

C&N

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

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An Dúshlán Sóisialach



Quarterly Periodical of the Celtic League
in English & Celtic Languages

ALBA

Dochas agus Imcheist am Measg nan Gàidheal

le Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich (Gilleasbuig Lachlainn
'Illeasbuig)

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

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

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

Bha an talla luma-làn de Ghàidheil agus chòrd na thuirt *Niall Friseal* ruinn an deidh fhir-an-taighe *Niall MacEachairn*, mata chord na thuirt iad le chèile ruinn. Tha am Frisealach na cheannard air craobhsgaoilidh BBC Ghàidhlig.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ach duilich ri ràdh, sguir an fheadhan òga a dh'èisdeachd ri réidio an ceart uair.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

no STV.

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

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

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

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

agus Anns an Treas Aite ... réidio agus TV gu leoir 'sa chàinain!

An deidh sin thuirt Rob Mac a' Phearsain (STV) gun robh e cinnteach gum biodh STV deonach program-ionnsachaidh coltach ris BEAGAN GHÀIDHLIG chraobh-sgaoileadh ma bhios clasan-ionnsachaidh gu leoir ann feadh na tìr mar cul-taich ris.

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

Chan eil an réidio fada nas fheàrr. Chan eil Réidio Alba againn fhathast an deidh leth-chiàd bliadhna. Chan eil Alba ach na dùthaich ceannsaichte. Mur bi an rioghachd againn fhéin a ris bithidh sinn meadhanach gu brath!

Anns an co-dhùnadh thuirt triùir gu

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

(2) *Màrtainn Domhnallach*, Sgitheanach, (BBC) — Sgrìobh do Rùnaire an Rioghachd (Home Secretary) cuideachd. Theannaich na Guimrich e! agus (3) *Mac Gille Chliar*, Peairteach, (CLI) — Cleachd agus cuir fuaimean agus thog dealbhan air CASSETTE agus VIDFO. Thuig e gun robh am BBC agus ITV a' toirt iasaid dhuibh cuideachd, air son foghlum na cànain.

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

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

Spring '85 — Thatcher Re-emphasises Scottish Subserviance

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ROB GIBSON

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

SCOTTISH RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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BREIZH

DAREMPREDOÙ GEVELLED

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Pe gentoc'h: Bretagne-Irlande. I. KADORED

BRETON, KEEP OUT OF SIGHT!

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

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

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

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

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

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

WHO SAYS THAT NANTES IS NOT IN BRITTANY?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Anna Youenou-Debauvais (1901-1985)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ALAN HEUSAFF

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

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

YANN BOUESSEL DU BOURG

◆◆FOLK MUSIC OF WESTERN BRITTANY◆◆

TONIOU BREIZH IZEL — Musique Populaire de Basse Bretagne — by Polig Monjarret

638 pages of notation, 37 pp. of introduction. In French, 400 Fr, from Keltia Musique, Place au Beurre, 29000 Kemper Brittany. In English, Stg£27, from Robert Marie, 15 rue Maupertuis, 35000 Rennes.

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

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

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

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

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



A DOZEN MODES

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

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

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

IS THE BRETON MUSIC CELTIC?

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

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

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

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

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

Continued on page 17

CYMRU

CADW'R BRWDFRYDEDD

gan Leigh Verrill-Rhys

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

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

Dydy llawer o fy nghyd-ddysgwyr ddim yn cael yr un cyfle a fi, ac mae rhai ohonynt yn ewyno eu bod yn colli'r iaith. Ond yr hyn sy'n fwy difrifol ydy'r ffaith eu bod hefyd yn colli'r brwdfrydedd.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

LANGUAGE FINANCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RADIO AND TELEVISION NEWS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

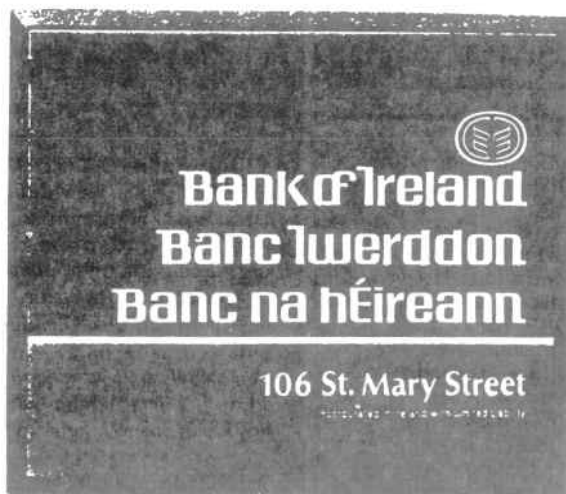
Triple Crown to Cardiff

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

familiar foreign version.

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

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



bank of Ireland (nameplate)

BRIEFLY...

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

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

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

NINNAU

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

SHOCK LANGUAGE SURVEY

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

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

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

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

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

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

	1971	1981
	Total pop. 3+ % Welsh	Total pop. 3+ speaking % Welsh
1. Ystradgynlais Isaf	8,000	8,122
2. Ystradgynlais Uchaf	1,555	1,409
3. Glyntawe	70	77
Total	9,625	9,608
		63

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

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

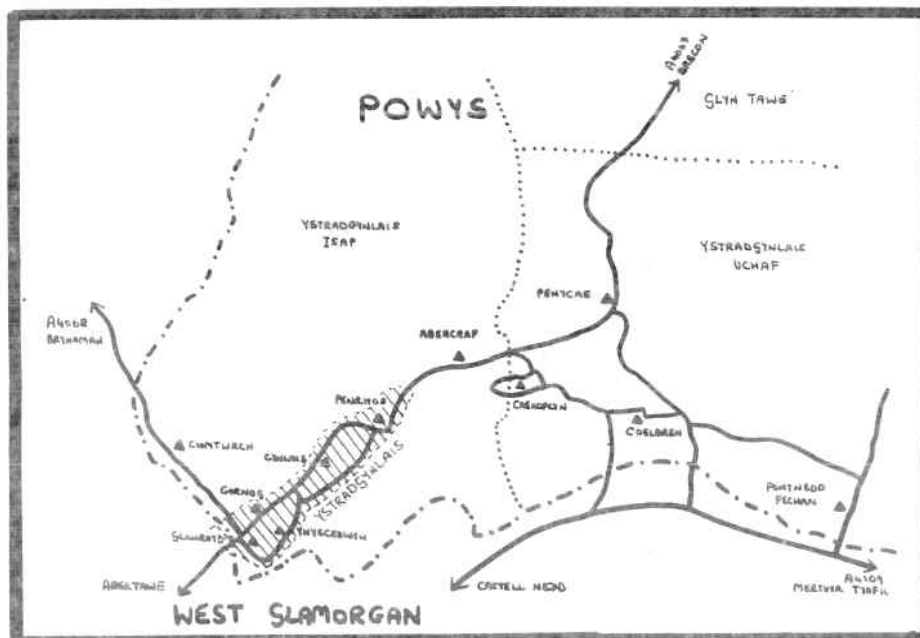
KEY:

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

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

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

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



ÉIRE

AN DÚSHLÁN SÓISIALACH

Cuirfidh baill an Chonartha Cheiltigh an-speis in alt dar teideal *"The National Question in the British Isles"* le Andy Brooks in uimhir 1 den *"New Communist Review"*, iris teoirice an Pháirtí Cumannach Nua (a bunaíodh de bharr scoilt i bpairtí Cumannach na Breataine Móire).

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

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

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

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

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

Bionn sóisialaigh Shasana ag moladh "comhnaidhm Briotanach" ó thráth go chéile. Séard a bhíonn i gceist acu ná go bhféadfadh "Ríocht Aontaithe Shoisialach" a bheith ann (agus Éire san áireamh ag cuid acu). Tagraíonn siad don Aontas Sóibhéideach mar slat tomhais, níl aon chomparáid ann. Stáit ilnáisiúnta é an t-Aontas Sóibhéideach (ar nós na h-Iugosláive). Tá difríocht mhór idir a leithéid de stát agus stát náisiúnta ina bhfuil mionlaigh (fiú agus cothrom na féinne a bheith ar fáil ag na mionlaigh sin). An Ríocht Aontaithe Caipitileach tá sé bunaithe ar mhúcadh gach náisiúnacht eile atá inti seachas an náisiúnacht atá in uachtar. Déantar an córas a leasú ó thráth go chéile de bharr brú ó na pobail Cheilteacha ach ní athraítear nádúr bunúsach an stáit. Ní féidir le stát a bheith neodrach i gcoimhlint idir chultúr ach an oiread agus is féidir leis a bheith neodrach idir aicmí. Taobh istigh den Ríocht Aontaithe tá leatrom eacnamaíochta agus leatrom cultúir á imirt ar Cheiltigha chomh maith le leatrom mítiúil.

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

Ni luann Andy Brooks ceist na Briotáine. Bunlaige é seo ar a alt agus is bunlaige é ar

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

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

Tá sé tabhachtach go dtuigfí sin in cagrú na réabhlóide. Thug Lenin cluas éisteachta do Willie Gallacher seachas John MacClean faoin gceist seo agus cuireadh an réabhlóid sa chuid seo den domhan siar go mór. Is gá comhfhiosacht den cheist náisiúnta a chruthú. Tá sé tabhachtach forais náisiúnta a chruthú.

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

Tá sé seo ar fheabhas ach amháin nach guirítear na prionsabail chéana i bhfeidhm nuair a phléitear le tíortha Ceilteacha eile. Is galar daonshóisialach é seo. Tá sé geall a bheith faiseanta i gcirocail áirithe tacú le cúis na n-Éireannach ach tá sé chomh faiseanta céanna drochmheas a chaitheamh ar an gceist náisiúnta in Albain nó sa Bheatain Bheag.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mura mbeadh de chúis aige ach an méid sin is dual don uile shóisialach tacú le náisiúnaithe na dtíortha Ceilteacha.

MICHEÁL RÉAMONN

CONRADH ARD FHEIS



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

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

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

SINN FÉIN SUCCESS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PEADAR MacAIRT

SURVEY ON TEACHING IRISH

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

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

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

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

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

JAILING THE INNOCENT

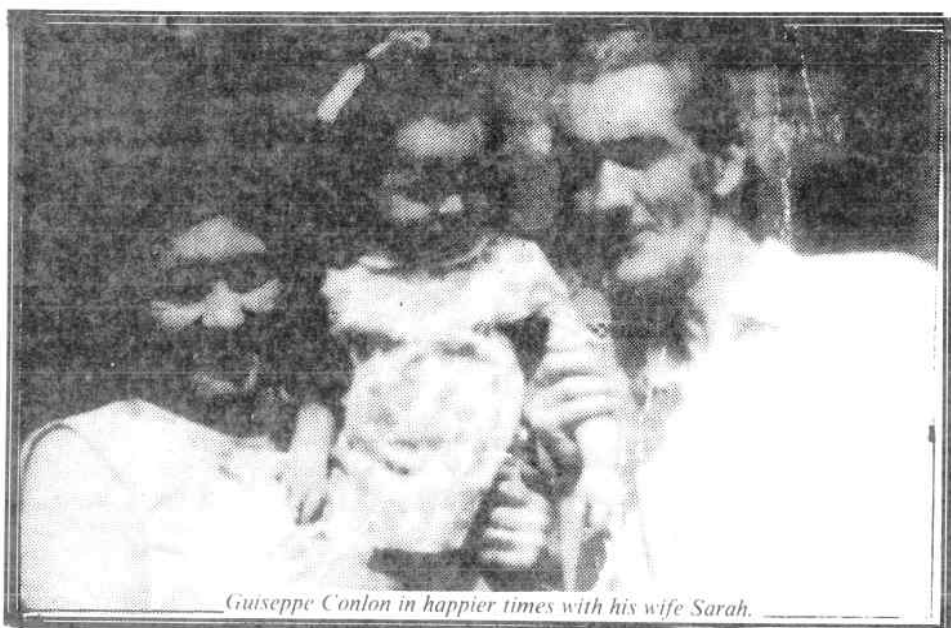
Irish Television, RTÉ, carried a major documentary in two parts, 17 and 18 April 1985, on the case of Mrs. Annie Maguire and others who had been jailed for complicity in bombings at Woolwich and Guildford in England, 1974. Mrs. Maguire had just been released from prison. She and members of the family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

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

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

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

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



Giuseppe Conlon in happier times with his wife Sarah.

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

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

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

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

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

RÉAMONN Ó MUIRÍ

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

SUPPORT LÁ

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

KERNOW

AN TAVAS TITHIACK — AN DATHHEL A BEZ

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ZEWEDNOW

Traditional Cornish — the argument continues

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

MK — WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

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

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

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

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

four months in which to hone their electoral knives.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PEDYR GARRY PRIOR
Scryvnyas an Stollas/
Party Secretary, MK

THE MODERN TROJAN HORSE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus it is not tourism per se that should be concentrated on but the wider implications of tourism — second homes, mass migration and last, but not least, the image created through being defined as merely a tourist zone. Tourism has redefined Cornwall as a land of beaches and cliffs where you can get away from it all (in common with 2½ million others!). Industrial development has no place in this tourist arcadia — a vision that sees the role of the Cornish as servicing the visiting hordes.

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

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

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

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BRETON CHOIR IN IRELAND

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

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

First Council to Adopt Bi-lingual Name

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

FOLK MUSIC OF WESTERN BRITTANY Continued from Page 7

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

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

ALAN HEUSAFF



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

MANNIN

SCREEU LIOARYN CELTIAUGH

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

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

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

Loayr Len Truran jeh Dyllansow Truran son y Chorn. She fer-ynsee va Mnr Truran, agh t'en ny haue nish as eshyn gobbraghey car yn tra son y colught hug eh er bun ry



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

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

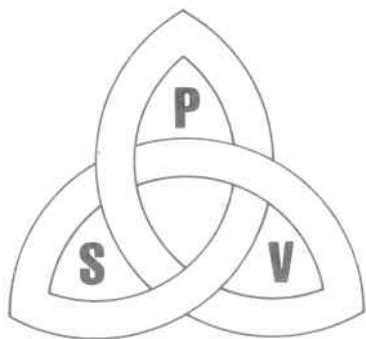
Ec "Scrif-Celt '85", chionnee mee oorskeal screeut ayns Yernish son jeigeyryn. Screeu Cathal Ó Sandair y lioar shoh as t'eh enmyssit "Réics Carló ar Oileán Mhanann" ("Réics Carlo er Ellan Vannin"). Haink y lioar shoh magh nurree, as t'eh mychione y cronneyder (detective) ard-ghooagh Réics Carló voish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

geiyrt er deiney olk ec y tra cheddin. Ta Gailck dy liooar sy liooar skeaylt mastey y Yernish sy lioar. Yernagh aeg erbee ta lhaih eh, nee eshyn ny ish gynsaghey stoo dy liooar mychione Mannin ec y tra t'ayn — erskyn oolley, mychione y chengey as y chiaulleaght dooghyssagh. Sampleyr yindyssagh jeh eddyr-Cheltiaghys t'ayn. Ta sleih ennagh shirrey orrym cur Gailck er y lioar shoh as eisht foddee dy bee eh currit magh ec y Gum (y colught steat Yernagh). Ta shin laccal lioar erbee ayns Gailck, agh dy firrinagh bare lhiam my lioaryn aym pene y screeu ayns Gailck veih'n toshiaght. Yn tra, shen yn noid mooar.

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

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

BRIAN MAC STOYLL



Industrial Strife Continues

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

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



Manx Oil Supply workers flex industrial muscles.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Editorial Note:

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

WHAT PRICE COMPETITION

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

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

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

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

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

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

C.J.K.

Nordfriesland

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

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

Tapping The Telephone



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

Major Archaeological Excavation in Mann

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. B. MOFFATT

And the Meek Shall Inherit...?

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

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

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

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

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

D.S.

Editor's Comment ...

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

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

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



IRISH DEMOCRAT

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

Continued from Page 4

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

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

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

B. BURKE



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

The International Celtic Congress

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

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

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

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

For further information please write to:

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

GENERAL



scrif ~ celt '85 — A RETROSPECT

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

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

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

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

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

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

The final list of participants at this pioneering event were:

Stands

1. The Celtic League (also representing):
Cork University Press
Coflwn (Wales)
Fritlag (Mannin)
Scottish Academic Press
An Gael (An Claidheamh Soluis Inc, New York)
Dale'homp Soñj
Constables (London)
Carbad (An Grúpa Foilsitheoireachta, Ireland)

ALBA

2. An Comann Leabhraichean (Scottish Gaelic Books Council)
3. Acair Ealanta
4. An Comunn Gàidhealach
5. John Donald Ltd.

BREIZH

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

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

CYMRU

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

ÉIRE

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

KERNOW

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

MANNIN

28. Yn Cheshaght Ghailekagh (Manx Gaelic Society)

OTHERS

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

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

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

Publicity

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

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

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

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

Attendance

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

Finances

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

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

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

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

Lectures

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

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

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

Manx disaster

The one disaster in shipping books to the book

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

Programme booklet

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

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

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

Séamas Ó Coileáin
G42 DuCane Court,
London SW17 7JR,
England.

Criticism

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

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

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

SCRIF-CELT '86?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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A.G.M. 1985

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

Provisional Agenda

FRIDAY, 8 p.m.

1. A review of the situation in the national movements, by a panel of speakers. Questions.

SATURDAY, a.m.

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

SATURDAY p.m.

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

4 Resolutions/Motions submitted by the Branches.

SUNDAY a.m.

5 Report on the CELTIC IDEA (co-operative)

6 Scif-Celt 1986.

7 A brief survey of present interceltic relations.

SUNDAY p.m.

8 Our understanding of Celticism.

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

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

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

NEW BRANCH SECRETARIES

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

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

See page 24 for the new addresses.

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

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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: IRE£6, Stg£5, 60FF or US\$14. Postage outside Europe is by air mail.

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

ALBA

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

BREIZH

Jori Ab Herve-Gwegen, 9 Rue F. Blons, 29260 Plouzeniel/Ploudaniel.

CYMRU

Merfyn Phillips, Parc y Ffrier, Llandudoch, Dyfed.

ÉIRE

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

KERNOW

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

MANNIN

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

LONDON

Micheál Ó Laoire, 5 Belton Road, Berkhamstead, Herts., England.

U.S.A.

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

The General Secretary of the Celtic League is:

Alan Heusaff,

9 Br. Cnoc Sion,

Dromchonnach,

Ath Cliath 9, Éire.

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

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

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

PAT BRIDSON

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

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

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For further information please contact:

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Cornwall.
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OR Anne X. Kennedy (Irish Representative)
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