

carn

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

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Anglo-Irish Agreement

Tribute to Saunders Lewis

Industrial Dark Age in Cornwall

Horo Bhodachain

On the Gaelic Front

"Mhari L" Mystery Deepens

Y Thooder as y Gearaltach

Annual General Meeting Report

CELTIC LEAGUE



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



ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The AGM 1986 will be held in Edinburgh at the same time as the Arts Festival.

The 1985 AGM of the Celtic League was held on August 23-25 in the Conradh na Gaeilge headquarters in Dublin. All the branches, apart from the American, were represented. As usual, their secretaries or delegates gave reports on the work done in their respective areas during the previous twelve months. In only three branches had there been a really satisfactory level of activity. The Manx branch had carried out four projects: it had initiated a campaign to bring international attention to the excesses committed by the Ulster Defence Regiment, distributing almost 1,000 leaflets calling for its dissolution among elected representatives in several countries; it had sent letters to the Northern Ireland Office in protest against the use of plastic bullets; it had continued to monitor naval activity in the Irish and Celtic Seas (suspected as the cause of accidents); its secretary had represented the Celtic League at a "Pollution in the Irish Sea" conference in Liverpool. The London branch had organised the Scif-Celt exhibition of publications in the Celtic languages- it had conducted a campaign to get the Bank of Ireland to display its name in Irish; it had taken part in demonstrations and conferences- sent letters to the press expressing the C.L. point of view; organised a lecture by the Nicaraguan ambassador. The American branch sent a detailed report to the AGM: its membership was the highest ever, it had held its annual Pan-Celtic conference in April; its 1985-86 Celtic Calendar was already printed; it planned to launch a magazine, KELTOI, by November 1.

The other branches had not been as active but they had helped in carrying out the projects initiated by the London and Manx branches. In recent months, the downward trend in the Cymru and Éire branches had been reversed and they were well on the way to recover their previous strength. A comparison of the figures for 1985 and for previous years showed that we were back to the level of support achieved in 1982.

CARN had also undergone a crisis in the autumn of 1984 but had fully recovered its regularity. The meeting expressed appreciation for the dedication of the editor and general approval of the material published. We had sought to find out what the readers preferred by means of a questionnaire in CARN 47/8 but only about 1% had answered. All were reasonably satisfied — later one article had been severely criticised. The number of replies was really too small to enable us to draw conclusions!

After reviewing the overall situation in the Celtic League, the secretary general announced that he would not seek re-election — he had occupied the post ever since

the League was set up in 1961. His commitment to the organisation remained entire and he would continue to act as secretary for a "Celtic Dispersion" branch comprised of those members who did not belong to any of the existing branches.

The meeting thanked all the officers who had retired over the past year as well as the outgoing secretary general. It elected Micheál Mac Aonghusa (who is secretary of the Oirachtas Festival) as chairman; Bernard Moffatt as secretary general; A. Heusaff as assistant secretary general, to be soon succeeded by David Fear; Pat Bridson as editor of CARN and Roy Green as treasurer.

The AGM decided to give financial support to the cooperative "Celtic Ideas Ltd" launched in Scotland by Rob Gibson and to invest in it a sum for the production of T-shirts, sweatshirts and a button badge, the sale of these items offering an opportunity to make the aims of the Celtic League more widely known. The Scif-Celt exhibition will be organised again by our London branch with increased involvement from the other branches: it will be held in Lon-

don in April, coinciding with the London Book Fair. The Breton branch secretary outlined his project TRAMOR, a pen-friend service to young people studying Breton: the other secretaries undertook to provide him with addresses of teachers who would ask their pupils or students if they wanted to take part in the scheme.

In order to relate the activity of the Celtic League more closely to that of the national movements, the Friday evening session was devoted to a review by a panel of speakers of the general situation in each of our countries and of the objectives which their political and cultural organisations are seeking to reach.

On Sunday morning, the historian Pádraig Ó Snodaigh gave a lecture entitled "Unionist Positions". See page 22.

To finish, let us mention the traditional music session organised by Máire Bhreathnach and Micheál Mac Aonghusa at the Stag's Head on the Saturday night. The newly founded group "Basket Sound" and two other accomplished musicians provided us with excellent, lively entertainment.



ALAN HEUSAFF

Alan did not stand for election as General Secretary at the 1985 A.G.M. — for the first time in 24 years. To those active in the League this did not come as a major surprise as he had for a number of years intimated his desire for more time for other work, particularly on the Breton language. Having given such long dedicated service in a central position in the League at no small sacrifice to personal and family life it was to be appreciated that he would prefer a less onerous role. The esteem in which he was held by those who worked with him over the years was shown by the publication by the League last year of a volume of essays dedicated to him "For a Celtic Future — a Tribute to Alan Heusaff".

Alan brought to his position as General Secretary not only enthusiasm for the work

and aims of the League but a realisation that to ensure its continuance and growth there must be close co-operation and mutual respect between its officers, branch secretaries and activists. In pursuing the League's work he was therefore most diligent in consulting branch secretaries and officers about proposals and activities and in trying to operate according to the League's constitution. Let us hope that the tradition he built up in this respect will be adhered to by all.

Alan is continuing as Secretary of the International Branch and is also prepared to act as Director of Information, so thankfully his wealth of experience will be available for many years to come.

MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS: This is the last issue of 1985. For most of you, the subscription is due for renewal. Please note some changes in the secretaries' addresses on page 24.

ALBA

HORO BHODACHAIN

"Rugadh mise ann an 1997," arsa an t-seann fhear-lagha. Bha aodann pinc aige agus bha deise dhubh air.

Ach cha robh mòran iongnadh air Gilleasbuig Lachlainn. Bha fios aig an oigfhear gun robh na bodaich le chéile aosda. Bha e cho moiteil oir bha e a' dol gu ruige Inbhir Nis a liubhradh a' cheud òraid aige don Chomunn Ghaidhlig. Mata, bha Gilleasbuig Lachlainn caran cinnteach gum biodh an òraid ceart gu leoir oir rinn e deagh rannsachadh ann an leabharlan an oilthigh agus bha a h-uile barail san òraid aige ùr-fhasanta. Bha an deise de dhath phurpaidh no chòrcair air, dìreach cho ùr-nuadh ris na smaointean aige cuideachd.

Rinn e an òraid air a' chomputair ach a dh'aindeoin sin bha teagamh no dhà aige a thaobh na h-òraide fhathast. Bha e fichead bliadhna a dh'aois agus lorg e gun robh inbhich ceart gu leoir aig amannan.

Bha am bodach eile a' dòrtadh a mach uisge-beatha a steach do na trì glainneachan. Mu dheireadh thall lorg Gilleasbuig Lachlainn gun robh am bodach 'na mhaighstir-sgoile a leig dheth a dhreuchd iomadh bliadhna air ais. Bha an triuir 'nan suidhe tiomcheal air a' bhord san trèana.

"Mac-na-braiche?" dh'iarr am fear-teagaisg a bha air chluain. Bha sgall air agus bha feile-beag dearg, glas is dubh uime.

"Cha do dh'òl mi ach fion gus a seo", fhreagair Gilleasbuig Lachlainn ach ghabh e balgam.

Bha an trèana a nìd a' dol thairis an drochaid mhór iarunn eadar Cas-chaolas mu Dheas agus Cas-chaolas mu Thuath (no mar a theireadh iad nuair a bha Alba fo smachd luchd-na-Beurla 'sna laithean a dh'aom "South" agus "North Queensferry").

"A bheil thu a' dol gu ruige Inbhir Nis?" dh'fhaighnichd an tidsear aosda.

"O gu dearb tha", fhreagair Gilleasbuig Lachlainn, "a thoirt òraid don Chomunn Ghaidhlig Inbhir Nis. Bithidh e furasda gu leòir. Thuit an computair gum biodh buaidh na Gàidhlig thairis air a' Bheurla feadh na h-Alba gu léir do-sheachnach no inevitable".

"B'eolach mo sheanair air a' chomputair!" dh'eigh am maighstir-sgoile. Bha fallus air a cheann maol. "'S ann mar mhuc tha na chomputairean ... mar a bhiadhas tu e, no mar a lionas tu e".

"Ach chan innis e brèug," fhreagair an t-aganach gu feargach.

"Nach d'fhuir iad an aon rud a thaobh nan camera sa chèud dol am mach?"

Thuig Gilleasbuig Lachlainn gun robh am bodach a' bruidhinn gu ceart. Leis a sin

dh'fhas e ciuin. Nuair a chaidh fhearg sìos chòrd am maighstir-sgoile ris ged a bha am bodach caran borb agus thug e urram dhà bhon a bha e le chéile glic is tapaiddh. Is docha gun robh mòran aig a' bhodach mu dheighinn na laithean a dh'aom nuair a bha a' Bheurla buadhmhor feadh Alba gu leir. Co dhuibh, bha e coltach r'a sheanair nach maireann.

"Nach do dhiùlt sibh gun robh ar buaidh do-sheachnach?" arsa Gilleasbuig Lachlainn gu réiteachail. "De mu dheighinn na cuimreis? Nach robh cànan na Cuimrigh buadhmhor cuideachd?"

"Mur an robh gaisgich na cànan Chumrich ann bhiodh i cho marbh ri sgadain an diugh," fhreagair am bodach aosda liath, "agus rinn na gaisgich againne an aon rud a thaobh na Gàidhlig cuideachd san fhicheadamh linn".

"Shaoil mi gun robh muinntir na h-Alba buadhmhor a mhàin?"

"Nach cuala tu mu dheighinn Ruairidh Mhic Thómais? Brosnaich esan miltean a thaobh na Gàidhlig!"

"Rinn mi suidhe taobh an iomhaigh aige ann an sràid Gairm ann an Glaschu iomadh uair ... ag ithe "take-away" Sineach. Dé rinn na gaisgich sin agus an fheadhan a thàinig as an deidh?"

"Mata, sa chèud dol am mach, nach robh iad uamhasach sgileil a thaobh làimhsichidh an luchd-poileataics? Nach do dhearbhadh iad don mhuinntir na h-Alba gun robh ar cànan Ghaidhlig an aon chànan Albanach a tha againn? Nach do stéidhich Fionnlagh nan cròileagan ... ceudan no miltean croileagan ... air son pàisdean roimh-sgoil? Stéidhich daoine eile sgoiltean Ghaidhlig agus Sabhal Mór Ostaig.

"Ceart gu leoir".

"Nach do chuir iad seachad Achd na cànan Albannach troimh'n Cho-thional Albannach (Scottish Assembly)?"

"Ceart, chuala mi mu dheighinn nan nithean sin sa chlas eachdraidh nuair a bha mi san ard sgoil."

"Gu dé cànan san d'fhuair thu do fhoghlam, troimh na Beurla no troimh na Gàidhlig san sgoil is sa cholasde?" dh'fhaighnichd fear-lagha mar gun robh e a' ceisteachadh luchd-fianuis ann an cùirt-lagha.

"Sa Ghaidhlig, gu nadurrach".

"Le'r cead," arsa am bodach sa dheise dhuibh, mar gun robh e a' tagradh air beulaobh bhrithimh air choireigin, "chan eil sin nadarrach idir, idir. Bhon uair a phòs Mairearad nam Mallachd ar Rìgh Calum Ceann Mór, mìle bliadhna air ais, bha ar cànan againn fhin air chuireadh gu cul leis a h-uile riaghaltas. Ach ged a bha an traigh air dol am mach cho fada thionndaidh e taing do euchdan nan gaisgeach seo dhe'n fhicheadamh linn.

Thuig an fheadhan a sgrìobh an t-Achd

seo gu math mar a rinn na fir-lagha Suòmaich (Finnich) a thaobh na cànan aca. Air an aobhar sin, thoir misg an t-Achd clàraicheadh no recording dhe'n gnìomhas no deed no sgrìobhadh sa Bheurla. Feumaidh a h-uile sgrìobhadh bhith sa Ghaidhlig oir dhiùltadh a h-uile taigh-clàraidh (m.e. na Sasines, Leabhraichean Chomhairle agus Sheisean 7c) e agus mar sin bha bruidhinn no sgrìobhadh sa Bheurla toirmisgte cuideachd".

Bha am fear-lagha a' mineachadh mar a dh'ionnsaich sinn bho Quebec mar a bha a h-uile companaidh agus buth a' dèanamh feum dhe'n ainm Gàidhlig aca nuair a thàinig an troilidh dhearg agus deoch is biadh oirre. Bha té ruadh ga putadh. Ghabh am fear-lagha botal beag fhion dhearg na Frainge, am maighstir-sgoile botal-bodaich dh'uisge-beatha agus Gilleasbuig Lachlainn coif. Bha an trèana faisg air Baile Chloichridh a nìd.

Chord cuideachd nam bodach ris an òganach na dheise phurpaidh uamhasach math a nìd. Bha e cinnteach a nìd gun robh an òraid aige gun fheum. B'fhearr leis teisteanas nam bodach a nìd. Mar a theireadh seanchaidh no eachdraiche bha iad nan prìomh màthair-aobharan no "primary sources".

Nuair a bha an trèana a' dlùthachadh ri Inbhir Nis thuit am maighstir-sgoile gu soilleir (ged a bha smuid air).

"Bheil fhios agad, 'ille, na rinn a h-uile tidsear agus fear-teagaisg anns gach sgoil, colaisde agus oilthigh feadh na h-Alba nuair a thàinig an t-Achd seo am mach (se sin ri ràdh, far nach robh iad a' teagaisg troimh na Gàidhlig cheana) sa chèud bhliadhna dh'ionnsaich gach fear-teagaisg agus a chlas a' chànan agus san ath-bhliadhna theagaisg e a h-uile cuspair troimh na Gàidhlig!"

"... Agus far an do dh'ionnsaich sinn an cleas sin?"

"Israel ... nuair a dh'ath-bheothaich iad Eabhra ... a' chànan aca ... hoigh! a bhalaich, an gabh thu balgam mus tig an trèana a steach don stèisean?"

Dhiùlt Gilleasbuig Lachlainn le crathadh a' chinn, gu ciuin. Bha e lan toilichte le comhairle nam bodach le chéile, am fear-lagha le aodann pinc sa dheise dhuibh agus am fear tartmhor na fheile-beag dearg glas dubh.

Bhiodh an òraid aige fada nas fheàrr bhon d'fhuair e màthair-aobhar buaidh na Gàidhlig ... dh'innseadh e don Chomunn mar a fhuair e dithis bhodaich a bha òg nuair a cheannsaich sinn a' Bheurla chruaidh Shasunnach feadh na h-Alba gu leir.

Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich
Gilleasbuig Lachlainn 'Illeasbuig

"I was born in 1997", said the old lawyer. ... Not so bad a start, eh?

SCOTLAND IN EUROPE — FRIENDSHIPS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The SNP's Autumn Campaign has as a component the call for Scots to see the EEC as a by-pass to the Westminster strait-jacket. Our involvement in the EEC through an 18% vote at the last Euro-elections and the retention of the Highlands and Islands by Winnie Ewing has kept the Scottish voice to the fore despite our lack of self-government. Indeed SNP leaders hope that Scots will dismiss the "separatist" tag which has beset attempts to campaign for independence. Independence inside the EEC it is claimed could safeguard Scots interests through the veto and a hard bargaining over oil and fish which EEC countries need. Inverness hosted the Lomé Convention in September, introducing half the world's nations to Scotland and her problems.

But the shadow of the Doodge-Spinelli proposals lies over all small nations and threatens to centralise power and create

defence, foreign policies and economic controls which would stifle a decentralised Europe of the nations before birth. It is useful to review the prospects for small nations in the light of the Spanish and Portuguese accession in January 1986. The arrival of the Basques and Catalans means that existing parliamentary groups will have to change shape to accommodate the most advanced of the emerging nations of Western Europe and gain benefits from the breathe they blow into the struggle of others for full nation status.

In particular Scotland and Wales through their respective national parties have not seen eye to eye on the best route to Euro-recognition for small nations. The expedient group including SNP, Fianna Fáil and the Gaullists poses the most difficult problem for small nation solidarity. For the Sardinian/Tyrolean/Valdostan Union alliance has joined as a sub-branch of the Rainbow Group of environmentalists. While the Belgian Volksuni and submerged nationalities inside France have yet to be accommodated. Above all there is a recognition that the Christian Democrats and big state Socialist blocs will stifle small nations in the interests of monolithic messages at loggerheads with democratic, environmental, cultural and historical distinctiveness. So we in Scotland are looking for an informed debate as to how existing groups can be changed to accommodate a more clear cut alliance stemming from the European Free Alliance.

The work of the Irish government in convincing UNESCO to back the development of Celtic languages and culture, on

into the 21st century, should show others that it is essential for small nations to gather their strength into a significant bloc which, when you analyse the 15 or so nationalist parties which regularly gain more than 5% of the vote inside Western Europe they are predominantly Left of Centre, liberal-democratic, conservationist, anti-nuclear and pro human rights.

Once again a Scottish opinion poll in the Glasgow Herald of 18th October shows four out of five Scots backing an Assembly with the highest historical figure 29% in favour of a "completely independent Scottish Assembly". Inside this poll there is again evidence that a third of Labour voters see this as a solution and that the voters are in the main ahead of what's on offer. I suggest that it is a very good time to open their eyes further by showing how much of a grasp we can have in alliance with other emerging nations, notably the Welsh, but importantly one of the Irish governing parties, in the European scene.

Furthermore the exposure of EEC profligacy over the destruction of food in a hungry world has sent Bob Geldof's message into every home. We can shame the big battalions, they are far from unshakeable — but we must take the blinkers off — in Scotland, an ancient historical nation, there is a place at the table but the only guarantee of a distinctive future is to combine with the emerging nations of the Fourth World and take a stand against British and French imperialism which lurks behind the discussions at the top table in the present EEC.

ROB GIBSON

ON THE GAELIC FRONT

le Frang MacThomais

Since the historic co-labhairt in Skye, things have begun to move on two fronts. Comunn na Gaidhlig has launched an initiative in the Western Isles with the aim to form a new Gaelic youth organisation in which Gaelic will be used as a medium of expression. This initiative is much needed, for the over-exposure of the media, based on monoglot English, tends to wean young folk away from their native tongue.

Initially, CnaG is to initiate consultations with existing youth organisations with a view to identifying and implementing relevant projects. It is recognised that starts have to be made in those areas (a) where Gaelic is strongest and (b) where Gaelic has a tenuous hold on the community, the latter being the more fragile in terms of language hold. Such an initiative is long overdue and it is hoped that at long last youngsters will have a part to play in the continuance of their own culture.

Another exciting development is the setting up of a new bilingual teaching unit in Glasgow. It was only this summer that the city's education committee bowed to pressure and intensive lobbying by Gaelic-speaking parents in the city and the Glasgow Bilingual Schools Association.

Experience in other countries shows that children are more motivated in a challenging teaching environment. This new move takes the centre of Gaelic gravity away from the north and west and will no doubt lead to other similar schools being set up in the central belt of Scotland. In Inverness, too, a similar school has been started. One of the problems is that the teaching of such subjects as arithmetic needs Gaelic texts, but this problem is now being overcome by special translations of existing school material.

This new emphasis on youth is not before its time, for unless the young are given that early sense of identity, the Gaelic language will lose out in the future. And as the future of any culture depends on the rising generation, it makes it essential that the work done in the early years must be as effective as possible.

At the Skye co-labhairt, the Secretary of State for Scotland expressed a desire to see a marriage between Comunn na Gaidhlig and An Comann Gaidhealach. To date both camps seem to be reluctant to come together, which will make it all the more

difficult for the political masters to decide who should get the finance to develop aspects of Gaelic.

CnaG have in fact decided to go ahead to present a national policy for Gaelic which will exclude the area of An Comann Gaidhealach's remit — that of the arts. It would be most unfortunate if the arts and its associated culture, both folk and sophisticated aspects, were not to be included in the national policy, for sure a language needs not only legal status, etc., but the underpinning which the culture offers.

Such a division between the two bodies now working for the future of the language hopefully will not last for long. Indeed An Comann have made it clear that while formal education is the main responsibility of CnaG, this must be tied in with cultural education.

If An Comann has taken some time to get off the ground with an arts policy, it is excusable, for the new remit of An Comann is quite unique in the Gaelic move towards full status as an indigenous language of the British Isles, recognised as such by Westminster.

As these notes are being written, the National Mod is just finishing in An Gearasdean (Fort William). An Comann's President released a 9-page document containing a policy for Gaelic arts. I shall deal with this in the next issue of CARN.

BREIZH

HEKLEV EUS KEMBRE

Plaid Cymru zo o kas en em dennañ eus an enkadenn ma'z eo en em gavet enni abaoe c'hwec'h vloaz bennak. An "Devolution Referendum" e 1979 a ziskouezas ne oa nemet ur bempvedenn eus poblañs ar vro a-du gant ar seurt digreizennañ a oa kinniget gant gouarnamant London. Dister-tre e oa e-keñver an emrenerezh lakaet da bal gant ar strollad broadel, ken distar ma oa chomet moarvat kalzik broadelourien hep mouezhiañ. Roet e voe da grediñ evelkent e talvez an disoc'h-se na houle ket ur muianiver bras a Gembreiz bout emren e doare ebet. Digalonekaus e oa evit ar b-Plaid. Hag evel ma c'hoarvez pa vezer bet faezhet e savas tabut o kas gouzout peseurt fazioù oa bet graet ha peseurt louzoù a zegasfe e nerzh en-dro d'ar strollad. Un darn vat a soñje e oa bet roet re a bouez en e vruderezh d'ar stourm evit ar yezh ha re nebeut da gudennoù ar vicherourien en toleadoù greantelaet ha saoznekaet. Setu ma voe lakaet e 1981 "ur Stad demokratel sokialour" da bal e bonreizh ar strollad. Padal, e-lec'h ober kammedoù bras war-raok ez eo chomet hemañ pennasket. Gallet en deus gounit pe virout un toullad mat a sezioù er c'huzulioù lec'hel, dreist-holl er c'hembraegva met dalc'het eo bet gant e vreutaerezh — diabarzh e-lec'h talañ ouzh ar c'hudennoù strategiezh ha kemer perzh bagol er sachadeg-fun politikel e-touez ar bobl.

E dibenn miz Here e oa bodadeg-vloaz e Caergybi, Enez Von. Ar bastell-vro-se zo unan eus ar pevar e-lec'h ma kred ar vroadelourien e c'hellint lakaat dilenn o danvez-kannaded a-benn daou vloaz. Met diouganiñ a rae ar c'helaouennoù bras, hag ar Western Mail en o zouez, e savfe bec'h



e-pad ar c'hendalc'h etre ar sokialourien hag an "hengounel-ourien".

Gouez d'ar Mail, ur sizhunvezh bennak a-raok en doa anzavet Dafydd Elis Tomas, prezidant ar b-Plaid ha kannad da Westminster, ne oa ket bet graet berzh gant al leviadurezh degemeret e 1981. Eñ an hini e oa ar marc'h blein en tuadur-se. Kredet en doa e teufe dalc'hidi Strollad al Labour, hag a zo niverus e Kembre, a-du gant ar b-Plaid tra ma chomfe feal an "hengounelourien" hag ar "yezhourien". Dibaot al Labouridi o doa troet kein d'ar strollad breizhveuriat, evelkent; ha meur a vroadelour enebet d'ar sokialouriezh en doa roet e zilez. Fazioù oa bet graet gant ar gleizourien o doa e harpet. Graet o doa en o bruderezh gant bommoù-lavar re ziaes d'ar bobl o c'hompren (evel "community socialism") hep o diskleriañ war-bouez kinnigoù fetis. O welout peseurt dizunvaniezh a oa er b-Plaid, e oa kroget ar strolladoù breizhveuriat da brometiñ a bep seurt frankizoù da Gembre, e doare da zedennañ ar re vouzhet. (Emañ Gwynoro Jones, penn bras an SDP unan eus an daou strollad kevredet en "Alliance" hag a c'hallfe troc'holiañ karr Margaret Thatcher a-benn daou vloaz — emañ hennezh o komz a-du gant ar rannvroeladur, ha zoken ur Stad Kevreadel evit Breizh-Veur. N'eo ket harpet kement-se gant e genseurted met a-walc'h eo evit levezoniñ an darc'hwezherien e-touez ar re a garfe kaout un tamm frakiz evit Kembre. Renerien Strollad al Labour zo prest a-walc'h da ginnig ar memes krampinell d'ar rannvroioù ivez, nemet e vez harzet outo gant an isrenerien e Kembre end-eeun. Ar Virourien diouzh o zu a c'hallfo fougale n'eus bet roet biskoazh gant ar strolladoù

all kement a arc'hant ha n'o deus roet da harpañ ar c'hembraeg; kemennet eo bet e vo dalc'het da arc'hantañ S4C a-zoare.

E diabarzh ar b-Plaid ez eus graet emglev etre darn eus ar re a fell dezho disteurel ar sokialouriezh ha distreiñ d'ar vroadelouriezh rik. Anvet eo ar gostezenn-se "Hydro". Ret eo bet da D. Elis Tomas derc'hel kont eus o eneberezh. Araok ar vodadeg-vloaz e oa bet divizet gantañ hag ar renerien all e vefe kemmet ar c'hraf rendaelus eus ar vonreizh da "ur stad demokratel kembreat diazezet war benn-venezioù ar sokialouriezh". N'eo ket sklaer peseurt kemm a zo aze, met lavarout a reont bremañ n'eus mui dober a vreutadeg. D'al labour evit kreñvaat ar strollad!

Ma oa kudennoù da ziluziañ ha fazioù da damall, miret int bet evit ar bodadoù prevez, ha serret an nor ouzh ar gelaouennerien. An unaniezh he deus trec'het. Ar strollad a chom digor d'an holl, "arao-kourien", "hengounelourien", ha "yezhourien". Ur strollad broadel eo. Hag e Breizh? E vezer finoc'h? E vezo sevenet an emrenerezh gant harp nebeutoc'h eget an hanter eus an dud?

(Plaid Cymru's Annual Conference gave massive support to the leadership of the party in its efforts to bridge the gap between those who want to maintain its commitment to socialism and those who insist on a return to a nationalist position acceptable to anyone interested in Welsh self-government.)

A.H.

INTERCELTIC FESTIVAL WIDENS ITS SCOPE

The Interceltic Festival of AN ORIENT/Lorient provides an impressive annual display of the music of the Celtic countries. It continues to attract almost as many visitors as the Eisteddfod. Unfortunately the Breton language plays no noticeable part in all this revelry.

HISTORY SEMINAR

In recent years however, a Summer school running concurrently with the festival offers a week's intensive course in Breton to those participants who want to combine a bit of study with entertainment. And last Summer a further step was taken towards fully justifying its name of "Université d'Été" when the association DALC'HOMP SONJ organised, in conjunction with the festival, a series of twelve lectures on aspects of the history of the 14th and 15th centuries in Brittany. These were attended by a total of about 70 people.

An idea of the high standard of this seminar can be gathered from reports in the local press. The following points may serve to exemplify this.

Gwenole ar Menn (CNRS, Roazhon)

said that apart from the Basque Country no region other than Brittany could boast of having had an uninterrupted theatre production for four centuries (15th to 19th century). For two centuries it consisted of scholarly plays, in verse based on internal rhymes. Later when the upper classes had opted for the French culture, the common people took over and produced livelier plays. Half the literature in Middle Breton (i.e. up to the middle of the 17th century) consists of religious plays but satires and comedies were also staged. There are 250 manuscripts of these works, scattered in libraries from Paris to Landevennec in West Brittany. Only a small part of them has ever been published. (A selection of excerpts from four of the most important is now available under the title "Un dibab testenioù krennvrezhonek". Nevez Hañv

Nr 44, from COOP BREIZH, 17 Rue de Penhoet, 35000 Rennes. It is accompanied by grammatical notes and a lexicon).

Prof. A. Mussat, lecturing about Breton Art, took his listeners on a tour of Langonned, where Romanesque sculpture points to Cross-channel influences, and of Kernaskleden and Ar Faoued where late Gothic churches testify to the encouragement given to artists by the Breton rulers.

R. Omnes, who teaches Spanish in Brest and is also prominent in the Association of Elected Representatives set up to promote the use of Breton in administration and public life, dealt with the question of how Celtic Galicia is. Although Galician is a Latin language, a deeper study of its syntax and pronunciation seems to show a Celtic influence. Galician traditions, legends and outlook have Celtic origins. The Galicians claim strongly that they are Celts.

J.C. Lozac'hmeur, who is writing a book about the Celtic origins of the Graal myth, talked about the pagan traditions associated with the Brekilian (Broceliande) Forest (of which a remnant survives as the Forest of Pempont near Ploermel). Those traditions form the basis of tales in which the fairy Viviane (a name strangely reminiscent of that of the Ninian river which flows past Ploermel), the bard Merlin and the knight Yvain play a prominent part.

J.C. Cassard confirmed what M. Jones has recently shown in DALC'HOMP SONJ: that there existed a school of historiographers whose work bolstered the Breton claims to independence. They developed a complete vision of the country's history by making use of existing documents.

Y. Gicquel pointed out that Brittany is rooted in an extremely rich past. The French Republics had kept our people ignorant of this but today they no longer accepted such conditioning, no more than to be deprived of their language.

J.Y. Le Touze intends to organise next year another series of lectures, dealing with the 17th and 18th centuries. Dalc'homp Soñj, of which he is the editor, is making a most valuable contribution to the Breton recovery. To stimulate interest in our history among the children, he has published a series of four plates of drawings to be coloured in, representing the Celts and the Bretons in the 11th, 14th and 15th centuries. They are available for 185 Ffrs incl. postage from 36 rue E. Zola, 56100 An Oriant/Lorient.

FOR INTERCELTIC COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES.

The festival gave also the opportunity for calling a conference to discuss the possibility of developing the economic links between the Celtic countries. This was done on the initiative of the Morbihan Chamber of Commerce and Industry backed by the other Breton C.C.I.s and by the Festival committee. A hundred people took part in the two day meeting (8-9 August), among them some thirty representatives of economic organisations from Cornwall, Ireland, Scotland, Wales but also from Galicia and the Asturias. The latter were keen on renewing links with the Celtic "ensemble".

Brittany, said Y. Gicquel, was centrally placed for promoting these links. Brittany-Ferries has shown that successful exchanges could develop between these peripheral areas. Together with the Britair company and a freighter plying between St. Nazaire and Vigo, they formed the embryo of a transport network using the "Atlantic stream". The participants divided between workshops on tourism, transport and production and put forward a variety of suggestions such as setting up a data bank, pooling resources for market prospection, a Celtic radio station. . . . All agreed that further consultations should take place and the Asturias proposed Oviedo as a venue for 1986.

A TWO-HEADED CAPES

The French Culture minister, Jack Lang, visiting the festival, announced that in 1986 students could enter a competition for a Breton CAPES. However, it would not be a CAPES: like the others: they would have to take an additional subject, such as literature or maths, thus making it stiffer for those who wanted to get the qualification for teaching Breton. Most language associations criticised this grudging concession, but Per Denez, head of the Celtic department in Roazhon, saw it as a step forward.

The minister said that in September a National Council would be set up to assess the action taken by the public authorities on behalf of the "regional cultures" and to

advise the Prime Minister. It would be composed of "personalities" and elected representatives nominated by the minister, not of people actively engaged in the struggle for the cultures. It looks, as if it is intended to be a public relations operation, in other words eyewash. Another step announced by the minister was that from now on local authorities would be allowed to put up bilingual road signs, but they would have to pay for it. Although many communal councils have not waited for this permission, others are bound to be put off by the additional claim on their meagre resources.

The French State is not really prepared to make amends for the ravage caused by its linguistic imperialism. This was apparent from a recent statement by the minister of education Chévenement when he said that "it was not helping the young people if one taught them languages which have no perspective". As always, Daddy knows best! And it is he who prevents a knowledge of these languages to be put to use. For instance in the courts, as many trials have shown. Chévenement on the Left is of the same feather as on the Right Debré, the high-priest of French centralism who denounced Jack Lang's measures as "favouring the enemies of the Republic": for him there was only one language and one culture in France.

A.H.



Inter Celtic Economic Colloquium (representing Brittany, from left to right- Mr. J. L. Le Douarin, president of C.E.L.I.B.; Mme. Court, department councillor for Morbihan; Mr. Laudren, president of the Morbihan C.C.I.)

OBITUARY

OLIER Mordrel, one of the leading Breton nationalists in the period between the two World Wars, died at the end of October, aged 85. Having sought German help to rid Brittany of the French, he was twice sentenced to death and lived 25 years in exile. An account of his part in the Breton movement will be given in CARN Nr. 53.

• Leon Fleuriot's Dictionnaire des Gloses du Vieux-Breton, published in 1964 and quickly sold out (half of the 500 copies were bought in the USA, Canada and in the Celtic countries other than Brittany) is to be republished in Toronto in a considerably enlarged edition, with explanations in English. It will be of the greatest interest to those who want to know more about the kinship between the Celtic languages.

Designs: courtesy of Pieter Huisman.

STOURM AR BREZHONEG VINDICATED

As CARN already reported in several issues, one of the main developments in the current linguistic struggle in Brittany is the STOURM AR BREZHONEG campaign for bilingual road signs. Other efforts are being made, by law abiding means, to reach the same target. Steps have been taken in recent months in that direction by two organisations in particular, the C.E.L.I.B. and the Association of Breton-Speaking Elected Representatives.

The latter (in Breton: Kevredigezh an Dilennidi Vrezhonegerien) was created in 1984 in support of the Breton language and of its use in public life, as far as possible, at a local level (see CARN 49, p. 8). Its membership, bridging political differences, has increased rapidly, reaching a hundred by June 1985. Maybe some have joined in order to show their electors that they are not against Breton, that they are even in favour of it (I am thinking for instance of a non-Breton-speaking M.P., Mr. Yves Dollo). Never mind! It is good that Breton has become a political priority.

Concurrently the number of Breton road signs (the communes have control over those inside villages) has also increased. Fifteen communes in the Treger area, among which Gwengamp, Lannuon, Landreger, have erected them at their own

costs. Even better, the Côtes-du-Nord Department Council have accepted a proposal by P.Y. Tremel, president of the Association, to spend 230,000 FF on Breton or bilingual signposting along the Perroz-Gireg/Ar Roc'h road (20 km).

Although the association abides by the law, it has refused to condemn the action of Stourm ar Brezhoneg. Its Southwestern, Kernev, branch recently declared that repression was not the answer to the problem raised by S. ar B. "sign painters".

Another law-abiding and respectable* organisation, the C.E.L.I.B., said in September, in answer to those who claim that bilingual road signs would be too expensive, that it would certainly be cheaper to put them up than having to go on scouring the tarred French-only ones. Millions of Francs have already been (needlessly) spent like that. The CELIB has conducted a survey among the communes of Western Brittany on that matter. Among those which answered, 7% have already started to put up the correct signs — at their own costs — while up to 40% said they would like to do the same but they could not afford it.

CELIB has therefore appealed for quotations. A firm in St. Herblen, near An Nao-nad/Nantes, is already supplying signs at reasonable rates to those communes which have sent orders.

The declaration by Jack Lang referred to elsewhere in this issue show that what was dismissed a few years ago as a trivial matter is now being taken seriously. But his colleague in Transport, Paul Quilès, said afterwards in Parliament that "there was no question of having bilingual signs on the



Tarred road sign near Rosporden, S.W. Brittany, July 1984.

main roads" — for these the State would have to pay! His excuse: That would be too dangerous! He has apparently a poor opinion of the Breton and French drivers. Who has ever heard that drivers in Wales or other countries where such signposting exists get confused or involved in accidents because of it?

IWAN KADORED

**(Sub)-Editor's note: Surely the courageous action of S. ar B. deserves even more respect! Trials like those of Bihan and Kadored on 23-9-85 or of J. Killevere on 22-6 will not stop the campaign for recognition of Breton as an official language. The Celtic League appeals again to the readers of CARN to express solidarity with them. Money is needed to cover their court expenses, etc. Send cheques, however small, to Herve Kerrain, Stourm ar Brezhoneg, 21 rue des Tribunaux, 56000 GWENED/Vannes.*

Bilingualism and Biculturalism

This was the theme of an important conference that took place in Landerne near Brest from October 31 to November 3. It was organised by DIWAN in cooperation with international agencies interested in bilingualism. Attendance numbered 500 and 35 speakers, of which many were from outside Brittany (Wales, Catalonia, the Basque Country, France) reported about the progress being made in the field of education and upbringing in the home in areas where two languages are in use; they chaired discussions and workshops on such aspects as teaching in two languages, bilingual State schools, psycholinguistics. The aim was to share the experience acquired from the practice of bilingualism. Many small countries have shown that far from harming the children bilingual education is very beneficial but the French authorities behave as if it was an unknown territory. Provided the media contribute in making the conference findings widely known (one could bet that the regional TV will ignore them), they may swing the Breton parents who are uninformed and hesitant to a more positive attitude towards teaching in Breton as well as in French.

DIWAN SAYS NO TO MINISTER'S PROPOSALS

In answer to the demand to have the schools which teach through the medium of a regional language integrated within the public education system, the French minister of education proposed last Summer to grant them a special status allowing them to continue to use their own methods but subject to various conditions. The status would be valid for three years; the teachers would be paid like the public school teachers but the total payable for each of the two coming years would not exceed the sum allocated for 1984-85 and even that would need yearly confirmation by the Finance department. The associations (Diwan, Seaska in North-Euzkadi, etc.) would have to submit their own budgets for approval to the minister. The primary schools would have to satisfy the State inspectors that they were achieving comparable results to those of the general public schools and it would be for the inspectors, assisted by State-nominated commissions, to decide when and where schools should be opened or closed. Those

trainee teachers volunteering to teach in these schools could get an additional six-months training to that end, they could also attend a training course for 100 hours organised by the associations as well as a five-day refresher course every second year.

The DIWAN AGM on October 6th rejected those proposals as unsatisfactory: they gave no guarantee of adequate training and continuity in employment; they would not relieve the association of its present heavy financial burden; they would not allow an effective bilingual education; they showed that the State's will to really integrate the schools was lacking.

A.H.



Cultural identity and new technology: a Colloquium

DASTUM, an association which has done considerable work collecting traditional Breton songs and music, will hold a three-days' colloquium in January 1986. Its aim is to share experience with people who use or wish to use modern technology in their work for minority cultures. All interested will be welcome. Information from Véronique Perennou, 36 rue de Moncontour, F-22600 Loudéac, Brittany.

CYMRU

DATBLYGIADAU LLWYDDIANNUS

Ar ôl cyfnod ansicr yn ystod y ddwy flynedd diwethaf, mae'r byd ro Cymraeg wedi tyfu hyder newydd eleni. Gellir rhagweld dyfodol diddorol. Yn dilyn datblygiadau diweddar yn y byd roc Saesneg rydym wedi cael pethau megis "Dwylo Dros Y Môr", sef y sengl "Band Aid" Gymraeg (y record mwyaf llwyddiannus Cymraeg erioed, sydd wedi gwerthu dros 20 mil o gopiau), ac "Arian Byw", cyngerdd tebyg i "Live Aid" lle roedd y grwpiau enwocaf yng Nghymru yn chwarae am ddim yn yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol yn y Rhyll eleni. Fe gododd dros £150,000 ar gyfer apêl Ethiopia. Ond yn ogystal a rheiny, mae llawer o grwpiau ifainc sy'n digon hyderus i recordio ar deledu neu radio wedi ffurfio mewn ysgolion.

Fe ddechreuodd cerddoriaeth bop ar gyfer yr ifainc yng Nghymru tua 1967 gydag "Y Blew", grwp oedd yn cynnwys mab Gwynfor Evans. Yn ystod y chwe mlynedd canlynol, ffurfiwyd llawer o fandiau acwstig. Yn ogystal a rhain, roedd sawl canwr gwerin yn dilyn esiampl Dafydd Iwan. Fe ddigwyddodd hyn ar yr un pryd â thyfiant yng nghenedlaetholdeb a Chymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg. 1969 ffurfiwyd Recordiau Sain gan Dafydd Iwan a Huw Jones, ac erbyn canol y saithdegau roedd

gan Sain, a ganolbwyntiodd ar recordiau Cymraeg yn unig, fonopoli ar y farchnad.

Roedd y rhan fwyaf o grwpiau acwstig wedi diflannu erbyn 1977 pan daeth pync i Gymru, er bod rhai ohonynt, Hergest er engraifft, wedi parhau tan ddiwedd y saithdegau. Ond cyn hynny tyfodd grwpiau roc trydanol megis Edward H. Dafis yn boblogaidd iawn gyda chynulleidfod Gymraeg. Nid y gerddoriaeth yn unig a dablygodd y Trwynau Coch a'r Ail Symudiad, ond y diwydiant roc hefyd. Fe osodon nhw gwmnïau annibynnol i fyny yn Ne Cymru, yn gorfodi Recordiau Sain â gystadlu â nhw. Fe ddatblygodd mathau newydd o gerddor-iaeth ar y pryd hwnnw, a dyna oedd uchafbwynt roc Cymraeg tan eleni.

Fodd bynnag roedd llawer o'r grwpiau enwocaf wedi chwalu erbyn 1983. Ond yn ystod y flwyddyn a hanner diwethaf mae sawl grwp wedi dechrae chwarae (mewn ysgolion yn arbennig) ym mhob ran o Gymru, tua dwsin pob mis ydy un amcangyfrif diweddar. Mae ychydig o ganolfannau yn fwy pwysig; yn arbennig Bethesda yng Ngwynedd; Llanfair Caereinion ym Mhowys a Chaerdydd. Er fod y cylchgrawn enwocaf yn hanes y byd roc Cymraeg, sef Sgrech, wedi gorffen rwan ers y Nadolig, mae dau gylchgrawn arall,

sef "Dracht" a "Sylw", wedi cymryd ei le. Mae "Dracht" yn cynnwys sylw am bob band led-led Cymru ym mhob rhifyn. Mae cyngherddau wythnosol hefyd yn cael eu trefni mewn nifer o ganolfannau.

Er gwaethaf y rhain, mae pobl yn gofidio am y dyfodol. Dydy'r nifr o gyngherddau heb gynyddu law yn llaw a'r nifer o fandiau newydd sydd wedi codi (er fod mwy wedi digwydd yn yr Eisteddfod eleni nag o'r blaen). Sain ydy'r cwmni recordiau mwyaf o hyd, a mae'r ffaith eu bod yn agos at fod â monopoli yn creu sefyllfa afiach. Dydy ychydig o grwpiau braidd yn chwarae ar lwyfan heblaw ar y teledu. Ond am y tro cyntaf, mae grwpiau Cymraeg yn cael sylw ar deledu a radio Saesneg gyda'r record "Dwylo Dros Y Môr", ac mae'r Anhrefn wedi tynnu sylw cylchogronau roc Saesneg. Gobeithio bydd y datblygiadau hyn yn cael eu dilyn yn y gwledydd Celtaidd eraill. Eisoes mae'r grwp roc cyntaf sydd yn canu yng Ngwyddeleg wedi dechrau chwarae.

This year has seen spectacular developments in the Welsh pop world. A Welsh "Band Aid" single, a "Live Aid" concert and coverage in the English media have combined with a groundswell of young musicians (often from schools) to make the future appear exciting and hopeful.

gan David Fear

NOTES FROM WALES

♦ RADIO CYMRU

Now in its eighth year Radio Cymru has introduced a more varied schedule, with more comedy, adventure, drama, magazine programmes of all kinds and music. Programmes include a new situation comedy series "Nid Asyn yw'r Gyfraith" (The Law is not an Ass), a serial "O Na Byddai'n Haf o Hyd" set in a seaside town in North Wales, a musical quiz, an examination of the concerto in "Dadl Dau", a series on the history of the guitar, a look back to the 1960s, a programme to help listeners obtain value for money "Llawn Llathen" and two music and chat programmes hosted by former Welsh rugby international cap Ray Javell.

♦ NANT GWYTHEYM

Summer 1985 was the most successful yet for the Welsh language centre "Canolfan Iaith Nant Gwytheym" on the northern shore of the Llŷn peninsula. There is space for 32 to stay and by mid September 600 learners had been on courses with 1,000

expected by the end of the year. Among the more unusual courses was one for adult candidates for the University of Wales' adult learners' certificate and a course for 24 candidates for the Roman Catholic priesthood led by the Welsh speaking Bishop Mullins. Groups also came from schools and colleges.

The former granite quarrying village is increasingly popular as a destination for day trips. Eleven of the 25 terraced houses in the village have been restored together with the chapel, shop and a barn (now a café). Some houses are soon to be converted into seminar rooms.

♦ WELSH TAPES FOR NEWCOMERS

Trinity College, Carnarthen has produced a series of Welsh lessons on tapes aimed at helping young newcomers to Welsh speaking areas to learn Welsh. A dozen tape cassettes have been prepared with 12 lessons on each tape. Each has cards with pictures and words to take a child step by step through learning simple sayings and

pronunciations. Children could start on the scheme on their own, releasing the teacher at times to attend to the needs of the rest of the class, and is thus a mini language laboratory for individual pupils. Tapes could also be taken home for extra work and use by the child's parents.

CLIVE JAMES

♦ Celtic Studies in Canada

The Canadian Federal Minister for Multiculturalism, Jack B. Murta, announced that his government was making a grant of \$350,000 available towards establishing a chair of Celtic studies in Ottawa University. This matched an equal sum raised by various Celtic groups in the Ottawa Valley. It will be the 8th chair so endowed in Canada under the programme of assistance to multiculturalism. It will be devoted to the study of the language, literature and culture of the Celtic nations with a special emphasis on Welsh and Breton (according to NINNAU, June 1985).

SAUNDERS LEWIS

Saunders Lewis was born and bred in Wallasey, Liverpool, the son of a Calvinistic Methodist minister from Blaen Gwendraeth in Carmarthenshire. It was in Liverpool that he received the whole of his formal education. As a schoolboy he reviewed books and plays for the local paper, paid in kind by a copy of a book or a ticket to see a play. This early interest in literature and the theatre remained a passion throughout his life.

Very soon after the outbreak of war in 1914 he joined the South Wales Borderers (he was formally expelled after burning the bombing school) and was sent to France, and then to Italy, where he was wounded.

NATIONALIST BEGINNINGS

It was while he was in the British army that he became a Welsh Nationalist, first by reading Irish writers, Yeats, Synge, Patrick Colum. It was they, he said, who taught him what patriotism and the spirit of a nation are. Then, in 1916, when he was on leave, he bought in Ralphs' second-hand bookshop in Swansea, a copy of T. Gwynn Jones' biography of Emrys ap Iwan, and the book shook him. These influences were deepened when he returned to France by reading the works of Barres who made him realise that he was one of the uprooted. His father's words came back to him, "Nothing will come of you Saunders, until you return to your roots." Before the war ended he was a nationalist of integrity determined to commit his life to the service of his nation.

CHARISMATIC SPEAKER

During the last war, when he was persuaded to give a winter's course of extramural lectures in Aberystwyth, 200 people turned up in the class every week. He was a brilliant lecturer and public speaker, but equally able as chairman or member of a committee. He used to insist that it was as important to prepare beforehand for a committee meeting as for a public meeting.

But it is through the written rather than the spoken word that his influence will remain. His literary work in the Welsh language, produced during more than sixty years of writing, is without compare.

He wrote only two novels, but both are classics; and only about three dozen poems, yet there are those who think that it was as a poet that he was greatest.

He is usually thought of primarily as a playwright — and it is twenty plays which give him European stature; many have been translated into other languages. They crystallised his thought about the fate of man as well as about Wales and contemporary Welsh life. He took themes from Welsh mythology and early Welsh history — *Buchedd Garmon* is set in the 5th century — but the theme of *Brad* is the plot of the German generals to kill Hitler, and in *Cymru Fydd* it is the predicament of modern Wales.

His integrity was superb. At the deepest level his writing is political. He, with H. R. Jones, the first party secretary, was the catalyst who caused three little groups to coalesce in Pwllheli in 1925 to form *Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru*, the Welsh Nationalist

Party; and it was his intellectual power which was behind the early formulations of its philosophy and policies. After Lewis Valentine's one year's presidency he was president for 13 years, and editor of *Y Ddraig Goch* for much of that time.



He has been called a high Tory, and certainly he was profoundly conservative, deeply committed to conserving Welsh civilisation; but his thought about creating the necessary social, political and economic conditions led him to advocate policies not only of full national freedom but also of radical socialism, albeit fiercely anti-Marxist. He was deeply anti-capitalist and pro-trade union; he went along with the party's policy of worker's control in a co-operative state, developed by D.J. Davies, and when he wrote the party's first political pamphlet the subject was municipal socialism. The policies of the little party that he led were the most revolutionary to be put before the Welsh people.

At least as impressive is his work as a literary critic. He wrote essays on every major figure in Welsh literature from the 6th century to the late 20th, and every essay is itself a literature of beauty. Every literary critic of stature, he said, is himself a creative writer, and he lived up to that dictum. For nearly 1000 years Welsh literature was a major literature. Saunders Lewis put it in its European setting. His knowledge of the Latin classics and of European literatures, especially French and Italian, was profound.

He saw the Welsh nation as a European

nation, and Welsh civilisation as a part of European Christian civilisation. The Welsh person's first duty in his view is to defend our corner of European civilisation and to transmit our national heritage to the future. A profound Christian himself, and a convert to Roman Catholicism, he saw the Welsh tradition as a Christian tradition and its literature as Christian literature. His tremendously exciting accomplishment was to put a millenium and a half of Welsh literature in a new perspective.

WELSH RENAISSANCE

As a journalist he was supreme. There is nothing to compare in Welsh journalism, either in English or in Welsh, with the monthly articles he wrote for ten years as editor of *Y Ddraig Goch* and the 500 weekly articles that he wrote during and after the war for *Y Faner*. They can still be read with profit. The variety, quality and extent of Saunders Lewis' literary work make him the central figure in this century's amazing Welsh literary renaissance.

All this work was done in the Welsh language. For him there would be no Welsh nation but for the language, and if the language dies the nation will not survive. It was this belief that lay behind his historic radio lecture on *Tynged yr Iaith* which inspired the establishment of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*. It is the Welsh language which unites the generations, and Saunders Lewis saw the unity of the generations as one of mankind's greatest glories; and it is through the language that the nation fulfils its function of transmitting values from generation to generation. Language has enormous power; not only is it the vehicle of a culture, it can create and recreate a culture as it has done in Israel.

LLŷN FIRE

When the Government made clear its determination to establish a bombing school with its attendant English colony in Welsh-speaking Llŷn, Saunders Lewis led the opposition, which was organised by J.E. Jones the party's general secretary. In England, a swannery in Dorset and historic traditions in Northumberland had caused similar decisions to be withdrawn, but in Wales the plan went ahead regardless. So Saunders Lewis, D. J. Williams and Lewis Valentine set fire to the place and were sentenced to nine months imprisonment, spent in Wormwood Scrubs. To its everlasting disgrace the University College of Swansea sacked him.

If he had been born an Irishman he would have been a leader of the stature of Parnell. But his fate was to be born a Welshman, among a people without loyalty to their nation or the will to live as a nation, but content to decay, without national freedom or dignity, as a peripheral region of England. Nevertheless he put iron into the backbone of the more spirited, and did more than anyone has done since the days of Glyndwr to breathe life into the nation's being. Wales has seen no greater man.

GWYNFOR EVANS

Reprinted with permission of the Welsh Nation.

Griffith Jones, born about three hundred years ago, was baptized in Cilrhedyn on 1st May 1684 and died in Llanddowror in 1761 aged 77. He served as Rector there for 45 years.

In the early part of the eighteenth century most of the people of Wales were illiterate as indeed were most of the inhabitants of Europe.

Griffith Jones's main claim to fame was his efforts in the field of education that made the Welsh nation one of the most literate anywhere. Through their literacy they became one of the most Godly too. He adopted the principle of having schools circulate from parish to parish, staying for not more than three months at any one place. The success of this experiment was remarkable. By 1761, the year of the founder's death, 3,495 schools had been held and 158,000 pupils educated in the skills of reading. And these were Welsh schools. It was Griffith Jones's signal contribution to the national well-being of Wales that he would stand no nonsense on this topic. In a letter written 11 October 1739 he expounds his conviction that to seek to destroy the Welsh language is to defy the dispositions of divine Providence: "Thus . . . appears the loving-kindness of God, in his confounding the languages, and dispersing the people, by giving them different tongues; and if the goodness and wisdom of God must be acknowledged to run through the whole in general, how can it be denied in any particular branch thereof? May we not therefore justly fear, when we attempt to abolish a language . . . that we fight against the decrees of Heaven, and seek to undermine the disposals of divine providence? . . ."

It is worth drawing attention to this dignified and carefully argued apologia because in it Griffith Jones develops a theological understanding of the role of nations, national territory and national languages, quite in keeping with the Calvinistic tenor of his theological thinking generally. The Babel narrative in Genesis he understands as a blast against imperialism. The danger of an oppressive world government is such that God has willed the existence of separate nations and separate languages and has scattered them over the earth. Consequently, to maintain schools where Welsh is the medium of instruction is to respect God's will. To seek to destroy Welsh is to defy God's wisdom.

Welsh would probably not have survived until today but for the labours of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror. Our debt to him is immeasurable. He was subjected to immense pressure by the authorities and other influential people to conduct the circulating schools in English but he steadfastly refused to betray his nation.

After the passing of Griffith Jones's circulating schools, literacy in Welsh was maintained by the Sunday schools, established by Thomas Charles of Y Bala. The Welsh nation remained fertile ground for the tremendous literary output in the national language during the nineteenth century.

His schools continued after his death under the patronage of Madam Bridget Bevan of Talacharn until her death in 1779. Because of a long-lasting dispute over her will the schools came to an end soon after but the foundation had been laid. The Welsh people had been taught to read the scriptures in their own language.

If it hadn't been for the firm foundation laid by Griffith Jones the complete exclusion of Welsh from the universal education system introduced in 1870 together with a

woefully inadequate service in Welsh on the wireless and television networks in the twentieth century and a lack of proper official status would almost certainly have brought about the death of the language.

Apart from my introductory and concluding remarks this article is taken from a book made up from a series of essays on the Welsh language. The book was printed and published by Gwasg Gomer, Llandysul, Ceredigion, An Bhreatain Bheag, and you will have to ask the publishers their permission to use the copyright.

The writer of the essay, *The Welsh Language and Religion*, from which this article gets its material, is the Rev. R. Tudur Jones, Principal of Bala-Bangor Theological College.

MERFYN PHILLIPS

Dear Editor,

The aim of CARN, if it be formulated beyond the phrase "a link between the Celtic Nations", must surely be to amplify and raise the consciousness of the Celtic peoples so that they make take their rightful places in the world community. A chief component of this, indeed, I suppose the essential component, is the dissemination of information — to reach the news that other media do not reach.

Part of this job must be to give prominence to information of an historical nature so that, for example, Welsh people cannot say that the only historical figures they know of are William the Bastard and the Black Prince.

We ought, without any great difficulty be able to say, or easily refer to, the historical boundaries and territories of our own lands. How many Cornish people can readily establish or know where to obtain information on the old Cornish Hundreds. Those Hundreds in Cornwall, it should be noted, are believed to have been largely derived from the old British internal divisions. Yet probably not even one in a thousand in Cornwall could lay their hands on the actual territorial abstract. Fortunately, by virtue of an English Civil Service alteration, the Cymru and Cornish peoples now hear of Dyfed, Cosedigion, Penwith and Kerrier.

But these modern boundaries are not necessarily correct historically. Moreover, if you wish to establish for your own satisfaction the proper boundaries of Breizh, Euskadi and Flanders — where do you turn? Who publishes accurate scale maps of the Croladau, Cantrii and Cymydau of Wales, the Hundreds of Cornwall and the Dioceses of Brittany?

Now it appears to me that there ought to be a society or association which specialises in knowing these things and would be able to draw together its information and make it available to those who would wish to know and those who ought to know.

To this end I suggest the following. There should be established a "Society for National Boundary Study". An S.N.B.S. would have the following primary purposes:

1. The delineation on maps of 1:50,000 scale of the historic boundaries of Europe of nations and peoples.
2. The delineation on maps of 1:50,000 scale of the historical internal boundaries of nations and national groups.
3. The publication for the education and edification of patriots and students of the historic boundaries in easily available cartographic form.

Let me immediately here acknowledge the work done by Eurig ap Gwilym of "Cofiw" who delineated the "Cymric Boundary" and first inspired me to investigate the topic. But beyond Cymru, and the definitive text of Melville Richards on the internal boundaries of Cymru, it gets much harder.

What were the exact frontiers of Brittany with France? Where exactly were the joint territories which Brittany held with Poitou south of Nantes? Where is the exact frontier of Euzkadi north of the Pyrenees? Precisely what is the exact historic frontier of the Westhoek district of Flanders?

Henry Myhill made reference to the joint Breton/Poiton territories in his excellent work on Brittany. Clearly some Bretons know the ancient border. Likewise the Basques know their frontiers.

But it is not easy to find out away from the country in question.

We owe it, I suggest, to our young people especially, to make available to them as much information as possible.

Even if our own boundary systems are not felt to be "efficient" it should be recalled that the Swiss live with and overcome any initial inconvenience. And try suggesting to a West Virginian that their relatively impoverished state of the American Union should be re-joined to Virginia.

What do readers of CARN and members of the Celtic League think?

Is there a place for a Society for National Boundary Study?

RHUFON

ÉIRE

AN ATHBHEOCHT

COMHTHUISCINT NUA DE DHÍTH?

Ré dhearóil na hAthbheochana í seo. I measc saighdiúirí na cúise tá laghmhisneach le brath. Sa teaghlach is sa tsaoil poiblí, tá na céimeanna bídeacha a baineadh amach ar son na teangan á gcur siar is ní ann don athbheocht i réimsí nua cultúir (ar den "ÚLL MÓR" a bhformhór). Tá forbairtí nua sa teicneolaíocht tar éis laigí móra Ghluaiseacht na hAthbheochana a léiriú, faraoid. Agus tá LFMachas ar fuadradh gan smacht sa tír. Ach cad tá imithe orainn? Cad í cúis ár n-ísle brí? Díriodh ar dhrochstaid seo na hAthbheochana a scrúdú i *Léacht Uí Chadhain* a thug Liam Ó Dochartaigh, Ceann Roinn na Gaeilge, Coláiste Thuamhumhan, i U.C.D. roimh an Nollaig.

Dob' é Máirtín Ó Cadhain féin a thug gluaiseacht ar strae ar Ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge i 1969, agus má b'fhíor ansin é, níl aon dabht ná gur measa ár seachrán ó shin. Ach dar le Liam Ó Dochartaigh, ní hí Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge atá ar strae ach an chúis, í féin. Creideann seisean "go bhfuil lucht na Gaeilge fós taobh le seantuisicintí maidir le tábhacht na Gaeilge don fhéiniúlacht Éireannach i gcoitinne nó maidir le hionad na Gaeilge in idéolaíocht nó i saol an stáit ó dheas. Cuid de m'argóintse is ea go bhfuil cúis na Gaeilge ar strae ós rud é nach bhfuil feidhm leis na seantuisicintí seo i saol an lae inniu - nó, sa chás go bhfuil feidhm leo go fóill, nach bhfuil glacadh leo ag lucht ceannais agus cumhachta sa tír."

Buntuisicint de chuid na hAthbheochana is ea go bhfuil ceangal daingean idir an náisiúnachas agus an teanga, agus nuair a bhaintear aitheantas amach don teanga i stát nua — Príomhtheanga an Stáit is ea an Ghaeilge — bíonn an-chuid oibre le déanamh chun tacú léi agus í a chur in oiriúint don saol nua. Mar a léiríonn Ó Dochartaigh, deineadh roinnt mhaith den obair sin nuair a bunaíodh an Stát — leagan aontaithe scríofa a chruthú, téarmaíocht nua-aimseartha a cheapadh, athrú cló a dhéanamh, srl.

Agus de bharr gur as an náisiúnachas a fáisceadh an Stát, torthaí de chuid fhealsúnacht an Náisiúnachais ab ea na nithe sin ar fad, gan trácht ar na céimeanna tábhachtacha eile a glacadh chomh maith — i gcúrsaí bunoidreachais, ach go háirithe. Glacadh leis gurbh é an córas oideachais an uirlis lena mbainfí an athbheocht amach. Mar a deir Ó Dochartaigh: "Mar seo a dearbhaíodh an aidhm sna triochaídní sna nótaí d'oidí maidir le múineadh na Gaeilge sa bhunscoil:

The teaching of Irish in the school is a part, a very important part, of the general effort to restore the Irish language to its rightful place

as the everyday speech of the nation. Its aim is frankly and unequivocally to make Irish speakers of the children of the Galltacht so that, by the age of 14, they may be able to express themselves freely, fully, and correctly in the new language."

Is mór idir an aidhm sin agus an méid a baineadh amach ó shin agus áitíonn Ó Dochartaigh nach ndéanfaí "ráiteas neamhleithscéalach" mar sin inniu. Ach cad ina thaobh?



Ó Cadhain, Gluaiseacht ar strae?

Tugann an Dochartach le fios go bhfuil cúl tugtha leis an Náisiúnachas ag aicmí na cumhachta sa tír le fada an lá. Agus go bhfuil col, dá bharr, leis an Athbheocht, mar aidhm mhór de chuid an Náisiúnachais. Is dóigh leis nár ghlac aicmí gairmiúla áirithe riamh léi — an lucht gnó, an lucht gairme, an chléir agus lucht na hollscoile, mar shamplaí.

Luann Ó Dochartaigh na príomhghnéithe den athrú atá tagtha ar stádas na Gaeilge le fiche bliain anuas agus pléann iad.

Ina measc sin, áiríonn sé an glacadh atá anois le haidhm an dátheangachais agus an t-athrú atá iontuigthe as sin ar stádas an Bhéarla. Cé gurb í an Ghaeilge "an phríomhtheanga oifigiúil" de réir an Bhunreacht, áitíonn Ó Dochartaigh go "nglactar leis an mBéarla *de facto*, mar phríomhtheanga oifigiúil an Stáit agus leis an nGaeilge mar dhara teanga."

Ionsaíonn sé an dátheangachas i suíomh mar sin. Tá an Béarla is an Ghaeilge mar a bheadh leon agus uan — an Béarla ag fás agus ag alpadh roimhe, an Ghaeilge ag dul i laige. Bheadh sé minadúrtha dá dtarlódh a mhalairt. Anois, táthar ag cur litríocht na Gaeilge ar fáil i mBéarla. Feasta, "Ní bheidh gá le eolas ar bith ar an nGaeilge; i gcás ar bith níorbh fhiú an tairbhe trioblóid na foghlama. Nach mbeidh an scoth ar fáil i mBéarla?"

Dar ndóigh, fágann meon seo an dátheangachais a rian ar chúrsaí oideachais, go mór-mhór lasmuigh den Ghaeltacht. Agus cuireann an Dochartach i leith Rialtas Fhine Gael-Labour 1973-1977 gur chuir sé sin tús leis an dearcadh go bhfuil sé nádúrtha go labharfadh muintir na Gaeltachta Gaeilge (Féach a dtacaíocht do scoil Dhún Chaoin agus Raidió na Gaeltachta, mar shampla, b'fhéidir) ach gur rud "minadúrtha, neamhthraidisiúnta *bréagach* é labhairt na Gaeilge lasmuigh den Ghaeltacht! Is é an sampla is déanaí de sin ná "gan aon tagairt do mhúineadh na Gaeilge mar dhara teanga a bheith i réamhrá an Chathaoirligh don bplé-pháipéar *Teanga sa Churaclam* a d'fhoilsigh an Bord Curaclaim agus Scrúduithe le déanaí; tagraítear do *the ability to communicate effectively in the mother-tongue, whether English or Irish*, agus do mhúineadh *modern languages* agus teangacha eile (*Japanese and Russian*), ach fágtar an Ghaeilge mar dhara teanga as an áireamh."

Níor deineadh aon phlé chruinn ar cheist na hathbheochana ar RTE ó thosnaigh an tÉirí Amach ó thuaidh. A bhuíochas sin do mheon Alt 31. Agus níl dabht ormsa ná gur ionann an cúl ar an gceist náisiúnta le 15 bliana anuas agus an neamhaird a dhéantar ar an dara aidhm náisiúnta. Leagann Ó Dochartaigh a mhéar ar an "mbréag oifigiúil Stáit" nár ceistíodh go dtí seo — Caint *Gharret* agus a *Chrisáidirí* ar deireadh a chur leis an *Gaelic Catholic State*. Níorbh eol do mhórán an "Gaelic State" sin a bheith ann agus bhí roinnt *fáinne freaks* ag iarraidh dul ag cónaí ann dá bhféadfaidís teacht air.

"Faoi láthair", ceapann Ó Dochartaigh, "tá faillí á dhéanamh d'aonghnó sa Ghaeilge ag an rialtas ó dheas in ainm an *iolrachais*, nó in ainm léamh áirithe ar a bhfuil i gceist le *iolrachas*. Tugtar *Gaelic Catholic* ar cheann de dhá mhórhaidisiúin na tíre, amhail is dá mba Ghaeilgeoirí iad

an pobal iomlán caitliceach ó dheas. In ainm an athmhuintearais, ní mór maolú ar an traidisiún seo *Gaelic Catholic* agus ós rud é nach bhfuil sé de mhiseach ag na polaiteoirí tabhairt faoi chumhacht nó faoi thionchar na heaglaise caitlicí a mhaolú, is ionann seo go praiticiúil agus maolú ar thacaíocht don Ghaeilge, le súil is go meallfar na haontachtóirí bochta saonta ó thuaidh. A mhalairt ar fad de thuiscint a bhainfeadh an gnáthdhuine as coincheap an iolrachais .i. go dtabharfaí aitheantas agus lántacaíocht do ghnéithe éagsúla de thraidisiúin na tíre, go háirithe do na gnéithe imeallacha nó i mbaol a gcaillte. ach is léiriú ar naimhdeas domhain, neamhréasúnach nach mór, leis an nGaeilge féin gur féidir coincheap an iolrachais a chur as a riocht agus a úsáid leis an nGaeilge a bhascadh."

Is dóigh le Liam Ó Dochartaigh nár chuir Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge eagar ceart orthu féin riamh le haghaidh an dúshláin a bhí roimpi. Ceistíonn sé ar n-oilteacht san obair atá romhainn. Lochtann sé ar caighdeán machnaimh a bhraitheann sé a bheith "neamhthathagach, amhrastúil agus amaitéarach". An féidir cur ina choinne? Cad atá déanta, mar shampla, ag lucht na hAithbheochana leis an teicneolaíocht nua? Nuair a bunaíodh an Ghluaiseacht, rud nua ar an saol ab ea an rothar féin. Féach an úsáid a baineadh as. Féach an toradh a bhí ar an obair sin. Cad 'tá á dhéanamh ag an nglúin seo leis an bhfistéip, leis an ríomhaire, leis an nguthán féin? Tá na háiseanna anois an obair RTÉ a mhúineadh dóibh. An ndéanfar é sin?

Ach más fíor dó go bhfuil, ní hamháin an Ghluaiseacht, ach an chúis ar strae, cad 'tá le déanamh? Is dóigh leis an Dochartach go bhfuil dhá rogha (nó dhíogha?) gainn: "(i) iarracht a dhéanamh leanacht leis an bpolasaí a bhí ann a thabharfadh deis do chuile shaoránach a bheith rannpháirteach in oidhreacht na Gaeilge agus a d'fhéachfadh lena chinntiú go mbeadh a bheag nó a mhór den Ghaeilge ag chuile shaoránach sa stát; nó (ii) diriú ar fhreastal faoi leith a dhéanamh ar mhionlach d'fhonn pobal ceart Gaeilgeoirí a chruthú."

Ní cheapann Ó Dochartaigh gur féidir an dá thrá a fhreastal maidir leis an dá rogha seo. Má théitear le (i), rachaidh sé achrannach go leor ar naimhde na teagan a áiteamh nach leis an bpobal ar fad a bhaineann an Ghaeilge agus b'fhéidir, lá geal griannmhar éigin, go mbainfear an Aithbheochaint amach. Más le (ii) a ghlacfaimid, tá eagla ar Ó Dochartaigh go ndéanfar *ghetto* de lucht labhartha na Gaeilge. Sin í an chontúirt a bhaineann le Gaelscoileanna agus leis an mBille Cearta, dar leis. Mar thaca leis an tuairim sin, luann sé staitistic a chuirfidh iontas ar mhórán: "Rud eile, bitear ag maíomh as líon na ndaltaí atá ag freastal ar scoileanna Gaeilge ach as an 550,000 dalta bunscoile sa tír sa scoilbhliain 1982-83, bhí mó ná 225,000 ag freastal ar scoileanna inar múineadh ábhar amháin seachas an Ghaeilge trí Ghaeilge. Níl na Gaelscoileanna ná scoileanna na Gaeltachta san áireamh sa bhfigiúir seo. Cad a tharlóidh don obair éachtach seo má dhírítear ar na Gaeilgeoirí mar mhionlach? Éireofar aisti, dar liom."

Ach, dáiríribh, an gá an rogha sin a dhéanamh anois, nó an féidir? Cá bhfuil ceannairí na Gluaiseachta? An aonad í a thuilleadh, cheal machnaimh agus treoraíochta. Agus má ghlactar leis, ar deireadh, gur eisiatachas dhá bhunscoil lán-Ghaeilge a bheith i dTamhlacht ar imeall chathair Átha Cliath, ag cur leanaí le Gaeilge líofa amach i measc an phobail, ag mealladh a dtuismitheoirí chuig ranganna Gaeilge agus ag cothú aeráide Gaelaí i gceantar ina bhfuil 60,000 daoine ag cónaí, cé a mhoilfaidh deireadh a chur leo?

B'fhéidir gurb é an rogha atá le déanamh ag Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge faoi láthair ná ceist thábhachtach amháin — RTÉ, mar shampla — a ionsaí, agus iarracht a dhéanamh, ní hamháin aidhmeanna riachtanacha an chultúir a bhaint amach ar an gceist sin, ach treoir a thabhairt do ghluaiseacht atá ar strae le fada an lá ag an

am gcéanna. Troid a theastaíonn ó shaighdiúir. Dul chun cinn a theastaíonn ó Ghluaiseacht. Cruthú ar ár ndeoraíocht is ea gur leis an teanga amháin a bhain "*Léacht Uí Chadhain*". Caint ar *Dhíghalldú* na hÉireann a chuir tús leis an aithbheochaint beagnach céad bliain ó shin. Tá sé in am filleadh ar na nithe ar a dtugann Liam Ó Dochartaigh na "Buntuisicintí".

LORCÁN Ó NEACHTAIN

In the above the writer discusses a recent analytical lecture - Léacht Uí Chadhain - given by a leading educationalist, Liam Ó Dochartaigh, in which he maintains that the language movement has not only lost its way, in the words of Máirtín Ó Cadhain, but has had its raison d'être called into question. The time has come to revitalise the movement, he declares. The writer concurs.

ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT

Rarely has an international agreement aroused so much disagreement, controversy and bitterness as the one which has been concluded between Dr. Garret FitzGerald, Taoiseach of the Republic of Ireland and Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister.

Those who have watched the warfare of the last 16 years in the North of Ireland will know that history left Ireland with a heritage of bitterness and injustice which, in practically every decade since the 1920s when the country was partitioned, has expressed itself in violence.

The problem has been essentially one of identity. The border which was imposed on Ireland against the wishes of the majority of the Irish people left two states in Ireland... one ruled by a newly independent people in Dublin and the other ruled by the mainly Protestant Unionists of the North. Inside the six county statelet ruled by the Unionists and backed by Britain, there was a large disgruntled minority of nationalists, mainly Catholics, who felt that they had been sold into a British state in which they wanted no part.

The two states have existed in a sort of mutual hostility since then, the constitution of the Irish Republic actually claiming the Six County state as part of its territory.

The history of the Civil Rights struggle in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when Catholic nationalists in the North demanded equal rights with their Unionist fellow citizens need hardly be gone into detail here. Suffice to say that that struggle led to the re-emergence of the Irish Republican Army and to the campaign of guerilla warfare which has grabbed world headlines ever since. It became increasingly clear to politicians in Ireland and in Britain, when Sinn Féin, the political voice of the IRA, began to do extremely well in elections after the deaths of IRA hunger strikers in the Maze Prison, that there was a serious danger that any attempt at constitutional political reform now was seen as impossible by an increasing number of northern nationalists. Something had to be done. Enter, stage left, the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

THE AGREEMENT

The main points of the new accord between the Republic of Ireland and Britain are as follows:

- The setting up of an Anglo-Irish Conference with a secretariat in Belfast. The Irish side will be led by a Government Minister and will put forward proposals on the running of Northern Ireland.
- Irish and British governments to encourage setting up of power sharing executive in North.
- Irish Government to sign European Convention on Terrorism.
- Irish recognise that status of Northern Ireland will not change without the consent of the majority and the British recognise the legitimate aspiration towards unity of the minority.
- The possibility of mixed courts and the use of flags and emblems to be considered by the Conference.
- In the absence of devolution the Irish Government is entitled to put forward plans for major legislation and policy in interests of minority.
- An Irish input into security policy in North to be discussed at first meeting of the Conference.
- Conference to be reviewed after three years.

WHAT IT MEANS

Essentially, what this agreement sets out to do is to get the nationalist people of the North to identify with the British state in which they live. Until now, because of the way in which the Unionists treated them over a period of fifty years, the nationalist community in the six county state of the North not only never felt that they were a part of that state but actually felt that it was hostile to all of their traditions. It was fundamentally a British state for those who wanted to be British and those who did not share that feeling suffered in terms of employment, housing, voting rights etc.

What this agreement seeks to do, then, is to introduce a minimal Irish ethos into the running of the British Northern state in the hope that the people who are now turning towards a violent solution to their problem will now find something in it with which they can identify.

The most significant concession made by Britain in the new accord is a barely disguised statement that if a majority in the North of Ireland wants to sever the link with Britain, she will not stand in their way. There is also a recognition by Britain that the business of the Northern state is not that of the United Kingdom's alone. Heretofore, Britain told politicians from the South to mind their own business when they made statements about the North. Now, she had invited them in as consultants in the running of the area. Quite a turnaround and one which has not been lost on the Unionist politicians and their followers who are now screaming like stuck pigs.

THE REAL WINNERS

It will take some time to find out if the new agreement will hold fast against the very formidable opposition which is being orchestrated North and South at present. The IRA and Sinn Féin have made it clear that the presence in Stormont, the seat of government in the North, of Southern personnel will make no difference to them. Their aim remains . . . the removal of Britain for once and for all from Ireland and the establishment of an all-Ireland Republic.

The Unionists, who have had no little experience in bringing down agreements like this before, are now fighting for their own future with their backs very much to the wall. Their campaign will go from a basic constitutional challenge to civil disobedience and then, inevitably to violence. How great that violence will be is the question which will soon be in everybody's mind. The reactions of the two disciplined and trained forces in the North, the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Ulster Defence Regiment will be crucial. On the ground, there can be no doubt that paramilitary loyalist groups such as the UDA and the Ulster Volunteer Force will eventually succumb to a call for violence by the Unionist population. That violence will almost certainly be directed at the South.

In the South, Dr. Garret FitzGerald has been seen to pull off something of a coup by many observers. This could hardly have come at a better time when the opinion polls show his Coalition Government badly behind the opposition party, Fianna Fáil, under their leader Charles Haughey who has attacked the new Agreement and said that he would seek to renegotiate it if he came to power.

The real winner to emerge so far, however, is the Social Democratic and Labour Party of the North led by Mr. John Hume. It was the sight of Sinn Féin threatening this party as the majority voice of nationalists in the North that led more than anything else to this agreement . . . that in combination with the remarkable ability of the IRA to survive as a very credible military force.

More than anyone else, Mr. Hume is responsible for the new accord. He has argued over many years that an "Irish dimension" must be introduced into the running of the North. He has successfully harnessed the government of the Republic, many British M.P.s and some of the most powerful politicians in the U.S. behind that argument.

Even the language which Mr. Hume has used has found its way into the mouths of leaders in the South. Mr. Hume does not talk about a "united Ireland" but about the "unity of Ireland". And there is a big difference. He does not talk about "compromise" but about "reconciliation". He does not speak about getting the Unionists to agree to fundamental change in their society but about "starting a process".

The agreement must mark the high point of Hume's political career so far and no one can say that his handling of the problem on an international scale has not been superb. However, there are a number of dangers in the new accord which can not be ignored.

THE LOSERS

1. The British have managed to elicit from an Irish government in the new deal a recognition of the right of the Northern Unionist population to stand in the way of Irish unity. To a certain extent, the claim of the Irish constitution to the territory of the North has been qualified. Some may say that this was a recognition of a reality, but it has never been ceded by any Irish government.

2. The Irish government, because of its new role in the North will have to stand over the actions of the RUC and UDR who are generally hated by the nationalist population.

3. There is a silly assumption in the agreement that nationalists will stop supporting Sinn Féin and the IRA and that the campaign of violence will grind to a halt. While so many republicans are imprisoned North and South, this just will not happen.

4. The Agreement will depend to a great extent on the Civil Service which runs the North and that particular body is a hand-picked Unionist one from way back.

The next few months are going to be dramatic ones for Ireland North and South. The fine detail of how the Dublin Government is going to combat the IRA has yet to be seen. That, in itself, could be quite dramatic.

Two things remain clear, however, and have even been voiced by Unionist politicians. It has been the activity of the IRA and the electoral success of their political voice which has brought the British government to the point where she now risks a full scale rebellion of her most loyal subjects. If only they knew that they had nothing to fear. The North remains British . . . this time, with the blessing of a Dublin government.

MANX FILM SHOWS

An invitation to Follian Films to show a number of their productions in Éire resulted in a very well attended film showing in Conradh na Gaeilge Headquarters on 6th October, 1985.

The event was organized by Mr. C. Ó Luain who had seen the films during Yn Chruinnaght week this year. It was felt that many Irish speakers would be able to understand the Gailek — if not all, some of it. It would also give some idea of this new development in the Manx language movement.

Three films, lasting some 3 hours in all, were shown. The producer, Dr. Shorys y Creayrie, began the session with a detailed talk about the first film "CHENGEY NY MAYREY" — and also for the film "YN GAAUE". The third film, "LAND OF OUR BIRTH" was produced and made by Peter Maggs for Finnigan Productions, Mr.



Manx Film Show organisers.

Maggs's own company. This film was set to Manx music (showing various daily occurrences and the beautiful Manx countryside — a travelogue with a difference!) Some 40 people turned up for the event.

The Irish Branch extends its thanks to those concerned in this new and exciting development in the Manx language, and our best wishes go with them for the future of Manx films.

KERNOW

A BARTH AN GWYDHALEK

Nyns yu nep pell, Kessedhek pegans Consel Randyr Skye ha Lochalsh a ervyras, y'n tybyans, gul soth a vo an Kensa, yn dan an Consel, may res kewsel gwydhalek. Bytegens cannason an coscar desedha, yu quarter anedha gwydhalegoryon enesyk, a sef erbyn an towl. Y leverons-y na vu namenough ethom dhedha a wul defnyth an yeth yn gorthebow kewsys po scryfys. Mes conseloryon nep yu ysylly dhe'n Kessedhek Pegans a vyn porres may fo safla kemerys stak, drefen moy es hanter poblans an enys dhe gewsel gwydhalek ha'n dra-na a dal bos dysquedhys yn gallos an coscar dhe wul yndella.

Yn kettermyn, yma Kesva Dharwryans an Ugheldyr ha'n Enesow ow queres dhe nep un cowethas a Inverness usy ow parusy an kensa rol a "software" rak jyn-amontya a vyth dhe wertha. An "soft-ware" a vyth dyscudhys yn Fer Kenwerth an Ughedyr hag oberys arak an bobel dhe'n "Mod" Gwlasek.

An vledhen-ma yu onen a vry dhe'n Coljy Gwydhalek — Sabhal Mór Ostaig (Carn 24) pan vyth aga hors studhyansow negys (a 2 vledhen), Kavarwedhys dre vur yn Gwydhalek, dastalvesys dre'n corfow offysyal. Yn gwella prys, nyver an studhyoryon usy orth y sewya a dryk maga fras avel kens awos own y vos le Trygva an Sabhal Mór Ostaig:

An Teanga,
An t-Éilean-Sgitheánadh
IY44 8RQ.

A vestres ker,

I read with interest the article by David Fear in Carn No. 51, in which he argued that the Cornish movement is "Marking Time". He was kind enough to allude to my work on the phonology of Cornish. He then continued: "On the other hand, some of the more regular speakers. . ."

Lest it be thought that I am immured in some academic ivory tower and emerge from it only occasionally and irregularly to speak Cornish, let me assure Mr. Fear and readers of Carn that I speak Cornish not only regularly, but also frequently. In fact I speak it every day, at home. I also keep a diary in Cornish. Only by this relatively intensive use of Cornish can I be thoroughly familiar with the problems of improving its pronunciation.

My forthcoming book on this subject, *The Pronunciation and Spelling of Revived Cornish*, should be published by March 1986.

Lowena dhis,
KEN J. GEORGE

REPORT ON THE FOURTH PERRANPORTH CONFERENCE

THE FOURTH PERRANPORTH CONFERENCE

This is a very condensed version of an excellent report sent to us by Cowethas Flamank and we wish to apologise for not being able to print it in full. — I.J.W.

Cowethas Flamank, the research group concerned with Cornish affairs and set up in 1969, organised the fourth Perranporth Conference over the weekend of 5th and 6th October. The subject of the conference was the devolution of political power.

Devolution was put in its historical context during the Saturday morning session. The myth of its being a late 20th century phenomenon had to be destroyed according to Catherine Rachel John. It was the modern nation-state that is more a departure from the norm.

Dr. Michael Hebbert, Lecturer in Planning Studies at the London School of Economics, gave a first rate exposition of the "Spanish" experience.

The afternoon session saw a panel of politicians airing their views. The Chairman

of the South West Labour Party thought Cornwall and Devon should constitute one region. Paul Tyler, the Liberal Party Chairman, came somewhere near acknowledging Cornwall's case for separate regional self-government. However the Conservative Party representative, Chairman of the North Cornwall District Council, as expected wished to maintain the status quo. The Mebyon Kernow spokesman, Pedyr Prior, stressed that autonomy as opposed to devolution was what Cornwall needed.

On the Sunday morning Patricia Elton-Mayo, a specialist on the European regions, gave an account of the composition and powers of various European organisations and bodies. This was followed by a discussion session. Three groups were formed each on particular areas in the context of devolution/autonomy. These reported back to the whole conference later, following reports of working parties set up from previous conferences.

Of particular interest was a report from the Mebyon Kernow Secretary, informing the conference that Winnie Ewing was going to ask a question in the European Parliament on Cornwall's representation in it.

The next conference- May 31st-June 1st 1986.

Contact: John Fleet, 47 Lawrence Weston Road, Bristol II, Avon, England.

IAN WILLIAMS

DEFENDING THE FREE WORLD

Rumours continue about a further expansion of the military occupation of Cornwall. A year ago it was noted that the runway of an old World War Two airfield at Predannack on the Lizard was receiving some attention and there was building work going on. Predannack is only five miles from the massive Royal Naval Air Station at Culdrose with its 2,000 or so personnel — a base that has grown considerably with the arms race of the last 10 years.

But Culdrose is a helicopter base and unsuited to fixed wing aircraft. The word a year ago was that Predannack was being considered as a base for American fixed wing aircraft with an accompanying 600 members of the US forces. This was neither "confirmed nor denied" by the MOD.

Now reports have reached the Celtic League that, during this autumn's so-called "Brave Defender" exercise, Predannack was again the scene of unusual activity with transport planes regularly landing there. Sudden road improvements in the area also look ominous and fears are growing that the area is to suffer further militarisation and could be on the way to becoming the focus for yet another American presence in Europe.

BERNARD DEACON

INDUSTRIAL BLOW

Some apprehension was voiced when, during the summer, the multinational company Siebe Gorman bought Holmans engineering factory at Camborne, the largest private employer in West Cornwall. Siebe have a dubious reputation as a ruthless set of asset strippers. This was the bunch that moved a factory from Merthyr Tydfil to Plymouth overnight, having omitted to tell the workers first.

Within a month Siebe announced the blow that Holmans had to lose 500 of its 800 employees. This was disaster indeed for the community of Camborne with more than one in five already out of work. Holmans, a firm that had successfully diversified to escape the crash of Cornish mining a hundred years ago and had survived the worst of the inter War depression has finally succumbed to Thatcherite 'economics'.

Yet the writing had been seen on the wall since the firm was sold to its previous multinational owners in the 1970s. Employing over 2,000 workers in the middle of that decade a succession of redundancy calls have since trimmed numbers and in the process sapped the morale of the workers. Again and again the union leadership, in the name of 'responsibility', co-operated with management until, when the final blow came, there was little doubt on Siebe's side that the surgery would be swift and painless.

And they were almost right. 'Almost' because, in a final show of communal protest at the closure, about 2,000 turned out for the biggest workers' demonstration seen in Cornwall for many years. Organised by the local Labour Party, speakers at the rally included trades unionists, religious leaders, the Liberals, SDP and MK. Only the Tory MP was conspicuously absent. It was a privilege to be present at an inspiring show of communal solidarity... but one couldn't shake the feeling that it was a wake, a show of impotent defiance that had come too late. If only those 2,000 had turned out at a rally against unemployment that attracted a mere 100 in 1978. (But then, that was under a Labour Government — media soaked memories are painfully short.)

In the end the crowd were treated to appeals to vote Labour, to empty gestures of support from a toothless TUC, to platitudes from the adventurists of the SDP and soothing words from Liberal David Penhaligon. Penhaligon hit a chord in pointing out the gulf between Holmans management in recent years and the Cornish workforce but hastily called on the workers not to be too militant and jeopardise the jobs of the 300 remaining. He needn't have worried.

The new owners had even refused to recognise the locally agreed redundancy payments procedure. This shabby greed had resulted in the shop floor workers voting 79-21 and the office staff 70-30 to take industrial action — not for jobs but for a decent redundancy handout — a surprising militancy in the face of a hopeless situation. But the union leadership decided not to press the issue. Many workers have not bothered to work out their notice in disgust at this final failure.

Meanwhile local councillors and MPs run around like headless chickens — their only response being to call for the area to be made an Enterprise Zone — drop planning procedures and give even freer rein to the fly by night exploiters — or more effort in grovelling to the English or Americans for investment — or the establishment of small businesses. And the Jobcentres are full of adverts for skilled engineers in Southern England as capitalism resorts to its only answer — on your bike, forget your roots, move!

The community feeling so visible on the Camborne demonstration has no place in modern Britain. Its a potential embarrassment to a society fit for estate agents, arms salesmen and directors of multi-national companies. But it could still prove a fruitful source of resistance to the new Dark Age if only the people were conscious of their own strength. As nationalists we must do everything in our power to increase that consciousness and self awareness.

MINING IN CRISIS?

Hot on the heels of the Holman's episode comes a development that could even be more disastrous for the Cornish economy.

By the time this appears in Carn readers will know whether Cornish tin mining has been plunged into its biggest crisis since 1921.

As yet the local media have failed to report the growing crisis on the London Metal Exchange over tin prices. The current hard fought controversy between environmentalists (mainly settlers) and mining interests over waste disposal in Cornwall will have been made entirely irrelevant by developments hundreds, or even thousands, of miles away.

Over recent years the price of tin has been kept artificially high by a cartel of 22 producing states — the International Tin Council. High and stable tin prices have led to new investment in Cornwall which was on the edge of seeing the opening of its fifth mine and more jobs added to the 1,500 or so already employed in tin mining (in the main owned by Rio Tinto Zinc — £4 million profit last year from Cornish tin — and Consolidated Goldfields).

But the cartel has now run into serious problems. The economic recession has led to an over supply of tin and increasing costs in maintaining the high price. This threatens to shatter the price fixing and bring the world price into line with the market price. The most pessimistic reports suggest that, in a free market, tin prices would plummet from the current just over £8,000 a tonne to £5,000 or even less. At such a price no Cornish mine is viable. Is Cornish mining again to fall a victim to the insanity of the free market as has happened so many times since the 1860s? Watch this space.



2,000 march — An inspiring show of communal solidarity.

KERNOW — CAN WE GO FROM HERE?

Do nations formerly subject have present self-determination because they were led by nationalists or because the peoples were asked to put their national consciousness behind their material and cultural interests?

This question has never been thoroughly considered in Cornwall. There have been nibbles but no meal has been made of it. It may have degrees of applicability to other Celtic and other unemancipated European nations. After all the world has witnessed, over a generation, a vast national colonial liberation movement, stultification by neo-colonialism notwithstanding. The substance of interest given national form has been most potent.

Except for philistines and malignants, except for the potentially willing who have been educationally deprived regarding Cornwall, there is recognition that Cornish people have had their own distinct existence beginning before England had been born. The Cornish community has, for practical purposes, always existed.

For a long period lasting up to and a little beyond the mid-nineteenth century the technology of mining, some knowledge of Cornwall's history, and a variety of traditional expression made positive assertion of a Cornish culture. All of a sudden we have the middle class linguists and, as they were later called, the collectors of fragments, if we may be allowed some simplification. What had been was suddenly changed. In the face of the ramifying mining collapse and Cornwall's first de-industrialisation, a large part of the masses emigrated and an

intellectual part of the middle class formulated its special view of the spiritual life of Cornwall. Between the world wars came a dawning of pity for the working people and there were some political gestures amongst the accumulating cultural trends. Though the Second World War rang down a second curtain of darkness on Cornish life, and its remains a temptation unsatisfied to look behind these curtains, the political approach soon re-emerged and became a permanent part of Cornish life, expanding over a generation and then becoming confused. Political nationalists included cultural demands in their programme but cultural nationalists remained steadfastly non-political. Meanwhile Cornish unemployment became invisible amongst British unemployment and the depression, spread across many countries of the globe, left the necessity of Cornish control of Cornish economic life singularly lacking in other support.

The Gordian knot can be recognised. Specifically Cornish cultural life has expanded beyond any dreams of fifteen years ago but both it and the Cornish economic condition require material support which could be partly achieved in Cornwall if the political movement can unite economic and cultural struggle on the base of a form of self-determination in alliance with other forces in Britain. Surely the first step (though, paradoxically, in politics we always have to combine several steps!) is that the political movement shall rid itself of sectarianism. Making the Cornish political

movement the measure of the totality of each member's total political outlook has been a sure way of cutting off the political movement from the political variety which will go on existing when a new Cornwall is achieved. Revolution — that is, any kind of complete change — happens only when none can, and then none will, go on in the same way. A second step, but no doubt beginning at the same time as the first, must be the launching of a prolonged programme of education in Cornish self-determination in its political-cultural-social-economic significance. The third step, also proceeding simultaneously, is a principled — that is, broadly based, more widely conceived — conduct of day-to-day struggle as against the present unprincipled — that is, hand-to-mouth, come-day-go-day approach, if the word approach is in any way at present appropriate. Programmes are important but a programme not evolved in relation with the unfolding of such steps will gain the reverse of respect. Nor will such steps become more than passing slogans if they are not constantly given priority of practical consideration which is not allowed to yield to any moment.

If the Gordian knot can be seen, it can be cut.

After all, we should not tinker with the Cornish National Revolution.

Either a whole hog or no pork whatsoever!

ROYSTON GREEN



C.N.P.

In its submission to the Local Government Boundary Commission in their review of the boundary of Devon and Cornwall, the Cornish Nationalist Party stated that it was important the Commission affirms the long-term character of the river Tamar as the boundary between Cornwall and Devon. The CNP pointed out that "it is one of the most distinctive cultural boundaries in Europe which is indicated by the difference of placenames east and west of the river. West of the Tamar, in Cornwall, 90% of the old placenames are derived from the Cornish language. While east of the river only 2% of names are said to have a Celtic origin, by far the majority being derived from Saxon or Old English sources. History and sentiment reinforced the effectiveness of the river — taking a fairly straight course north and south between Cornwall and Devon — as a local government boundary."

The statement suggested ways to overcome three small anomalies in the upper reaches of the Tamar which would simplify and make more coherent the boundary between Devon and Cornwall — the Tamar being then the border for the whole of its length — and would ease the problems of the highways and other county departments.

Chairman: Dr. James Whetter

LOWENDER PERAN

This annual Celtic festival at Perranporth enjoyed an even more successful year in October and would seem to be firmly established both within Cornwall and in the Celtic cultural movement generally. The numbers attending were estimated at over 2,000 for a four day festival and the Ponsmere Hotel — main venue for the events — became almost uncomfortably crowded at certain peak times.

The Festival retains its informal and participatory nature, with dancing workshops and troys (dance groups also ventured out into neighbouring shopping centres), folk club style concerts and spontaneous jam sessions in the hotel bar. Talks, various stalls and, this year, theatre make the festival the show piece for "Celtic culture" in Cornwall.

A HERITAGE TRUST FOR CORNWALL

Thanks to some dedicated people, the Cornwall Heritage Trust has now become a reality as a Company Limited by Guarantee and a Registered Charity. The Trust is also supported by an impressive list of patrons and beneficiaries, including Cornwall County Council, who made finance available to ensure the successful launch of the Trust.

The faith and belief of the few was justified, when the Trust made its first purchase for the people of Cornwall, the beautiful Sancreed Beacon.

Now the Trust asks the people of Cornwall for their support to enable the Trust to undertake other such commendable projects. If that support is forthcoming, it will be possible to save such precious objects as the Newlyn paintings for the people of Cornwall and perhaps certain buildings and archaeological remains that need to be preserved for posterity.

Contact: W. J. SPRY,
'Stroma', 15 The Terrace,
Port Isaac, Cornwall PL29 3SG.
Tel. (0208) 880236.

MANNIN

Y THOODER AS Y GEARALTACH

The outcome of the Anglo-Irish talks may well affect all the Celts, not just the Irish.

Rish tammylt mooar nish, ta shin er chlashtyn dy jig reddy moorey ass ny co-loayrtysyn eddyr Sostyn as Nerin mysh Twoaie Nerin. Agh er y gherid, ta'n jeshaght-propaganda ayns Sostyn cur magh skeealyn nagh bee monney reddy feeu cheet magh. Ta paart dy Hostnee (as Yerne) gra dy re er Cathal O hEochaidh (Charles Haughey) ta'n loght. Dooyrt O hEochaidh (as t'eh kiart, er lhiam) nagh beagh eh ayns foayr jeh coardailys erbee va baggyrt er kiondeeaght (sovereignty) ny hErin. Dy dooghyssagh, lurg shoh va Sostnee (as Yerne) ta noi seyrnsyn ny hErin gaccan mysh y pobbلاغhtagh keoi shen, Cathal O hEochaidh.

Er lhiam pene dy nhegin da ny Celtiee as ny Sostnee ve feer chlarailagh mysh y barganey shoh ta goller eddyr Bnr Thooder as Gearoid Mac Gearailt (Garrett Fitzgerald). Ta mee goaill aggle dy re crout mooar t'ayn. Dy firrinagh foclagh, ta sleih cheet dy hoiggal dy vel ny Americanee cheu-heear jeh ram jeh ny cooishyn shoh. Paart dy vleecantyn er dy henney, oddagh oo gra paranoia rish y smooingagh shen. Agh nish...

Nagh abbyr dy vel mee goll ass my cheeall gra shoh. Foddym geddyn cooney voish yn ashooneyr Sostnagh shen Enoch Powell. Cha nel mish ayns coardailys rish y dooinney shen dy mennick, agh ta Powell

gra dy vel ny Americanee cheu-heear jeh reddy ny smenkey as ny smenkey. Cooinee dy vel Powell er ngoll gys Nerin dy hauail nane jeh ny peeshyn s'jerree jeh'n impiraght. Ta Powell toiggal dy vel Sostyn laccal tannaghtyn ayns Twoaie Nerin kyndagh rish ashoonaghys Sostnagh — as yeeareeyn ny Americanee. By vie lesh ny Americanee gagh cheer ta sy Cho-vargey Eoropagh y ve ayns NATO neesht. Bee y Spainney as y Phortugal cheet stiagh sy Cho-vargey nish. Ec y tra cheddin, ta ny Americanee as nyn gaarjyn slane shicky dy lhisagh ny cheeraghyn shen ve ayns NATO neesht.

Tad credjal dy vel NATO as y Co-vargey yn un red. Agh ta ymmodde Spainney as Portugee ayns foayr jeh'n Cho-vargey as slane noi NATO. T'ou feddyn y red cheddin ayns Nerin. Ta ram sleih ayns shen noi NATO. T'eh jeeaghyn dy vel y chooid smoo dy 'leih sy Phoblaght foast ayns foayr jeh naeeaght (neutrality) ny cheerey. Shen y red ta Bnr Thooder, gobbyr marish Mac Gearailt, laccal geddyn rey rish, t'eh jeeaghyn. Ta ny Sostnee toiggal dy beagh ooilley Nerin cheumooie jeh NATO dy jinnagh ad faagail Nerin myr lhisagh ad jannoo. Dy jinnagh Sostyn faagail Nerin Twoaie nish, veagh caghlaghyn moorey cheet. S'cosoylagh dy beagh y clane cheer naeeaght ayns ynyd y jiass ny lomarcen. As shoh red nagh vel ny Americanee ny y sharvaant oc, Bnr Thooder, laccal er chor erbee.

Ga dy vel Nerin jeh beggan scansh myr cheer, er agh keoi ennagh ta ny Americanee coontey ee y ve scanshoil ayns caggey eddyr America as y Roosh. Myr shen, shegin da Nerin ooilley ve ayns NATO. Ta sleih dy liooar credjal nish dy re shoh yn ard-red cheu-heear jeh'n varganey eddyr Lunnin as Divlyn. Ta ny Sostnee lhiggey er dy vel ad er-chee cur beggan dy phooar da Divlyn ayns Nerin Twoaie as ta ny Unnaneyseyryn goll ass nyn geeall. Tra ta dy chooilley pheiaigh (bunnys) jeeaghyn dy myn er y chaggey foalsey shoh, bee y barganey kiart jeant: nee ny Americanee cur milliunyn dy ghollaryn da Nerin choud's t'ee cheet stiagh ayns NATO. Eisht bee yn cashtal Europagh slane shicky noi ny Rooshee agglagh shen.

Cha nel ny Rooshee nyn ainleyn. Agh ec y tra cheddin, cha nel ad goll rish jouyil. Chaill ad rour dy 'leih sy chaggey mooar s'jerree dy chur caggey mooar elley fo raad gyn smooingaghyn down. Ec y tra t'ayn, ta ny smoo Europee cheet dy chredjal dy vel ny Americanee baggyrt er shee cho olk as ny Rooshee. As dy beagh caggey mooar ayn, cha beagh shinyn, ny Celtiee, boirit mysh nyn jeeraghyn as nyn jengaghyn arragh. Cha beagh red erbee faagit.

Foddee nagh vodmayd jannoo monney mysh ny cooishyn trimshagh shoh. Agh ec y chooid sloo, fodmayd shassoo noi eab erbee dy lhaggaghey seyrnsyn ny hErin.

BRIAN MAC STOYLL

THE ENGLISH INVASION OF MAN

by Paul Lebledzinski

I suppose that it was when I was ten years of age that I first realised that *change* — and a change for the worse, was coming to this Island. As a young lad, I had always known our little Island steam train well, and frequently travelled to the Northern village of Sulby on it. A beautiful ride for Manks people and tourists, it was also used for goods transportation. Despite a short reprieve for it, by train enthusiast, Lord Ailsa, the Government finally had its way, and closed the Northern Line. Staff were paid off and with greedy and indecent haste the line was ripped up by a firm of scrap metal merchants. That signalled (excuse the pun) the beginning of the end for Mann's uniqueness, particularly for Ramsey and the North, as we, I feel, have been the

hardest hit so far — with Douglas and Onchan running close seconds, in terms of English infiltration and domination. The next big blow to Ramsey — Rhumsaa, in our native tongue — was the wholesale obliteration of the old south area of the town. Granted, high tides used to flood one of the streets, and some old houses were unlivable and derelict, but for the most part, a lot of the problems were exaggerated. I can remember that many notable personalities lived in those old streets; there was house-proudness and a strong MANKS community spirit. People like my grandmother only went "into town" or "up the street" on a Saturday. The rest of the time this little historic area was Home. Why then was it wiped out, and people put into Council Estates? Because, I feel in my bones that this was a compatible move in the same years that Government brought in the New Resident Policy. The Council houses for the dispossessed Manks were a "Reservation" for the poor, locally nicknamed "The Big Valley" or "The Ponderosa". On the other hand, the recently flattened Manks heartland of Ramsey, eventually became what I imagined — a Rich Tea-Planter's Paradise and "Tax Exile Roost".

Today any visitor to Ramsey, particularly the tourists looking around ask "Why" or "Where's the Town". The Members of the Keys and the lesser politicians on the Town Commission of those years, permitted, and in some cases, promoted Ramsey as the ideal retired peoples' retreat. Without the need for Work-Permits, many builders, some good, some not so good, flocked in from all over, to construct new estates for the discerning "come-over". Rubber planters just wouldn't have lasted in Strand Street or Bark Lane, living near men like "Charlie the Sweep" and other well known locals. While all this was going on, house prices were starting to rise, certainly beyond the pocket of the local working man, who often now worked for English builders labouring on the new estates, and before very long, a new breed came into Ramsey and Mann generally; the Right Wing Snob! He (or she) would park their limousines on the pavement, push in front of people in the shops, see the Manks people as a "Mrs. Mopp", a gardener, or perhaps some kind of throw-back to the negroes they owned, out where ever they came from.



The old ...



and the new.

I blame this directly on some members of government, who, to this day, persist in calling the "Manks Worker" SUBDUED, NON-VOLATILE — giving an excuse for every penny-pinching rogue millionaire or small time "entrepreneur" to come here and exploit us! — and there are more on the way! It is no wonder that, save for a few affluent shopkeepers who live on the new residents, there is discord. I am a gardener by trade, and I would rather work for another Mankman, than for the haggling rich. Whilst I am talking about working men, I would state that, if possibly any good at all has come to the identity-conscious Manks from this mostly vile new order, it is from the immigrant Irish builders who have merged for the most part, into a growing culture, with their

traditional music and song; I shall deal with this in a separate article. However, I named this article "English invasion of Mann" and so now I shall make a few remarks about "DOOLISH", or the town of Douglas. Whilst Ramsey has about four new residents per square yard, Douglas has the same number of Accountants respectively. At the same time as the New Resident Policy kicked-off, so did the Tax Haven/Finance business, and then, in Douglas, the excavators roared! Ripping down little character streets in the centre of the town so that another "pin-striped politician" can open another "Financial Institution". The Finance business may be Non-Polluting and quiet, but its computer whizz-kids and jet-setters give no cultural contribution to the Island whatsoever. Most of them again

are Thatcherite snobs, or just Trainee Thatcherite snobs. Many, quite probably, have an aspiration for a political career here, and heaven save the Manks nation from any more College Boys in power!

There is no room for complacency amongst the Manks, Gaelic speaker or not, culturally aware or not. If the plump estate agents of the "BOOM" years had had their way, we would have been living up Snæfells long ago.

My message is that at the time of the next Elections, the Manks people have to stand up and be counted, and vote for their own kind, who mix with them every day, not just Election Day. Only then will MANN lose its "Little England" attitude, and be ours again.

'MHARI L' — MYSTERY DEEPENS

The Motor Fishing Vessel 'Mhari L' disappeared in reasonably calm seas during February 1985 whilst on a routine fishing trip from Kirkcubright. Despite a concerted sea and air search, no trace was found of any survivors, nor any wreckage recovered. Some days after the loss a seaman's boot was however recovered by another Kirkcubright boat, and using this as a clue, vessels located a previously uncharted wreck to the S.E. of Mann (see Carn 49).

A civilian salvage team engaged by the insurers attempted to investigate the wreck for some weeks after the loss. Before the wreck had been positively identified, the

civilian team suddenly announced the investigation was being called off.

At this point the 'Mhari L' saga might have ended, however concerned by previous disappearances and aware of submarine operations, the Mannin branch launched an enquiry into the possibility of sub-strikes on both the 'Mhari L' and M.F.V. 'South Stack' (which disappeared the previous year). A media campaign and support from Labour and Plaid M.P.s eventually prompted the Department of Transport and Ministry of Defence to take action. In April, a number of salvage vessels were assembled at the wreck site. Naval divers with video equipment reached the wreck and 'confirmed' that it had sunk after fouling a Telecom undersea cable. The Department of Transport said the video evidence was conclusive. The 'cable theory' was one that had been aired officially within hours of the vessels loss, before in fact, the wreck was discovered: a convenient theory for any individual or authority wishing to sow disinformation. The Man-

nin Branch was immediately suspicious.

We requested a copy of the video from the Department of Transport for analysis. It was only after the intervention of George Foulkes and D. Wigley, M.P.s, that the video was released. The video was sent for examination by Fishing Safety expert Mark Reilly of Dundee University, School of Medicine, who concluded that it was not positive evidence. Mr. Reilly's view was: "Has this video contributed to an explanation of the loss of the 'Mhari L'? In my view, it had not."

He went on to suggest that the only positive course of action would be to raise the wreck for examination. We have since asked the Department of Transport to undertake same.

Shortly after the disaster the Mannin Branch feared that the 'Mhari L' could have been the latest victim of submarines, an increasing hazard to Irish Sea Fishermen. Events since the examination of the wreck have not dispelled this. Leaving aside the question of which source first intro-

duced speculation about the undersea cables. Why did the civilian salvage crew suddenly abandon their operation? Why does the Ministry of Defence maintain that there were only two vessels in the area, when at one point there were at least six! Why was it felt necessary to have a vessel with heavy lift capability, when no salvage was contemplated? Most disturbingly, why has mail between the League and two families of the relatives been quite blatantly opened!

The relatives of the crew have been treated abysmally by the authorities. Having to solicit information which should have been forthcoming immediately it was available. This callous behaviour by the Department of Transport was unanimously condemned by a large meeting of fishermen, called at Peel by the Mannin Branch. The meeting also rejected the 'video evidence'. The League are still seeking the solution to the loss of the 'Mhari L' and the crew members. Families still await a credible explanation.

PAN-CELTIC FESTIVAL

At the time of writing, the Pan Celtic Committee is to hold a meeting during Lowender Peran in Kernow, to discuss future participation of Mannin in the festival held in Cill Airne each May. In recent years Manks representation has been minimal or non-existent. Various factors are responsible for this state of affairs.

The heavy cost of travel by air (there are no sailings between Mannin and Éire until the end of May) is the one practical deterrent. Perhaps the more serious reason for this apparent neglect of Pan-Celtic week, is in the very nature of the festival, centred as it is around the "Celtavision" Song contest. As the title suggests, each Celtic nation presents an original song in its own language. In recent years I have been led to understand that the trend towards the use of "electric" instruments, synthesizers and the like would make pop bands more likely to succeed. I cannot think of any Gaelic singers in Mannin with that background, so the odds are stacked heavily against Mannin.

For a number of consecutive years, Mannin was represented at Pan-Celtic, more I believe out of a sense of duty than any wish to compete. It's not really a question of being sore losers so much as self-esteem getting repeated batterings at a time when we need all the encouragement we can get. Substantial concessions will be needed if Mannin is to support Pan-Celtic in the future, and of course the festival would be incomplete without the presence of the smallest Celtic nation.

C.J.K.



From a painting of the "Mhari L"

Following the video showing, local divers have expressed an interest in carrying out an independent examination of the wreck. Talks are taking place to discuss whether the project is feasible. Border Television are considering making a Programme on the Irish and Celtic sea incidents, and a copy of the Mannin Branch file has been supplied. Surprisingly, considering the reaction of local fishermen at the video showing, the Isle of

Man Fishermen's Association, issued a statement saying - they support the Department of Trade's theory about the sinking. It has since been learned however, that the I.O.M.F.A. is in financial trouble, and a meeting on Sunday Oct. 27th (a few days after the statement) was considering an approach to government for assistance. This may explain their pro-official stance!

J.B. MOFFATT

POLICE FIREARMS — COVER UP

It has emerged that there has been a breakdown over the issuing of police firearms in Mannin. The I.O.M. Force follows U.K. Home Office guidelines in respect of most of its operations including the issue and control of firearms. The Mannin Branch sought a copy of these guidelines in August, following evidence of a breakdown in procedure in the Manx Force. The guidelines are quite clear, that firearms are only issued under exceptional circumstances, with the authority of a senior officer. The weapon is only carried during the course of the operation and returned thereafter to the police armoury. It is this procedure which was not apparently observed in the Manx incident. A C.I.D. officer issued with a

firearm in connection with security operations for a Royal visit, did not return the weapon to the armoury, but retained it in his office safe. The missing weapon's whereabouts was queried during a routine visit by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary. The firearm was immediately returned to the armoury.

The incident is the latest in a series of embarrassments to dog the Force during the stewardship of Chief Constable Frank Weedon. Embarrassingly, it is revealed in an internal Force newsletter entitled "Dogberry May Issue" which contains various sarcastic comments on police operations. The two-page broadsheet, which seems to be produced by Junior officers, indicates something of a morale problem at the Central Police Headquarters.

This incident is the latest in a series investigated by the Mannin Branch, publicity for which resulted in petty harassment of the League.

J. BERNARD MOFFATT



CELTICA

THE CELTIC REVOLUTION

A STUDY IN ANTI-IMPERIALISM

"The Celtic Revolution," by Peter Berresford Ellis; published by Y Lolfa, Talybont, Ceredigion SY24 5HE, Cymru. £4.95 stg.

As Peter Berresford Ellis explains in the introduction, his latest work is essentially a "Celtic primer", including in one single volume an explanation of the Celtic identity, a brief outline of each Celtic nation's political and cultural struggle, their place in history, their current situation and their aspirations for the future. As such, this work is absolutely unique and doubly valuable, providing as it does a comprehensive introduction to Celticism for the beginner (an essential requirement!) and, since it contains and enhances the incontrovertible arguments for the Celtic cause, it is also an essential study and reference book for even the most confirmed Celticist. This book is exactly the type of work which will win converts to the Celtic cause.

In describing "The Celtic Revolution", Peter Berresford Ellis is referring to the "change in attitudes among the Celtic peoples towards themselves and their place in the world; to the growing awareness of what it means to be Celtic and what they, as Celts, could offer their fellow human beings. Among a people assimilated almost to the point of extinction, even that step is a tremendous political revolution."

The book, which is dedicated to Alan Heusaff, General Secretary of the Celtic League, as "a tribute to his years of selfless endeavour on behalf of the Celtic peoples," consists of 218 pages divided into ten chapters.

The first chapter effectively answers the question: "Who are the Celts?", and deals with Celtic civilization from the earliest times, demonstrating that, far from being "a bizarre barbarian horde, illiterate and uncivilised," the Celts are a unique, sophisticated and highly literate civilization.

In the following six chapters, the history, language, culture and politics of each of the Celtic nations is dealt with separately and quite comprehensively. There are interesting and up-to-date accounts of all the most important political and cultural developments in each Celtic country, although, astonishingly, in the chapter dealing with Scotland, there is no mention whatever of the armed struggle initiated by the Scottish National Liberation Army in 1982! However, this obvious omission is one of the very few small errors contained in the book and these will, no doubt, be remedied in future editions.

Chapter eight is a fascinating account of "The Celtic Diaspora" which contains

many interesting but little known facts e.g. that Manx was still spoken in parts of Pennsylvania within living memory. However, as Peter Berresford Ellis points out, "as considerable as the Celtic diaspora was, as extensions of Celtic culture those settlements which were made were rather meagre. Only in two places, Patagonia and Nova Scotia, have clearly identifiable Celtic-speaking communities survived into modern times."

In the chapter entitled "Celtic Unity", inter-Celtic relationships and the eventual growth of a common Celtic consciousness are examined and discussed. Beginning with the first Inter-Celtic Congress at St. Brieuc, Brittany, in 1867, the author traces the development of groups such as the Celtic League and the remarkable growth

of Celtic consciousness, not only in the six Celtic countries themselves but also among exiled Celts and people of Celtic descent in many different countries. As the author amply illustrates, "Pan-Celticism is a growing concept in the world."

"Celtic Nationalism" is the subject of the final chapter. Nationalism is defined and, rightly, the question of social freedom discussed in conjunction with the question of national freedom. Also examined and effectively illustrated is the racist anti-Celticism of sections of English and French society. Most importantly, the essential relationship between language and nationality is emphasised in this chapter: "The language and culture of a people are that people's very basis for being." Finally, Peter Berresford Ellis, who is generally optimistic in regard to the future of the Celtic nations, leaves the reader with the dire warning: "Under continuing pressures, it might not be long before the Celtic peoples do disappear, for even if self-government is attained within the near future, the native governments might lack the will and ability to carry out a constructive, linguistic restoration. The Irish and the Manx possess some degree of statehood but, whilst they have gained states, they are losing the nations. If the languages die, and fade beyond all possibility of revival, then the term "Celtic" would only stand a chance of survival as a geographical expression and the Celtic peoples would then be extinct."

"The Celtic Revolution" is an important work. It deserves to be read widely and one hopes that it will be. Certainly it is required reading for all members, supporters and potential supporters of the Celtic League. Hopefully, Celtic League members will do everything they can to promote this book. It is a propaganda weapon for the Celtic cause.

JAMES HAMILTON

1986 FILM FESTIVAL

The 7th International Festival of Film and Television in the Celtic Countries will be held in Newcastle, Co. Down, N.E. Ireland from March 17th to 21st 1986. Screenings and seminars (one titled "Images of Ireland — how others see us") will be spread over the 5 days. There will be awards in 4 categories: drama, documentary, "starting out", and "spirit of the festival" — entries for the latter must be wholly or partly in a Celtic language. Prints and tapes to be received by January 24th. For rules, registration forms, accommodation write to 7th IFFTC, 181a Stranmillis Rd., Belfast BT9 5DU.



Author Peter Berresford Ellis (photographer: Seamas Mac a' Ghobhainn).

AGM 1985 RESOLUTIONS

Breizh:

1. This AGM accepts that a broad front must be constituted in Brittany by the associations which advocate control by the Bretons over the management of their own political, economic, ecological and cultural interests if that common aspiration is to win popular support and to be represented in the Breton Regional Assembly; congratulates the organisations which have decided to fight together in the forthcoming regional elections under the umbrella of the Committee "Cordination Bretagne"; urges all the Breton organisations to take account of the lessons of failures in previous elections and to come to an ad hoc agreement in order to maximise their chances of electoral success.

2. The Celtic League informed of the stand taken by Stourm ar Brezhoneg activists for the introduction of bilingual road signs in Brittany, considering that their propaganda is a necessary contribution towards recognition the French government of the fundamental right of the Breton people to have their national language used in all aspects of public life, expresses support for their actions.

Cymru:

This AGM notes that at a tribunal hearing in Bae Colwyn on July 19th Cyngor Sir Gwynedd (Gwynedd County Council) was found guilty of racial discrimination by making knowledge of Welsh a qualification for certain posts and that the hearing was brought about by two English immigrants to Gwynedd who had been unwilling to learn Welsh before applying for posts in Old Peoples' Homes on Ynys Môn (Anglesey) for which Welsh was a qualification, believes

—that this decision puts the right of immigrants not to learn Welsh before the right of the people of Gwynedd to be given a service in their own language,

—that in the case of posts involving contact with the aged, the very young and the mentally retarded, among whom knowledge of English may be limited, harm can be done if such people are not allowed to express themselves in Welsh,

—that this decision greatly undermines the status of the Welsh language in Gwynedd and thus also the dignity of Welsh speakers, therefore, noting that Cyngor Sir Gwynedd intend to appeal against the tribunal decision, this AGM directs each branch of the Celtic League to write a letter of support and encouragement to them for the stand they are making.

Éire:

1. This AGM unreservedly supports the policy of Irish neutrality and urges the Irish government to resist any pressure brought through the institutions of the EEC or other international bodies to undermine this policy by association with NATO activities or other military alliances.

2. This AGM notes with concern the decline in prestige of the Irish State among the other Celtic nations, to the extent that many now question the value of national statehood in the defence of the national economy and culture; calls on the Irish government to make resources available for strengthening economic and cultural links between Ireland and the other Celtic nations; urges the Irish branch to seek specific opportunities for the development of this policy and to lobby for its implementation, taking advantage when possible of EEC support for inter-regional linking. (This resolution was passed subject to formal approval by a meeting of the Irish branch; approval given at a meeting in September).

Kernow:

This AGM welcomes the decision of the parish council of Porthleven to adopt a bilingual title which recognises the Celtic identity of Cornwall; urges other official bodies, in particular the County and district councils, to follow suit.

London:

This AGM calls on the major Celtic independence/national parties in Britain to join together on a fact-finding, solution-seeking mission to the territory in the north of Ireland under British control.

These resolutions are being implemented by the branches which proposed them.

1820 SOCIETY

In April 1820 the Scottish Radical movement, aiming at the establishment of a democratic republic in Scotland, proclaimed a Provisional Government and rose in armed rebellion. With support from the industrial workers in Glasgow and in the shires of Dumbarton, Stirling, Renfrew, Lanark and Ayr, the Radicals called a general strike (said to be the first in modern history) and carried out numerous military actions including arms raids and attacks on the military who flooded into the area to put down the insurrection. Despite widespread support the Radicals were defeated by a combination of lack of leadership (most of their leaders having been arrested before the uprising started) and the British government's rapid use of its overwhelming military might.

In the aftermath of the uprising a series of treason trials began and sentences of imprisonment, transportation and death were meted out to the Radicals. Three men, James Wilson of Strathaven, Andrew Hardie of Glasgow and John Baird of Condorrat, were executed for treason.

The story of the 1820 Radical rising is not, of course, included in the "official" version of Scottish history which is taught in the schools and propagated elsewhere, and, as a result, few people in Scotland have ever heard or read about this important part of their own history. In order to remedy this situation the 1820 Society was formed a number of years ago. Commem-

orations and rallies are held annually and the Society has successfully campaigned for the renovation and maintenance of the Martyrs' Monuments in Glasgow, Paisley and Strathaven. The Society aims to ensure that knowledge of the 1820 rising will be revived and that the recent example of active resistance to English rule will serve as a vital inspiration to the Scottish people in the continuing struggle for national liberation. The slogan of the 1820 rising, "Scotland Free Or a Desert", is as appropriate today as it was then!!!



Monument to James Wilson at Strathaven, Lanarkshire.

Those interested in the 1820 Society's work and in membership details should contact the Society's chairman: Mr. Jack Fuller, 1 Durward Way, Paisley PA2 0LW, Scotland.

A.B.

N.B. For those interested in the history of the rising a comprehensive study, "The Scottish Insurrection of 1820," by Peter Berresford Ellis and Seumas Mac a' Ghobhainn, was published some years ago.

The THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MINORITY LANGUAGES, organised by University College Galway's Department of Old- and Middle Irish, will be held in Galway from June 21 to 26, 1986. Its theme: the linguistics of minority languages, especially those of Northern and Western Europe. It could also include: minority languages in education, the role of the media, and political aspects. The registration fee is IR£12. A circular will be sent to those who will have paid this by the end of February, requiring an additional participation fee. Write to the secretary Anders Ahlqvist, Roinn na Seanagús na Meán Ghaeilge, Coláiste an hOllscoile, Gaillimh, Ireland.

UNIONIST POSITIONS

There are of course more than two sets of contending traditions within Ireland but there are really only two sets of comprehending traditions vying for sovereignty — only one of which (the Irish one) will win out in time. While the other, the English imperialist one, will not be as readily detached from its first Empire, its first extensions of hegemony, as it was from so much else in this country alone.

That Irish tradition itself has had different expressions, and in many ways the differences today between the SDLP and Sinn Féin are echoes of the differences between Sinn Féin and the old Irish Parliamentary Party led by John Redmond earlier in the century: a contest resolved with the virtual annihilation of the Redmondites in the 1918 General Election everywhere except in Ulster where they retained half a dozen seats in an arrangement made with Cardinal Logue to ensure the maximisation of the non-Unionist Representation (in a straight fight for the non-Unionist vote in West Belfast Joe Devlin defeated Eamon de Valera; Gerry Adams' defeat of Gerry Fitt could be said to be a late reversal of that vote).

After that election the elected Sinn Féin MIP's, as they were being called, did not attend Westminster but set up their own national assembly, deemed themselves Government and in effect though not in intent set up a one party state.

I said though not in intent — all those elected were invited to attend Dáil Éireann — only the Republicans did; neither Unionist nor nationalist ever attended: something in my view which contributed to a strengthening in a way of the hold of the partition line when drawn the following year in the Govt. of Ireland Act. John O'Mahony from Fermanagh/Tyrone was the only completely 6 county man one could say in the Second Dáil — most of the others were "big guns" Collins, Griffith and so forth. But after the Articles of Agreement in 1921, the Civil War and the Constitution of the Free State, that link, so to speak was lost. Efforts in the early days of the present troubles by Paddy Kennedy and Paddy O'Hanlon to attend the Dáil were rebuffed, a rebuff in some way assuaged by the later nomination of Brid Rogers of the SDLP (a Donegal lady) and Dr. John Robb to the Senate.

What I am suggesting here is that the non-unionist population in the partitioned area were left (and left themselves) in a limbo, a time warp, in a way anachronistic, in another way at least non-synchronic. The two generations since have not in my view been healthy for Irish politics on either side of the partition line.

Now on the Unionist side there are also contending elements and I'll repeat here statistics from *The United Kingdom as a Multinational State* (R. Rose, University of Strathclyde, 1970).

A Glasgow sample showed 29% said they were British, 1% Welsh, 4% didn't know and 67% Scot. In Wales 15% said British, 13% English, 1% Scot, 69% Welsh. The people of the six counties were 29% British, 21% "Ulster", 43% Irish and 7% didn't know when asked their affinities as to nationality. One thing to be marked here again — is that the concept of being British is foreign to the English. But the "British" and the "Ulster" labellings of perceived nationality in the six counties point to changing of varying ways of looking at themselves by the Unionists. In a way it reflects basic divides among themselves, racial, religious and political.

The racial divide is the English and Scottish one since despite the myth many of the planters came from England not Scotland (we will address ourselves somewhat to this later on) and the phonological echoes of their origins in Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire etc. are to be found

in the mid-Ulster Dialect as shown on Map no. 1 by the late Brendan Adams then of the Ulster Folk Museum. The other part of that divide which he calls the North-Eastern Dialect has its origins in Galloway, Ayrshire and Renfrewshire apparently.

THE DIALECT REGIONS OF ULSTER



Map 1:

- OVER 50% IRISH SPEAKING 1951.
- 5% TO 50% IRISH SPEAKING 1851.
- LOCALITIES IN THE SIX COUNTIES WHERE A FEW SPEAKERS OF ORIGINAL LOCAL GAELIC DIALECT SURVIVE.
- APPROXIMATE BOUNDARY OF NORTH-EASTERN AND MID-ULSTER DIALECTS (SUBJECT TO CORRECTION).
- MODERN ULSTER

If I suggest that this racial differentiation has confessional aspects I might be accused of drawing a long bow so to speak but Map no. 2 from Ruth Dudley Edwards' *Atlas of Irish History* will show the consistency I mean when a hundred years later the map is much the same; the Orange Order then was confined to the Established Church of Ireland (and hence by and large to descendants of the English planters and of the old Irish adherers to the Henrician Reformation).

Both readings of themselves overlap of course very often and common to both in their political expression a touch of the Laager mentality that feeds on having a threatening enemy. The initial security was as Maire Nic Mhaoláin had it in the last issue of *Lasair*. They had sway — their own statelet, they were loyal (if conditionally) to the English crowns and to the Protestant values all of which left them in their view a cut above the mere natives with their superstitions, religion priest ridden, shift, irresponsible: better to progress with the civilised English than to regress with the porcine natives.

As the sun set on the Empire which endorsed such fantasies — and the negation of the parameters they shared as kin said Sam Hanna Bell with the older inhabitants — and as the reality of Irish life could no longer be denied and in most recent times when it is as if the two generation gap had led to a convulsion back to the unfinished business of 1919-1922 a new way of looking at themselves emerged (not that the older is dead by any means of course — its most consistent voice is that of Enoch Powell's for integration).

Whereas for example in 1970 *Combat*, the journal of the UVF, echoed many of the sentiments of my monograph *Hidden Ulster* and lamented in a way that the Republicans had robbed them of their Gaelic heritage, Ian Paisley and his followers nowadays tend to describe Irish as a foreign language and the Republic of Ireland as a foreign country.

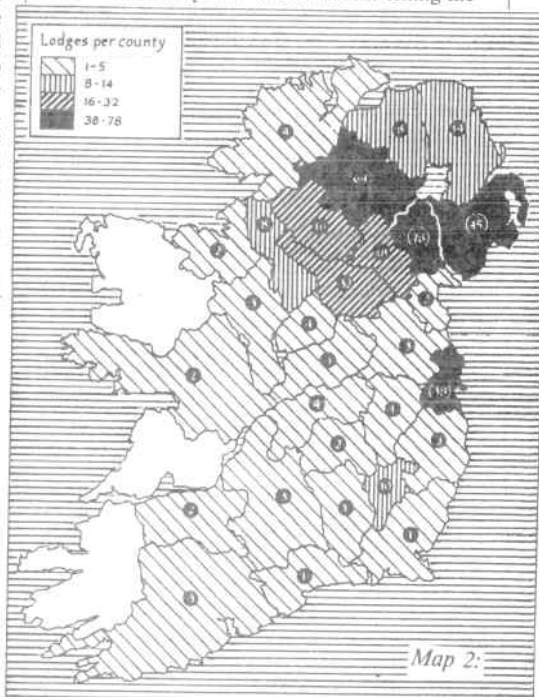
But there has been an even more fundamental shift among extremists (a stupid mistake on the morrow). It is that the base they seek is no longer Britishness so much, their Protestantism as such, their "superiority" as it were — that mark of so many claiming precedence over other people — no longer these so much as the fantastic one of being the original inhabitants of Ireland, they having been here before the coming of the Gael so long ago. (Nor should such a belief be merely laughed at — see what the Jewish belief in their ancestral domicile has led to in that clash of aspirations in the Middle East).

In *Ulster* of February 1985 they have invented a tribe, the Setantians, to which Cúchulainn is said to have belonged, (they being the ancient British people of Ulster). That that is bullshit is not the point: that people, that extremists believe it, is. In the June issue of the same journal there is an article entitled "The Original Irish" which is based on the theory that the original inhabitants of Ireland came from Scotland (the abuse of the changing state of archeological knowledge is unfortunately not all that rare) which in turn was based on a now outdated reading from the superceded excavation reports and extrapolations from them. As a result of that they claim "The Protestants of Ulster have every right to be here. This is our land and our heritage." The next issue reprinted an article from a new journal called "The Cruithin" which is the voice of that which seeks to give the underpinning to that position.

When the commander of the UDA was asked about this he is cited as follows (*Belfast Review*, March-May 1985):

A book called *The Cruithin - the Ancient Kindred* by Ian Adamson has had a profound effect on the UDA's views of history and culture. This is reflected very strongly in *This Is It!* I asked Tyrre what, or rather who, were the Cruithin?

"Before the Celts came to Ireland," he said "it was inhabited, like all these islands, by the Britons. The Britons of the north-east of Ireland were called the Cruithin. Ian Adamson has done a mass of research into the history and identity of Ulster and has spent a whole lifetime telling the



Map 2:

Ulster people that they do have roots here before the Plantation. The nationalist community have always called us interlopers and immigrants. Ian said no. We, as a people, have always been here in the north — before we were driven out to Scotland. And right up to the Plantation Ulster has maintained stronger links with Scotland than with the rest of Ireland. And Ian says, and it's obviously true, that the idea of an Irish nation — a nation once again — is a republican myth. There was never an Irish nation — an Irish notion we call it. We weren't interlopers. Most of the Scots who came here in the seventeenth century were from the Galloway area — the descendants, as Ian has shown, of the people who left here in the first place. We were coming home."

It is a new way of looking at themselves. There is a grain in it that there were a pre-celtic people in Ireland who have been called Picts and who fought with the later arrivals and were apparently defeated by them. But the knowledge of them is so slight that no current political platform could be based on so shallow a foundation. The fact is it has and in my view this is a much more dangerous base for Unionist intransigence and one which it is not enough to deride or laugh at: it is rather one to be addressed seriously in Ireland and in Scotland (those who can read Irish would benefit from Máire Nic Mhaoláin's Review of Adamson's book in *Lasair III*). Unless we do so we may well regret our negligence in years to come.

P. Ó SNODAIGH

For clarity of exposition there has been of necessity I feel, much, even gross, oversimplification in this piece of an issue I deem to be of serious need. With that caveat I hope it will initiate further attention and study.

Editor's note: The above is a short lecture given by P. Ó Snodaigh at this year's A.G.M.

INTER-CELTIC CULTURAL EXCHANGE

I would like to promote the idea, first hinted at in CARN 29 and tried successfully in Mannin a few years ago. "Cultural Exchange" was a simple and effective idea promoted by some Celtic League members. All that is required is:

1. Modest fund raising in each country.
2. A catalogue of individuals and groups of traditional performers willing to participate (for travel expenses only) by
 - (a) supporting visiting groups.
 - (b) visiting other Celtic countries.
3. Seeking those who would be willing to provide accommodation.
4. Finding suitable venues.

There may be existing organisation who might take on a scheme such as this. If not, perhaps Celtic League Branches might make the necessary inquiries and act as co-ordinators. Once the initial funds are raised the scheme should be self-financing. Perhaps readers of CARN would write to their local secretaries with any comments and/or suggestions.

C.J.K.



Breton-speaking children attending a holiday camp at the Diwan Centre, Treglonou, July 1985.

FLAG CAUSES HYSTERIA

The town of Liskeard in East Cornwall has been the scene of an acrimonious debate largely resolved in other Cornish towns, one surrounding a decision whether or not to fly the Cornish flag — the flag of St. Piran. Noting that whilst the Union Jack was often in evidence the St. Piran's flag was not, local MK activist Loveday Carlyon decided to find out the town council policy on flags. And it appeared policy was only to fly the Union flag.

Not content with that Loveday spoke out at the annual town council open meeting, receiving short shift for her pains from the council worthies, and proceeded to gather a petition. This was soon filled with 500 names, indicating no hostility on the part of the town's residents to the black and white

of St. Piran's flying from the community's flagpole.

Presented with this and backed by the two official MK councillors the town council has reluctantly agreed to fly St. Piran's flag when "appropriate". However in doing so the debate has stirred up an incredible amount of emotion for such a relatively trivial incident. The mere mention of St. Piran's flag seems calculated to induce mass hysteria in Liskeard's council chamber.

Interestingly enough some of the most vociferous opponents of the flag were long standing English immigrants as well as the usual brand of native Uncle Tom. It appears that even 30 or 40 years residence does not make some of these people Cornish. The question then arises — can they really represent the Cornish people when they are so patently hostile to even the simplest manifestations of Cornish identity?

BERNARD DEACON

Tañv da yezh 'ta



The drawing reproduced here won a competition organised among the pupils of the Breton classes of Catholic schools. They were asked to design a car sticker with a slogan urging people to uphold the Breton language. There were about 300 entries. The prize went to two fourteen-year-old girls from Landerne: a trip to Ireland. The words, literally translated to "Taste your language", mean: Learn how to speak Breton, you will enjoy it.

A NEW CELTIC BODY

A meeting was held in October at a Presbyterian Church in Didsbury, Greater Manchester, to set up a body to support and promote Celtic languages and culture in England. Initiated by the Rev. D. Ben Rees, a minister from Liverpool, the publisher of a Welsh language monthly, "Yr Angor", and a scholar of some note, the meeting was attended by representatives of Welsh chapels in the north of England, and among others, Patricia Williams of the Department of Celtic Studies, University of Manchester, and Séamas Ó Coileáin, the secretary of the Celtic League, London branch.

According to Séamas, the intention is to found an organisation, in many ways similar to Conradh na Gaeilge, that will study, indicate, and serve the needs of all Celtic language communities in exile in England. The fact that this initiative has been taken by the Welsh, but includes from the beginning the Irish, Scots, etc., in England, is of considerable significance. There are dozens of Welsh chapels in England, for the most part using Welsh as the medium of worship and general

communication, and therefore firm centres of Welsh language and culture; there are twenty-four of them in London alone! If Dr. Rees' intention is to mobilize this previously invisible cultural movement, and join forces with the Irish and other Celtic organisations, the sky is the limit as to what might be achieved in the current Celtic Revival in exile.

The first task of the new body is to draft and approve a constitution setting out clearly its aims, etc. This will not be completed until early spring, but in the meantime, they have already set themselves the task of compiling a directory of Celtic organisations in England. We urge therefore, that all secretaries or representatives of Celtic cultural organisations, whether language, music, dance, drama, political or whatever, get in touch with Séamas on (01) 675 3074, (address on back of Carn) who will eventually want a short description of the organisation's aims, etc., around 50 words or so, together with a contact — secretary's address, Tel. No. etc. to put in the directory. This will, incidentally, ensure that each organisation will be kept up to date with developments. Séamas says that he will argue for the constitution to define England as "that territory which borders on Scotland, Wales and Cornwall".

More news in the Spring.

CELTIC CALENDAR

The Celtic League American Branch has published its 1985/86 wall calendar (year begins with Samhain/November). It contains original art work relating to Celtic mythology, notes on ancient Celtic traditions, proverbs in Celtic languages with translations. It lists for most dates events from the history of the Celtic peoples. Price \$6 (US), post paid. Write to Celtic League Calendar, 2973 Valentine Ave., Bronx, NY 10458, USA.



FOR A CELTIC FUTURE

A tribute to Alan Heusaff

330 pages

Price Stg £5.00

This collection of articles has been published in recognition of Alan's work as Secretary of the Celtic League for over 20 years.

A wide range of subjects and topics are covered on political and cultural matters.

Available from Branch Secretaries or direct from the Editor, Cathal O Luain, 33 Bothar Bancroft, Tamhlacht, Co. Atha Cliath, Eire.

This book will be a must for all interested in Celtic affairs

Postage and Packing

IR £1.50 (Stg. area & Eire). IR £2.50 (Surface mail, Breizh & rest of the world),
IR £6.30 (Air mail, Breizh and rest of the world).

Membership and Subscriptions

All those who agree with the Constitution and Aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership fee (including Carn) and subscription rates are: IR£6, Stg£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, 2 Woodburn Place, Edinburgh 10.

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, Baile Átha Cliath 7.

KERNOW

Ian Williams, 6 Rose Row, Redruth.

MANNIN

Cristl Jerry, 6 Glenfaba Road, Peel.

LONDON

Séamas Ó Coileáin, G.42 Du Cane Court, London SW17 7JR.

U.S.A.

Mary Kate Mulkeen, P.O. Box 20153 Dag Hammerskjold Postal Centre, New York, NY 10017.

INTERNATIONAL BRANCH

Alan Heusaff, 9 Br. Cnoc Sion, Dromchonnach, Áth Cliath 9, Éire.

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

The General Secretary of the Celtic League is **B. Moffatt,**

**24 St. Germain's Place, Peel.
Mannin (Isle of Man).**

The Editor is Ms. P. Bridson, 33 Bóthar Bancroft, Tamhlacht, B.Á.C. 24, Éire.

Our next deadline for Carn 53 will be 7th February 1986.

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

I would like to thank all contributors for their articles. I must stress that there may be a delay in printing some articles; however, all material will be published IN TIME unless contributors are contacted by me due to some difficulty.

PAT BRIDSON

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