breton he has not been misrepresented. Let us hope that none of our readers will deem him provocative except in a constructive sense. Having complimented CARN for the news it gives of the Celts' struggle to maintain their historic identity, to win the right to live and to develop as Celtic nations in a Europe which "will probably be more and more united — at least in its Western parts," he comes straight away to the point:

"It is a good thing that you publish articles in all the Celtic languages. It is daunting however that we have so many languages for such a small number of people speaking them. The impression one gets reading CARN is that the Celtic world is badly fragmented. This surely reduces the chances of succeeding in the struggle to repossess our Celticity. Assuming this to be the aim of the Celtic League, is it essential for instance that the Manx should restore their language within the confines of a small island in a way which cuts it off from the rest of the Gaelic world? Should Scots Gaelic, spoken now in restricted areas where its survival is uncertain, continue to develop on different lines from Irish? Would it not be wiser if the pro-Gaelic Scots and Manx agreed to do like the Flemings who adopted standard Dutch instead of clinging to their dialects? In my opinion if we want to survive as Celts we must first unite as much as possible in the linguistic field.

It is obvious enough that there should be only ONE literary or standard language for the countries which speak or have for centuries spoken dialects of Gaelic: they still differ so little as to be really one language. By insisting on preserving the different forms of Gaelic — as if they were museum pieces — one is objectively siding with English since in communicating with fellow Gaels that language will remain indispensable. I would urge all the Gaels to adopt that form of their language which possesses the oldest and above all the richest tradition, the one which benefits most from State support — however insufficient or even insecure it is, more help and recognition is given to Irish than to the other Celtic languages by States which remain fundamentally hostile to our nationalities.

As regards the Brittonic languages, Welsh, Cornish and Breton, the problem is rather different. First of all, they have drifted further from one another than the Gaelic dialects during the course of history. In my opinion however, if the people of Cornwall wanted to assert their Celtic character, it would have been as well for them to adopt Modern Breton as a literary language — the language they have reconstituted is really a kind of Middle Breton. The Cornish should therefore have the same regard for their language as Bretons have for Middle Breton; but to complete its study they should strive to learn Breton.

Kernow on its own is bound to have great difficulty in carrying out efficaciously its language struggle. For Cornish writers to get a sufficiently wide readership they would need to write in such a way that their works could be easily read in Brittany as well as in Kernow. Kernow is as close to Brittany as it is to Cymru. There is no modern literary tradition in Cornish, as there is in Welsh. By adopting Breton as an auxiliary literary language, they would distance themselves from the Anglo-Saxon environment which is keeping them down.

We must be clear about it: the Celtic liberation movements should not be like museum keepers' associations. What we need to reject is the civilisation which has developed chiefly through the medium of English and French in the past centuries. Our most decisive step is not that we uphold Cornish or Breton but that we reject English and French. It is not ourselves only but all West-Europeans who must repudiate the senseless way of life that has been imposed on them by the modern States which are sometimes referred to as "bourgeois". For that reason I believe that Breton and Cornish are not to be reserved for their traditional areas but could be shared with anyone, in Britain or on the continent, who wishes to link up with the Celtic tradition of Western Europe going back to Antiquity and to reject the

culture connected with the development of the English, French and Spanish realms in modern times.

Welsh presents a special case. It has a literary tradition which makes for self-sufficiency. Thus the Welsh speakers may not feel the need to lean on any other literary tradition, as would certainly benefit the Manx and the Cornish. Yet the Welsh like the other "Insular" Celts are prisoners of the Anglo-Saxon world owing to the necessity in present circumstances to use English in their mutual relations. They too could benefit from an interceltic language. Of course any of the Celtic languages could be proposed for that role which is for us Celts a necessity. I would suggest — not through chauvinism — that Breton is best qualified for it. It would be suitable as an interceltic language for the following reasons:

1. it would allow the "insular" Celts a way out of the English and English-speaking environment which is in reality a-national and cosmopolitan;
2. it would link them to the continent; and this is important when one considers that the centre of the European community will necessarily be on the continent;
3. Breton is the most evolved and modern of the Celtic languages, the simplest and easiest to learn;
4. in so far as Breton syntax is closer than that of any other Celtic language to the English, it would be the easiest of all for "Insular" Celts to get familiar with.

Other arguments could be adduced. One thing is certain: Celts must be brought out of the world of English, (which presents a greater threat than French does to the Bretons) because it threatens to invade the European continent as it did North America (there are people in France asking that English be taught now on equal terms with French in schools). What hope would there be then for the Celtic languages to survive?

All Celts should at least endeavour to learn a simple, "basic" interceltic language besides their own national one. In Brittany of course we should also learn another Celtic language. Why not Cornish?

Well, there is something to think about! The question deserves careful, serious consideration. It is time for the Celtic language movements to rid themselves of the conservative, museum mentality, which is devoid of perspective, and to understand that their struggle has no sense if it does not contribute something radically new to the European community".

YOUENN OLIER

# A TRUE DILEMMA

The article in Carn No. 63, Celtic Identity: Perception or Pedigree, threw up a lot of thoughts in my head and I scarcely know where to start. There are so many people in this world, not only Celts either, who have suffered a similar crisis of identity. I have been fortunate. By the time I began to learn Manks Gaelic almost nobody had it as a birthright, thus everyone had to make the same effort to learn to speak it, and everyone, even an Englishman like myself, was made welcome to the circles where it was used. Similarly with almost all other aspects of Manks culture, there was virtually no oral tradition left, but those who did possess it were more than willing to pass it on to anybody who took an interest. Every element: music, dance, language, folklore or history had to be striven for and still has. Thus both myself and my wife were able to become about as Celtic as any outsider could. We cannot style ourselves as Manks, that is the preserve of the Manks born, but amongst the Celtic Manks we are accepted completely. It has also meant that we have been made welcome amongst the other Celts. As an Englishman I had lost whatever cultural identity I might have had; what I have now more than compensates.

However, we have given our three children a problem similar to Joe Kelly's. They are English born living in a Celtic country. For two of them this is not too serious because culturally they do not differ so greatly from their contemporaries, in fact they may have a slight advantage in a Celtic context. Like the Manks born of a similar age they could choose to acquire the attributes which would gain them admission to a wider Celtic cultural identity. Alternatively they could follow the path that many of their contemporaries and become Manks tinged Anglo-Americans and risk an identity crisis at a later date. One of my daughters has gone to live in Botswana and has considerable difficulty in working out just what her own cultural identity is, or what it can become.

Meanwhile, those of us in Eilan Vannin who are still working to provide the opportunity for our own children and others to take up a Celtic identity, are wrestling with the problem of the difference between — "things as we wish to see them and things as they are". I don't see this as a specifically Celtic problem. I don't remember any time too well when I regarded the world as being anything not capable of improvement. I do however, remember times even in my English past, when there was more choice. The fact that many of my own generation couldn't be bothered to choose change for the better does not mean I am wasting my time. Again, fortunately, I find myself here in Eilan Vannin, not alone in wishing for a future which connects with the past: better than a present which we perceive as being disjunct and in a cultureless limbo. Which of those elements from a recent and distinct past can we dare to ignore or compromise over?

Now do we see the problem for both sides in what is a true dilemma? Some of us have become trustees of a cultural heritage. We would welcome anybody with open arms who has the tenacity to take all that we have acquired from us and extend, deepen and transform and use it for the future. We have no wish to be elitist, but one of the elements we cling to is the language, and we know it to be the most valuable key to a Celtic awareness. What a stumbling-block! If we use the language we separate ourselves from those who would wish to be our allies. If we don't use it, what kind of impoverished future are we bequeathing? I can only speak for those who have Manks Gaelic, but I am fairly certain that none of us wishes to exclude anybody. How do we foster a need to learn on the part of the non-Gaelic speaker, unless we demonstrate our ability by speaking it?

I do hope this debate will continue in Carn. The issues raised by Joe Kelly are very important and I can't tell whether my ramblings above have been of any help. Perhaps more of us should tell of the pain we have experienced so that he knows that he is by no means alone. I can remember much agony, but fortunately, enough pleasure to make it worth persevering.

Only a few hours ago I read a piece of Manks Gaelic composed by a well-respected figure from the past. I now know that the Gaelic I received was of a higher standard in Celtic terms. I hope that I can pass it on in an even better condition. The same goes for whatever I know in other cultural directions. The question for us here is, how many more foreigners like myself can be absorbed by a very small, overstretched and overworked Celtic minority?

COLIN JERRY

## THE HISTORY OF PAN-CELTICISM

Celtic League chairman, Peter Berresford Ellis, is collecting research material on the history and philosophy of Pan-Celticism. He would like to hear from any reader of *Carn* who has references, records and runs of publications connected with Pan-Celtic groups and their aims and objectives, or examples of inter-Celtic co-operation at any level, especially during the last one hundred years.

He is especially interested in information about those involved in the production of *An Aimsir Chealtech* — *The Monthly Paper of the Celtic Peoples*, published around 1950-55.

Also, any information about the establishment of the Celtic Association in 1899, with biographical details of Edouard Fournier, a Breton living in Dublin, who was secretary of the Celtic Association, and of Lord Castletown, who was president.

Correspondence to: Peter Berresford Ellis, c/o A.M. Heath & Co. Ltd., Authors Agents, 79 St. Martins Lane, London, WC2N 4AA, England.

## Parliament for the Celts

### — M. Phillips Carn 64

The idea at first appears to offer some attractive possibilities. On closer examination the reality if applied to Kernow is not a good idea.

The Assembly based on the 1987 General Election results, would look something like this:

CORNWALL — 5 Parliamentary constituencies would return 15 Senators. Their composition politically would be: Conservative & Unionist 5, Liberals (of all persuasions) 5, Labour 5. Total votes won: Con. 131,194, Libs. 111,064, Labour 23,723, (Total 265,981). Cornwall's population is approximately 450,000.

If we are arguing that *everyone living in Cornwall* has equal rights then the system would be fine. (Incidentally, the number of CORNISH Senators would be 6 out of the 15). This could be argued to be acceptable bearing in mind the percentage of English people now living in Cornwall. But to Nationalists this would be totally *unacceptable* and totally *unrepresentative* of the *Cornish people*, as opposed to a so-called "Cornish Community" which in reality could include 1,001 DeSavarys' and their like.

It should be remembered that the English make us pay £500 for the "privilege" to even stand in the elections. What price democracy?

This is only an opinion in a Cornish context without considering its implications for the other Celtic countries. But it's a definite non-starter for Kernow.

ALLEN FORSTER  
of Free Cornwall

## COMUNN CEILTEACH (CEAP BREATUNN)

### The Cape Breton Branch

A new branch of The Celtic League has been formed in the Scottish Gaelic-speaking area of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Canada, and it is expected that the branch will receive full approval at the January, 1989, General Council meeting. The likelihood of the emergence of this branch was reported in Carn (No. 60).

Officers elected at the September, 1988, meeting of the branch were: Chair, James Watson, RR 2, River Denys, Inverness County, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia BOE 2 YO; Secretary, J.J. MacEachern, Box 111; Mabou, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia BOE 1XO; Treasurer, Ian MacIntyre, 128 MacDougall Heights, Sydney, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia BIS 3A7; Press Officer, Donald MacGillivray, Dept. of History, University College, of Cape Breton, PO Box 5300, Sydney, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia B1P 6I2.

It is hoped that the branch will grow rapidly during the next year and take a very full and active part in the affairs of the League representing, as it does, an area where a Celtic language has been spoken for over 200 years and which has developed its own distinctive national identity.



## CELTIC VESTIGES IN NORTH ITALY

I have always been fascinated by the history of the Celts, their magical vision of life and their fidelity to their nations which, though they don't all figure on the map, exist in their hearts and their languages.

I was born in the middle of the Po Valley, in Northern Italy and my interest in the Celts rose to an emotional level when a Gallic necropolis was discovered near the village where my grandfather lived. No traces of Greek ceramic, nor of Roman, or Etruscan chisels were found there and the absence of this material which normally attests exchanges and civilization, just meant "uncontamination" to me. It was easy and natural then to idealize this ancient tribe of Cenomani Gauls that around 500 B.C. crossed the Alps and descended into Italy, followed by other tribes in successive waves.

The fact is that Cisalpine Gaul was really Gaul before becoming Northern Italy. The Roman met their first Celts here and called them Gauls. The whole Po Valley was deeply influenced by Gallic models and gave life to a spoken Latin that is called Gallo-Italic. This was in no way different from the proto-French. In this area the ancient substratum reappears in such words as *mür*, *cör* (wall, heart) pronounced as French *mur*, *coeur* and scholars say that these sounds are native, not "foreign" or "French" as many believe. The palatal sound of "u" and "o" delimits the areas where the Celts lived. Also the fall of final vowels and the nasal sound of tonic vowels illustrated by: *pen*, *serein*, *bon*, *vin* (bread, serene, good, wine) occurs as in French *pain*, *serein*, *bon*, *vin*.

In some cases the structure of the sentence follows the rules of the Celtic languages. I learned in fact that the particle "a" between subject and verb: *mé a vo* (I go), *te a t'cantet* (you sing) corresponds to Breton: *me a ya*, *te a gan*, Irish: *an t-é a scríobh*.

As long as my grandparents lived I was familiar with words such as:

- brisa (crumb) Gael. *bris* (break), Bret. *bressañ* (to crush)
- briac (mountain peak) Gael. *brigh*, *bri*, Corn. *Bret. bri* (hill)
- nigun (nobody) Corn. *nagonan*, Bret. *nikun*
- boria (pride, insolence) Gael. *borr* (proud)
- soi (tub) Gael. *soir* (cask, bag), Irish *soitheach* (?) (container)
- trús (round slice of fish) Corn. *trog*, Bret. *troc'h* (cut)
- sgrisol, *grisol* (shiver), Bret. *skrijadenn*, Irish *crith* (shiver)
- benna (cart in agriculture), Welsh *ben*.

In some Alpine valleys a son is still called "macan" and a small boy is a "matel", "magatel", which appear to be related to Gaelic *mac* (there is also a Celtic \*mac- from which Bret. *magañ* (to feed), *magadell* (nursling) derive).

Many place-names have a Celtic origin, sometimes it is very evident: the town of Senigallia recalls the Senones; Milan, a city that the Insabres founded means "in the middle of the place" (med-ian two Celtic words). The wide Lake of Garda with its long

branch wedging in the Alps is also known as Benaco, like Gaelic *beannach*, horned, peaked, Welsh *bannog*.

It is generally accepted that the Celtic presence gave this area a particular identity, which is not explained simply by the assumption that the Celtic and Italic peoples were related tribes which had met in Central Europe (in support of the latter theory, we have the witness of many words such as Lat. *sol*, Gael. *sul* (originally meaning *sun*), for *sun*; Lat. *mare*, Gael. *muir*, for *sea*; Lat. *terra*, Gael. *tir*, for *land*. But if the origin was the same the nature was different. Centuries later the rational logic of the Romans contrasted with the epic-narrative poetry of the Celts. It is not a mere chance if this land gave birth to Vergil, Catullus, Livius. . . . They wrote their poems in Latin but lived where Gallic groups were active (Vergil was son of a Gaul).

Our most recent link with the Celtic heritage is the monastery that St. Columba built in Bobbio in the sixth century A.D. It rises, now partly rebuilt, in a quiet and green valley which reminds of Ireland.

FRANCA BISSOLATI,  
Cremona.

\*Scholars have adduced a number of common grammatic (phonetic, morphologic) features in support of the theory that Celtic and Italic had a special relationship within the Indo-European family. Brian O'Connell, in his book "Greek and Celtic", Leo Weisgerber, in a lecture given in Galway (1950) have seriously contested this. It does not affect the point being made by the author of this article.

A.H.

## NEW IRISH SEC.

Members please note the election of Janice Williams as Irish Branch Secretary. The Irish Branch would like to pay tribute to the outgoing Secretary Tomás Scott for all his good work over his time as Secretary. He was most diligent in attending to correspondence, membership and all League work.

## MEMBERSHIP DRIVE Have You Done Your Bit?

In *Carn* 63, Peter Berresford Ellis, new chairman of The Celtic League, called for a membership drive and suggested a simple way to double the strength of the League.

"If every member resolved to take it upon themselves to inform and enroll one new member during the forthcoming year, we would double our membership. Why not give it a try? The bigger we are, the more we can do."

To demonstrate it can be done, Peter has already personally signed up two new members in his own branch area. Have you done your bit in the membership drive?

## Membership and Subscriptions

All those who agree with the Constitution and Aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership fee (including *Carn*) and subscription rates are: IR£6, Stg£6, 60FF or US\$15. Postage outside Europe is by air mail.

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

### ALBA

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### BREIZH

Subscriptions: Youenn Craff, Talbodek, Beilh/Baye 29130 Kemperle/Quimperlé, Brittany. Correspondence: Yann Bouessel Du Bourg, La Haie d'Izé, Val d'Izé, 35450 Livré-sur-Changeon, Brittany.

### CYMRU

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### INTERNATIONAL BRANCH

Alan Heusaff, Seana Gharráin, An Spidéal, Co. na Gaillimhe, Éire.

When renewing please send cheques to same Branch as previously, or notify its secretary of any change.

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Our next deadline for *CARN* 66 will be the 8th May, 1989. I would ask regular or new contributors to meet this due date and would appeal especially for more photographs/illustrations (not necessarily accompanying articles).

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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