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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

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SNP: THE CHALLENGE OF THE '90s

MANXNESS OF MANN

LEAGUE STRONG & DYNAMIC

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CELTIC LEAGUE



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ALBA

SAORSA NAN SLÈIBHTEAN

Tha seanfnacal ann: "Anail a' Ghaideil, air a'mhullach."

Theagamh gun ruig an Gaidheal mul-lach a chiurid, a spòrs no ealain, ach chan eil e idir coltach an latha an-diugh gun ruig e mullaichean nam beann mun cuairt air. Tha na h-uimhir de shanasan agus de riaghailtean roimhe a-nis mun teann e faisg air ne sgòrran.

Agus 's ann am mothad a tha àireamh nan sanasan agus nan riaghailtean a'dol a h-uile bliadhna.

"Losgadh a' dol air adhart," tha na sana-san ag innse dhuinn, agus am peanta agaus na tairnean a'sealltainn buaidh side a h-uile ràith.

"Cunnart," tha iad a'bagairt ann an iomadh canan (ach a'Ghaidhlig) aig geataichean a'mhonaidd.

Ma tha thu cho fada 'nad cheann 's gu bheil thu am beachd nach ann dhutsa a rugadh 's a thogadh fo sgail nam beann a tha iad, 's docha gum bruidhinn an t-uachdaran fhèin riut. Air neo gum bruidhinn sgalaig às a leth, agus a mhaighstir às an duthaich an-dràsda, no o chionn 's gu bheil cho beag Beurla aid an uachdaran nach urrainn dha fhein modhan a'nhonaidd doighean na dèthcha a mhineachadh dhut gu soileir.

Airson deich seachdainean as t-fhoghar theid innse dhut nach eil e modhail a bhith dusgadh nam fiadh nuair a tha Gearmailtich

bheartach a'feuchainn rin tilgeil, agus iad air a bhith draibheadh cha mhor fad na maidne anns an Argocat gan sealg.

Thèid innse dhut nach sabhailte e am monadh a shiubhal air eagal 's gun smao-nich Sasannach mòr air choireigin gur h-e fiadh no cearc fhaoich a th'annad agus gun cuir e peileir 'nad cheann. Seo ged as urrainn do bhuidhean gleidhteachais am fiadh a mharbhadh air na h-oighreachdan aca gun chasg a chur air daoine a'coieachd ann.

Anns a'Mhonadh Ruadh, theid innse dhut a-nis nach e fasan math an fhrith a choi-seachd fiù 's ann an am breith nan laogh feidh, fad sia seachdainean as t-earrach!

Tha na h-uachdaran agus an luchd-sodail aca ag innse dhuinn gum feum muintir nam bailtean oideachadh mun mhonadh. Chan eil teagamh nach eil oideachadh a dhith, ach oideachadh gu math na h-arainneachd - 's e sin math na talmhainn agus na tha cinneachadh air - an àite a bhith gus casg a chur air an t-saorsa againne leis nach eil fearann na h-Alba (fhathast).

Chan eil sin ri ràdh gu bheil na h-uachdaran uile mar am Morair Burton, a tha, a reir choltais, air an lagh a mhaoidheadh air Buidheann Teasairginn nam Beann Chinn t-Sàile seach gun do dh'fhoillsich a' bhuidheann charthannais sin leabhran, agus slighean coi-seachd air an comharrachadh ann.

Ach ged a tha Caidreachas nan Uachdaran Alba a' leigeil air gu bheil e modhail, tha an seasamh aige a' cur saorsa shiubhal an lughad. 'S e cnag na cuise nach eil an

Caidreachas a' gabhail ris a' phrionnsabal de chothrom slàn air an fhearann, ach ri prionnsabal de chothrom "ciallach". Co tha dol a chur "ciallach" an cèill dhan choisiche ach an uachdaran fhein.

Thèid beachdan an Caidreachas nas fhaide. Tha iad cuideachd ag iarraidh cis a thogail bho bhuidhean eagraichte a' tighinn air an fhearann, dìreach mar a dh'iarr iad mal air na croitearan a b'abhaist a bhith gabhail còmhnaidh air.

Tha seo air tachairt mar-tha ann an arainn, far an do dh'iarr uachdaran airgead air buidhean rannsachaidh às oilthighean Sasannach a biodh a' tighinn ann gus creagan a agrudadh. Agus thainig am bàrr fear dhe na cunnartan de chus strainnsaran 'nar measg.

Chan e mhaigh nach do lean an t-uachdaran coimheach ris a' bheachd Albannach gu bheil cothrom againn uile air an fhearann, ach cha do lean no na coigrich a bha fulang. Cha d'rinn iad stri an aghaidh prionnsabal na cise. Cha tainig iad a dh'Arainn tuilleadh, ach ni mo cha tuirt iad nach fhaodar a leithid de chis a thogail.

'S e aonta a tha na h-uachdaran ag iarraidh, aonta a tha gam fagail fhein 'nam britheamhnan air cò, cuin is caite a gheibh daoine air an fhearann a chuir eachdraidh agus cumhachd 'nan làmhnan. Ach gu mi-fhortanach tha cuid de shreapadairean agus de spaidsearan cho dall 's gu bheil iad a' gabhail ri sith air an stèidh seo.

Leig ceannard Caidreachas nan Uachdaran, Padraig Gordan-Dubh-Pennington, ris gu de as motha tha cur dragh air na h-uachdaran nuair a thuit e gum bu choir dhaibh stri làidir a dheanamh an aghaidh cothrom air an fhearann a steidheadh anns an lagh.

Nach eil sin ann mar-tha? Chan eil. Chan eil còir laghail againn ann an Alba ach air slighean dligeach eadar dà àite poblach. Chan eil coir againn, a rèir an lagh, a shiubhal mar a thogras sinn.

Tha a leithid de lagh aca anns an t-Suain ge-ta. 'S e "allemansratten" a their iad ris agus tha e a' toirt cothrom dligeach dha na h-uile air talamh ban agus air coilltean. B'fheàrrde sinn cuideachd lagh a tha rèir ar beachdan, fiù 's nuair a gheibh sinn cuidhte 's na h-uachdaran.



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SNP: THE CHALLENGE OF THE 90s

The SNP National Conference held in Perth in September -- the 56th annual one, and an important milestone in its history -- will be remembered not only for the decisions taken but also for the way they were made. This event took place accompanied by the greatest media attempt ever not only to influence events but to decide them. People who were watching events on television got very despondent, those who were actually attending conference wondered if they were at the same venue as the journalists who were supposedly reporting from there. Never did two people deserve acclaim for the way they conducted themselves under the most extreme provocation than Alex Salmond and Margaret Ewing, who contested for the leadership. This was the first leadership contest in a decade and resulted in a victory for Alex Salmond, MP, and his new team of office bearers.

Over 200 delegates warmed to the merits of the winning candidates who eschewed rhetoric and explained in forceful terms how exactly they intended to do the job. Alex Salmond, Rob Gibson, Mike Russell and Alasdair Morgan reaped the harvest of votes to take over the reins of direction.

The new leader, has targetted the gap between the present SNP standing at 22 per cent, and the potential 40 per cent who express in opinion polls a belief in our flagship policy of independence within Europe. This resounding endorsement for the 'Big Idea' in Scottish politics came over loud and clear. Any misunderstandings about the SNP's profile as a left-of-centre party, which were alluded to before Conference can now no longer be in doubt. The independence with-

in Europe flagship is joined by a reinvigorated "Can Pay - Wont Pay" campaign against the hated poll tax.

Also the unequivocal opposition by the SNP to the Nirex nuclear dumping threat and their policy of total removal of nuclear weapons from Scotland, provides vital ammunition to the SNP cause in tackling ambiguous Labour and Liberal Democrat policies. The SNP's well-established policies aim to present a consistent alternative for the Scottish electorate to warm to.

In order to broaden the base of SNP organisation, it was a key plank in Mr Salmond's campaigns to include much of the young talent emerging from our student and youth wings. With young people as the most enthusiastic section of voters in favour of independence in Europe, and indeed most likely to benefit from the open European society, it is fitting that their vigour and intelligence be put to work inside the party. Furthermore, the likelihood of activists from all over Scotland being engaged in fleshing out the party's preparations for the by-election challenge in Paisley and the General Election was ensured by Vice-Convenor Policy Rob Gibson's commitment to establish policy committees with a broad base.

Newspaper readers were regaled with pre-conference reportage which confused the SNP stance. It has already been demonstrated above that the SNP's distinctive left-of-centre stance can in no way be confused with the Labour position. Indeed, Alex Salmond's call to Labour activists as well as their voters, to find the SNP an attractive home is precisely related to the abandonment by Labour of longheld stances on social justice and on the anti-nuclear issue.

Journalists who noted the SNP gains in the formerly Tory North-East, failed to appreciate the significance of Mrs Winnie Ewing's stunning Euro victory and solid SNP local government performance in the Highlands. The mantle of "rural radicalism" is increasingly donned by the SNP in the face of the failing opposition to the major threats to Scotland from an uncontrolled housing shortage, the Nirex threat and the failure of the Tories to lift a finger to protect our fishing interests in the EC or small businesses across the land.

The attractions of a Scottish government, not only committed to well - funded single tier local councils, but also decentralisation of power from Edinburgh, makes a most attractive platform for the politics of the 90s

as Scots decide how best to throw off the Tory yoke. As the British opposition challenge falters, a Mark II Labour Party is also no true reflection of what is needed in Scotland. SNP policies, with a distinctly Scottish response, are the only policies in line with mainstream Scottish opinion.

Where the SNP has most aggravated the Scottish-establishment Labour bosses, to whom the press allows uncritical support, has been in its demand for democracy for the Scottish people. The gulf between the Constitutional Convention's Claim of Right and the actions of its Labour and Liberal built-in majority to promote a devolution package akin to 1979 Mark II, fails completely to reflect the new Spring of Democracy which 1990 has ushered in across eastern Europe. If Czechs and Poles can build balanced, mixed-economy democracies why not the Scots? The SNP can now challenge the British parties under a leader of the top flight and a senior office bearer team who received resounding support from the SNP's grass-roots.

The challenge of the 90s in Scotland is not to be a good second; the nation needs an outright SNP victory to save us from becoming a nuclear dump, an internal colony and an impoverished backwater which London indifference has mapped out for us.

Rob Gibson

Exchange Publicity

Al Liamm, literary magazine in Breton, 5 issues a year. 80-85 pp. Sub 150/160Fr per annum but airmail 200Fr, to P. Le Bihan, 16r. des Fours a Chaux, 35400 St-Malo. In its Sept-Oct issue: 9 poems (of which 6 Translations), a humorous story by Y. Gerven, the continuation of R. Hemon's "Ar vugale Fall" evoking the amazing atmosphere that surrounded the national movement towards the end of the twenties, an account by the bard-musician Myrdhin of his recent tour to Moscow, etc. Readers wishing to familiarise themselves with Cornish will welcome the translation, opposite to the original, of R. Hemon's story "Peoc'h ar Sul": the spelling used makes it easy to pass from one language to the other, to recognise their close kinship.



SUMMARY

More and more signs appear on the Scottish hills to discourage people from wandering as they wish and as Scots perceive they have a right to. It is the shooting "rights" of the rich that the landowners want to educate us in. They stress dangers proven not to exist by culls conducted without restrictions on access to the land. The landowners talk of "sensible" and voluntary access rights. Scotland needs to follow the lead of Sweden and enshrine in law the right of access to uncultivated and wooded land, even when we rid ourselves of landowners.

EAST PERTSHIRE GAELIC

"EAST PERTSHIRE GAELIC" pp xi 432pp by Máirtín Ó Murchú with illustrative maps. Published by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, ISBN 0 901282 93 6 : Price IR£24.

Despite its localised title this scholarly book could be said to be of interest and concern to every one of the six Celtic nations as a warning that unless appropriate effective remedies can be found to keep an intrusive foreign language and culture at bay the indigenous language and its culture can be swept away within a few generations.

Máirtín Ó Murchú has carried out, in a praiseworthy, scholarly manner, an investigation into the decline of the native Scottish Gaelic dialect of East Perthshire from the failure of the 1745 Rising and the subsequent (often hostile) governmental and other pressure to 1961 or thereabouts.

He shows that the first blow to Scottish Gaelic in recent times came in the Abolition of Heritable Jurisdictions Act in 1747. This could be seen as the London government's over-reaction to the 1745 Rising. The Act destroyed the autonomous status of the clans and their districts, like Atholl, in direct breach of Article XX of the 1707 Treaty of Union. It resulted in working havoc with the economic life of the clansman, forcing "a high outmigration of the indigenous population" to where the Gael "became the least privileged class in their new environment and had no means of significantly modifying its essentially English-speaking character."

One might disagree with the author when he asserts that "The decline of Gaelic was a direct result of the opening up of the

Highland region particularly after 1745 and its consequent progressive assimilation into a unified economic and industrial system of Great Britain as a whole." A comparison with, say the Swiss linguistic, media and employment position (where German, French, Italian and Romansch continue to survive) could convince one that had similar educational and other linguistic rights been accorded, with monolingual education and cultural back-up to the people of Perthshire then the terrible decline of language could well have been averted.

Máirtín Ó Murchú tells us that there was a considerable amount of Gaelic education prior to the 1872 Education Act "Throughout the 19th century some 300,000 had been educated in the Highlands and Gaelic schools alone had taught over 100,000 to read the Gaelic Bible." But the 1872 Act had the effect of clearing Gaelic entirely out of the schools with a hardly sympathetic Scotch Education department shown to describe the teaching of or through Gaelic as "fantastic nonsense". As if this were not enough the H.M. Inspectors of Schools of the day are reported as having gone beyond their remit in lecturing and badgering the children not to speak Gaelic in the playground or to or from school. O Murchú quotes Stewart on the dire result ... "There is now no need to employ, as was once done, school officers to prevent the speaking of Gaelic. the few children who are left never speak it ... most of the adult population still speak the old language, but no Gaelic sermon is ever preached from any of the pulpits, nor is a Gaelic psalm sung in any of the churches." Angus MacLellan in his "Saoghal an Treobhaiche" (edited by J.L.

Campbell) corroborates this when he says of the Perthshire Gael (na Peairtich) "Cha robh leabhraichean no searmon Gàidhlig aca." (They had no Gaelic books or sermon).

Then came World War 1 with its great death toll, followed by the devastating slump of the 1930's. On so many items of evidence, is it any wonder that the percentage of Gaelic speakers in Blair Atholl slumped from 73.1% in the Census of 1881 to that of 6.5% in the Census of 1961 as is pointed out in the book?

Part II is a scholarly treatise on the Phonology of the East Perthshire dialect of Gaelic; which could be of considerable relevance not only in relationship to Scottish Gaelic as a whole but also to Irish and Manx. This book could be said to transcend the narrow confines of East Perthshire and to be of interest in varying degrees to all the six Celtic languages. As such a short elementary introduction to the principles of Phonology employed to aid the lay reader might have been a welcome addition rather than only listing Hockett, Ladefoged and others in the references.

Part III comprises of TEXTS, being transcriptions of conversations which could be looked on as intensely interesting, giving as they do the local spelling in Gaelic geared to the dialect and a translation in English.

Part IV is a LEXICON or Vocabulary again in a standard Gaelic spelling with phonetical transcripts in this local dialect and a translation in English.

A book list of references rounds off a well written thought provoking authority on the subject which can only enhance Máirtín Ó Murchú's reputation as an able scholar in Celtic studies. G. McM. (G.L.I.)

POETS VISIT 1990

"Welcome to the mainland"
said the man in Ennis
I left my island many times
I heard it just the once
Go raibh maith agat Eirinn

Am Faod Mi Dhol a Dh'Ulaidh?

Am faod mi dhol a dh'Ulaidh
Chan fhaod chan fhaod chan fhaod
Mì-rian an tigh Clann Ulaidh
'S a càirdeas rinn dol aog
Buinidh Gaidheil thall 's a bhos
'S bu chòir dhuinn bhi mar aon
Ach tha taibhs' nan spiorad Gallda
Air ar coibhneas dhèanamh claon



Máiri Nic Gumaraid at Gaelscoil Mhichil Ciosog Ennis Co. Clare



BREIZH

NEPTUEGEZH IWERZHON



Aliesoc'h-aliesañ e vez anv bremañ 'eus neptuegezh Stad Iwerzhon ha tamm-ha-tamm e sav dael diwar he fouez. Daoust ha kemer a raio perzh er c'he-naozadur milourel boutin a vo savet, mar-teze, da heul an Emglev-kenoberian Politikel Europat? Treiñ kein e vefe d'al leviadurezh hag a zo bet dalc'het dezhi abaoe bloavezhioù kentañ ar Stad-mañ end-eeun.

Padal Iwerzhoniz 'zo zo nec'het peogwir e-touez an daouzek bro-ezel eus ar "Gumuniezh Europat" n'eus nemet Iwerzhon hag a zo er-maez eus Aozadur ar Feur-Emglev Norzhatlantel (AFENA); ha n'emañ ket e-barzh Unaniezh Kornog-Europa kennebeut, ur bodad a garfe darn sevel warnañ ur genreizhad vilourel boutin da holl vroioù ar Gumuniezh, a-ziforc'h diouzh AFENA. An dud-se ne blij ket dezho e ve Iwerzhon evel istrogell ur gompagnunezh, un "odd-man-out". Kalz anezho, a lavarfen ivez, n'int ket chalet gant startaat perzhioù dibar Iwerzhon, he yezh vroadel da skouer.

Diazezet e voe hengoun an neptuegezh pa oa De Valera prezidant Kevread ar Broadoù war-dro 1937. Strivañ a reas neuze da lakaat ar gevredigezh-se da gompizan an dizunaniezh o kreskiñ etre ar galloudoù europat. Keit ha ma talc'he ar Saozon krog war c'hwec'h kontelezh eus Iwerzhon ne venne ket ar Stad Dieub bout ezel eus nep kevredad milourel war un dro gant Breizh-Veur. Daoust d'ar bec'h a lakaas Churchill ha Roosevelt war De Valera e teuas ar Stad-mañ a-benn da chom er-maez eus ar brezel: ne voe roet digarez da hini ebet eus ar vrezekaerien da aloubiñ ar 26 Kontelezh (evit diwall an neptuegezh e rankas De Valera mont garv d'an IRA).

En abeg ma oa dalc'het darn eus Iwerzhon gant ar Saozon eo e chomas ar Republik ivez hep emezelañ da AFENA. Pell e oa poblañs katolik Iwerzhon a vout a-du gant kealiadurezh an Unaniezh Soviedat met ar vroadelouriezh a voe trec'h d'an diforc'hoù kealiadurel. Gant ar Saozon e oa aloubet darn eus ar vro, se oa ur fed.

Adal ma voe anv da emezelan d'ar C'Henvarc'had eo ez eas war zispisaat emzalc'h gouarnamant Dulem. S. Lemass ha d'e heul J. Lynch ha Ch. Haughey eus Fianna Fáil o deus gwech pe wech roet da intent ne

oa ket un doktrin eus an neptuegezh, un dra zigemmadus; a-benn ma vije diazezet unan-iez politikel "Europa" (da lavarout eo kumuniezh ar 6,9 pe 12) e vije d'ar Stad iwerzhonat kemer perzh er pezh a vije divizet ganto war dachenn an diogelroez hag an emzifenn. Ne vije mui neptu.

Ne oa ket ur gudenn difraeüs, amzer oa da welout penaos e stummfe ar speredoù. Penaos emañ kont 'ta hiziv an deiz?

Un darn vat eus dalc'hidi Fianna Fáil, evito da vezañ mouezhiet e 1972 a-du gant mont e-barzh ar Gumuniezh Armerzhel Europat (evit abegou armerzhel!) a garfe hep mar mirout kement ha ma'z eus tu eus riegezh ar Stad ha ken-se chom er-maez eus pep kevre milourel. E Fine Gael n'eur ket ken figus: meur a hini eus renerien ar strollad-se en deus disklêriet e tlee Iwerzhon adwelout hec'h emzalc'h, spisaat ster an neptuegezh; darn anezho a brezeg didro-kaer a-du gant kemer perzh en un aozadur milourel boutin mar bez savet. Strollad al Labour, hini ar Vicherourien koulz ha Sinn Féin a zalc'h start d'an neptuegezh met ne dapont ket kenetrezo kalz en tu-hont da 20% eus ar mouezhioù. Gant strollad peuz-nevez ar "Progressive Democrats", gwan a-walc'h ivez, n'eo ket sklaer an traoù. En dilennadegoù, ret eo lavarout, n'eus ket bet kaoz eus neptuegezh Iwerzhon. Daou enklask graet e-touez an dud eo a ro titour peuz-resis diwar-benn nerzh he dalc'hidi. N'eus ket dek vloaz'zo e tiskouezas un aters-kedveno e oa ouzhpenn 80% eus ar bobl a-du gant he mirout. Bloaz'zo e oa tost da 70%. Nebeutoc'h, met kalz memestra.

"O pleustriñ daou draezh"

En iwerzhoneg e reer Tadhg an Dá Thaobh (Taig an Daou Du) eus un den a garfe bezañ en daou du war dro pa vez un dibab da ober. Klask a ra "freastal an dá thrá", "pleustriñ daou draezh" d.l. eo ober daou dra war un dro. Gant an neptuegezh e c'hoarvez an dra-se. N'eur ket neptu e-keñver kealiadurezh, a-du ez eur gant unaniezh politikel met nann gant un aozadur milourel boutin. Daoust hag e c'hall bezañ?

Gant daou seurt arguzenn e ra ar re a garfe teurel an neptuegezh d'ar blotou. Ma kav deomp, emezo, ez eo unanidigezh Europa un dra vat (komz a reont eus an 12), mar deo splotus deomp bout ezel eus ar "Gumuniezh Europat", e tleomp ivez bout prest d'he difenn ma vez taget. Krediñ a reomp he deus

bet Iwerzhon skoazell vokus digant ar Gumuniezh, he deus gonezet diwar leviadurezh ar Gumuniezh war dachenn al Labour-Douar (pegement a vez kollet, gant frankiz emporzhiañ ar c'henderc'hadoù o tont eus ar broioù all n'eo ket bet jedet ...). A-drugarez d'ar Gumuniezh e c'hall hon tud yaouank dilabour kavout fred war an Douar-Bras ivez. Ur bodl digalon ha hep anaoudegezh-vat a vo ac'hanomp ma nac'homp dougen hol lodenn eus samm an emzifenn. Arabat krediñ e kendalc'ho ar Gumuniezh da ober esevadennoù evidomp pa lavarimp ez eo re denn war hon armerzh plegañ d'ar reolennoù divizet.

Re all a lavar n'eo bet morse Iwerzhon neptu e gwirionez; e veze roet harp dre guzh d'ar Saoz-Amerikaned e-pad ar brezel; ha n'eo ket bet diazezet an neptuegezh war ur prederiadur pervezh; n'eus anezhi nemet ur faltazienn, ur "vuoc'h nevet"; ne zere ket mui d'ar plegennoù a-vreman. Broioù neptu gwirion evel Sveden hag Helvetia o deus gouestlet arc'hant evit bout armet kreñv a-walc'h da zialiañ an neb a garfe o argadiñ. Iwerzhon n'he deus ket. He neptuegezh ne dalvezfe netra ma teufe brezel.

D'an arguzennoù-se e responter da gentañ o tegas soñj ne vank ket ar Stad-mañ d'he dlead e-keñver ar Gumuniezh o chom neptu peogwir n'eus netra er feur-emglev ma'z eo diazezet hec'h emezeladur warnañ o c'houlenn e kemerfe perzh en un aozadur milourel boutin. Gant ur boblvoueziadeg e voe divizet mont e-barzh, unan all a rankfed kaout evit mont e seurt aozadur, peogwir e vefe kemmet an diazezh.

A-drugarez d'an neptuegezh o deus gallet soudarded iwerzhonat kemer perzh en nerzhioù Aozadur ar Broadoù Unanet kaset da virout ar peoc'h er C'Hongo, el Liban, e Namibia, war harzoù Irak hag Iran. Gwir eo ne vefe Iwerzhon evit mirout ouzh bombezennoù nukleel a vout taolet war hec'h aerborzhioù ma teufe brezel-bed, met evit an amzer a beoc'h ez eus ezhomm eus broioù neptu. Pa sav bec'h etre ar galloudoù bras ez eo talvoudus kaout broioù, na vez ket diskred warno, gouest da dredeogiñ. Dre Aozadur ar Broadoù Unanet eo e c'hall Iwerzhon seveniñ he roll ar gwellañ. Bremañ ma'z eo koulz ha steuziet an enebiezh etre "ar C'hornog" hag Unaniezh (?) ar Soviedoù ne weler ket perak e vefe ken pouezus d'ar

ON THE LANGUAGE FRONT

What Sort of Recognition is That?

We reported in Carn 71 that the development of the DIWAN schools was threatened in July by the refusal of the French Education Minister to apply to them the same treatment as was accorded early in 1990 to the Corsican and Basque schools regarding the payment of the teachers salaries.

The situation however was considerably eased in August by the Minister's decision to pay 51 1/2(!) teachers the same salary as auxilliary teachers in State schools, i.e., 5600 Fr a month. Teachers normally get 8000 Fr a month after 10 years service. It will be up to DIWAN to pay the difference.

The agreement applies to the 5 Departements of Brittany. It excludes four teachers, for what reason is not clear, and it does not cover the Brest secondary school now in its third year with 35 pupils. It makes no provision for school equipment and teaching material. One condition is that the State-paid teachers will have to submit within 6 years to the internal competition which is obligatory for State teachers. A lot remains unclear, will Breton be taken into account there? Could the teachers be transferred to other schools afterwards? This would of course be detrimental to the teaching of Breton.

The odd thing is that DIWAN is recognised only as a cultural association, its establishments do not qualify officially as schools! Keep the tag of inferiority! In its dealings the State appears to assume that the DIWAN network will not expand. It would suit it to have it merging with the bilingual class system operating now in 11 State schools.

A positive aspect, apart from being relieved of great financial worries, is that DIWAN keeps control of its teaching methods which have proved successful. The State has not insisted on French being used in the first years. Pupils will be taught through French gradually from the middle of



Protesters being removed from court during DIWAN trial in Brest

their primary schooling so as to achieve equal competence in the two languages when they reach 11 or 12. This is the only way to impart fluency in Breton.

More Young People Learning Breton.

This year 755 children are attending DIWAN schools (incl. Brest's Skolaj R. Hemon), an increase of 20% on last year. Diwan now employs 90 people, 39 of them being trained teachers.

510 pupils attend the bilingual classes operating in 11 State schools, an increase by 38% on last year. Three new teachers posts were created here, but three demands were not satisfied. As the State remains deaf to the need of training teachers, the parent's association APEEB organised a colloquium in Douarnenez on 27-28/10/90 on how to solve the problem.

The first bilingual classes in Catholic schools were opened this year in Gwened/Vannes and in Gwlsend (N. Of Brest) following pressure from the association DIHUN.

Apart from the above, Breton is taught to some 10,000-11,000 schoolgoers in degrees varying from a simple introduction to preparation for examinations: about 2,000 in prepriary, 4,000 in primary, 3,700 in secondary schools, 400 in the university. These figures are for Rennes Academy. To them should be added the courses given in 2 universities and eight, (where 334 students took Breton as a subject for the Baccalaureat

examinations in 1990). There is no assessment of how many acquire proficiency in Breton. It is certainly difficult given the almost total French-speaking environment. The greatest possible effort should be made to give the young opportunities to get together to practise what they have learned. This is done e.g., by An Oald in Treglonou, the Interceltic Camp for Breton-speakers in Skaer, (attended in July by some 200 people), the newly created centre Dor Zigor in Kemper, the Dudi centres (of which there are now three, (Roazon, Lannuon, St-Brieg)) catering for the 6-12 age group. etc. APEEB has proposed to DIWAN and DIHUN to strengthen their co-operation with a view to increase the number of schools teaching Breton, to jointly produce textbooks and to organise an annual bilingual children's festival.

Strong Majority for Breton Status

A draft resolution asking for the adoption of a "law-programme" which would give official recognition to Breton was submitted during the past 2 years to the vote of the 478 elected municipal councils of Lower Brittany, the area where it is traditionally spoken. To-date it has been passed by 82.41% of the councils, the strongest support being in Finistère (281 out of 283 communes being in favour). The text was submitted to only 100 communes of Upper Brittany: 71 of them voted for it. Of a total of 9,300 councillors

vio-man mont en un aozachur milourel nevez.

A-enep da biv'ba? Perak e fell d'ar C'hallaoued ha d'ar Saozon diorren o armou nukleel? A beg a-walc'h zo da ziskrediñ w ar galloudoù o keuzlañ d'o impaerlezh ...

A. Heusaff

Gerloù ha n'emaint ket e Gerladur R. Hemon.

Kealladurh ideological, milourel: military, diogelroez: security, riegezh: sovereignty, aters-kedveno: opinion-poll.

SUMMARY

Irish neutrality has recently come under pressure from advocates of a common E.C. defense policy. It has its roots in the Irish State's refusal to be part of any military block while the Six Counties of N.E. Ireland remain occupied by a foreign power. The

issue has tended to be blurred since Ireland joined the E.E.C.. It has been argued that it cannot opt out of future common E.C. defence arrangements. However its membership is based on a referendum acceptance of a treaty which makes no mention of the like. Ireland's role in international affairs should remain principally a peace-keeping one and that is best ensured by her remaining neutral.

LANGUAGE FRONT cont.

involved only 31 were against and 47 abstained. Will the French government once again brush aside this expression of the will of the people concerned or finally apply the principles of democracy without reservation in Brittany?

Population Census and Statistical Estimate (1990)

The population of Brittany (5 départements) now totals 3,844,800, an increase of

REMON DELAPORTE OBITUARY

Remon Delaporte, who was mainly known as the leader of the Breton National Party during the war, died in Kastell-Nevez-ar-Faou on November 8th 1990, aged 83. In 1933, when Breton was excluded from all State schools but pupils in some Catholic schools were taught how to read it, he founded Breuriez ar Brezhoneg er Skolioù to promote its teaching at primary level. Under his direction, the national party developed as a very active organisation in the years 1941-42, its paper reaching a wide public as is attested by B. Frelaut in his book "Les Nationalistes Bretons de 1939 à 1945". He found refuge from post-war persecution in Ireland and later taught Breton in University College Cork. The Cork University Press published two of his works, an Elementary Breton-English Dictionary and an adaptation to English of Per Denez's textbook "Brezhoneg Buan hag Aes". He retired to native Kastell-Nevez where he devoted himself to writing a comprehensive Breton-English Dictionary; two volumes, including the words beginning with A,B,CH,C'H and D, have been published under the name Remon ar Porzh, by Mouladurioù Hor Yezh (1986, 1989). This work is extremely valuable in that numerous examples are given to illustrate how our best writers used the words: this should be of great assistance to those striving to master the language now that its reduced use has also resulted in its becoming improvised and often corrupted. Let us hope that the author had time to finish this dictionary and that he also overcame a certain reluctance to write his memoirs particularly those relating to the time when he occupied a central-stage position in the Breton national movement. A.H.



• Launching the Campaign for TV in Breton

141,300 compared to 1982 :- a preceding 7-years increase was 173,500. The increase is much more marked in the East. Loire-Atlantique around Nantes has passed the million mark while Ille-et-Vilaine around Rennes seems set to exceed the Finistère figure of 838,200. Cotes-du-Nord (renamed Cotes-d'Armor for the sake of tourism) registers a fall in its population. Of the two factors causing variations in demography, the difference in the numbers of births and deaths and migration, it was the first which contributed most to the reported increases: 65% of the total in the period 1982-90, 55% in the 1975-82 period. Migration amounted to only 1.2% of the total population in the former and to 2.21% in the latter period. (For greater details, see *Le Peuple Breton*, October).

As a poor substitute for a census of the

Breton-speaking population (ruled out on orders from Paris), questions were sent by the Rennes INSEE (Statistics) office to the mayors and town clerks of 580 communes of Lower Brittany (and adjoining districts?) in order to obtain an approximate estimation. A first analysis of the answers shows that about 450,000 people in all (of these communes inhabitants) understand Breton: 270,000 in Finistère (about one in three), 95,000 in Cotes-d'Armor, 85,000 in Morbihan. On the average a generation and a half understands Breton without being able to speak it; about 150,000 people. That would mean 300,000 able to speak it. How much they use it in their daily life could not be ascertained by this enquiry. The INSEE director, L. Laurent, is considering a sampling involving perhaps some 10,000 people in order to arrive at more accurate figures.

BRETON CDs and VIDEO "BARZHAZ BREIZH"

You want to know how lively the Breton music can be? Quickly get "Sonerien Du: Bal Breton" a CD Nr 308, and "Diaouled ar Menez" (CD 318), published by AR FOLK, Diffusion Breizh. They have proved most popular for almost 20 years now, and have just been reissued.

The video film "Barzhaz Breizh", C'hoazh hag Adarre, made in 1989 as a contribution to the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the first publication of Kervarker's famous collection, is available from Alain Bienvenu, c/o FR3-Breizh, 9 Ave. Janvier, 35031 Rennes-Cedex for 10 (this money will go to DIWAN). Shown during the Celtic League AGM in October, it was highly appreciated by the viewers for the variety and beauty of its airs



• Breton clarinette Players

and songs, the dramatic performances of its several contributors, its choice of decors. Some of us have found it in places a bit romantic, or others conversely too "rocky". My only regret was that Gilles Servat did not sing, instead of declaiming however impressively, more of the verses of Droukinnig Neumenoù. In any case this production proves that the Barzhaz is standing the test of time. It is a must for your videotheque.

A.H.

CORRECTION

The title of the Breton article in Carn 71 should read: Dizenelaat an Emsavidi.

CYMRU

PIGION CELTAIDD

IWERDDON

ADDYSG DDWYIEITHOG.

Mae arolwg yn ardaloedd cenedlaethol yng Ngorllewin Béal Feirste wedi dangos fod 50% - 70% o'r rhieni o blaid addysg ddwyieithog. Ond mae'n rhaid cael dau gant o blant cyn i Swyddfa Gogledd Iwerddon agor ysgol. Yn y Werinlywodraeth ugain yw'r ffigur.

CYFNEWID ATHRAWON.

Am y tro cyntaf erioed ers 1922 bydd hawl gan athrawon protestannaidd o'r Gogledd gymryd rhan mewn cyfnewid swyddi gyda'r Werinlywodraeth am gyfnodau dros dro heb gymwysterau yn y Wyddeleg.

SWYDDI DA I BWY?

Ym mhump o gynghorau dosbarth y Gogledd nid oes ond dau brif swyddog allan o chwech a thri ugain yn Gatholigion. Fel arfer mae'r cynghorau protestannaidd yn recriwio staff yn fewnol yn unig.

GWERSI HANES.

Bydd rhaid i ddisgyblion yn y Gogledd astudio hanes yn yr ysgolion uwchradd am bum mlynedd. Trwy baratoi sylabws newydd ceisir dysgu'r un hanes i'r ddwy gymuned ond hanes pwy fydd o?

ADDEWID HEDDWCH O HYD?

Ers Mai 1989 mae'n rhaid i gynghorwyr dosbarth yn y Gogledd addo peodio a chefnogi trais er mwyn sicrhau amcanion gwleidyddol. Beth bynnag, y mae cynghorwyr gyda chysylltiadau efo grwpiau milwrol cenedlaethol ac undodol wedi addo heb i neb herio'r addewid yn y llysoedd.

MANAW

COFNODI ENWAU LLEOEDD.

Mae Ymddiriedolaeth Leverhulme wedi rhoi grant o 56,000 i'r Athro Emrys Evans, 8 Cam

Coleg Prifysgol Cymru, Aberystwyth, gofnodi enwau lleoedd ar Ynys Manaw dros dair blynedd. Bydd y Bnr George Broderick, ef yw un o'r pymtheg person ar hugain sy'n rhugl yn yr iaith, yn holi trigolion trigolion brodorol hyn yr ynys.

CERNYW

RHYDDID RHAG TRETH Y PEN?

Mae'r Adran Ddiwydiant a Masnach wedi galw'r Derbynydd i mewn ar ran "Royal Consols United Tin Mines Cost Book Company" sydd wedi addo i fuddsoddwyr ryddid rhag treth y pen o dan siatr 1508. Casglwyd dros £250,000 gan y cwmni.

CYFRIFIAD 1991

Ym mis Ebril 1991 bydd y cwestiynau cyfrifiad ym 1981 ynglŷn â'r Gymraeg yng Nghymru, yr Aeleg yn yr Alban a'r Wyddeleg yn y Werinlywodraeth yn cael eu hail-ofyn. Ar yr un adeg bydd cwestiwn yng Ngogledd Iwerddon ynglŷn â'r Wyddeleg ac am y Fanaweg ym Manaw. Ni fydd cwestiwn am y Gernyweg yng Nghernyw nag am y Llydaweg yn Llydaw. Ni fydd cwestiwn na 'chwaith ynglŷn ag unrhyw un sy'n siarad iaith Geltaidd y tu allan i'r famwlad.

LLYDAW

GEFEILLIO

Mae Parc Genedlaethol Arfordir Sir Benfro wedi gefeillio gyda Parc Nature d'Ar-

morique. Gan fod y ddau barc yn anwybyddu'r ieithoedd brodorol bron yn llwyr bydd yn ddiddorol i weld p'un sydd yn cael y budd mwyaf. Ond mae Parc ar Armorica wedi penodi Sylvia Vigerour i hybu'r defnydd o'r Llydaweg yng ngweithgareddau'r Parc

CYNGOR SIR PENN AR BED.

Mae'r Cyngor wedi newid enw ei ben-cadlys yng Nghemper i TI Penn ar Bed. Codwyd arwyddion dwyieithog ar eido'r Cyngor. Hefyd y mae Cyngor Dinas Brest wedi codi arwyddion dwyieithog ar y Llfegell Ganolog a'r Amgueddfa Gelfyddydau Cain.

YRALBAN

SEDDAU CYNGHORAU LLEOL.

Dosbarthiad y seddau ar Gyngor Dinas Caeredin yw:- Llafur 33, Tori 22, Rhyddfrydwyr 5, S.N.P. 3.

Mae'r S.N.P. wedi cymryd 21% o'r bleidlais ar Ynys Muile, yn ail i'r bobl annibynnol, 21.3% (+9.9%) yn Drangain ac Ochiltree, Cyngor Dosbarth Cumnock a Doon Valley, 71.6% yn Glenivet, Cyngor Dosbarth Moray i gadw'r sedd, 37.9% (-0.3%) yn Westwood Hill, Cyngor Dosbarth East Kilbride (ail i Lafur), 14.1% (+4%) yn Cupar North, Cyngor Dosbarth North East Fife (3ydd), a 56.8% yn Bathville, Cyngor Dosbarth West Lothian i ennill y sedd o Lafur a 62.1% (+18.3%) er mwyn cadw sedd Inchinnan, Cyngor Dosbarth Renfrew.

TRETH Y PEN.

Canran Treth y Pen sydd heb ei gasglu dros yr Alban ym 1988-90 oedd 14%

Y ffigurau lleol yw: -----

Boarders 7%	Grampian 8%	Tayside 14%
Central 10%	Highland 11%	Orkney 5%
Dumfries a Galloway 8%	Lothian 16%	Shetland 7%
Fife 9%	Strathclyde 16%	Western Isles 28%
Cyfanswm y gwahaniaeth yw 158 miliwn.		

Mea llawer o son ers
blynnyddoedd am
ddwyieithrwydd.

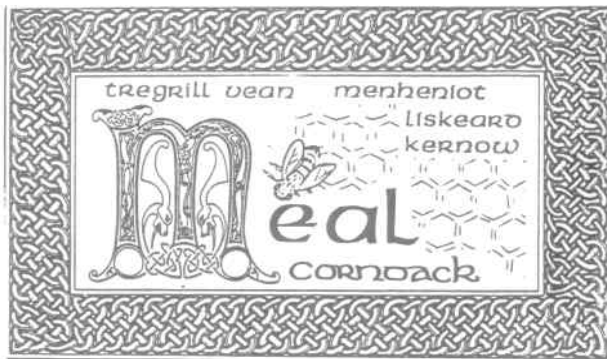
Dyrchafwyd
dwyleithrwydd gan rai fel
egwyddor gysegredig, yn en-
wedig yng Nghymru lle y mae
lloboellunaddoli'r peth.

Ar ei orau cyfaddawd yw
gan ei fod yn cydnabod yr iaith
ormesol o hyd, ie, yr iaith a
ddefnyddir ers canrifoedd i racsan yr ieithoedd brodorol Celtaidd
yn yr ynysoedd hyn.

Defnyddier pob iaith Geltaidd ar ei phen ei hunan pa le bynnag
y bo modd i wneud hynny. Bydd modd, yn fynych iawn.

Bydded y llabed uwchben yr ysgrif fach hon yn enghraifft i'r
Celtaid i gyd, o'r wlad y mae iaith ei siaradwyr a'i hysgrifenyddwyr
brodorol diwethaf yn cael ei hatgyfodi, nid ei hadfer fel ieithoedd
y gwledydd Celtaidd eraill, ond hatgyfodi. Gwnaed o'r blaen
gyda'r Hebraeg ond gwaith ei dychrynlyd o anodd yw, yn galw
am ruddin aghyffredin a dewrder i'w ryfeddu.

Ond y mae'r gweithrediad ar ger'ed yng Nghernyw ar hyn o
bryd ac yn magu nerth er gwaetha'r holl wrthwynebiad gan bobl a
gladdai iaith ddiweddar brodorol y wlad honno am byth
pe gallen nhw.



Yr hon sy'n cynhyrchu'r mel y
mae'r llabed yn cyfeirio ato, y mae
hi'n gwybod yn gywir pa le i anelu
ato -- y byd masnach sy'n trafod
nwyddau ac arian, dirweddau cano-
log gwladwy bywyd pob dydd.

Mae'n rhaid i ddyn fod yn ymar-
ferol wedi'r cwbl.

Nid oes rhaid i wenwynwyr
Cynru nag i wenwynwyr y gwledydd
Celtaidd eraill ddefnyddio llabedi
dwyieithog ar ei potau mel mwy.

Dilynen nhw'r enghraifft wych yma o Gernyw.

Mwy na hynny, dilyner yr un egwyddor ar gyfer nwyddau eraill
hefyd -- unieithrwydd Celtaidd neu os teimlir bod rhaid defnyddio
ieithoedd eraill bydded rheina'n Geltaidd hefyd.

Ni fydd lleihad yn y gwerthiannau trwy osgoi'r Saesneg neu yn
y cyswllt Llydewig, y Ffrangeg.

SUMMARY

Above is a plea to people to use the Celtic languages on their own in the commercial world whenever possible. It usually is and is always far preferable than yielding to the false principle of bilingualism, still acknowledging English and French which have been used down the centuries to bring the native Celtic languages to ruin.

Merfyn Phillips

GYNGOR YR IAITH GERNYWEG

Y mae geiriadur tarddiadau Cer-
nyweg newydd wedi'i roi gyda'i gilydd
gan Richard Gendall at ddefnyddiad my-
fyrrwyr ac wedi'i gyhoeddi gan Gyngor yr
Iaith Gernyweg gyda chyfieithiadau tua
naw mil o eiriau o oddeutu 1600 hyd at
olion tafodieithol diwethaf yr iaith Ger-
nyweg.

Cofnodwyd y geiriau yn eu holl amry-
wiaethau o sillafiadau gwahanol, gan roi'r
cyfeir-iadau llawn a gwerthir y geiriadur am
ei gost, £7 gan ychwanegu £1-10 am glu-
diant. Y geiriadur hirddisgwyliedig hwn,
canlyniad yw i'r galw nid yn unig gan
fyfyrwyr o ddifri sy'n anelu at raddau Pri-
fysgol ond gan y werin Gernywig hefyd a
ddymuna ddefnyddio'r iaith fel y'i def-
nyddid diwethaf gan y siaradwyr brodorol
heb unrhyw un o'r cyfundrefnau sillafu ffu
a ddyfeisiwyd yn y 1920-au ac oddi ar
hynny. Gwna'r galw cynyddol am y def-

nyddiau gwreiddiol y geiriadur hwn yn
werthfawr iawn.

Tw'r gwirfoddol ymchwil a dysgu yw
Cyngor yr Iaith Gernyweg (C. yr I. G.) sy'n
cynnal dosbarthiadau nos di-dâl a chysiau
hyfforddi trwy'r post ac sy'n gwerthu lly-
frau a chasetiau i'w hastudio gartref am y
prisiau cost yn unig. Y myfyriwr cyntaf i
beri Richard Gendall i gael ei enwi'n
swyddogol fel hyfforddwr, cafodd ef radd
o'r dosbarth cyntaf yn ddiweddar, a derby-
niwyd myfyriwr Prifysgol arall eleni.

Pwysleisia C. yr I. C. nad iaith anodd
i'w dysgu yw'r Gernyweg sy'n haws o
lawer yn ei chyfnod diweddar nag yn ei
ffurf ganoloesol, ac y mae pobl heb unrhyw
gymhwysterau addysgol o gwbl yn dysgu
i'w siarad yn rhugl, a dysgu bod yn falch
o'u hacenion Cernywig tra'u bod nhw'n
siarad yr iaith.

Am ragor o fanylion ffoner i Liskeard
43366.

GERIADUR CERNYWEG DIWED-
DAR I FYFYRWYR, sef "A STUDENTS'
DICTIONARY OF MODERN CORNISH"
A RODDWDYD GYDA'I GILYDD GAN
R.R.M. GENDALL AC A GY-
HOEDDWDYD GAN GYNGOR YR IAITH
GERNYWEG, £7-00 a £1-10 am gludiant.
Ffon: 0579 43366 Tregrill vean, Menieniot,
Liskeard, Cernyw.

SUMMARY

A source dictionary of approx 9 thousand English-to-Cornish translated words from C 1600 has been compiled by R.R.M. Gendall, published by the Cornish Language Council. All the words are taken from textual evidence and full references are given. It is already attracting the attention of universities, students and the Cousin-Jack Cornishman.

NEWS FROM WALES

WELSH SCHOOLS IN WEST GLAMORGAN

Local parents are trying to pressure the county council to open new Welsh primary schools in Swansea, Cwm Tawe and Neath, a third comprehensive school within five years and a tertiary college.

BILINGUAL HIGH SCHOOL.

Ysgol y Preseli in North Pembrokeshire will become an official bilingual high school in September 1991.

WELSH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN WALES.

The percentages of students from Wales in the constituent colleges of the University of Wales are :
Aberystwyth 31%, Bangor 26%, Cardiff 36%, Lampeter 18%, Swansea 34%, Medical College 47%. All Wales 32%.

TRANSLATORS.

The Welsh Language Board has published Directory of Translators which is available free from Longcross Court, 47 Newport Road, Cardiff.

ELECTIONS.

Plaid Cymru polled 49.5% to Independent 50.5% at Manorbier, South Pembrokeshire District.

The current position on Mid Glamorgan County and district councils is:-

	Cynon Vally	Merthyr Tudful	Ogwr	Rhondda	Rhymni	Taf Eali	Mid Glamorgan
Labour	30	22	31	27	33	23	65
Conservative	-	-	16	-	-	1	-
S.L.D.	-	-	-	-	1	2	1
S.P.D.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Plaid Cymru	5	1	-	2	6	10	5
Independent	1	6	1	1	3	4	2
Others	2	4	1	3	3	4	1

CHANNEL 5.

In Wales only Blaenplwyf and Presli transmitters are likely to be used to transmit Channel 5. If viewers retune to English transmitters they will not get any Welsh programmes or English programmes from Wales.

WELSH LEARNERS

H.T.V. and the Welsh Office are producing 48 episodes of Parablau, a series for infant second language learners at a cost of 430,000.

RAILWAYS SPLIT.

From the end of 1991 railways in Wales will be run by four different "companies"; Inter-City, South Wales and West, Central and North West. None will be based in Wales, although Provincial Railways will retain a manager in Cardiff.

CELTIC AIR LINKS.

Manx Airlines have applied for permission to fly from Cardiff to Glasgow, Paris, Dusseldorf, Brussels, Manchester, Belfast, Dublin and Jersey and hope to attract 100,000 passengers per annum.

LANGUAGE CURRICULUM.

The full list of modern second languages for secondary schools in England is Arabic, Bengali, Chinese (Cantonese or Mandarin), Danish, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Gujarati, Hebrew, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Punjabi, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Turkish and Urdu. Where is Welsh, Irish and the other Celtic languages?

PABELL Y CELTIAID 1990

At first I wrote Eisteddfod 1990 as the title to this report, then I changed it as when one is running a stall on the Eisteddfod field one knows very little of what is happening in the Eisteddfod.

Last year two people, independently of each other, told me that Pabell y Celtiaid was the most interesting tent on the field. This year it was even more so with the co-operation of the Welsh Branch of the Celtic League, Teere ha Tavaz, Cymedeithas Cymru-Llydaw, Kevredigezh Breizh-Kembre and the Welsh Branch of the Pan-Celtic Movement.

Although the numbers attending the Eisteddfod were down and the Welsh Branch didn't get so many new members -- we always get more in the Welsh speaking areas, with Fishguard still holding the record -- tradewise we did better than the previous year. That must be because not only were there a great variety of books and cassettes to teach the Celtic languages, and cassettes too, as last year, but this year there were honey and corn dollies for sale on the Teere ha Tavaz stall, with corn dollies actually being made on the spot. Crafts always draw the crowds especially when they can see them being made. That alone enhanced the sales of the other things.

Although there was literature and teaching materials from all

the Celtic countries the actual organisations co-operating in running Pabell y Celtiaid were representative only of the P Celts. It would be good if there were representative bodies from the Q Celtic countries running stalls too. Still things are progressing. For years it was just the Celtic League and the Pan Celtic Movement running the tent. This year Teere ha Tavaz was the newcomer in that corner of Wales nearest Cornwall, overland at any rate. And Richard and Jan Gendall who ran that stall were, I think, not disappointed with the results.

A pleasure it was to have Alan Heusaff, the former General Secretary of the Celtic League, and Brid present in the tent. Much of their time was taken up as representatives of Oireachtas na Gaeilge in the proceedings of the Gorsedd.

Even if we didn't get organisations from the Q Celtic countries actually taking part in Pabell y Celtiaid at least many people from those lands graced our tent with their presence.

I should like to thank all those who worked so diligently in Pabell y Celtiaid. It was a huge success -- culturally, financially and as a place where one could meet the leaders of the Celtic scene, with some of them running stalls and otherwise. It was a window for the Celtic countries to the world at large.

Merfyn Phillips

ÈIRE

SUIBRBHÉ SUIMIÚIL FAOI GHAELTACHT NA hALBAN

Cuirfear spéis in Éirinn i suirbhé ar thuairimí daoine óga in Inse Gall Amuigh a foilsíodh tamall ó shoin in Gairm agus (i mBéarla) i mbliainiris an Stornoway Gazette. Frang Mac Thómais, Steornabhagh, ball den Chonradh Cellteach, a mhol an suirbhé seo a dhéanamh cúig bliana ó shin agus a chuir na torthaí i dtoll a chéile. Tá an suirbhé seo toilacaithe do Isobel Mary Smith (neé Maciver) nach maireann. Thug an bhean sin faoi dhá shuirbhé den saghas céanna cheana, sa bhliain 1968 agus i 1978. Thug sí féin agus a fear céile, Douglas C. Smith, cuairt ar gach scoil sna hoileáin nach mór. Fuair Isobel Mary Smith bás tar éis tinnis fhada sa bhliain 1983 in aois a 58 di. Shocraíodh leanuint leis an obair in ómós di.

Bhí 36 cheist sa suirbhé a chlúdaigh spéiseanna pearsanta, mianta maidir le sí bheatha, an comhshaol agus Gàidhlig. Ghlac 15 scoil pairt sa tionscnamh (Baile Mhìcheall, Eirisgeidh, Daliburgh, Íochdar, Paibeall, Leurburgh, An Tairbeart, Scalpaigh, Liurbost, Lews Castle, Mac Neacail, Boyle, An Bac, Siabost agus Lìonell).

Fuarthas 254 freagra ó na scoileanna (9.2% de dhaltai meànscóile an limistéir) mar aon le 24 freagraí ó mhic leinn aosóiliúna i Lews Castle. Bhí méan aois na ndaltai scoile thart faoi 15 bliana. Ba bhuachaillí 43.3% díobh agus ba chailíní an 56.7% eile. Tuagadh geallúint dóibh go gcoinneofaí na freagraí aonair faoi rún agus dealraíonn sé go raibh siad an-oscailte lena bhfreagraí dá bharr.

Roghnaigh 83.8% de na cailíní agus 61.3% de na buachaillí díoscó mar chaitheamh aimsire tráthnóna. Ní raibh ach dalta amháin a dúirt go mbeadh spéis aige i 'gceilidh' (i.e., ceolchoirm). Bhí an claonadh seo níos soiléire sna freagraí maidir leis na cineálacha ceoil a thaitnigh leis na daoine ógra. 'Top of the Pops' a theastaigh ó 80.4% de na cailíní agus 51.8% de na buachaillí. Dá gcuirfí gach cineál de cheol nua-aimseartha le chéile b'ín a theastaigh ó 97.4% de na daltaí. Níor léirigh ach 2% spéis i bpopamháin Gàidhlig agus ba lú ná sin an méid a

chuir suim im gceol traidisiúnta Gaelach.

Ní raibh na páistí saor ó luachanna an Thatcherachais. Slí bheatha rathúil an príomhchuspóir sa saol a bhí ó leath de daltaí, beagnach. Más fíor do na freagraí bhí cúnamh do dhaoine eile ar an gcloch ba ísle ar a bpaidrín. Tóir ar shonas an dara rogha a bhí ag na cailíní (22.5%) agus fónamh do Dhia ag na buachaillí (27.6%).

B'fhearr le breis agus leath de na daltaí dul thar lear ar laethanta saoire ce gur roghnaigh 27.5% de na cailíní agus 19.0% de na buachaillí saoire i dtithe gaolta. Ní raibh aon éileamh ar chúrsaí Gàidhlig mar shaoire.

Bhí difríochtaí idir buachaillí agus cailíní maidir leis na hábhair scoile ab fhearr leo. Roghnaigh 46% de na cailíní ábhair iontrála ollscoile agus bhí 28.7% ann arbh fhearr leo ábhair phraiticiúla. Ba iad 27.3% agus 45.8% na ceatadáin i measc na mbuachaillí. Fiafraíonn an tuarascáil an gciallaíonn sé sin go bhfuil meon láidir feimíneach ag cailíní na nOileán, an bhfuil siad ag iarraidh a chinntiú go mbeidh siad beag beann ar a bheith ag brath go hionlán ar fhir chéile nó an é go bhfeiceann siad mna eile sa phobal nach ndearna dul chun cinn ar chúiseanna teaghlacha. Dála an scéil, níor roghnaigh ach duine amháin an léinn reiligiúnda.

Fanacht sa leaba nó breathnú ar an teilifís an caitheamh aimsire ba mhó a bhí ag na daoine óga ar an Satharn. Luaigh cuid de na buachaillí cúrsaí spóirt, go háirithe peil agus dúirt cuid de na cailíní go ndearna siad obair tís nó siopadóireacht Díosco nó rince an tsiamsaíocht ba mhó a mhó bhí ann sna tráthnóntaí Sathairn.

Bhídís teoranta do chomhlúadar an teaghlach go hiondúil Dé Domhaigh. Luadh fanacht sa leaba, teilifís, léamh, éisteacht le popcheol. Ní raibh ach beagán a luaigh dul chuig an teampall.

Bhí sé suimiúil nach raibh an domán freagraí ó na mic leinn fásta mórán éagsúl leis na cinn ó na daltaí meànscóile. Bhí poist pháirtaimseartha ag cúpla duine acu Dé Sathairn agus chaithidís cuid den Domhnach ag staidéar.

Maidir le poist amach anseo b'fhearr leosan i Leodhas agus na Hearadh a bheith ag obair ansin i Steornabhagh, iadsan sna hoi-



• The late Mrs Isobel Mary Smith (nee Maciver)

leáin ó dheas in áit níos gaire do bhaile. Mura mbeadh obair ansin b'fhearr leo a bheith ar mhórthír na hAlban. Bhí sé suimiúil go raibh Ceanada nó na Stáit Aontaithe ríos airde ar an liosta acu ná Sasana.

Bhí 60% de na daltaí scoile i bhfabhar an Domhnach a beith mar lá ar leith ach thit an céatadán go 40% i gcas na mac leinn aosóiliúna.

Bhí níos mo buachaillí ná cailíní (64.2 - 55.6%) den tuairim gur bhuntáiste dóibh é gur tógadh iad sna hoileáin áit ar fhoghlaím siad scileanna praiticiúla agus ina raibh timpeallacht shláintiúil. Shíl an chuid eile go mbeadh áiseanna oideachais agus deiseanna fostaíochta níos fearr acu ar an morthír.

Ar an iomlán bhí daoine óga i bhfabhar stair áitiúil a bheith mar ábhar scoile (70.7% i gcas na gcaillíní).

Dúirt 39.6% de na buachaillí go bhféachaidís chuige go bhfoghlaimeodh a bpáistí Gàidhlig ach dúirt 41.5% go bhfagfaidís an cinneadh faoi na páistí féin. Bhí difríocht ann idir é sin agus tuairimí na gcaillíní: d'fhéachfadh 56.7% díobhsan go mbeadh Gàidhlig ag a bpáistí agus ní raibh ach 26.2% a d'fhágfadh faoi na leanaí féin é. Dúradh rudaí ar nós 'Ní thuigfeí Gàidhlig taobh amuigh' agus 'Ní féidir ach le seandaoine Gàidhlig a thuiscint go héasca'. Bhí an tuairmíocht maidir leis an gceist seo ar aon dul leis na tuairmí a nochtadh sa bhliain 1968! Shíl 46.9% de na buachaillí agus 43% de na cailíní go mbeadh an cúla Gaelach ina chúnamh dóibh amach anseo. Shíl 80% de

THE NORTH: THE REALITY

The difficulties which have beset the Northern Secretary, Mr Brooke, in trying to get talks going between the two sides in the North are not, as some commentators would have us believe, the fault of the Dublin government. At a time when many observers were gushing with glowing optimism about the chances of such talks achieving a lasting solution, readers of this magazine were warned that everything in the garden was anything but rosy.

What has happened is simply that Mr Brooke and all the parties concerned have dug down through the layers of the possible and have, at last, encountered reality. That reality is that neither the representatives of the North's nationalists nor the Dublin government which takes its cue from those representatives, can settle for anything less than the influential role which Dublin acquired in the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

The Unionists steamed ahead in the belief that they could achieve by political ploy what they could not achieve by mass demonstrations and threats of anarchy --- a break in the proceedings of the Anglo-Irish Secretariat at Maryfield. This, they could represent to their followers as a single victory that would allow them to engage in talks with 'the enemy'. Unfortunately, it would seem that this was not enough. They are now asking for the Dublin government to be left out of any talks until representatives of both sides 'inside the United Kingdom' meet with a measure of agreement and present that to the Dublin government for ratification. Then, surely, everybody could talk about the advantages of trade and tourism co-operation.

In insisting that Dublin be left out of the talks until they were satisfied, it is the Unionists who have once again overturned the applecart. Why should the SDLP settle for something less than the agreement that they already enjoy? Why should the Dublin government see itself once again excluded from the real problems of the North while paying the very real price of solving them?

The situation seems much simpler from the vantage point of a nationalist ghetto in Belfast or Derry. The Unionists are not offering any big deal in these talks. They have already ruled out power-sharing and claim privately that they only wish to see their version of democracy returned to the north. It will be remembered

that their form of democracy was based on an eternal majority guaranteed them deliberately by the way in which the border was drawn. This advantage was further copperfastened by them through discrimination in housing, employment and gerrymandering of constituency boundaries.

No nationalist in his right mind is going to vote for any return to local 'democracy' as long as an unjust and unjustifiable border lays down the ground rules for such a 'democracy'. The old simile of turkeys voting for Christmas comes to mind.

But let's get back to the basic problem which snarls up any attempt at dialogue and which must be confronted if real progress is to be made. Mr Brooke made a speech during the period when speculation was rife about the failure of the talks, in which he said that partition was the recognition of a political reality and that Sinn Féin and the IRA would have to come to terms with that reality. However, the vast majority of the population of Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry City and a sizeable proportion of Co. Derry and South Armagh would have a great problem in facing Mr Brooke's vision of reality. They know that they are Irish and don't wish to be anything else. Who is there to speak for their reality, living in their own homeland but ruled by a foreign power? This is the reality which Mr Brooke tends to ignore and when he talks of the rights of the 'majority' to remain inside the United Kingdom, he immediately lines himself up with and supports what these people regard as an injustice and a lie.

Significantly, while everyone was busy speculating about the imminent failure of the talks, Mr Brooke addressed himself to Sinn Féin and Sinn Féin responded --- negatively, it must be admitted. But, at least, they were conducting a dialogue about the real problem, the fundamental underlying problem which refuses to go away and which no amount of international diplomacy can cover up.

Mr Brooke and Sinn Féin were discussing, at a distance, their views of the nature of the problem and when all the rhetoric is peeled from the dialogue, they were talking about the partition of Ireland and its after-effects. No internal solution which does not address the kernel injustice which brought it about in the first place will work. Ask them in Tyrone and Fermanagh --- they have to endure Mr Brooke's reality every day of their lives.

Peadar Mac Airt

na cáilíní agus 60% de na buachaillí go raibh an teanga nar shnaidhm idir iad agus a gceantar dúchais, Níor léirigh ach 20.4% de na buachaillí agus 39.6% de na cáilíní spéis i léamh na Gàidhliche taobh amuigh den scoil. Bhí difríocht shontasach idir buachaillí agus cáilíní maidir le spéis sa Mhod Náisiúnta. Ní bheadh spéis ach ag 19.4% de na buachaillí páirt a ghlacadh ann ach ba bhreá le 54.1% de na cáilíní é. Bhí tromlach beag i bhfabhar stáisiún teilifíse Gàidhliche.

Ní mór a choinneáil in intinn maidir leis an gceistneoir seo gur freagraíodh na ceistearna cūig bliana ó shin agus deir daoine a bhfuil cur amach acu ar na hOileain go bhfuil athrú tagtha ar chúrsaí sa tréimhse sin. Tá Comhairle nan Eilean ag cur polasai oideachais dhá theanhgach i bhfeidhm agus le blianta beaga anuas múineadh Ghàidhlig sna bunranganna i roinnt bunscoileanna. Osclaíodh pobalscoil nua i Lianacleit sa bhliain 1988. Tá meadu mar togha ar naionrai Gàidhliche freisin.

SUMMARY

A survey of attitudes of young people in the Outer Hebrides published some time ago in *Gairm* and the *Stornoway Gazette* annual is of interest to people in the other Celtic countries. The survey was suggested by Mr Frank Thomson to continue the work of Mrs Isobel Mary Smith who carried out similar surveys in 1968 and 1978. The report is dedicated to the memory of Mrs Smith who had a lifelong interest in Scots Gaelic and the Islands. A total of 254 pupils from 15 schools were questioned in the survey. Discos and pop music were the main sources of entertainment for the young people. A successful career was seen as the main objective in life. As regards holidays the pupils preferred foreign trips and Scots Gaelic courses did not figure at all. Most hoped for jobs at home or at least in Scotland but if they had to emigrate they would choose Canada or the USA rather than England. Most of the girls said they would see to it that their children learned Scots Gaelic but the majority of the boys decided they would leave it to their off-spring to make the choice. (The above article is based on information on the survey received from Mr Douglas C. Smith, to whom our thanks is due).

Mícheál Mac Aonghusa

A NEW STYLE PRESIDENCY?

The election of Mary Robinson as the first woman President of the twenty six county state has been hailed as a victory for a broad coalition of the left and is viewed as a significant advance for the Women's movement.

Mary Robinson was proposed by the Labour Party and her candidature was endorsed by the Workers Party and the Green Party. Her support, however, extended much beyond the usual electoral base of those parties (who between them have only about an eight of the total seats in the Dail) and the ad hoc groups who worked to further her cause were termed the rainbow coalition.

Initial opinion polls put Mary Robinson in second place behind the favourite, Fianna Fáil's Brian Lenihan, with Fine Gael's Austin Currie (once involved in northern politics with the SDLP), a poor third. Both the latter were in the Dail but Mary Robinson had retired from politics. It is interesting to speculate how much the events which occurred during the Presidential election campaign which brought a reversal of the position of Lenihan and Robinson in the later polls, aided her. However, the integrity and sense of purpose of Robinson, along with her espousal of a more open Presidency in touch with the needs of the people were probably the main factors in her success.

The first count election results would indeed indicate that the campaign events had little effect on the Fianna Fail vote with Lenihan polling about 44%, almost the same as the party's showing in the 1989 general election. Robinson achieved 39% with Austin Currie beaten into a poor showing in third place at 17%, well below Fine Gael's last election percentage. The electoral system being proportional representation the second count decided the outcome with Mary Robinson winning by 86,000 votes, having a final 52.8% against Lenihan's 47.2% by

gaining five times more second preferences than Lenihan. An early casualty of the election following his party's poor performance was Fine Gael leader Alan Dukes, who was forced to resign, being succeeded by John Bruton as new leader.

Mary Robinson is a constitutional lawyer who hails originally from Ballina, Co. Mayo. She was involved in many test cases for the Free Legal Aid Committees (FLAC) including the Josie Airey case where Ireland was found in breach of the convention of Human Rights, for failing to provide civil legal aid.

She entered the Senate in 1969 for Trinity College and introduced a number of bills relating to Family Planning (legalisation of contraceptives), adoption and maintenance and succession. She made a number of unsuccessful attempts to gain a seat for the Labour Party and eventually left the Party in 1985 over the Anglo-Irish Agreement holding it to be unfair to Unionists!

The position of President is quite rigidly defined in the constitution and its powers are



• Mary Robinson, Ireland's first Woman President

limited to specific functions in certain circumstances. Mrs Robinson while stating that she intended to have a more open Presidency in touch with issues and concerned for minorities also emphasised that as a constitutional lawyer she was very well aware of the limitations of the office. It remains to be seen whether she will find those limitations compatible with the view of the Presidency put forward during her campaign.

Belfast City Council Indicted in New Book

Comhad Comhairleora (Councillor's File), a new book in Irish by Belfast Sinn Féin councillor and NUJ member, Máirín Ó Muilleoir, was released in November.

Chapters in the book look at the development of Sinn Féin in the north from 1980 to the present day; examine the media censorship of the republican viewpoint; and present a unique insight into West Belfast. The bulk of the 200-page work of reportage deals with the discrimination against nationalists by Belfast City Council since 1981.

Among the controversial decisions the book examines are:

The Gerrymandering of council committees.

The ban on the Irish Language.

Exclusion of nationalists from all decision making.

Links between Unionist politicians and Loyalist paramilitaries, including a meeting with Canadian gunrunners in the Lord Mayor's parlour.

Squandering of rates on junkets.

In October 1989 Máirín Ó Muilleoir won an Oireachtas award for journalism for his weekly column in the Irish Newspaper, *Lá*. He is a councillor for Upper Falls in West Belfast. Comhad Comhairleora retails at 5 and is available from all good bookshops or direct from Coiscéim, 127 Bothar na Tra, Baile Átha Cliath 4 (include £1 for postage).

LANGUAGE NEWS

READERS of CARN will remember the battle for letter marks on car registration plates to be derived from the Irish language versions of the city or county rather than the English name. The Minister for the Environment Mr. Flynn, announced at the end of October that a new system would incorporate the full Irish language version of the town or county on the number plate (see below). The group who engaged in this campaign ex-

pressed themselves satisfied with the outcome.

* Senator Pól Ó Foighil continues his one man battle to have a simultaneous translation system introduced in the Upper House. Un-

like the Dail no such service exists in the Senate. P. Ó Foighil complained that his constitutional rights were being trampled on as members could not understand him.

* President elect Robinson promised during the presidential campaign that she would improve her standard of Irish whether elected or not. She accepted that Irish speakers had the right to expect to be able to deal with the President through Irish.

Publicity May Damage Your Health

HEALTH AUTHORITIES are an integral part of the services which aim to enhance the quality of our lives. They are funded out of taxes paid by the electorate and employ a large number of people. But these bodies are not democratically elected. Their members are appointed by the central government. This lack of accountability is in itself a poor reflection on the role of democratic institutions in society. The situation is exacerbated by the way in which such bodies operate. A recent report by the Community Rights Project (Secrets File No 17), reveals the high level of secrecy in Health Authorities. Unlike local authorities, Health Authorities are not covered by the 1985 Local Government (Access to Information) Act. Their legal requirements for the provision of information/access etc are set out under the 1960 Public Bodies (Admission to Meetings) Act. This legislation places fewer obligations on Authorities to ensure that the community is aware of what is going on. Overall, Health Authorities function behind a veil of secrecy.

The table below sets out some results for Welsh Health Authorities. It indicates whether they comply with the law when Authorities give notice of meetings and, before excluding the press and public from meetings. It also shows whether the public is given access to Committee minutes.

In Cornwall, most of the area is served by the Cornwall and Isles of Scilly HA. In common with other authorities they have a right to exclude members of the public from parts of their meetings. However, what is deemed to be unsuitable to be discussed in

ITEM	Notice of meetings	Exclusion of public	Committees access to minutes
COUNTY			
Gwynedd	BL	BL	GP
Clwyd		BL	GP
Powys	NR	NR	NR
E Dyfed		BL	
Gwent		BL	GP
Mid Glamorgan			GP
Pembrokeshire			

BL - Breaking the Law; GP - Good Practice; NR - No Reply.

public is interpreted rather broadly. In Cornwall it is those "matters which might cause unnecessary alarm to patients and relatives". As part of its administrative structure the Authority has a number of Committees and sub-committees. Cornwall neither allows the public access to its Committees or publishes the minutes of such meetings, (this is a policy which the majority of Authorities in England, Wales and Cornwall adhere to). The Authority also limits the rights of its own members. Members who are not on a particular Committee are excluded from attending those Committee meetings. At the same time full minutes of Committee meetings are not presented to meetings of the Authority.

With the continuing threats to the NHS from the Conservative Government, the need for Health Authorities to come under demo-

cratic control is becoming increasingly essential.

(NB Recent Government guidelines state that Health Authorities should operate in a more open manner.)

Peter Wills.

Exchange Publicity

If you read Breton - something which all Breton C.L. members do or are striving hard to achieve - subscribe to BREMAN, the 20-page monthly which will inform you in detail of all that is being done to get full recognition for our language. It needs your help!

105Fr/annum, to 8 rue Hoche, 35000 Rennes.

MK cont'd

There was obvious desire by members to have a constructive debate. This was clearly shown by the ease that the members present accepted that a greater degree of co-operation with other groups was favourable, if the other groups had similar objectives to MKs. However the idea of dual membership was not favoured by a substantial number of those present and was dropped, without specifically becoming an issue in the vote on motions.

Generally the meeting was forward looking, but there were some references to organisational problems in the past. One of MK's long standing members and organisations sales officer, outlined the problems of the movement in the past, such as the poor press coverage, leading him to argue that the Mebyon Kernow label may be more of a disadvantage than an asset. He also men-

tioned the degree of ignorance about the Cornish movement, encountered in various election campaigns and not just from those who recently moved to Cornwall. Another member added that many newcomers were actually pro-Cornish as demonstrated by them joining Cornish societies in his area.

One motion passed by the general meeting emphasised increased flexibility in relation to contacts with other groups, but that the priority was, to make communication between MK and members, more efficient.

Prior to the election of new officers a number of the posts, that of national secretary and national treasurer, were changed. These two were given new and clearly defined roles. The title secretary was replaced by political and campaigns organiser and, it was decided that future treasurers would take on the role of administrators.

The new officers elected were: Loveday

Jenkin, chair; Carol Spear, administrator; Colin Lawry, political and campaigns organiser. The number of national executive members was widened and included two early leaders of the organisation, Richard Jenkin and Len Truran.

As the position now stands, MK is, hopefully, at the threshold of new successes. The meeting has given new hope to the Cornish national movement. However, much work is needed to transform MK into a politically active group once again, campaigning on behalf of the Cornish people. Clearly the one issue that needs to be discussed is that of how MK is to present itself to the Cornish people from now on and this was not touched upon by the AGM, but the need to do so is very necessary if the organisation is to have a successful relaunch.

R.C.

FARMING COLLAPSE: NATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

In recent months attention has focused on the EC common agricultural policy (CAP) in the light of discussions and disagreements within the EC on what reductions would be made in the range of farming subsidies contained in the CAP as an offer in talks on GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs). After much publicised wrangling an offer of 30% was agreed

The Irish farming organisations had mounted vigorous campaign of opposition to any cuts in CAP even if some must have admitted to themselves that the beginning of the end was near. Increasingly concern was expressed by many at the fact that the main beneficiaries of CAP subsidies were the larger farmers and ranchers while family farms benefitted little (see C. L. AGM resolution). Dissatisfaction with the representation of their interests within the IFA (Irish Farmers Association) and ICMSA (Irish Creamery Milk Suppliers Association) by small farmers led to the setting up of a new organisation the UFA (United Farmers Association). They called for any savings from CAP to be channelled into a proper marketing structure and a clear income support system designed to benefit the low and middle income farmers.

A radically different view of the CAP was put forward in a book

of the same title as that of this article written by Raymond Crotty and launched in mid November. Suggesting that the 1.5 billion flowing to the Irish Farmers should be distributed instead to the electorate, Mr Crotty said it was clear that the CAP had failed the Irish people as a whole and the time had come to rethink the whole scheme.

"We should be working with the United States and other countries in the Cairns grouping in GATT to get rid of CAP and to have the benefits redistributed," he said.

"Beef and milk have failed and we have too high a dependency on grass. Only the remaining nomads in the world have a higher dependency on grass than the Irish," he said.

He said that CAP had only benefited a few and it was time for the grip of that privileged group to be broken and the money shared out.

Mr Crotty said the larger farmers would suffer in his scenario, but Irish farmers should be concentrating on producing quality, environmentally - friendly produce such as poultry and pigs, which were not subject to seasonality like beef

"Farming Collapse, National Opportunity" is published by Amara - Ireland 2000 and is priced at £4.95.

IMPOSSIBLE TO LEAVE DOWN

GIB A MODEST EXPOSURE Jack Mitchell, The Fulcrum Press (43 East Essex Street, Dublin 2) IR 3.95

On 6th March 1988 three Irish people were murdered in Gibraltar by the SAS on the orders of the English government. The event is remembered and commented upon in this long poem by Jack Mitchell, a Scot living in Berlin where he has taught English literature for many years at Humboldt University.

The work contains satire and lament, polemic and anger. It is written in rhymed verse which flows so freely that it is virtually impossible to leave it down unfinished.

In a preface, Dr Seamus Deane, Head of the Department of English at University College Dublin, says of Mitchell's couplets: "They march along in serried rank, but their orderliness is in inverse proportion to the sense of disorder that they create". Addressing the subject matter of the poem Dr Deane says: "The viciousness of the Thatcherite

regime in Britain is, in itself abnormal; but it has establish itself as the norm. Killing in Northern Ireland, the Falklands, Gibraltar may be the last wave of bloodletting of the Empire that was retreating from Africa, Malaya, Aden and Cyprus only two decades ago".

It will suffice to give two short quotations as an indication of the power of Jack Mitchell's verse.

Firstly,

"Deep inside Gibraltar Rock
There stands a town, or rather mock
Town, looking pretty
Like certain parts of Belfast City.
Here khaki cutthroats learn the art
Of taking a neighbour apart,
The stealthy approach, the dawn raid,
Crowd-dispersal with the aid
Of plastic bullets, CS gas,
The art of torture (not too crass),
Of close surveillance, hot pursuit,
With surveillance strict instructions,

when you shoot

Be certain that you shoot to kill."

Towards the end of the poem Mitchell draws the conclusions:

"Enough! It's time to call a halt,
These obsolescent things insult
The true potentialities
Of four great nationalities,
Funnelling all the streams of native
Talent, kindly and creative,
Down this narrow pestilent drain,
To the world's waste, and not its gain,
To the peril of peace, that delicate kitten,
So fragile still, and easily smitten.
This sickening tyranny must fall,
Or it will waste us one and all!"

This poem ranks with Thomas Kinsella's 'Butcher's Dozen', written as a protest against the Widgery Tribunal's whitewashing of the massacre of unarmed civilians by the English Paratroop Regiment in Derry in January 1972.

Micheal Mac Aonghusa

LANGUAGE NEWS cont'd

* The declining state of the language in the Gaeltacht was emphasised again by speakers at a seminar during this year's Oireachtas in Ennis. The seminar entitled (in Irish) "Industrial and Technological Development = Decline of Irish in the Gaeltacht" was organised by Udaras na Gaeltachta. It was stated that there was evidence that language

change was occurring rapidly and that soon the Gaeltacht would consist of numbers of Irish speaking homes rather than a full language community. The lack of a television service in Irish (when like most householders in the country Gaeltacht families spend a lot of time watching television) and a modern context for the language were stated to be factors in this.

* In 1937/8 a special schools scheme was run to collect folklore all over the country.

The records are in the Folklore Dept. at University College, Galway. Now those collected on Inis Meain, the middle of the Aran islands has been edited by Ciaran O Coigligh as "Seanchas Inis Meain" published by Coiscéim at 5 (191 ps.)

* The decision of University College Galway to do away with the first year Physics course has been reversed following complaints by the Students Union.



KERNOW

KATALAN ha VALENSIANEK

(Kernewek Kemmyn)

Yma genev lyver termyn diworth Kowethas Gonisegeth Katalan, "Omnium Culural" y hanow. Yma tri skif a dhiskwedh yn tyblans bos kaletterow ha kudynnow dhe'n yeth katalan yn Spain pur hevelep dhe'n re usi dhe'n yethow keltek. Onyn anedha a dhalleth dell syw:

"Herwydh an Korf Laghys, an Stat ha'n Lagha an yeth katalan yw soedhygol ha vas rag pub tra ha rag pub towl y'n Bro Katalunya rag pub rann an gobernans gwlasak po teythek." Mes an skrif a syw ow leverel bos an kas yn hwir yw dihevelep yn fenowgh. Yn arbennek oll an kovrolyow yn kever dreheviansi kenwerthek yw skrifys yn Kastelyanek (Spanynek) ha'n soedhogyon a with hag oberi gans an kovrolyow ma a gews pupprys Kastelyansk ha ny vynnons kewsel Katalan. Yma an dra ow kwellhe yn pur lent mes ny lever an lagh pes termyn a vydh res rag katalanhe an kovrolyow ha'n soedhogyon.

Nessa skrif - pennskrif an lyver termyn - a lever bos lies den ow tos dhe dryga yn Katalunya (Barcelona yw nessa sita Spain) hed godhvos an yeth hag yma peryll bos Katalan beudhys yn-dann liv a Gastelyanegoryon. Yn-medh an skrif dhe dus a'n par ma:

"Po hwi a vynn gul devnydh a Gatalan, usya an yeth a'gas bro nowydh po ny vydh dhe Gatalunya y yeth y honyn namoy."

Res yw aswonnavos bos Katalan yeth romansek devedhys a Latynek, kepar ha Kas-

telyanek heb meur a dhihevelepter ynter an dhiw. Gans hemma ny vydh re gales dhe Gastelyanegoryon dyski kewsel Katalan ynwedh mar ny vynnons dyski y skrifa. Nyns yw dihevelep yn tein, dell yw Sowsnek po Frynkek ha'n yethow keltek.

An tressa skrif yn "Omnium Culural" a vynnnav dhe gampoella yw lyther diworth benyn sowsnek trygys yn Kingston. An venyn ma a bellgevis orth an kannatti spaynek yn Loundres mars esa, neb le, skol dhe dhannvon hy mab dhedhi dhe dhyski Katalan. Soethenys yn tein o an soedhek y'n kannatti. Yn-medh ev,

"Prag y'n bys y fynn ev dyski Katalan? Nyns yw vas mann! Milweyth moy a vern yw dyski Kastelyanek yw gewsys pub le y'n bys!"

An venyn a worthybis,

"Nyns yw Kastelyanek gewsys gans ow herens yn Katalunya. Ha ny dal dhymm Kastelyanek dhe viajya pub le y'n bys. My a woer Sowsnek!"

Yn-dann an lyther ma yw diharas pryntys diworth an Menyster rag Negysyow Tramor, mes y koedh dhyn omwovynn fatell wrussa gorthbyi soedhek y'n kannatti sowsnek yn Madrid po Paris po neb penndra wlasak arall mar kovynna nebonyon,

"Mar pleg, my a garsa kavoes skol may hyller dyski Kernewek, po Kembrek, po Gwydhalek?" A wrussa ev leveral "Pyth w Kernewek?" "Ny womn travith yn kever Kembrek!" "Nyns ov sur le may fydh Gwydhalek kewsys!" Martesen y koedh dhe'n Kesunyans Keltek dannvon derivadow

yn kever an yethow keltek dhe gannattiw sowsnek pub le y'n bys!

Valensianek yw yeth pur gehaval dhe Gatalan. Dhe wir, kales yw kavoes an dihevelepter ynter an dhiw! Martesen yma'n keth kaletterow dhe Valensianek. Ny womn yn sur. Mes my re spenas nebes seythyngow yn Valencia ha my a woer bos lies den ena a gews Valensianek pub eur oll. Yma kowethas arbennek dhe skoedhya an yeth ha pub blydhen, dhe Elche, yma gwari mir dhe woelya mernans ha drehevians Maria Wynn yn Valensianek. Gwari mir pur hweg yw. Ha pub dy Yow yma lys synsys ryb daras an Benneglos yn Valencia dhe dhyghtya kennow yn kever dowrans an ranndir - mar kwrug nebonyon kemmeres moy a'n dowr es dell yw ewn ragdho. Yn Valensianek yw an lys ma synsys pupprys. Goev dhe neb a vynn gul klem ena mar ny gonvedh Valensianek!

SUMMARY

The Catalan Language in Spain suffers from the same difficulties as the Celtic languages. Although officially recognised its use is not fully implemented as required by law. In particular Commerical and Property registers are still in Castillian Spanish and those in charge of them are not conversant with Catalan. This is being changed slowly but the law sets no time limit in how long it may take. Immigrants into Catalonia who do not speak the language are threatening to swamp it.

Ray Edwards

EXCHANGE PUBLICITY

L'AVENIR DE LA BRETAGNE,
16-page monthly organ of the P.O.B.L.
(for a free Brittany in a Europe of the
peoples). Sub. 150Fr but 160Fr outside
Fr.State, to P.B. 103, 22001 St-Brieg-
Cedex.

In the November issue Y. Fouere castigates French centralism as the doctrine which is inspiring the Serbs refusal to recognise the Kosovo Albanians right to take the same status as the other Republics of the Yugoslav federation:-

"there can be no worthwhile Euro-

pean contruction respectful of the rights and liberties of all its peoples, unless France aligns itself accordance with the models of political and institutional organisations adopted by its Spanish, German, Belgian, Swiss or Italian neighbours".

CAMPAIGN FOR A CORNISH CONSTITUENCY - UPDATE

There has been a move to add new vigour to the campaign to establish Cornwall as a European parliamentary constituency, by bringing two Cornish groups together under one umbrella.

The campaign for a Cornish Constituency has joined with the 'Cornwall and the Constituency' group to fight to retain Cornwall's political and cultural integrity in the face of moves to assimilate Cornwall into an amorphous English region.

Cornwall and the Cornish people have been specifically excluded from the proposed geography and history sections of the Tory Government's new 'National Curriculum'. This must be seen as part of a policy to remove Cornwall from the perception of others and to establish an education system which deliberately fragments the perception

which the Cornish have of themselves. The campaign urges the people of Cornwall to write to the 'National Curriculum' Council at 15/17 New Street, York, England to register an objection by the 31st October 1990.

The 'Campaign for a Cornish Constituency' has registered an objection and are preparing a critique to submit to the NCC. And further, to address the growing seriousness of Cornwall's integrity, the 'Campaign' has combined its activities with related working groups within a high profile and non-political organisation to be known as 'TYR - GWYR - GWERYN' (TGG) meaning 'Land - Truth - People'.

We hope the TGG will strengthen our resolve to achieve political and territorial integrity for Cornwall with uncompromised representation within Britain and Europe.

Cornish Tory MP, David Mudd, has written to Education Minister, Tim Eggar, on the matter of Cornish History and the 'National Curriculum' after receiving a letter from 'TYR - GWYR - GWERYN'.

He wrote: 'The seeming attitude of some people that if you forget Cornwall and the Cornish they will fade away, has severe implications for the future integrity of Cornwall and its people.'

Mudd continued, 'They have existed, do exist and will exist for many generations with their specific identity, history, geography and attitudes. These must not be ignored in the interests of creating a uniformity of subject ranges.'

Eggar has promised that representations from teachers requesting inclusion of Cornish history in the 'National Curriculum' will be considered.

Paul Smales Obituary

It came as a shock to hear the sad news of Paul Smales, whom we had last seen so recently, so full of life. We are told that it was while raising funds in India for a hospital that he picked up the virus which rapidly undermined his health, and led to his death on 1st September, at the age of forty four.

Paul was a bard of Gorseth Kernow, and an active member of so many societies, whether cultural, legal, environmental or political, that most of us had little idea of his total range of interests, and will therefore have differing memories of him. In London we knew him as a dedicated member of the Celtic League, and for several years were made welcome at his barrister's chambers, where we conducted branch meetings. He provided our link with Mebyon Kernow and the Cornish scene in general, both in Cornwall and in England.

When he announced his intention to return, and bought a house in Falmouth, he shrugged off the 'holiday home' taunt, just as he ignored criticisms of his involvement with the Liberal Party or regionalist movement. As it happened, his newly opened office in Truro did so well that he never came back to London except for brief visits, while his connections with the Liberals and others can on reflection be seen clearly to have been part of an all-round effort by Paul to inform those with influence on both sides of the Tamar of the Cornish Question. He was a simple man,



• Paul Smales - sorely missed

in the very best sense of the word, avoiding conflict, and putting all his talents into pushing forward on every conceivable level.

The world will continue on its axis, the Perranporth Conference - Kescusulyans Kernow - and the other ventures in which he played a leading role will continue as before, but they will do so in no small way because he was once there, adding his skills and energy to the general effort which established their momentum.

We feel the profound loss of a Cornish and Celtic activist, taken from us in such a stark and untimely manner, but the tears we shed are for a friend, a bright soul whose uncomplicated, intelligent and well organised presence was always a positive, reassuring influence. Our condolences go out to his family and to his many other friends. May we build his monument in the lives we lead, by following his example of single minded purpose; he would wish for nothing more.. Séamas Ó Colléain

MEBYON KERNOW - THE FUTURE?

An important meeting of MK (Mebyon Kernow) members was held in September to decide upon the future structure and direction of the movement. It followed a number of meetings organised to discuss the party's position in Cornwall, following the European elections, although it took an emergency meeting, initiated by its London Branch, to stir the forty year old group into action.

The meeting was set out as a debate to 'discuss the best options for the movement in the 1990s'. It had to decide between the broad choices of, reverting back to a pressure group, remaining as a normally constituted political party or becoming a broader and more flexible political body. The first and most important thing to say about the meeting was that the members believed there was a definite need for a distinctly Cornish group, fighting for greater autonomy and that their organisation was the one to fill that role.

There was no strong preference at the meeting for the pressure group option, which most saw as a retrograde move, so the wide consensus was, that clearly, MK had to be structured as a political movement. A concept of MK as a flexible 'social movement' with an open membership was introduced by one member. However, the issue of duality - allowing membership to those in the 'London' parties - came to be the most contentious issue of the day. Those against open membership countered that MK would be in danger of being exploited by other groups and argued that there was a need to protect the integrity of the organisation.

MANNIN

CHENGAGHYN JOARREE

Gow my leshtal son screeu reesh-tagh mychione y Curriglym "Ashoonagh", agh ta'n red shoh jannoo wheesh assee as nagh noddym jannoo fe-gooish gra red ennagh elle as eisht dooney m my ghob.

Mastey reddynd elley ayns ny scoillyn, ta resoonaght vooar er ve goll er ayns Sostyn as sy Thalloo Vretnagh mychione chengaghyn as quoid jeu lhisagh paitchyn gynsaghey ec y scoill. Lurg resoonaght feer foddey, ta ny deiney ard-vooaralagh ayns oikyn Lunnin er chur ry cheilley list dy hengaghyn joarree ta "lowit" (approved). Er y list shoh, ta Arabish, Bengali, Sheenish (Cantonish as Mandarin), Gujarati, Hewnish as Punjabi, marish chengaghyn "cadjin" goll rish Frangish. Cha nel Yernish ny Gailck er y list, as cha nel mee fakin Bretnish, Gailck Albinagh, Cornish ny Britaanish noadyr. Dy jarroo, cha nel chengaghyn Celtiagh erbee er y list.

Gyn ourys, ta doilleed ayns shoh. Ta shen y doilleed ta bentyn rish y raa "chengey joarree". Quoi ny joarreeyn? Shiny? Ny Sostnee? Lught Gujarati? Bleeantyn er dy henney, s'gooin lham dy row mee lhieneey seose form ennagh ry hoi ollooscoill ennagh ayns Sostyn. Va mee lhieneey y form seose ayns Ardscoill Ghoolish as v'ad laccal fed-dyn magh row "chengaghyn joarree" aym. "Gow er", dooyrt y fer-ynsee chemmig, "Wag" Leece, rhym: "screeu sheese 'Baarl' er y form!" Va Wag jeant feer wooiagh dy row mee gynsaghey Gailck.

Ta fys ain ooiiley dy beagh deiney scan-shoil reilts Hostyn jannoo craid mysh shoh. Agh, ny yeih, ta cooish scanshoil ayns shoh. Lhisagh lught reilts Hostyn loayrt mychione "chengaghyn" nyn lomarcen, as cha nee "chengaghyn joarree". Fow rey rish y fockle "joarree".

Yinnagh shen foays da reilts Hostyn, geddyn rey rish "joarree". Erskyn ooiiley, veagh eh foaysagh ayns cooiishyn bentyn rish Yernish. Ta reilts Lunnin prowel jannoo neu-nhee jeh Yernish, agh, dy firrinagh, t'ad beggan boirit mychione yn agh ta'n chengey bishaghey ayns Beal Feirshitey. Paart dy veeghyn er dy henney, hug reilts Hostyn sthap er yn argid (mysh 90,000) v'ad cur da

Glor na nGael, sheshaght feer heelt ta gob-braghey son y chengey. Dooyrt y reilts Sostnagh dy row drogh ourys oc dy beagh yn argid cur er y hoshiaght possanyn fo-hi-dooragh! My ta fys erbee ayd er Glor na nGael, bee oo garaghtee dy niartal mysh y smooiinaght dy beagh lught Ghlor na nGael jannoo lheid ny reddynd shen. Agh shen myr t'eh, as cha nel reilts Lunnin arryltagh dy chur yn argid erash foast, ga dy vel ram sleih gaccan dy lajer ayns ny hellanyn shoh as er y Cheer Vooar. Dy firrinagh, cha mie lesh reilts Lunnin red erbee ta gunnaneysey lught Oranje as lught Glass myr ta Yernish abyl jannoo ny keayrtynd.

Aghterbee, cheet erash gys y Curriglym "Ashoonagh", screeu sleih dy liooar rish y Rheynn Edjaghys as Sheanse (DES) gaccan nagh row Yernish er y list dy hengaghyn "lowit". Screeu mish hene paart dy veeghyn er dy henney dy ghra dy nee oltoan v'ayn nagh row Yernish "lowit". Cha dooar mee freggyrt erbee. Gyn ourys, va reilts y Thooder sauail argid er yn agh shen.

Agh fuirree ghooimney, haghyn red aitt er y gherit. Haink coodagh oikoil as skeeal oikoil cheusthie: "Modern Foreign Languages for ages 11 to 16", screet liorish y Rheynn Edjaghys as Sheanse. Cha row screuyn ny note erbee marish y skeeal as heill mee dy daink eh veih reilts Hostyn. She co-huittymaght v'ayn agh lurg dou v'er ngeddyn y skeeal shoh, hie mee gys chaglym ayns Lerpoyll raad va sleih gaccan mychione yn agh nagh row reilts Lunnin son cur tooiiley argid da Glor na nGael. Hooar mee

magh ec y chaglym shoh dy row sleih dy liooar ayns shen va er ngeddyn y skeeal cheddin as mish trooid y phost! Shen crout cadjin ec politickeyryn jeh gagh sorch: ny jean cur freggyrt da'n feysht ta currit dhyt, agh cur freggyrt da feysht elley.

Dy firrinagh, ta shin laccal polasee veih Lunnin bentyn rish ny chengaghyn Celtiagh. Cha nee chengaghyn "joarree" t'ayn. Nee Lunnin smooiinaghtyn er dy chooiiley horch dy leshtal dy haghney jannoo reddynd: "genney argid"; "chengaghyn marroo" (cre mysh Ladjyn?), as myr shen, as myr shen foast. As ny smooinee dy vel Lunnin boirit mychione chengaghyn aa-vioghit. Ayns y skeeal oikoil mysh ny chengaghyn joarree shoh, ta coontaghyn feer ymmydoil jeh ny chengaghyn ta er y list. Jeeagh er y stoo ta screet oc mysh Hewnish: "Modern Hebrew ... is based on biblical Hebrew ... which was revived and modernised by Eliezer Ben Yehuda a century ago". My ta fait accompli ayd, t'ou uss mie dy liooar.

Myr toshiaght, ta shin laccal Lunnin dy ghoail rish dy vel ooiiley ny chengaghyn Celtiagh ayn as dy vel sleih laccal jannoo studeyrns orroo myr tashtaghyn ennoil jeh ny hellanyn shoh.

SUMMARY

Machinations over the "National" Curriculum have produced some strange proposals about teaching "foreign" languages. As usual, the Celts are left more or less in limbo.

Brian y Stoyll

EXCHANGE PUBLICITY

MUSIQUE BRETONNE, 24 pp, 10 issues a year, in French, published by DASTUM, BP 2518, 35025 Rennes-Cedex, will keep you informed about what is happening on the Breton musical scene sub 130 Fr/annum but 170Fr outside state.

"HISTOIRE CHRONOLOGIQUE DES PAYS CELTIQUES" by Jakez

Gaucher is available from author, Ty Waroc'h, La Madeleine, 44350 Gwen-rann/Guerande, Brittany (price 199Fr)

NINNAU, the North American Welsh newspaper, monthly 24 pages full of information about the social and cultural happenings in the Welsh world of the USA and Canada. Chiefly in English. Supports the Welsh language. \$10 (US/Canada), or Stg 7.50/annum, to 11 Post Terrace, Basking Ridge, NJ 07920, USA.



THEME PATHS



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1988

Tra va mee ayns Britaan Beg mleeaney keayrt v'eh my churym dy ghol dys "colloque" fo'n ennym Europe des Celtes. Va cuirrey er ve currit dys ard-ghooinney voish Coonseil ny h'Europey dy loayrt rooin er cooish ny Cheltee ayns ny laghyn ry-heet. Ec y toshiaght cha row eh kionefenish, myr shen va Jean-Pierre Pichard loayrt rooin mychione elraght ny Cheltee fei ny h'Europey. Va ooilley jin er lhalh ny reddyn shoh role boayl ennagh agh cha row red erbee elley ry-yanoo derrey harragh yn dooinney voish yn choonseil. V'eh loayrt ayna Frangish as ga dy row chyndaaderyn ayn v'eh ny saasey dooin dyn ymmyd y yannoo jeu. Tra haink yn coonsellagh fy-yerrey hoal, va shin cliaghtit jannoo chyndaaiys dooin-hene, as myr shen, loayr yn coonsmeilagh rooin ayns Frangish myrgeddin.

Dooyrt eh dy row treealtysyn ayn dy chur er oai cassany harrish Europey ren ny Celtee ymmyd jeu ayns ny laghyn ta er'n ghol shaghey. V'ad er yannoo obbyr hannah er'n Chassan Santiago di Campostella as v'ad er-chee cur er bun Cassan ny Sailje as bee argid ry-gheddyn cour cassany elley. Ghow mee toshiaght er g'en-naghtyn dy row yn chaglym g'aase corree rish. Nagh row eshyn cur er y hoshiaght red ennagh gollrish Seihll Disney Cheltiagh? Va shin sheiltyn dy row shin loayrt mychione yn Theihll chayagh ny Cheltee ec oirr ny h'Europey reesht. Ta sleih dy-kinjagh smooingaghtyn my-nyn-gione beaghey ayns ny laghyn er'n ghol shaghey as cha nel rieau ayns ny laghyn t'ayn jiu.

Fy- yerrey ghow Tomas MacRuairi toshiaght er loayrt. Dob eh loayrt ayns Frangish as va doodee ayn jannoo chyndaaiys da. Dooyrt eh mannagh row nyn jengaghyn er-lheh ain, cha beemayd nyn Cheltee, va shen yn cooish smoo scaushoil dooin ooilley. My vees argid erbee ry-gheddyn voish Coonseil ny h'Europey, bare lhen baarail eh er nyn jengaghyn. V'eh baghtal dy row yn red cheddin ayns nyn aignaghyn ooilley as dooyrt shin dy row. Dooyrt yn

Coonseilagh dy row eh ruggit as troggit ayns balley beg cheerey faggys da'n rheyn eddyr yn Rank as yn Spainney. Va un chengey ec e warree, chengey elley goll y loayrt mygeayrt y valley as dynsee eh Frangish tra hie eh dys yn scoill. Ta min-chengaghyn fei ny h'Europey as cha row yn Coonseil arryltagh dy chur argid da fer erbee jeu. Cha row ymmyd er nyn son ayns Europey jeianagh. Dooyrt eh dy row sym as erreish da ny Cheltee voish ny h'ashoonee elley as va treealtys ny chassany agh dy greinnaghey tooilley sym.

As va shen jerrey'n chooish. Ta Coonseil ny h'Europey arryltagh dy cheau argid yn agh bare lhee as cha nel ad shirrey er coyrl voin-hene. Foddee dy vel yn Coonseil smooingaghtyn dy vel fys share oc er ny reddyn ta ymmyrchagh dooin.

SUMMARY

The Council of Europe wants to establish Celtic pathways across Europe. At a meeting in Lorient this summer, delegates from the Celtic countries stated that they would far rather see the money spent on promoting their languages.

Colin y Jerree

'MANXNESS OF MANN'

(Immigration to the Isle of Man and the Nationalist Response)

The above is the title of a paper recently published in the Scottish Geographical Magazine. The author, Richard Prentice, of the Dept. of Geography, University College Swansea, considers the ABSTRACT: "Immigration to the Isle of Man has been encouraged by the Manx Government since the 1950s when the island's present low tax regime was created. 'New residents' have arrived at times in large numbers most recently in the past three years. This paper considers the nationalist response to renewed immigration, and, in particular, both its extreme expression and why in general it has been muted. The paper also seeks to assess Manx nationalism within the context of renewal nationalism."

His primary intention is to raise for debate the issues surrounding immigration and at the same time correct the lack of published geographical research on impacts of immigration on the Isle of Man. He stresses that more research is needed and that his conclu-

sions should therefore be taken as indicative rather than definitive. His evidence is based

on two social surveys designed from his own experience of changes that have taken place on the island which he has been visiting at least annually since 1983, for fieldwork and consultancy to departments of the Manx Government. However the surveys were undertaken independently of his official work on the Island in 1984 and 1989.

TABLE 1 Opinions of island residents on effects on islands character and further immigration on the island.

	Manx born	Immigrants (per cent)	Total
Further immigration			
Substantially change the Island's character	30	23	27
Change its character	43	33	39
Have little effect on its character	18	28	22
Have no effect on its character	9	16	12
N =	214	132	346

TABLE 2 Opinion of island residents on changed 'Manxness' of Isle of Man.

Agree/Strongly agree	31	42	35
No opinion/ unsure	7	14	9
Disagree	50	38	46
Strongly disagree	213	130	343

Note: Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number and so may not summate exactly to 100 per cent.

The above tables were analysed thus: Table 1,

6 out of 10 immigrants were more likely to consider that continued immigration was essential to the economy, whereas fewer than 4 out of 10 Manx-born thought likewise.

Table 2.

Divisions are similarly clear on the question of loss of identity. Manx-born residents disproportionately consider the Island's 'Manxness' as having been changed by immigration. However a significant minority of immigrants expressed a similar view to Manx-born.

Only 1 in 5 of all those surveyed, disagreed with the statement that 'further immigration should be controlled'. Agreement with this statement was disproportionately more strongly expressed by Manx-born than by immigrants.

On the question of housing, most residents agreed with the statement that young couples could no longer afford to buy houses. Manx-born were especially strong in their agreement, but significantly, they were disproportionately not in favour of new development, particularly in rural areas.

A lengthy section on 'Response to Changes on the Island' began with Tynwald's response to public concern about the effects of immigration, i.e., enabling legislation to control immigration by residential permit system (intended to lie dormant) and establishment of a Committee of Executive Council to monitor population growth. Concern was also expressed through the media by voluntary groups and others and by those acting illegally, through direct action. A small minority of Manx-born are actively involved in explicitly nationalist organisations whilst more are involved in promoting Manx traditional and contemporary culture. A comprehensive list of cultural organisations is included.

More space is given to political organisations with some background information with particular reference to the Celtic League, Mec Vannin, FSFO and Caarjyn ny Troor. Passing attention is made of two new groups, Shuinnagh Ruy and a non-political group-Island Concern.

Prentice contrasts expression of nationalist feeling in Wales and Mann. He points to success in avoiding arrest as indicating wider support for the arson campaigns in Wales - the campaign in Mann was relatively short lived. Secondly, that Plaid Cymru provides a legitimate focus for nationalist expression, unlike Mann with its absence of nationalism in the political culture (elected representatives) and thirdly, there is no parallel in Mann to the civil disobedience protests of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Cymraeg.

Earlier in the paper the conclusion is made that more Manx-born residents are involved in promotion of Manx traditional

and contemporary culture than in nationalist politics. Nevertheless the 1989 survey showed a general lack of awareness of a distinctive culture, with no statistical difference between Manx-born and immigrants. A third of those questioned were unable to mention any aspect of traditional life or culture. This does not imply that Manx identity is felt to be the same as British - in particular, English. Both the 1984 and 1989 surveys

Three factors are described as contributing to muted Manx nationalist responses:-

1. Continued immigration over the last century and a half, weakening Manx cultural traditions.

2. Removal of the linguistic focus as an extensive basis for nationalist response.

3. Contemporary identification with Manx tradition is generalised and unspecific to particular aspects to the majority, Manx-

Table 4 Opinion of island residents on teaching of Manx traditions.

	Manx born	Immigrants	Total
	(per cent)		
'Manx traditions should be taught in schools on the Island':			
Strongly agree	21	5	15
Agree	49	62	54
No opinion/unsure	12	14	12
Disagree/Strongly disagree	18	19	19
N =	213	131	344

Table 5 Opinion of island residents on teaching of Manx Gaelic.

'By the end of the century Manx Gaelic SHOULD be taught to children in all primary schools on the island'			
Strongly agree	15	3	10
Agree	30	27	29
No opinion/unsure	10	18	13
Disagree	34	36	35
Strongly disagree	11	16	13
N =	212	130	342

Note: Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number and so may not summate exactly to 100 per cent.

carried a question on Manx identity compared to British. In the latter only 2 in 15 thought they were the same. Manx-born residents were more inclined to see Manx identity as somewhat different.

(see tables 4 and 5)

Questions on teaching Manx traditions and language in schools revealed majority support by both Manx and immigrants for teaching Manx traditions. Compulsory teaching of the language was not so popular, but Manx-born were more in favour and more decisive in their view. The author sees more prospect in revival by concentrating on general teaching of Manx culture. Even so 39% agree that Manx should be taught in primary schools, which is a significant proportion. The early decline of the Manx language is blamed for this lack of focus. A table from census information illustrated distribution of decline in Manx speakers from 1901 - 1951.

born included.

A section of the paper is devoted to comparison with nationalisms elsewhere. A summary of definitions of nationalism by Shafer (1972) and Taylor (1985) are listed. One attribute common to both lists is a belief in a common history - described by Prentice as historiography and defined as "the interpretation of the past to justify actions in the present". He goes on to name successful nationalisms that have well developed historiographies and contrasts their success with Manx nationalism which has no historiography with which to counter processes of cultural inferiorization. "In contrast to French Canadian, Irish and Scottish nationalist historiography, Manx historiography is yet to be written."

This is a summary of a paper printed in the Scottish Geographical Magazine vol. 106, No. 2, pp 75-88, 1990.

C.J.K.



South African Links

On Saturday 2nd September 1990, a successful demonstration was held by Mec Vannin, protesting about the increasing use of Mann by South African interests to circumvent international sanctions. Over 30 people met outside the offices of Associated Trust Company to protest about the Manx Government's apparent disregard for the internationally agreed sanctions designed to bring down the apartheid regime in South Africa.

In spite of overwhelming evidence which suggests that South Africa is looking for an "off-shore base" for its various financial and trade sanctions busting operations, the Chief Minister

(Miles Walker) has welcomed De Beers to the Manx freeport. The links between firms operating from the freeport and South Africa have been widely published, however, until August 1990, no direct links had been apparent between the finance sector and South Africa.

Associated Trust Company denied that it had been or would be used to circumvent the effects of sanctions against South Africa. However, the facts remain that Associated Trust Company (ATC) was sold to UAL Merchant Bank, a member of the Nedcor South African banking group, well known for its encouragement of loans to South Africa prior to the 1985 debt crisis. The sale of ATC to UAL was

arranged by Gemini Capital, the only company known to have made a serious attempt to circumvent the absence of loans to South Africa since 1985. Shortly after UAL bought ATC, South African merchant bankers G.F. Richardson and G.D. Hull were appointed as directors along with Christopher Hull, a founder of Gemini who has been actively involved in South African debt swaps.

While the initial Mec Vannin press release was mentioned in the Manx press prior to the demonstration, surprisingly no report of the demonstration itself appeared in the following Tuesday's Manx Independent. However, a half page advertisement on behalf of Associated Trust Company appeared in the business section of that same news paper. Draw your own conclusions



CRISIS IN MANX AGRICULTURE

The financial crisis in which the Manx agricultural industry once again finds itself was discussed in October by Tynwald. The Agriculture Minister David North M.I.K., who survived a vote of no confidence, is to return to Tynwald in December with proposals to alleviate the present situation. However, most farmers see their long-term futures as being bleak.

The economic contribution of the agricultural industry to Mann is negligible (so the accountants tell us), however, the social and cultural importance

of farming is beyond measure. The farming community has retained many of the distinctive Manx features which have been lost elsewhere in Manx society. Farmers are well aware of the vital role they play in preserving the countryside from the hands of the developers, but the present crisis has placed many under great pressure to sell up.

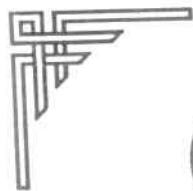
At the 16th. World Economic Summit last July, America called for major cuts in farm subsidies and it is inevitable that EC agriculture ministers will agree to some subsidy cuts. If the pres-

ent haphazard short-term policy making of the Manx Department of Agriculture continues, then the Manx farming community is finished. This may be insignificant to the Government statisticians, but to the social and cultural life of Mann it would be disastrous.

We await Mr North's proposals with great trepidation

Phil Gawn





CELTICA

CEAP BRETAINN NEWS

GAELIC ATTITUDINAL SURVEY:

The compiled results of the 1989 questionnaire on attitudes towards Gaelic in Nova Scotia entitled Use of Gaelic Survey are now available. The survey was completed to "... explore the feasibility of establishing needs based responses to the decline of the Gaelic language" in Nova Scotia and was based on analysis of questionnaire returns distributed at the annual Highland Village Day Scottish Concert held in Iona, Cape Breton, August 1st 1989. Survey results were computed in a joint effort by St. Francis Xavier University's Sociology Department and Department of Phycology.

The survey, requested by Cape Gael Associates Co-operative, was supported by St. Ann's Gaelic College, the University College of Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia Highland Village. The purpose of the survey is to establish a simple data base on attitudes of the Cape Breton public towards Gaelic language retention in Nova Scotia. The outcome based on twelve questions indicate a positive goodwill in general towards the maintenance of Gaelic language in the region. Responses showed that 74.1% of the people queried signified that they would like to speak Gaelic with approximately the same

percentage wishing their children to speak the language. Only 37% of the respondents believed that Gaelic language is adequately safeguarded and served at present in Nova Scotia.

SCOTTISH GAELS OFFER TO ASSIST

Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan has been addressed on the issue of Gaelic language maintenance in the Province by an open letter from this year's Comhdhail nan Seanchaidh held on the Isle of Skye. Members of the Comhdhail, in recognition of Nova Scotia's long standing contribution to Gaelic culture the world over, expressed its

concern for the revitalisation of Nova Scotia's Gaelic language to ensure the continuation of its unique tradition in North America. Comhdhail members drew attention in particular to the wealth of Gaelic song and oral tradition that has survived to the present in Cape Breton and encouraged the formulation of strategies to protect Nova Scotia's Gaelic heritage for future generations. Comhdhail nan Seanchaidh also extended to Nova Scotia a generous offer to assist it's Gaelic community collectively and as individuals with loans, expertise and financially when and where it could stating that "Nova Scotia has inherited a priceless asset capable of providing great cultural and economic benefits to Cape Breton, the Province and indeed to the whole of Canada."



Seamas Watson (President) and Ian Macintyre (Treasurer, left) at the Celtic League information booth at the Big Pond Concert

LEAGUE STRONG AND DYNAMIC

In Carn (no 64, Autumn, 1988), when I was elected chairman/convenor of the League, I urged that we must make an effort to increase our membership in order to increase our resources. "The greater the membership, the greater the financial resources, the better we can work as an effective organisation". Now, on the handing over of office to Cathal O Luain, I would like to take the opportunity to congratulate all League Officials for the tremendous work which they put in during these last two years. Membership has increased by 15%; indeed, during this last year there has been a jump of 10% membership.

This year, in spite of a concentrated, scurrilous slur campaign on the League, and particular members of its General Council, by external elements, the League and its General Council have emerged more united in purpose and have tightened the constitution in order to protect itself more fully from any similar, future attacks. If

anything, out of the experience, the League has increased in stature.

Next year will see the League's 30th Birthday! As it approaches its fourth decade, the League emerges as one of the most influential and dynamic campaigning movements in the Celtic countries and this can be measured by the widespread and increasing publicity being given to those campaigns - campaigns that now achieve international attention with Press and Media coverage stretching from Japan to the USA, from Argentina to Scandinavia.

While there is no room for complacency, from one who has watched (and tried to help) the League grow from 1965, I must express a certain sense of satisfaction at the continuing achievements of the League. The future remains challenging and exciting. With our growing membership, a great many things become possible. Lets get on with the work.

Peter Berresford Ellis.

Celtic League AGM and Resolutions

The 1990 AGM was held in Baile Atha Claith on the weekend of 20th-21st of October. Delegates from most national branches and from London and USA attended. Reports of the branch secretaries and general officers indicated a good level of activity over the last year with an increased membership.

A sub-committee has been set up to study all matters relating to type-setting, printing and distribution of CARN with the purpose of arriving at the most economic and efficient arrangements.

The Welsh branch's success at the Eisteddfod Cenedlaethol has brought a suggestion from them that Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh, am Mod and Oireachtas na Gaelige should be invited to join Pabell y Celtiaid (the Celtic Tent), to add a Q-Celtic dimension, and to expand it to three units.

Election of Officers: Convenor, Cathal O Luain; General Secretary, Seamas O Coileain; Carn Editor Pat Bridson; Treasurer Royston Green; Director of Information and Assistant General Secretary, J. Bernard Mofatt.

A vote of thanks was expressed to Davyth Fear and Peter Berresford Ellis for the work they have done in the last two years as General Secretary and Convenor. Thanks was also expressed to Sean Mac Mathuna for his help in organising the AGM, at Conradh na Gaeilge HQ.

The following resolutions were passed:

1. Bearing in mind the stated policy of both the Manx and Irish governments concerning the Sellafield Nuclear Re-processing plant. This AGM calls on both governments to double their efforts to seek its closure, via international pressure at the United Nations.

2. This AGM calls upon the IOM government to take its place in the European Community of Nations by restoring the right of individual petition to its citizens.

3. This AGM supports the establishment of the Manx Council for Civil Liberty and endorses its campaign for a harmonisation of civil liberties with those of the European Convention of Human Rights.

4. This AGM believes that the Manx language should take priority above any other second language in primary schools and that the Department of Education should take positive steps to reinstate Manx as a subject for study to external examination level.

5. While condemning the Iraqi invasion

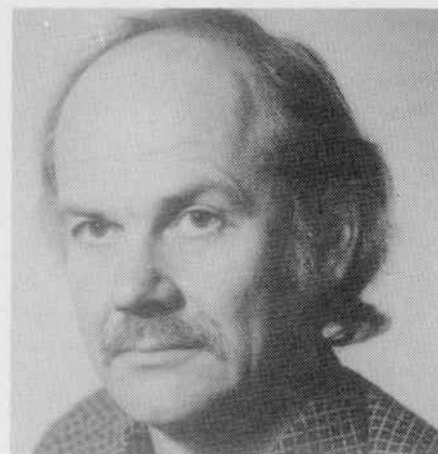
of Kuwait and its treatment of minorities within Iraq, this AGM views with apprehension the build-up of military forces in the Persian Gulf, and considers that a war to restore Kuwait, a creation of colonialism and an undemocratic state, to sovereign status is unwarranted.

6. This AGM welcomes the adoption on 20-11-1989 by the United Nations of a Convention on Children's Rights, which in particular seeks to guarantee through its Article 30 the right of children of linguistic minorities to use their own language in their relations with other members of their ethnic community; draws attention to the almost unanimous refusal by the French National Assembly on 16-6-1990 to adopt that article on the grounds that the French Republic is indivisible and that all its citizens are equal before the law; denounces the assertion that no linguistic minorities exist within the French State's borders as a denial of reality; rejects the claim of non-discrimination against members of those minorities as they are denied a right enjoyed by the French ethnic majority, namely the fundamental right to use their own languages in all aspects of life.

7. This AGM hails as a very positive step towards lasting peace in Europe the detailed proposals made by delegates of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Italy to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in Copenhagen, to the effect that national minority rights be fully recognised and put into practice by all European states; notes that opposition to these proposals came from only 4 of the 36 CSCE member states, namely Greece, Bulgaria, Romania and France; expresses dismay at such a retrograde attitude.

8. This AGM, aware of the importance of television services for languages engaged in a struggle for survival, views the restriction to 1 hour 45 minutes of the weekly time allowed to Breton on television (while a total of 840 hours a week are given to French through various TV channels) as calculated to carry further the policy of eradication of the Breton language; expresses the wish that the Breton elected representatives strongly support the demand for a Breton language channel which alone could provide the required wide spectrum of programmes in that language.

9. This AGM resolves that membership of the Celtic League is not open to past or present members of proscribed organisations



• Seamas O Coileain

whose aims in the view of the General Council are contrary to the aims of the Celtic League. Such General Council decisions to be endorsed by the AGM. This applies to the following organisations: The National Front, The British National Party, the Magazine Scorpion, The Third Way.

An article should be written for CARN outlining the known instances of the NF and other Fascist groups' attempts, as reported or as known, to link themselves to Celtic national movements or to damage them by suggesting association. This should include a frank account of Alison Nicholl's past association and the resultant dispute in the Cornish Branch.

10. This AGM: (i) congratulates the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain on its introduction of a limited amount of bilingualism on its maps of Wales, in particular the new 1: 158,400 scale map of Snowdonia, (ii) congratulates the Ordnance Survey of Northern Ireland on its own moves towards the introduction of bilingualism in its publication of 'Eire Thuaidh/Ireland North - A Cultural Map and Gazetteer of Irish Placenames' which includes the 6 counties and Donegal and other areas close to the border. (iii) urges the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain to intensify its movement towards bilingualism for all of its maps covering Wales, Scotland and the Isle of Man. (iv) urges the Ordnance Survey of Northern Ireland to intensify its effort to produce bilingual maps. (v) is severely critical of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland for its almost total non-use of Irish in its new 1: 50,000 series and the non-availability of its map of Ireland in Irish, and (vi) mandates branch secretaries and appropriate General Council officers to communicate these feelings to the three institutions.

11. This AGM, aware of the continuing difficulties caused by the operation of submarines in areas of commercial sea fishery;

a) calls for an end to these operations in such areas and also requests the Irish and British governments to take whatever steps are necessary to give practical effect to International Maritime Resolution A 599,

b) aware of the continuing stress and trauma caused to the relatives of those lost in suspicious circumstances on the Motor Fishing Vessels *Mhari L.* and *Cite d'Aleth*, calls on the British government (re: *Mhari L.*) and French government (re: *Cite d'Aleth*) to reopen enquiries into the loss of these vessels.

12. This AGM calls upon the Irish government to:

a) re-open the enquiry into the loss of *Aer Lingus* Flight EI 712 in March 1968 with the deaths of all on board (61), and, aware that the original enquiry specifically would not rule out the involvement of another aircraft or missile, we urge the Irish government to

b) seek as a matter of urgency access to the logs of all facilities associated with the Royal Aircraft Establishment Ranges at Aberproth, Wales.

13. This AGM calls for an enquiry into the former chemical weapons factory at Nancekuke, Cornwall, to establish what exactly was manufactured and more importantly what wastes were discharged or stored at the site.

14. This AGM, considering the results of a 1989 survey which showed that 74% of the Cape Breton Gaelic Community wish their children could speak Gaelic, convinced that self-confidence is strongly linked to the maintenance of one's native and ancestral language, requests the Nova Scotia Education Authorities to introduce measures to ensure that Gaelic be taught in the schools of Inverness County (Cape Breton), expresses great concern at the reported move to abolish the teaching of Gaelic in the Mabou Consolidated High School.

15. This AGM, concerned at the reports that several Amerindian peoples/tribes continue to be disposed of territories which they need for survival, calls on the American governments responsible for the security of those peoples to ensure full respect for treaties (where they exist) and to take all necessary measures for the protection of the rights of those peoples, so as to enable them to live in accordance with their traditions, and supports the call for the UN to make 1992 the international Year of the Indigenous Peoples, instead of celebrating it as the 500th Year of the "discovery" of the Americas.

16. This AGM condemns the British government decision to withdraw the grant to *Glor na nGael* in Belfast. This decision endangers the growth of community based Irish language projects which are a potential for cultural links across the sectarian divide. This action must be resisted and the League calls on all its branches to work to overcome this.

17. This AGM deplores the present system of directing major financial support towards large agricultural units rather than

smaller family-based farming communities. We call for the redirection of these grants to the latter.

18. This AGM demands the immediate establishment of an all-Irish language TV station based in the Gaeltacht. The present deplorable situation has continued for far too long to the detriment of the Gaeltacht and the Irish language.

19. This AGM recognises the need to inform prospective members of the aims and objectives of the Celtic League, and the desirability that prospective members make/sign a formal statement of agreement with those aims and objectives.

This AGM also recognises the need for a distinction to be made between a member of the organisation and a subscriber to its magazine *CARN*, so that the dissemination of CEAP BREATAINN Don Mac our ideas and news items can reach as wide a readership as possible without diminishing the League's effectiveness.

We resolve therefore to insert into the constitution under 3)a - the current 3 becoming 3)b - the following clause:

3)a MEMBERSHIP AND ELIGIBILITY

The aims and objective of the Celtic League demonstrate an emphasis on nationality, on the values which the nation preserves for each generation (eg: cultural identity and traditions expressed through its own language, music etc) and on the political, cultural, social and economic structures which in turn preserve the nation.

Membership of the Celtic League is open to all who agree with these aims, whether born or living in a Celtic country (regardless of race, religion, etc), descended from families of Celtic origin, or simply supportive of these aims.

Membership is not open to those who do not agree with these aims, or who are members of, or are associated with, organisations or groups whose aims substantially contradict those of the League.

In view of the expressed belief in nationality outlined above, this also applies to any individual or group which embraces any theory of racial superiority or exclusiveness.

Organisations or individuals may subscribe to the Celtic League quarterly *CARN* without becoming members. In the interests of the organisation, we reserve the right to decline an application for membership without formal explanation.

20. Constitutional Amendments

a) to paragraph 20 a): delete "six" in line 1, and insert "present" after "secretaries" in line 2.

b) to paragraph 20 c): amend "... one national secretary considers...to read "... two national secretaries consider ..."

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 £7, Stg£7, 66FF or US \$20.00 (US funds, cheques drawn on a US bank). Postage outside Europe is Stg 10.00 airmail.

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Our next deadline for material for *Carn* is 1st of February, 1991. I would ask regular or new subscribers to meet this due date. Materials sent for publication in *Carn* must relate to our aims, and should be typed. All materials copywrite *Carn* unless otherwise stated. The views expressed in *Carn* are not necessarily those of the editor nor of the Celtic League.

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