

# carn

## A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

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£1

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CELTIC LEAGUE



ALBA: COMUNN CELTĒACH • BREIZH: KEVRE KELTĒK  
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KERNOW: KESUNYANS KELTEK • MANNIN: COMMEEYS CELTIAGH



# CELTIC LEAGUE A.G.M. AND RESOLUTIONS

The 1989 Celtic League A.G.M. was held in Abergwaun, Cymru at the end of July.

A comprehensive dossier on the League's activities was presented by the General Secretary. Reports were heard from the Branch and International Secretaries present and from the general officers of the League. The broad scope of the League's activities was highlighted in these reports which detailed work of the branches on the various League campaigns and on the Military Monitoring campaign. A full discussion was held on CARN, the material, contributions, complaints and particularly distribution difficulties. It was decided to set up a sub-committee to investigate the latter aspects with a view to recommending efficient arrangements relating to typesetting, printing and distribution. The treasurer's report showed a basically sound financial position but a need for continuing attention to ensure financial affairs were kept in order.

Particular attention was paid to planning the forthcoming years activities. Problems in two branches in recent times were discussed and a set of rules adopted which it was hoped would help in such situations in the future.

The amended constitution was adopted. The principal aims of the League were not amended in any way and are set out below as a reminder to all members of our basic tenets. Members should apply to their branch secretaries for copies of the ratified constitution.

The following resolutions were adopted and the A.G.M. expressed its thanks to Welsh Branch Secretary, Merfyn Phillips for all his work in organising the meeting in Cymru this year and particularly for his efforts in arranging accommodation with Welsh branch members for delegates and for his own hospitality extended to all over the weekend.

The following officers were elected: Chairman - Peter Berresford-Ellis; General Secretary - Davyth Fear; Editor - Patricia Bridson; Treasurer - Roy Green; Assistant General Secretary and Director of Information - Bernard Moffat.

## THE CELTIC LEAGUE CONSTITUTION

### - Main aims ratified July 1989

The fundamental aim of the Celtic League is to support, through peaceful means, the

struggle of the Celtic nations, Alba, Breizh, Cymru, Éire, Kernow and Mannin, to win or to secure the political, cultural, social and economic freedom they need for their survival and development as distinct communities. This includes:

- a) working towards the restoration of the Celtic languages, which are essential characteristics of nationality for each Celtic country, as ordinary means of communication.
- b) developing the consciousness of the special relationship existing between the Celtic peoples.
- c) fostering co-operation and solidarity between them.
- d) making our national struggles and achievements better known abroad.
- e) furthering the establishment of organised relations between the Celtic nations, based on their recognition as distinct nations, and with the long term aim of formal association between them.
- f) recognising that the Celtic peoples will be free only in a society which will give to all the means to participate actively in the national affairs, i.e. to control production, exchanges and services, and the exploitation of national resources for the benefit of all.

## RESOLUTIONS

This AGM resolves:

- that a special fund of 400 (principal to be repaid to the Central account when the fund is in profit) be set up to finance the holding of a Celtic League stall at the National Eisteddfod of Wales, to be administered by the Welsh branch on behalf of the General Council, but to be funded by the Central Fund.
- This AGM wishes to reaffirm its 1988 resolution which called for urgent action to control immigration into Mannin.
- In view of the introduction of the English National Curriculum, the AGM of the Celtic League seeks assurances from the Education Department that the Manx element in education is not further diluted, and that its national importance be fully recognised and developed as an essential part of a complete and meaningful education.
- This AGM resolves, that, as the four quarterly feasts of the Celtic calendar, and especially Celtic New Year (1 November)

are unifying factors in the heritage of all the Celtic nations, it recommends that the Celtic League encourage observance of these holidays in Celtic communities, and use them as reference points in their activities and publications throughout the year.

- This AGM commends the efforts of League members to establish a territorial branch in Cape Breton, and we strongly recommend the establishment of a similar branch in Y Wladfa (Patagonia).

- This AGM agrees to the application of Cape Breton members of the League for branch status, and ratifies the establishment of a territorial branch there as detailed in the constitution, paragraphs 2b and 8c.

- This AGM reiterates Resolution 8 (1988), requesting its implementation this year.

- This AGM: welcoming the widespread desire of the European peoples for closer understanding and co-operation; convinced that the Single European Act opens the way to a construction which will result in the destruction of the smaller European nations, in particular by leaving their languages and cultures at the mercy of "Market Forces"; commits the Celtic League to back those associations and parties which advocate a re-orientation of the European movement towards a "Europe of the Peoples", which will enable all its component ethnic groups to undertake upon themselves the protection of their cultural and economic interests.

- In view of the fact that in 1991 Dublin will be the European City of Culture, this AGM of the Celtic League considers that this would be an appropriate moment for the appointment by the Irish Government of an official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the remit of inter-Celtic matters. This would initially be handled by someone in post, e.g. in charge of EEC subjects, but would evolve in time to a desk and ultimately a distinct ministry.

- This AGM proposes that in 1991 the Irish Government should inaugurate a peace prize to be called the MacBride Prize. This would be in memory of Seán MacBride and his work for world peace, and would be presented on behalf of the Irish Government and the Celtic peoples.

- This AGM resolves to research the effect of the EEC Common Fisheries Policy on Celtic fishery industries, and to contact Celtic fish producers organisations with a view to presenting a common Celtic front on policy, in order to ensure a fair share of fish stock and catch for each Celtic country.

- This AGM resolves to draw up and circulate a list of planners and groups who are working against the large scale developments, inimical to Celtic communities or their languages, now being planned by speculators with a view to developing a formal organisation in the future.

- This AGM in pursuance of the Celtic League's aim of developing the consciousness of the special relationship and solidarity between the Celtic peoples, undertakes to publicise as comprehensively as possible the various manifestations of inter-celticism by: a) announcing them sufficiently in advance; b) reporting them in a constructive spirit in our quarterly.

- This AGM calls on all sympathetic groups in Wales to unite in opposition to proposed development of the M.O.D. Guided Weapons Testing complex centred on Aberporth. The Celtic League declares its continuing support to those communities on the Llyn peninsula currently opposing plans lodged by the M.O.D. to develop facilities in that area connected with the Aberporth expansion.

- This AGM calls on all local authorities within the Celtic areas currently administered from Westminster to withdraw co-operation from public safety schemes which allow ports within their areas to be designated as "Z" Berths. ("Z" Berths are ports or anchorages where nuclear submarines have the safety and security clearance to visit. Local Authorities support is essential to the success of these schemes. The withdrawal of such support is an effective way of frustrating M.O.D. attempts to use the ports. Approx. 15 ports in Scotland and 2 in Wales are currently designated as "Z" ports, with another in Wales (Swansea) being considered for the dubious honour of inclusion. There have been several serious incidents in Scottish ports involving nuclear submarines in addition random sampling of sea water indicates radiation levels higher than normal.)

- This Annual General Meeting of the Celtic League, informed that the two Bretons, Jean Yves Meudeg and Gilbert Kabon, accused of membership of the A.R.B. and held in different prisons in the Paris area, have actually committed no acts of violence; - that Gilbert Kabon received head injuries while in police custody (which were medically attested); - that he was not allowed to speak Breton while being inter-

rogated by the examining magistrate; considers that the basic responsibility for the resort to violence by freedom-loving Bretons rests on the French government so long as it denies Brittany the freedom and the means to secure the survival of the Breton language, expresses solidarity with Gilbert Kabon in insisting on his right to use his own language while dealing with public servants, and asks for Jean Yves Meudeg and Gilbert Kabon's immediate release from detention.

- This AGM informed of: a) the multiple obstacles placed by the French Educational Services in the way of Mr Roland Le Moigne, qualified teacher of Breton, while attempting to organise his teaching at the Lycée St-Stanislas, Nantes from 1970 to 1986 as well as at the Lycée Lesage in Vannes since 1986; b) the victimisation to which he has been subjected by the same services, namely a marked loss of earning and of chances of advancement - a victimisation clearly attributable to a determination to make him "pay" for his dedication to the teaching of Breton; - earnestly requests the Rector of the Nantes Academy and the director of the Lycée Lesage in Vannes to organise the teaching of Breton on a regular basis so as to satisfy the demand which has been proved to exist; - the Minister of Education to compensate Mr Roland Le Moigne for the financial loss suffered during the past 5 years and to have his salary reestablished in accordance with his high qualifications.

- This AGM views Austria's application to join the 12-member "European" Community as being compatible with its status as a neutral country, and urges the Irish government to back the application.

- Bearing in mind that the whole of Europe has undergone considerable change, East and West since the founding of the Celtic League, that such change, has had positive and negative effects right across the board, and has brought a new consciousness of the nature of nationality, identity and the diversity of language and culture, this AGM proposes that discussion should be opened among members, through CARN and the circulation of discussion documents, as to the future role of the Celtic League, what its activities should be and who it should regard as its allies in this changing European society.

- This Celtic League deplores the inactivity of the last and present Minister for the Gaeltacht and calls for the appointment for an effective Minister to adopt as priority the following agenda: a) The immediate establishment of a full National Television Service in Ireland. b) The extension of the powers of a democratic *Údarás na Gaeltachta* and the adequate funding of that body.

- This AGM of the Celtic League reaffirms its opposition to nuclear installations on the perimeters of the Irish Sea. It welcomes recent co-operation between the Irish and Manx Governments and Irish and Welsh local authorities against proposals for renewal of some of the older nuclear stations. It calls for extension of this co-operation between all Celtic local authorities and national governments to campaign for the closure of all nuclear plants in the Irish Sea area.



*Some of the delegates at the 1989 Celtic League AGM.*

# ALBA

## A' CHÒRN AIR CROIS NAN RATHAD?

An toiseach b'iad na diathan, an uair sin na moirean, an sin na h-uachdarain - agus a-nis an luchd-planaidh. Riamh bha an dòigh beatha againn agus aig ar coimhearsnachdan an urra ri ùghdarrasan cèin nach fhaicer an taobh sa dhe na nèil, dhen chnoc, dhen chrìch no de dh'Oifisean na Comhairle. Nach fhaicear nar measg far an tuigeadh iad na beachdan againn, agus far am faodadh buaidh a bhith againn air na co-dhùnaidhean acasan. Agus chan ann tric a chluinneas ach guthan beaga fa leth an aghaidh nan iathan do-bheantainneach seo.

Agus gu dearbh'sann glè ainneamh a gheibhear sealladh cho soilleir agus ionnsaigh cho sìofrach orra 's a gheibhear anns an leabhar ùr seo bhon Chùirn. Leabhar a tha toirt barrachd buaidh dha na h-argamaidean aige is e air dhreach fìor phroifeiseanta 's shnàsail. Tha "A'Chòrn air Crois nan Rathad" bho ChOSERG (Buidheann Rannsachaidh Comann is Eaconomachd na Cùirn) a' coimhead air obair an luchd-planaidh aig Comhairle Siorrachd na Cùirn air 192 duil-leag ghleasach an riochd a tha ga fhàgail gu math furasda ciall a dhèanamh dhe na puingeas agus a tha ga dhèanamh gu math furasda a leughadh. Tha teasca an leabhar air a bhristeadh suas le bhith cur mòran feum air clò trom, air earrannan beaga fo chinn fa leth agus air "bogsaidhean" fiosrachaidh. Tha an teasca cuideachd air a bhristeadh le meall a dhealbhan, eadar fhotothan, thairghean agus eisimpleirean à pàipearan naidheachd agus à bileagan. Agus aig deireadh a h-uile caibideil tha giorrachadh dheth - rud a tha gu math feumail (do lèirmheasairean gu h-àraidh!).

B'fhiach an leabhar fhaighinn airson nam fotothan a-mhàin, is iad a' cur an cèill "faireachdainn" na dùthcha air dòigh gu math ealanta, seach a bhith cur ri trùimheachd na teachdaireachd le ìomhaighean propagandach. Ach air an làimh eile tha trùimheachd uamhasach anna fhèin, oir cha shaoileadh tu bhuapa gun robh Còrnach fo 50 bliadhna

a dh'aois air fhàgail ann. Thogadh fiù 's aitead de dh'aodann òg spiorad an dòchais.

Tha an leabhar a' sgrùdadh planadh leasachaidh anns a' Chùirn, ach ma tha, tha e a' beantainn ri cor a h-uile coimhearsnachd agus dùthaich gan smachd deamocratach air a leasachadh fhèin.

Tha sreath a phlanaichean structair air nochdadh aig planairan na Cùirn bho chionn 20 bliadhna ach chan eil cinnt mhionaideach ann gu dè an leasachadh a thathas a' moladh. Cha bhiodh e ceart a chantainn gum bheil olc agus ceannasachadh fàinear dhaibh - tha iad fhèin a' fulang atharrachaidhean polasaidh leis an Rìghaltas ann an Lunnainn agus dh'fhaodadh e bheith gum bheil iad a' creidsinn na their iad. Ach 'sann a tha iad a' feuchainn ri ciall is càil a chur ann an dòigh beatha ùr nach do thagh na Còrnaich fhèin. Mar as trice chan eil iad ann an tìr an eòlais 's an cultair - Sasannaich a tha sa chuid as motha dhiubh - agus tha COSERG a' faithneachadh orra ceithir beachdan coimheach: gum bheil a' Chòrn ionadail, agus mar sin feumach air ceanglaichean ris "a" mheadhan, Lunnainn; gum bheil na Còrnaich air cùl an t-seanchais agus leis; gum bheil a' Chòrn tuille 's beag, agus feumach air tathach ri Devon ann an Sasainn; gum bheil a' Chòrn na h-ionad cleasachd, agus an làn ura ri turasachd. Tha COSERG a' moladh seasamh a tha calg-dhireach an aghaidh a h-uile gin dhe na beachdan seo.

Anns na 1960n, dar a bha beagan uallaich air Rìghaltas Bhreatainn mu na nàiseanan agus na cèrnaidhean a-mach air firean ìosal Shasainn, thug e seachad cobhair mhath airgid airson leasachadh tionnsgalach. Aig an aon àm thòisich àireamh an t-sluaigh anns a' Chùirn, a bha sìor thuitem gu ruige sin, air èirigh. Shaoil an luchd-planaidh gun robh an tionndadh seo mar thoradh dhen leasachadh, agus mar sin gun robh iad air an stiùir - cha do thuig iad gun robh an imrich a-steach air adhbhar eile; gur e gluasad a-staigh as Ear-dheas Shasainn a

bha tachairt feadh Bhreatainn, polasaidhean leasachaidh ann no as. 'Se rinn iad gun do chuir iad a' Chòrn am barrachd eisimeil ri Sasainn, is rianachadh nan seirbheisean agus nan gnìomhachasan air an call mar a dh'fhàs iad na bu mhotha agus na ceanglaichean siubhail agus conaltraibh na b'fheàrr. Dh'fhalbh an obair agus na turasdalan a b'fheàrr leis na h-àrd-oifisean, agus lean an òigridh iad.

Co-dhiù b'iad fhèin a b'adhbhar don imrich a-steach a Shasannaich gus nach b'iad, tha an luchd-polasaidh cinnteach gur h-e rud math a th'ann. Nam beachd-san, tha e ag adhbharrachadh fàs cosnaidh agus eaconomachd; struchtair sluaigh cothromach; tuilleadh ghoinneasan; tuilleadh teachd-a-steach do na comhairlean ionadail; agus barrachd dèanadachd agus tàlann. Ach a-rèir ChOSERG, 'se th'ann mar thoradh air a' ghluasad a-staigh, barrachd cion cosnaidh agus eaconomachd na thàmh; Còrnaich òga a' falbh agus seann choigrich a' tighinn; barrachd brùthaidh agus caiteachais air seirbheisean nan ùghdarrasan ionadail; agus fein-iomhaigh de dh'fhois agus de leisge. Chan eil iad a' cantainn nach tig obiar ùr as àrdachadh sluaigh, agus tha iad a' faithneachadh nach cuir na seann ghnìomhachasan mar àiteachas, iasgach, mhèinneadaireacht agus thurasachd ri meud a' chosnaidh, ach 'sann a tha iad a' cantainn gum feumar stad car air an àrdachadh gus an crìon an cion cosnaidh tre leudachadh rèidh an eaconomachd ionadail.

Ciamar a bheireadh an leudachadh seo gu buil? Chan ann tre bharrachd rathaidean. Seach a bhith coimhead air a' Chùirn mar rubha uaigneach Shasainn, bu chòir an deagh shuidheachadh aice a-thaobh nan slighean mara a bhith air a chur gu feum airson reic a-nuill thairis de bhathar Còrnach agus mar ionad Eòrpach airson coinneachadh shoitheachan fairge ri luingeas ionadail. Chan eil Lunnainn no Sasainn aig meadhan an t-saoghail.



Agus dh'fheumar stad a chur air sìoladh nan sgilean. Mar nas motha a dh'fhalbhas an òigridh agus na h-eanchainnean as fheàrr, 'sann nas motha a chrìonas an comas obir fhreagarrach a tharraing agus a bhrosnachadh. Dh'fhaodadh an claoonadh seo a-harrachadh le leasachadh àrd-fhoghlaim le leasachadh ghniomhachasan dùthasach nach eil cho buailteach do ghabhail thairis bho chèin agus le leasachadh dhen cho-ionannachd chultarach.

Tha atharrachadh ann am fèin-iomhaigh agus fèin-mheas nan Còrnach aig bun dòchas agus molaidhean ChOSERG. Tha dualchas na Cùim - a' gabhail a-staigh na h-àrainneachd agus a' chultair choitcheinn - air a bhith air fhaicinn mar nì suarach, no fiù 's mar chnap-starra, leis an luchd-planaidh. Agus 'se sin a dh'fhaodas agus a dh'fheumas a bhith ann - cnap-starra do na beadhean coimheach cunnartach aca. Ma bhios barrachd fios agus pròis aig na Còrnaich asda fhèin, bidh barrachd uidh agus oidhirp aca mun cor fhèin agus mu chor an dùthcha. Mar sin bhiodh barrachd buaidh agus smachd aig an t-sluagh orrasan a tha plannadh na tha romhpa.

**PEADAR MORGAN**

*First the gods, then the feudal masters, then the lairds and now the planners. Our communities have always been ruled according to the opinions of others. The book "Cornwall at the Crossroads?" from COSERG, 51 Plain-an-Gwarry, Redruth, Cornwall, price 4.25, challenges the alien assumptions and policies of the planners in Cornwall, and by inference those of all countries without the democratic control of their own development. The geographical position of Cornwall should be seen as a strength, with great potential from maritime trade, and the brain-drain and hence economic stagnation should be halted by development of further education at home and of indigenous industries that are not prone to take-overs. The development of cultural identity and self-image is important as a spur to action and as a bulwark against the planners.*

## TORY FREE SCOTLAND - NEW OPPORTUNITIES

The Euro poll results for Scotland showed on an increased turn out of around 9% that the SNP with 25.6% gained the greatest increase in votes of 7.8% followed by the Greens, gaining 7% from zero and Labour topping the poll with 41.9% gaining only 1.2%. With Conservatives down to 20.9% and Democrats on 4.3% losing 4.8% and

11.4% respectively the Scottish agenda is set for an all out struggle between SNP and Labour. Labour gained the last two Tory seats, South and North East; in the latter the SNP came agonisingly close with only 2613 votes less while Mrs. Winnie Ewing capped a long career as Highlands and Islands SNP MEP with a three fold increase in her majority to 44,695.

This result is broadly in line with opinion surveys eight months after the phenomenal SNP by-election win at Glasgow Govan. It was unusual to have another by-election so soon, not this time caused by the elevation of a Labour MP to EEC Commissioner but after the sudden death of a sitting member. So Glasgow Central was fought out on the same day as the Euro poll coinciding with "the best ten days for Labour in Britain for the last ten years".

An atmosphere like a General Election prevented the SNP surge which shrank in the last few days under intense UK media hype for Labour to let the latter have one more chance; but it also brought a satisfying rout for Thatcherite Tories and subsequent recriminations from the loser in North East, James Provan, who blamed Mrs. Thatcher's persona for the Tory demise.

With a Scottish electorate used to the opposition parties debating devolution and independence and indeed the British opposition parties forming a Scottish Constitutional Convention to allow Labour to drag the issue to the next election on their terms, the Tory veto to any form of legislative devolution is an assurance of their irrelevance in Scottish minds if not yet removing the stranglehold of these rampant English nationalists over Scotland's government.

Noteworthy comments by some business managers have recognised that an independent government with half the interest rates of London would be an enviable starting point for a reborn Scottish economy; but they have been balanced by another survey which showed business leaders impacably opposed to closer political scrutiny in the form of an Assembly or Parliament, but the same people seem incapable of meeting Mrs. Thatcher's goals of letting the market have free play with a vastly reduced public sector and thrusting private enterprise untrammelled by overweening government. In short the SE English boom is led by a financial sector dabbling in a world market and public sector subsidy of huge proportions bolstering the favoured Home Counties.

With massive defence contracts, road, rail, Channel Tunnel investments plus flamboyant extravagance by the new rich its hall-

mark, no other areas of Britain can possibly emulate this artificial boom. It is gained at the expense of every other area. Therefore the rise of the Greens and demise of the middle of the road Democrats must signal a continuing Tory grip on the prosperous majority which will be treated to government spending on a huge scale before the expected General Election of 1991.

As to the options, the Scots are aware as never before through the option of Independence in Europe, which opinion polls show 38% support while another 42% support devolution, that the movement which will decide Scottish survival as a nation has to come from within Scotland rather than wait for a possible Labour victory. The damage to the Scottish body politic must somehow be stopped by the defeat of the most undemocratic Tory impositions such as the poll tax, destroying our school system and by the increasingly centralist control of power applied by Thatcherism. The tension between the messages of Labour, give us one more chance, and the SNP, let's be done with London control for good, is set to be the underlying agenda for the next five years in Scotland's life, set against a background of Thatcherite Toryism rammed halfway down our throats by the new Scottish Tory Chairman, MP for Stirling Michael Froisyth whose New Right dogma grates on Scottish ears in most news bulletins.

So in the Euro parliament group making in July it was fitting that the SNP's sole representative should join the Rainbow Group of Corsican, Sardinian, Basque, Andalusian, Irish, Flemish, Lombardian and Danish, autonomists, the sole Euro Group all of whose members are committed to the rights of nations such as Scotland to determine their own future.

Commenting on the new formation the Labour Party's Highland mouthpiece, "The West Highland Free Press" poured scorn on the 13 Rainbow members who it likened to its view of Mrs. Ewing as "politically idiosyncratic and lacking in political clout". However it comes as no surprise to Scottish nationalists and Gaelic activists that the one Labour paper in the Gaeltacht should be so dismissive of the small nations and their cultures and a timely warning that the Socialist Euro Group has a dreadful record in suppressing many of the re-emergent European nations which Rainbow represents, for it alone recognises the need for the EC to become more open, democratic and decentralised - a genuine Europe of the peoples.

**R.G.**

## HIGHLAND TRADITIONAL MUSIC IN GREAT HEALTH!

At the same weekend as a recent Celtic League, Scottish Branch meeting in Dingwall, Ross-shire the National Hotel played host for the eighth time to the Highland Traditional Music Festival. It's a great mixture of pipes, fiddles, voices, accordions and lots of other instruments in true Highland style with an admixture of players from other Celtic countries, e.g. the Sands Brothers in 1986 and Alwena Roberts last year.

Basically the increased interest in our traditional music stems from a varied and continuing range of settings which encourage our great heritage. In Ross-shire schools as elsewhere in Highland Region instruction in pipes, fiddle and whistles is commonplace. Clarsach also features and the local Gaelic Mods foster all these plus the all important songs.

The Ross & Cromarty District Council, with responsibilities for many leisure facilities has run successful week long Feis, (festivals) in Ullapool for the past four years. So at Easter each year youngsters from all round the District gain instruction in native instruments, voice, dance and drama, plus gain some insight into Gaelic conversation. This year over 200 young people crowded out the venues requiring a split programme next year to meet the huge demand. It started with Feis Bharraigh and now other areas are copying that model. Of course readers in Éire and Cymru will be familiar with such aims.

Needless to say the resurgence of Scottish musical talent in rock and folk styles is a consequence of our growing confidence as a people but is also testament to the vitality of our music scene thirty years after the folk revival. Alongside the success of groups like Deacon Blue, Hue & Cry and the Proclaimers, all with strong Scottish political overtones and the folk bands Runrig and Battlefield Band there is a whole plethora of singers and groups reflecting the current scene. Whether in Gaelic, Lowland Scots or English the message of the younger generation is clear, as the Proclaimers wrote, "we can't understand why they let someone else run our land..."

At Dingwall's Festival the local band Wolfstone were a big hit but taken alongside sole traditional Gaelic singer Ishbel MacAskill from Lewis, and Shetland's Aly Bain there is an insatiable appetite for the whole range of our music which can be heard at around thirty festivals annually and a dozen Mods into the bargain.

As suggested above the content is much concerned with contemporary struggles, the hated poll tax, the NATO build up and

threat of nuclear dumping at Dounreay, along with the need for Scots to break England's chains. How fortunate today's youngsters are to grow into a healthy music scene which provides all ages audiences with the best celebration of our nationality short of self-government. Clearly the protests of the folk revival are now a sustained demand for normality like other European nations. Significantly in the recent Glasgow Central by-election while the SNP received very visible support from the Proclaimers and Hue & Cry, Labour had to import Scots exiles who live in London to offer a pop image - there is no future in our best heading for the English capital. The message is quite plain to see in the charts, Scots based groups are having unprecedented success, which is why there is at last the prospect of Scottish pop charts to reflect what people are buying here and you can bet that the new mixture will be a far more heady brew than Radio 1 is prepared to play.

R.G.

## THE DAVID STEPHEN AWARD

On Saturday, 15th July, the "Scotsman" reported the launch of an award in memory of the naturalist and historian David Stephen. This award - to be in the form of a statuette of "his favourite animal" the wolf - will be presented annually, to the individual or group who has done most, either in a practical sense - cleaning up some area already spoiled - or in the educational sense of highlighting an area and laying the foundation for future action. During July the "Scotsman" also reprinted long extracts from David Stephen's book "Living With Wildlife" described as "loosely autobiographical" and though not quite finished when he died containing enough to make it a must for his admirers and an invitation for any others. The purpose of the book had been to mark the 150th anniversary of the Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. In these days when all and sundry are jumping on green band wagons it is salutary to be reminded that caring for the environment in all its manifestations has long been the concern of many Scots. As for David Stephen perhaps one more thing could be done - print and publish in book form his articles from the Scotsman.

● In Carn 65 the article about David Stephen has an interesting error - "Cumberland" instead of "CUMBERNAULD". All Celts will hope there is a connection in Professor Watson's "History of the Celtic Placenames of Scotland" he writes - "similarly we have Cumbernauld for -comar— (Old Irish -combor) nallt— where the meaning may be 'the confluence of

brooks". The book "Living with Wildlife" published by Canongate at 14.95.

● Also from Canongate and coming out at the Edinburgh Book Festival held during the main Edinburgh Festival will be "The Craneskin Bag". This is a collection of Celtic stories and poems by Robin Williamson. Illustrated and fully annotated this book presents the spoken literature of Scotland, Wales and Ireland in the style developed by Robin Williamson. Those who would like a list of books, albums, cassettes and story cassettes write to - Robin Williamson Productions, BCM Box 4797, London WC1N 3XX, England.

## UNITAX - AN ALTERNATIVE TAX

"Unitax - An Alternative national and local Tax". This is the third in the new series of Fletcher papers - the first two "Gaelic - Looking to the Future" and "Land - Ownership and Use" having been reviewed previously in CARN. This paper was presented on May 10th this year by the author, Professor Malcolm Slessor, at the Centre for Human Ecology, 15 Buccleugh Place, Edinburgh. It should lead to interesting and constructive debate. That the former rating system was unfair goes without saying but that the Thatcher government should insult people's intelligence by producing something infinitely less fair as the only alternative is quite unacceptable. So far, only less than detailed talk of "local income tax" has been forthcoming so this proposal embracing the whole tax system, national and local should be welcome. The proposal is that energy should be taxed. "There is no facet of our lives where energy as fuel is not used, whether in production, transport, the office or the home. It is the driving force of the economic system. It is the one economic resource which cannot be substituted". A very radical proposal but one that should be acceptable in this "green" age. The concept of Unitax came from a systems designer Farel Bradbury and the paper on the subject may be obtained from: Hydatum Publishers, PO Box 4, Ross-on-Wye, England HR9 6EB.

In today's world one of the most important energy sources is oil. Someone originally from one of the older "oil rich" countries calculated what the price of petrol would be if it were considered as valuable as tonic, lime juice or such liquids. It is still a very interesting calculation. The data in the booklet is difficult to summarise so send for your copy of "Unitax" by Professor Malcolm Slessor, price 1.50 to The Secretary, The Andrew Fletcher Society, "Wayside", Longorgan by DUNDEE DD2 5HA.

# BREIZH

## Mat ar c'helou

Moarvat e soñjo lennerien ma fennadoù brezhonek e vez anv ganin dalc'hmat pe gwall-alies eus Bro-Skos. Evit lavarout ar wirionez, goude Iwerzhon ha Breizh, setu ar vro geltiek ma'z on kelaouet ar gwella diwar he fouez. Un ezel eus Skourr Bro-Skos ar C'Hevre zo dik da gas din troc'hadennoù eus ar West Highland Free Press ha skridoù all. Erbedet em eus dezhañ kas anezho ivez a bep eil da sekretourien skouou Iwerzhon, Manav ha Kernev-Veur, dezho d'o "danzen" evit pennadoù e yezhoù an teir bro-se

C'hoant am eus ar wech-mañ d'ober evit doc'h un damsell ouzh un danevell-skrid embannet gant Comunn na Gaidhlig e derou an hañv-mañ - daoust ma oa prest e miz Genver seulabred. Ennañ e vez taolennet an araokadur a zo bet graet war dachenn adsav gouezeleg Bro-Skos abaoe 1982. Er bloaz-se e oa bet embannet gant an Highlands and Islands Development Board, dindan an titl Cor na Gaidhlig, brastres ur vellouiezh e stumm ur rummad kinnigoù, o fal kreñvaat stad ar yezh er vuhez kevredigezhel. Daou vloaz war-lerc'h e oa bet savet Comunn na Gaidhlig (C na G) e-sell da harpañ ha da genurzhiañ obererezh ar strolladoù a oa o labourat evit ar yezh. Kemer a rae karg eus un darn vat eus al labour a glaske An Comunn Gaedhealach seveniñ.

Moarvat e kave da ziazezerien CnaG ne oa ket anCG efedus a-walc'h, e oa ezhomm eus "gwad fresk" e penn al luskad gouezelek. Da CnaG e seblant bezañ bet roet diwar neuze an emell da rannañ ar pep brasañ eus ar skoazelloù-arc'hant-Stad gouestlet d'ar gouezeleg, hag anCG n'eo ket deut c'hoazh a-benn evit doare da spisaat bevennoù e dachenn-oberiañ, ken e vez o kimpigellañ atav ar memez pezhiañ hag a-roak. Anat eo diouzh an danevellskrid diwezhan-mañ piv a zalc'h ar yalc'h: gant doujañs e vez komzet eus ar gouarnamant hag ar pennadurezhioù, penaos e komprenont pegeñ pouezus eo diwall ar gouezeleg. Spi am eus ne soñjint ket o deus graet a-walc'h peogwir e vez displeget ez a mat ar bed gant an adsav, rak bez'ez eus ivez traoù o reiñ abeg a nec'hamant hag e vo ezhomm eus kalz muioc'h a skoazell ma vern d'ar gonidoù dougen frouezh. Pouezañ a reer war an dra

ma'z eo un den dizalc'h, ar c'helaouenner Martin Mac Donald, an hini a voe karget gant CnaG da aozañ an danevellskrid. Eñ eo ivez a oa e penn ar strollad-labour hag en doa aozet Cor na Gaidhlig. E gefridi ar wech-mañ a oa dezvarn hag aet e oad war-roak e-doug ar bloavezhioù 1982-88 ha displegañ e veno a-zivout al labour sevenet gant CnaG

War ziazez ar skrid-mañ e tlefe bezañ aozet ur steuñvad evit mont pelloc'h en dek vloaz da zont. Pezh a vefe poellek hep mar. Arabat eo koulskoude e c'hoarvezfe evel gant ar steuñvadoù bet aozet dre ziv wech gant Bord na Gaeilge Iwerzhon, gant ur pal heñvel, da dalvout evit pevar bloaz pep hini: leun e oant a ginnigoù mat-tre, traoù diraezus hag a chomas siwazh un darn vat anezho dam-pe disevenet dre ziouer skoazell - arc'hant digant ar gouarnamant (dav lavarout e ra hemañ skouarn vouzar par ma hell ouzh garmoù ha tamallou genadoù all eus ar vuhez foran hag a zo galoudusoc'h eget Emsav ar Gouezeleg: ret eo digreskiñ ar bern dle hag espem kement penny a c'heller mirout!)

Gouez da v-Martin Mac Donald ez eus bet graet kammedoù bras war-roak gant ar gouezeleg abaoe 6 vloaz eta. Kavet en deus krog kreñvoc'h er gevredigezh a-drugarez da frammoù, kenstrollet gant CnaG pergen: o harpañ warno e tlefe ar pennadurezhioù koulz hag an aozadurioù prevez bezan gouest da c'hounit tachennou nevez. War hini an deskadurezh dre ar gouezeleg ez eo bet toullat mat an hent gant Kevredigezh ar Strolladoù-C'Hoari hag ar c'huzulioù lec'hel o deus roet skoazell dezho neuze a galon laouen. Anaout a ra CnaG a-du-arall ez eus bet roet muioc'h a skoazell-arc'hant gant ar gouarnamant Thatcher eget gant hini all ebet biskoazh (ken nebeut a oa diagent ma ne dle ket bezañ bet diaes mont uheloc'h...)

Er strolladoù-c'hoari e vez lakaet ar re vihan da ober gant ar gouezeleg e-ser ebatal ha kanañ. War am eus bet klevet ne glasker ket mont kalz pelloc'h eget o boazan da glevout ha da gompren ar yezh, da lavarout eo ne vez ket pouezet kalz warno da ober ganti en o divizoù. E 1982 e oa 4 eus r strolladoù-se, warlene e oa 38 hag int stanañ e wwwdhais (Lewis), Eilean Sgitheach

(Skye) ha Glasc'ho. Ar strolladoù-se eo a bourvez skolidi d'ar c'hlasoù kentañ-derez ma vez roet deskadurezh enno dre hanter-ouriezh ar gouezeleg. E 1982 ne oa hini ebet anezho, warlene e oa 12, hag an hanter anezho en inizi ar Walar. Divizet eo bet e vefe 8 all hevlene (en inizi). Mennad ar pennadurezhioù lec'hel eo e vefe desket dre ar gouezeleg er c'hlasoù-se e-pad an tri bloavezh Kentañ-Derez kentañ (daoust ha ne vefe mui nemet saozneg goude?) Gant CnaG eo sammet ar gefridi degas an tiegezhioù da c'houlenn, niverusoc'h-niverusañ, e ve roet ar seurt deskadurezh d'o bugale. N'eus ket a skolioù gouezelek hepken.

Jediñ a ra Mac Donald e tlefe bezañ ouzhpenn 2000 bugel o pleustriñ klasoù gouezelek a-barzh dek vloaz ac'hanamant. Hag e vo saveteet ar yezh neuze! gant ma kendalc'ho ar gouarnamant da reiñ skoazell "azas". N'o deus ket Skosiz a-hervez da ober ouzh gweerien evel lorgnez an Deskadurezh Vroadel C'Hall a ra ur c'hammed war gil en o divizoù gant DIWAN bep tro m'o devez ranket ober unan war-roak. Un arouez eus ar stummet-mat ma'z eo ar pennadurezhioù lec'hel d'ar strivadoù a vez graet evit ar yezh e Bro-Skos: kevret int e-barzh un "Inter-Authority Standing Group on Gaelic Education" da ziegelaat e vo graet hervez ar steuñvadoù divizet hag en un doare kenurzhiek. Pevare e welimp kuzulioù-kumun, -departamant, -rannvro Breizh oc'h ober diouzh ar skouer-se?

Atizañ a ra CnaG strolladoù-labour lec'hel da aozañ ha da seveniñ steuñvadoù dek-vloaziek da ziorren ar yezh e-touez ar bobl en o c'hom- bro. Ne zisklêrier ket petra a vez graet evel-se. Dek vloaz zo ur pennad mat, ezhomm a vo eus kendalc'hegezh, eveshaerezh, heblegusted o terc'hel kont eus ar skiant-prenan.

N'eus ket plas amañ da zezrevellañ dre ar munut petra zo bet graet gant CnaG evel benveg-kenurzhiañ na da reiñ skouerioù eus an doareoù ma vez broudet obererezh armerzhel Bro-Skos gant adsav ar gouezeleg. War zaou vank bras e vez pouezet en danevellskrid: n'eus ket a-walc'h a skolaerien varrek da vastañ d'an ezhomm ha dister-tre eo ar c'hementad-amzer-pellskignañ gouestlet d'ar gouezeleg e-kêver ar



vo graet hervez ar steunvadoù divizet hag en un doare kenurzhiek. Pevare e welimp kuzulioù-kumun, -departamant, -rannvro Breizh oc'h ober diouzh ar skouer-se?

Atizañ a ra CnaG strolladoù-labour lec'hel da aozañ ha da seveniñ steunvadoù deklouaziek da ziorren ar yezh e-touez ar bobl en o c'horn- bro. Ne zisklêrier ket petra a vez graet evel-se. Dek vloaz zo ur pennad mat, ezhomm a vo eus kendalc'hegezh, eveshaerezh, heblegusted o terc'hel kont eus ar skiant-prenan.

N'eus ket plas amañ da zezrevellañ dre ar munut petra zo bet graet gant CnaG evel benveg-kenurzhiañ na da reiñ skouerioù eus an doareoù ma vez broudet obererezh armerzhel Bro-Skos gant adsav ar gouezeleg. War zaou vank bras e vez pouezet en danevellskrid : n'eus ket a-walc'h a skolaerien varrek da vastañ d'an ezhomm ha dister-tre eo ar c'hementad-amzer-pellskignañ gouestlet d'ar gouezeleg e-kêñver ar saozneg. Ezhomm zo eta da ouestlañ muioc'h a arc'hant-stad da c'hourdonañ skolaerien koulz ha bouezañ kreñv evit ma vo graet divizoù start evit ar gouezeleg el lezennadur a vez aozet d'ar mare-mañ a-zivout ar pellskignerezh (mediaoù). Ouzhpenn-se, evit ledanaat tachenn ar yezh er vuhez armerzhel ez eus ezhomm a c'hoprañ un den gouest da atizañ renerien ar c'hom-pagnunezhioù greantel hag ar stalioù-kenwerzh da aesaat an implij anezhi. 'M eus aon e c'h'hortoz an danevellour kalz a vrokusted digant gouarnamant-moneizadourien London!

**A. Heusaff**

*An independent report published in June shows that considerable progress has been achieved in the revival of Scots Gaelic during the years 1982-88. It gives Comunn na Gaidhlig cause for satisfaction but it points also the urgent need for attention to areas of concern, in the fields of education and broadcasting in particular. Copies could be requested from C. na G., 109 Sráid na hEaglaise, Inbhirnis IV1 1EY.*

## IMPACT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The Treaty of Union that was concluded, after a military defeat, in 1532 between Brittany and France entitled our country to retain its autonomy, a freedom which included the right to decide in taxation matters and reserved it the administration of Justice. It also exempted the Bretons from military service on land outside the country. To be sure the French monarchs made several attempts to erode its provisions but these were successfully upheld in the de-

cades preceding the Revolution.

Brittany's rights were no privileges granted by French kings, but rights guaranteed by an international treaty. Whatever remained of Breton power was wielded by the aristocratic descendants of those who had prior to 1488 militarily upheld our independence. Although these nobles could prove their dedication to the common Breton interest, they insisted on maintaining their privileges and antagonised the bourgeoisie which was deprived of the political role it felt entitled to on account of their importance in the country's economic life. Its members and the better-off farmers were drawn to the ideas of liberty propagated by the followers of the Enlightenment philosophers. Demonstrations organised by university students in Rennes on January 27 1789 after class antagonisms had come to a head in the Breton Assembly and the king had suspended its meeting in contravention of the 1532 treaty led to clashes and three deaths. The Revolution may thus be said to have started in Brittany : there was indeed widespread support here for equality, e.g. with regard to taxation even though the level of taxes was about half that prevailing in the provinces directly under French rule. However all the Books of Grievances submitted by the parishes in preparation for reforms in 1789 expressly requested that the special rights of the "province" be maintained. Yet on August 4, the Breton delegates of the Third Order to the French Assembly in Versailles agreed to the abolition not only of the class privileges but also of the Treaty of 1532 : this they did without mandate but specifying that their action was subject to confirmation by the Breton Assembly. This was never reconvened. The nobility and higher clergy had refused to send delegates to Versailles as relations with the French State were according to our Constitution to be channelled through the Breton Assembly. The protests against the unilateral abolition of the Treaty made by the presidents of the Breton Estates-General and Parliament drew this reply by Mirabeau : "You are Bretons? The French command!" They spoke of "la nation bretonne" but for the revolutionaries there was henceforth only the French Nation with the State borders. Equality meant uniformity.

The redistribution of the property confiscated from the upper classes enabled Breton farmers to buy 30-40% of the land but the bourgeoisie used its newly acquired powers to cheaply grab another 30%. They knew how to exploit the great principles to their advantage! Democracy was established on paper but male universal suffrage would not come about until 1875. The women would have to wait till the middle of this century. In order to consolidate their power, the bourgeoisie created a highly centralised State, dividing their territory into 83 depart-

tements with no historic roots so as to erase the memory of such strong historic communities as Brittany and Alsace : at the head of each was placed a political commissar named "préfet" after the Roman model and responsible solely to the Police and Interior Ministry. The power-hungry Breton bourgeoisie was soon to be reduced to the role of a new type of courtiers : the notables. Obedience to quasi-military rules and submission to the dogmas defined by the Jacobins were required for accession to the higher positions in the administration, the army, the university. In 1791 Armand T. de la Rouerie, a hero of the American War of Independence, set up a clandestine Association Bretonne with the aim of reasserting fiscal privileges but also the terms of the 1532 Treaty under a constitutional monarchy. Mounting disillusion with the Revolution but above all opposition to the introduction of military service for wars outside Brittany enabled him to gain support and build up a well structured resistance network, though his neglect of counter-espionage was to have disastrous consequences for the Association. Forced to go on the run, he died of exhaustion or perhaps poisoning early in 1793. His organisation suffered disruption from arrests but was able to provide the leadership of the guerilla war known as Chouannerie which started in March 1793 and lasted for about ten years : it affected above all the Eastern and Central parts of Brittany, differing from the war in the Vendée which, being conventional in character, was finished in 1794.

The Chouannerie has been depicted by major French writers and historians, faithful servants of the State ideology, as a reactionary movement. While it is true that in the absence of a clear programme of national liberation among the Breton insurgents religious motives came to predominate, basically it was a struggle for freedom, for "liberty" with a concrete meaning related to the Breton history and culture whereas the Liberty proposed by the Philosophers was an abstract notion, an idea which had played no major part in French history ever since the Gauls' defeat by Caesar and which allowed the bourgeoisie to establish itself as the new ruling class as well as a drift, from 1794 onwards, towards the military conquest of large tracts of Europe. The principle of equality was divorced from real application by the protection afforded to the new property owners and the prohibition of the workers' right of association (Le Chapelier Law named after the very man from Rennes who was foremost in giving our national rights away). "Egalité" meant that the non-French ethnic communities would have to speak the language of the majority or resign themselves to forgo the opportunities for socio-economic advancement available to the French



speakers. Breton, denounced as the language of federalism and superstition, an obstacle to Progress, was like Basque, Catalan, German in Elsass-Lothringen, etc. to be subjected to a sustained campaign of vilification and eradication as soon as the tentacles of the State monster could penetrate through schools and conscription into their area. The notions of intrinsic superiority of the French language and of its identity with Liberty and Civilisation, also of the "natural" frontiers, gratuitously asserted by the revolutionary "thinkers" underpinned the imperialism of the Napoléons and of the French Republics. Man as understood in the famous declaration of rights was a being to be moulded according to theories contemptuous of ancestral traditions and mother tongues. The proclaimed individual rights should indeed be cherished but they needed to be counterbalanced by collective rights for liberty, equality and fraternity to be realised. But to demand such rights as to use our Celtic language in all fields of life and the right of self-determination is declared *ex cathedra* as reactionary and criminal. Two hundred years after the event, the Breton people have still to rid themselves of the alienation brought about by the revolutionaries' denial of their collective rights.

Many of the points and criticisms made here are based on studies published this year: in *Dalc'homp Sonj* Nr 25 (in French), in Comhar, Aibreán; in the pamphlet "La Révolution et les Bretons" by a group of historians (available from Le Peuple Breton, at 20 Fr); and above all on the book "Les Bretons et leurs libertés" (208 pages) by Loeiz ar Beg (who also co-authored the pamphlet). This book is published by BELTAN, 43 r. St-Mikael, 29190 Brasparzh and costs 105 Fr including postage. The author, a prominent member of the socialist UDB, sets out to analyse the class struggles which gave the Breton bourgeoisie a leading role in the incipient revolution; but it was soon outmanoeuvred by its Parisian counterpart setting out to build a barracks-like State that gave lip service to generous principles and vowed unrelenting hostility to all the manifestations of Breton nationality. We learn with great interest of the reticence of almost all the Breton Third Order delegates on August 4, 1789 regarding the sacrifice of our autonomy. Ar Beg attributes the success of the French nationalists to the failure of both the Breton nobility and bourgeoisie to put forward a progressive alternative that would uphold our political institutions. The exact nature of the conflict between Girondins and Montagnards is revealed as an antagonism between two rival economic groups: the Paris bourgeoisie, exploiting the revolutionary zeal of the Sans-Culottes (lower class), striving to make of France a continental

oriented industrial power versus the bourgeoisie of the Western regions who depended on the development of maritime trade.

Ar Beg suggests many interesting lessons to be drawn from that eventful and fateful period for our present-day struggle. His conclusions reflect the views of his party but his fresh and thoughtful handling of the subject, his bringing to light of little known facts, his endeavour to demonstrate the interrelation between Breton and universal values, all that will make the reading of this book most rewarding.

A. Heusaff

## BARZHAZ BREIZH

Aux sources du Barzaz Breiz - Le Mémoire d'un Peuple, by Donatien Laurent. 337 pp 27 x 24 cm, abundantly illustrated. Published by AR MEN. Three events have marked the 150th anniversary of the first publication of Barzaz Breizh (concerning which we refer the reader to CARN Nr 66)

a) the publication for the first time of the texts of the songs in Breton ONLY (without the translations in French, in prominent position, as used to be the case);

b) the publication of a record of Barzaz songs, sung by Andrea ar Gouilh, their most authentic and spell-binding interpreter;

c) the publication in full of the first and most important collection of notes made by Kervarker while collecting the songs: it is the object of the book here reviewed.

It puts an end to a century of uncertainty, of uncontrolled assertions and rather base attacks. It will make it possible finally to seriously study the courses of the Barzaz and to measure the personal contribution of its collector and presenter. After years of tenacious work, D. Laurent places at the disposal of both research workers and poets a mirror of our people's soul in its fullness and purity: it will not be only an object for learned studies but also a source on inspiration and rejuvenation for future poets as it was for Kervarker.

In his long introduction, D. Laurent gives a delightful account of how he discovered the manuscripts. He shows the great man anxious, through his quest for what remained of the poetry of the ancient bards, to restore to his people their pride, to his language its titles of nobility in the face of official denigration, much in the way Elias Loennrot was doing at the same time, with the same hopes and the same methods, at the other end of our European world, for the Finns.

The author evokes rather leniently the long and distressing quarrel that was to come; he analyses very knowledgeably and ingeniously the most remarkable, astonishing and also controversial of the Barzaz songs. It appears indeed that they can be linked to "an epic tradition which had supposedly been lacking in the popular repertory".

This is a magnificent volume which does honour to its publishers: it is worthy of its precious material, illustrated as it is with very beautiful and moving reproductions of scenes of rural life by Olivier Perrin, Jean-Baptiste Treyer, Auguste Goy who were more or less contemporaries of Kervarker, and there is also a picture by Louis Duveau inspired by one of the songs.

Yann Bouessel du Bourg

## EURO-ELECTIONS IN BRITTANY

The arbitrary rule making only ONE Euro-constituency of the whole French State territory excluded the possibility for any candidate on a list representing its ethnic minorities to win a seat in the June elections. The Green Party led by the Alsatian Antoine Waechter came out explicitly in support of real political powers for the regions; they sought cooperation from the U.D.B. and EMGANN and reached an agreement with the leader of the Corsican Autonomist Party U.P.C., Max Simeoni for him to be included in the third position on the Ecologists' list. This achieved its best results in the Hexagon's peripheric regions: 18.3% in Alsace, 15.0% in Corsica, 12.4% in Brittany. Simeoni was duly elected and will now be assisted in Strassburg by a member of the UDB Central Committee, Christian Gwionvarc'h, author of a pamphlet "Bretagne et Europe". Simeoni has undertaken to speak independently of the Greens on behalf of all "French" minorities in the European Parliament: it is he and not the 5 MEPs of Breton origin and French-party allegiance who will represent our country at European level.

A detailed 3-page analysis of this election, showing the specific character of the results in Brittany, was published in the July-August issue of *Le Peuple Breton* (address BP 33301, 22304 Lannuon-Cedex; subscription 120-150 Fr/annum).

The final results of the March municipal elections were not known to us when writing for CARN Nr 66. It is actually some 70 U.D.B., or UDB-related councillors who were elected. Four of them are now mayors and 10 deputy-mayors.

## D.E.U.G. DEMAND CONCEDED

In CARN 66 we reported the doubts of the Breton language organisations about the kind of Diplôme d'Etudes Universitaires Générales which the French government had at the end of March agreed to establish. Would it be the fully-fledged DEUG requiring a full two-years course in Breton and involving this language for 80% of the subjects, in accordance with the submission made by the Rennes University professor of Celtic, Per Denez : a diploma which would meet the existing demand for teachers with proper qualifications? Or would it require the study of some other subject as well, 50% Breton and 50% something else, as is the case with the DEUG for Corsican and the CAPES in Breton, thus putting off the students?

These doubts persisted throughout the second quarter of this year. To stress the demand for the real DEUG, an active campaign through administrative and parliamentary channels was boosted by demonstrations such as delaying the departure of trains, breaking-in on a Socialist Party meeting and on an international Languages Conference in Paris; a march on PM Rocard's office; a decision by the Breton musicians not to participate in the July 14th GOUDE "masparade" on the Champs Elysees. Whatever higher council prevailed against the mandarins' immobilism, a message directly from Paris informed Per Denez at the end of June that his proposals had integrally been accepted by the Minister of Education. Students had already registered for the course.

In successive steps since 1981 the Breton language has risen in academic status, first with the BA degree, then the (incomplete) CAPES and now the DEUG. But the brakes are still on : CAPES posts given first to 5, then to 3 have been allocated to only one student in each of the last 2 years. Taking all schools from nursery to university level and leaving out the classes organised by associations, BREMAN (July-August) calculates that 12,218 pupils/students received tuition in Breton last year from about 500 teachers. The article raises the question of a trade union independent of the centrally controlled French teachers' unions which are hostile to our language.



*Students demand DEUG at Inter-Celtic Film and Television Festival (Easter 1989).*

## DIWAN :

### STATE FAILS IN ITS OBLIGATIONS

A meeting with the Education Minister and representatives of the Regional and Department Councils all parties to the April 1988 Agreement - was requested by DIWAN and scheduled for June 19 to try and find out why a) the State had failed to honour its undertaking to pay the salaries of ten teachers for which it had signed contracts; b) why the arrangements for the training of 3 Diwan teachers in a Catholic training college had not been finalised. It was feared that the minister wanted to alter the agreement; or to give it a new interpretation. Three further classes which satisfied the conditions had not had their contracts signed last Easter. Owing to the State defaulting on its financial obligations DIWAN, unable to pay contributions to URSSAF (Social Insurance Board) for its 62 employees (of which 55 are teaching), was brought to court and sentenced to pay 800,000 FR or have its public subsidies confiscated. DIWAN gets voluntary contributions from about 3000 supporters but they fall far short of the 9.7 million francs needed annually. The Finistere and Cotes-du-Nord département councils were giving punctual help, but Morbihan was slow and the two Eastern départements felt even less involved. Finistere had put a good building at the disposal of the Diwan secondary school near Brest and had given 500,000 FR to provide another building for the DIWAN nursery and primary school in Banaleg, (see CARN 65), the commune agreeing to buy the site in spite of Communist opposition. Let us also mention a grant of 20,000 écus from the EC Commission for research in teaching methods. A number of politicians have come to recognise that Brittany has better chances in the economic competition if its identity is

strengthened. What a mercantile mentality all the same!

DIWAN is determined in any case to go ahead. Its methods have proved right. The aim is to have over 1000 pupils by 1992-93. For this 40 to 50 new teachers will be needed. On the other hand the French State does not want this experiment in methods which are alien to its "general pedagogy" (cutting people off from their roots, primacy of French) to succeed. It pretends that DIWAN is competing with its bilingual classes, but it is doing damn little to increase the number of these, it has no policy, no teacher training programme. What competition?!

If the State is not prepared to give the necessary credits for the development of the Bretons' education, the local councils must insist on getting increased budgetary allocations so that they can assume responsibility for it.

## AMINISTRATION HOSTILITY

Roland Le Moigne's case illustrates vividly the hostility of the French educational system towards those who want Breton taught in public schools. Le Moigne possesses the highest university qualifications in Biology but he also has got all the necessary qualifications in Breton in order to secure a post as teacher of our language: to this he is entitled after passing the CAPES in Breton in 1987.

He lives in Nantes where his wife exercises a profession. He taught Breton in a Nantes lycée from 1970 onwards. For 7 years the course was not officially recognised, then conditions improved and by 1985-6 he had 35 students doing Breton, 25 of whom took an optional Breton test in the 1986 baccalaureat. Breton was then taught in 6 other secondary schools in Nantes-St. Nazaire. Having the CAPES he could thus have been given a full time post of Breton teacher in that area. Instead of that, he was transferred to the Rennes Académie (Education Area) and given a post the Lycée Lesage, Gwened/Vannes. In order to shift him, the Nantes Academy rector used false pretences (e.g. Breton must admittedly be taught if required but "there were not enough demands" - he did not find out; "there were no qualified examiners available in the area" - not true, etc.). The degree (B.A.) which Le Moigne got in Breton in 1982 resulted in his losing 1500 Francs a month from his salary, when he was not allowed a full complement of teaching hours. On getting the CAPES his status changed, another excuse for holding his salary for 4 months contrary to rules. Posted by the Rennes rector to Gwened in October 1987 as teacher of Breton, he was refused all co-operation by the school principal in organising his course: he had himself to advertise it; was subjected to numerous vexations; suffered a loss of 500 Fr/month from his salary; had his teaching hours allocated to the most unfavourable times; was obliged to give 28 hours teaching other subjects. Everything was done to dissuade parents from registering their children for the course; he was not allowed to make up hours teaching in another school.

He has to drive 5 hours daily to and from Nantes. His requests for a post to be given him in the Nantes Académie are ignored in Nantes and Rennes. Roland Le Moigne proved that there is a demand for Breton in the Nantes secondary schools. He is asking to be given a post of Breton teacher in the Nantes Académie as the only holder of a CAPES in Breton in that area. In the name of which obsolete principle is it refused?

We ask our readers to support his demand by writing to the French Minister of Education, Mr. Lionel Jospin, Paris. He should also be refunded for the financial loss he suffered unjustifiably.

### A.R.B.

The outlawed "Armée Révolutionnaire Bretonne" claimed responsibility for bomb attacks on the Pays-de-Loire Regional Palace in Nantes (7.5) - a provocative symbol of the partition of Brittany - also on the office of the Crédit Agricole in Chateau-



*Mass demonstration against COGEMA plans in Pontkalleg Forest.*

neuf (near St. Malo), in protest against this bank's support for industrial farming and investment of Breton savings outside the country (30.6). Another attack was carried out early in July against the URSSAF office (see article on DIWAN) in Kemper. At the beginning of June, 9 people were detained for interrogation; some of them were named in the press as "terrorists" before the slightest proof of guilt, a blatant case of trial by the media which was denounced by a branch of the CGT trade union and the Human Rights League. Two men, Gilbert Kabon and Jean- Yves Meudeg were detained, accused of possession of explosive material and transferred to jails in the Paris area. G. Kabon was beaten while in custody (he answered the police only in Breton), they got a colleague to act as interpreter, but the examining magistrate refused him the right to speak anything but French. Neither he nor Meudeg committed any act of violence. Committees were set up in several towns to press for their release. STOURM AR BREZHONEG rejected the responsibility for Breton resort to violence and other illegal actions on the French State and its cultural genocide. With reference to the Nantes "Palace", EMGANN (B.P. 71, 33303 Gwengamp-Cedex) reminds that the "Pays-de-Loire" Region, set up without consulting the people and maintained against their wish, is an instrument designed to maintain colonial rule in Brittany.

### Er-maez, COGEMA

The Uranium mining company COGEMA has applied for prospecting permits in some 20 communes of Central Brittany, causing great disquiet among the population. They have bought 19ha of land in Bubri and announced their intention to extract the mineral in Berne, N. of An Oriant. The dangers to health and to an economy based on agriculture and the food industry are

outlined in *Le Peuple Breton*, May (BP 301, 22304 Lannuon). In all 1100km<sup>2</sup> are mapped out for prospectation.

### EMIGRANTS LEARNING BRETON

The teaching of Breton in the Paris area was successfully carried out during the 1988-89 school year thanks to the 15 active members of the KBDP association, secretary Ronan Tremel, 25 rue Y. Gagarin, F-93270 SEVRAN. Some 550 students attended, including 400 in lycées and 70 in two universities. Since 1984 when they numbered 48, there has been an average annual increase of 40 but last year saw a rise to 249, more than twice the number of students of all the other minority languages of the French State put together. Among 24 non-major languages which nearly all possess official status outside France and are taught in the Paris area, Breton occupies the 9th place, ahead of Japanese, Dutch, Greek.

KBDP has also organised week-end courses outside school establishments (3 in Paris, 2 in Brussels, 1 in Orléans). This year they plan also to include Lyon in their activities. Four of the teachers are in State employment but Tremel is denied recognition as a teacher of Breton although for years now he has taught nothing else; his demand for transfer to Brittany has been rejected. A thousand obstacles are being placed in the way of KBDP's efforts to develop the teaching of Breton among the Breton emigrants. "There is no room for regional language classes in the schools of the Paris area" said a top official recently. Yet KBDP enquiries indicate that from 20 to 100 students would be interested in each of the approximately 200 secondary schools of the Paris area.



# CYMRU

## Pigion Celtaidd

### LLYDAW

**Gŵyl Genedlaethol y Llydaweg.** Cynhaliwyd yr ŵyl eleni yn Karaez gyda dros 6000 yn ei mynychu o dan adain y mudiad gwleidyddol Emgann a'r mudiad iaith Stourm ar Brezhoneg. Roedd dros hanner cant o ston-dinau gan fudiadau, cyhoeddwyd a chylch-gronau a sefydlwyd rheol Lydaweg i'r ŵyl.

### IWERDDON

**Cynghorau Dosbarth y Gogledd.** Cynhaliwd etholidau dosbarth yng Ngogledd Iwerddon ym mis Mai. Yn gyffredinol roedd teuddiad at y canol gwleidyddol - at yr Official Unionists ac at yr S.D.L.P. Pedair blynedd yn ôl roedd y Democratic Unionist Party (plaid Ian Paisley) a'r Ulster Unionist Party yn gyfartal gyda 25% o'r bleidlais yr un. Eleni roedd gan y U.U.P. 32% a gan y D.U.P. 18% o'r cyfanswm. An Baile Meánach (Ballymena) yw'r unig gyngor gyda'r D.U.P. yn y mwyafrif, gyda chyfanswm o 109 sedd, colled o 33. Etholwyd pum aelod o'r Blaid Geidwadol yn ogystal. Roedd pleidlais yr S.D.L.P. i fyny o 17% i 20%, yn bennaf ar draul Sinn Féin yn ardaloedd An Duín (Down) ac An Iúir (Newry) lle maent rwan yn rheoli'r cynghorau. Gwelwyd cynnydd ym mhleidlais Sinn Féin o 5% yng Ngorllewin Béal Feirste (Belfast) ac mae gan y blaid 40 sedd rwan yn y Gogledd.

Yn etholiad Ewrop ym mis Mehefin y drefn oedd:

Democratic Unionist Party	160,000
S.D.L.P.	136,000
Official Unionist Party	118,000
Sinn Féin	49,000
Alliance Party	28,000
Ceidwadwyr	26,000

### YR ALBAN

**Psgota'r Gorllewin.** Erbyn hyn pysgota yw'r prif ddiwydiant yn Ynysoedd y Gorllewin y tu allan i'r sector gwasanaethau (60% o'r holl swyddi). Gyda thwf dros y degawd o 30% a 1125 o weithwyr mae o

flaen y diwydiant brethyn (900) a'r diwydiant adeiladu (700-800). Gwerth y diwydiant yw dros 20 miliwn y flwyddyn - 9.6m o bysgota gwyllt, 8.5m o ffermydd pysgod sy'n cyflogi 220 o bobl a 2-3m o brosesu. Erbyn hyn mae dros 200 cwch o dan 300 troedfedd. Bwriedir datblygu porthlad-oedd newydd yn Breuig, Leodhas, Leverburgh, na Hearadh, Gorllewin Uibhist a Bagh a'Chaisteil (Castlebay) Barraigh (Barra).

**Teledu.** Mae'n debyg rwan y gwelir Cyn-gor Darlledu Gaeleg ond heb yr arian angenrheidiol. Ar hyn o bryd mae tua 3.8 miliwn ar gael. Cyllun CNAS yw gwasanaeth gyda chyllideb o 20 miliwn, ond mae'r mudiad Duisig yn gofyn am 30 awr yr wythnos a 52 miliwn.

**Etholia Ewrop.** Mae Mrs Ewing (SNP) wedi cynddu ei mwyafrif yn yr Ucheldiroedd a'r Ynysoedd o 16000 i 45000 gyda'r Ceidwadwyr yn ail iddi. Yn sedd Gogledd Ddwyrain yr Alban roedd gan Lafur fwyafri o 2600 dros yr SNP. Roedd yr SNP yn ail yn y ddwy sedd yn Ystrad Clud (Strathclyde) ac yn "Central and Fife" ac yn drydydd yn Lothian a De'r Alban. 'Does dim un cynrychiolydd Ceidwadol o'r Alban yn Ewrop rwan. Y bleidlais oedd

Llafur	41.9% (-0.5% ar 1987)
SNP	25.6% (+11.6% ar 1987)
Ceidwadwyr	20.9% (-3.17% ar 1987)
SLD	4.2% (-14.9% ar 1987)
"Gwyrdd"	7.3% (—)

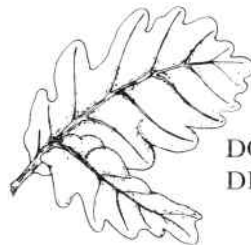
**Unedau Gaeleg.** Sefydlwyd pedair uned Gaeleg newydd yn ysgolion Ynysoedd y Gorllewin ym mis Awst. Agorwyd yr unedau yn Beck a Steòrnabhagh (Stornaway) yn Leodhas ac Iochdar a Carinish (Uibhist).

**An Comunn Gaidhealach.** Elw'r Mod yn Glaschu llynedd oedd 34000 sy'n cymorth mawr i incwm y mudiad. Yn yr adroddiad blyneddol gwelir llawer mwy o weithgarwch yn y rhanbarthau - cyhoeddiadau, mod lleol, dysgu'r Aeleg, gŵyl telynu, mod lleol newydd yn ymdrechu dros yr iaith ar y teledu a dylanwadu ar gryff cyhoeddi i ddefnyddio'r iaith (gan gynnwys yr heddlu, y frigad tân a diogelwch y ffyrdd yn Ystrad Clud), Bwrdd Croeso Fife (lle mae 15 dosbarth Gaeleg i oedolion), cynnal gwyliau lleol a gwyliau drama. Ceisir cyhoeddi cylchgrawn i bobl ifanc cyn bo hir.

**Siop Aeleg.** Agorwyd stondin Gaeleg yn Neuadd y Farchnad yn Inbhirnis - sy'n lleoliad hwylus iawn i bawb sy'n ymweld a'r Ucheldiroedd.

### CERNYW

**Dyfodol y Brifddinas.** A fydd Truro yn parhau fel tref yng Nghernyw neu a fydd y datblygiadau siopau newydd fel yr hoelen olaf yng nghymeriad y dref? Degawd yn ôl roedd 80% o'r siopau mewn dwylo leol. Erbyn heddiw dim ond ychydig sydd ar ôl. Yn barol mae'r enwar mawr wedi meddianu'r ddinas. A oes dyfodol i "little Exeter in Cornwall"?



## DALENNAU

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## NEWS OF WALES

### WELSH LANGUAGE BOARD

Exactly a year after being established in July 1988 the Welsh Language Board under the chairmanship of John Elfed "Dwr" Jones has published its first statements in its *"Strategy for the Future of the Welsh Language"*. In order to achieve various aspirations in the three fields of creating a bilingual society, creating opportunities and legal status the report sets out a series of objectives, targets for the period 1989-1994 and responsibilities for implementation.

Published at the same time was *"A Bilingual Policy - Guidelines for the Public Sector"*. The fundamental stance is that the degree to which a public body should use Welsh will vary in proportion to the degree of Welsh speaking in an area. Each body should have a clear, unambiguous policy adopted formally. In the most anglicised areas bilingualism might be limited to signs, notepapers, some publications and ensuring that the minority use of written and oral Welsh by customers is capable of being courteously received and promptly attended to. In areas where Welsh is more dominant bilingualism would extend to key staff appointments, simultaneous translation, county strategies, bilingual publications, policy monitoring and review. Some new legislation is envisaged. In its *"Practical Options for the use of Welsh in Business"* the Board says, "the aspects of courtesy and good business attached to bilingualism are stressed, including its use in tourism". Twenty one suggestions are made in three groups. In Range 1 - acknowledging the Welsh language - ideas can be implemented quickly by companies and goodwill shown by simple actions such as bilingual letterheads, bilingual signs, accepting cheques in Welsh, advertising, slogans and encouraging Welsh speakers in the company. Range 2 aims at building a bridge to the language through having a senior manager responsible for the company policy, use of the language in public relations, bilingual literature, advertising in Welsh and responding to Welsh to enquiries. These measures indicate positive support with no significant cost or problems. Active use of the language in Range 3 requires modest but active commitment and may need step by step adoption. Welsh could be used in company magazines, answering Welsh correspondence in Welsh, face-to-face contact in Welsh, teaching Welsh to relevant staff and supporting local Welsh cultural activities. The *"Strategy"* costs £1.50 while the two pamphlets are free of charge. They can be obtained from Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg, Cwrt y Groes Hir, 47 Heol Casnewydd, Caerdydd (Tel. 0222 488 745).

## NEWSPAPER READERSHIP

In comparison with Ireland and Scotland, Wales is impoverished when it comes to daily and Sunday newspapers. However the advent of Wales on Sunday has

improved the picture. The known average daily circulation figures for January to June 1988 are as follows : -

	Ireland	Scotland	Wales
Morning Papers	<p>Lá (Belfast) 2,000 Cork Examiner 58,000 Irish Independent (Dublin) 154,000 Irish Press (Dublin) 79,000 Irish Times (Dublin) 86,000 Belfast Telegraph 144,000 Irish News (Belfast) 43,000 News Letter (Belfast) 42,000</p>	<p>Dundee Courier 124,000 Daily Record (Glasgow) 773,000 Glasgow Herald 123,000 Press and Journal (Aberdeen) 108,000 The Scotsman (Edinburgh) 89,000 Scottish Daily Express (Glasgow) 155,000</p>	<p>Liverpool Daily Post 71,000 Western Mail (Cardiff) 78,000</p>
Evening Papers (Circulation Monday to Friday).	<p>Cork Evening Echo 33,000 Evening Herald (Dublin) 115,000 Evening Press (Dublin) 117,000</p>	<p>Evening Express (Aberdeen) 77,000 Evening News (Edinburgh) 114,000 Evening Telegraph (Dundee) 47,000 Evening Times (Glasgow) 181,000 Greenock Telegraph 22,000 Paisley Daily Express 13,000</p>	<p>Evening Leader (Wrexham) 28,000 South Wales Argus (Newport) 42,000 South Wales Echo (Cardiff) 96,000 South Wales Evening Post (Swansea) 69,000</p>
Sunday Papers	<p>Sunday Life (Belfast) ? Sunday News (Belfast) 57,000 Sunday World (Belfast) 96,000 Sunday World (Dublin) 265,000 Sunday Independent (Dublin) 236,000 Sunday Press (Dublin) 241,000 Sunday Tribune (Dublin) 96,000</p>	<p>Scotland on Sunday (Edinburgh) ? Scottish Sunday Express (Glasgow) ? Sunday Mail (Glasgow) 888,000 Sunday Post (Dundee) 1,392,000</p>	<p>Wales on Sunday (Cardiff) ?</p>

In addition to the everpresent London morning and Sunday papers, the Manchester Evening News, Liverpool Echo, Shropshire Star, Birmingham Daily News, Birm-

ingham Evening Mail, Birmingham Express and Star, Birmingham Post and Wolverhampton Express and Star, all have their faithful expatriate readership.

## THE NATIONAL ATLAS OF WALES

One of the symbols of nationhood is the production of a national atlas. At long last the University of Wales Press under the editorship of Emeritus Professor Harold Carter has published a 200 plate atlas. It is completely bilingual and covers the physical environment, political development, culture and language, economic history, land use and agriculture, industry, services and communications, population and settlement and regional policy and planning - each by specialist contributors. The cost - £250!

## Religious Camps

In 1985 some 78% of the population of Wales did not believe in God. Of those who did 47% belonged to the Free Churches,

30% to the Roman Catholic Church and 23% to the Anglican Church in Wales. The relative statistics are :

	Roman Catholic	Church in Wales	Free Churches
Ministers	205	698	1126
Churches	330	1521	3556
Members	148,815	115,896	231,636

## BESTSELLERS

The best selling Welsh language books in the 1970's and 1980's were

1. 47,000 Supplement to the Presbyterian hymnbook.
2. 40,000 New Congregationalist hymnbook.
3. 12,000 Canllawiau Iaith/Language First Aid Book.
4. 9,000 Compositions and Adjudications of the 1976 National Eisteddfod.
5. 7,600 Y Stafell Ddirgel - historical novel.
6. 7,500 Wel Dyma Fo - autobiography of Charles Williams.
7. 6,500 Hanner Crystal a 'Nhad - autobiography of footballer Dai Davies.
8. 6,000 Aros Mae - Gwynfor Evans.
9. 5,000 O Gwmpas y Byd - Barry John.
- Doctor Pen-y-bryn.
- 'Sna'i'n Llogydd (?) i' Gail.
- Trwy Lygaid y Bugail.

In addition to the above one must add 50,000 copies of the New Welsh Bible, 100,000 of Welsh is Fun, 51,000 of the school text Siarad Cymraeg Cyfrol 1, 55,000 of the Geiriadur Bach and 42,000 Geiriadur Mawr. The two leading authors over a period of time are Islwyn Ffowc Elis, Cysgod y Cryman - 20,500 since 1953; Yn ol i Leifior - 12,500 and T. Rowland Hughes, O law i law - 9,500 since 1952 and William Jones, 9,000 since 1950.

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## BILINGUAL SCHOOL

When 90% of the pupils at Ysgol y Preseli, Crymch, West Dyfed were Welsh speaking local parents objected to it being declared a bilingual secondary school. Now that only half of the pupils are from Welsh homes Dyfed County Council has agreed to seek consent to convert it to be a bilingual school as from September 1990.

## EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

While Dafydd Elis Thomas did not win Wales North for Plaid Cymru he doubled his party's vote to 65,000. Nevertheless the reigning Conservative was ousted and Labour now holds the seat. However in the other three Welsh seats the Plaid Cymru vote was down and Labour held onto the seats. Plaid Cymru won 12.9% of the votes, up 5.6% over the 1987 General Election.

## WEST CLWYD SCHOOLS

With the National Eisteddfod in Llanrwst this year and so much said about immigration into the Welsh heartland, figures in Golwy about the language in schools in the Clwyd heartland are encouraging. Over the last five years the language has held steady generally..

School	1984		1989	
	Pupils	% Welsh first language	Pupils	% Welsh first language
Betws yn Rhos	24	58%	35	57%
Llansannan	63	55%	58	51%
Llangernyw	72	71%	100	75%
Cerrigydrudion	60	67%	74	42%
Llanefydd	28	71%	53	57%
Llanfair Talhaearn	62	19%	45	13%
Rhydgaled	32	75%	32	75%

In all of the schools the children are nevertheless taught through the medium of Welsh.



# ÈIRE

## NA TEANGACHA CEILTEACHA SAN CE

Tá obair mhaith déana ag an Biúró Eorpach do na Teangacha Neamhfhorleathana (teideal ciotach nár mhiste a chiorrú) chun na mionlaigh teangan laistigh den CE a chur in aithne dá chéile, agus go háirithe chun áiteamh ar Pharlaimint na hEorpa glacadh i bprionsabal le cearta na mionlaigh teangan seo aitheantas a fháil i gcúrsaí oideachais agus ins na meáin chumarsáide i mbaill Stáit an CE. In ainneoin seo ní féidir bheith ró dhóchasach go mbeidh na mionphobail teanga in ann an fód a sheasamh i gcoinne an ollbhrú atá ag teacht ó mhór-theangacha an CE.

Cheana féin in Éirinn tá na comharthaí soirt den bhrú seo le sonrú, go háirithe sa chóras oideachais agus ins na meáin chumarsáide. Le breis is mí anuas (tá seo á scríobh i dtús Lúnasa) is mó de Fhraincís atá ar Theilifís Éireann ná mar atá de Ghaeilge. Comóradh Réabhlóid na Fraince atá mar leithscéal le haghaidh cuid mhaith de, ach ní móide gurb é sin amháin is cúis leis. Tugtar poiblíocht leanúnach don easpa cumais i dteangacha na Mór-roinne atá ag aos óg na hÉireann - agus ag Éireannaigh i gcoitinne. Ní chailtear an deis le cur in iúl go bhfuil an iomarca ama a chaitheamh leis an Ghaeilge ins na scoileanna agus gurb é seo is príomh cúis leis an easpa cumais ina na teangacha eile. Ariamh ní moltar go gcaithfí níos lú ama leis an mBéarla, ceann eile de mhórtéangacha an CE atá ar eolas cheana ag chuile páiste scoile in Éirinn. I mblíana tá cúrsaí Samhraidh i bhFraincís agus i nGearmáinis, atá ar aon dul leis na cúrsaí Gaeilge ins na Coláistí Samhraidh Gaeltachta, á reáchtáil anseo in Éirinn. Eurolanguages a tugtar ar an scéim seo gus is cosúil gur in Iarthar na hÉireann is mó atá na cúrsaí ar bun.

Tá titim tagtha i mblíana ar líon na scoláirí atá ag freastal ar na Coláistí Samhraidh sa Ghaeltacht. Meastar go bhfuil baint idir an titim agus bunú na gcúrsaí ins na teangacha

Mór-roinne. Dar ndóigh, tá cúiseanna eile le titim i líon na scoláirí a dhéanann freastal ar Coláistí Samhraidh Gaeltachta. (1) Níor tháinig aon ardú ar na deontais a fhaigheann siad ó Roinn na Gaeltachta, rud a chiallaíonn go bhfuil na costaisí ardaithe; (2) Nuair a chinn na Coimisinéirí Ioncaim an-uraidh go mbeadh an teacht isteach ó na scoláirí Samhraidh á áireamh mar ioncam incháinithe, d'éirigh go leor de na mná tí as scoláirí a choinneáil, go háirithe iad siúd a bhí ag brath ar an dól, ar fhaitíos go gcaillfidís é.

Maidir leis na mionteangacha taobh istigh den Ríocht Aontaithe, siad na fadhbanna a eascraíonn as an Curaclam Nua "Náisiúnta" atá ag cur as dóibh le bliain anuas, níos mó ná an brú ón CE. Go deimhin ar deireadh thiar is é an brú céanna atá i gceist, mar is le nua- theangacha na hEorpa a chaitheadh na mionteangacha dul in iomaíocht sa Churaclam i mbeagnach gach cás. Aithnítear go bhfuil bua bainte amach ag pobal na Gaeilge ins na Sé Chontae sa méid is gur ghlac an Rúnaí Oideachais, an Dr. Brian Mawhinney leis an Ghaeilge mar croí-ábhar sa Churaclam Nua. Ní hionann sin is a rá go mbeidh an Ghaeilge á teagasc i chuile meánscoil, níl ann ach go bhfuil an Ghaeilge mar rogha i measc na nuatheangacha Eorpacha. Tuigtear go maith gurb é an stádas íseal sa saol eacnamaíochta a fhágann an Ghaeilge go minic ag bun an liosta ó thaobh rogha de.

Tá Gàidhlig na hAlban sa staid céanna a bheag nó a mhór, cé go bhfuil níos mó neamhspleáchas ag Córas Oideachais na hAlban, agus is ar na Comhairlí Oideachais Áitiúla a bhrathann sé cuid mhaith cén soláthar a déantar le haghaidh teagasc na Gàidhlig. Lasmuigh den Ghaidhealtachd ní bhíonn an Ghàidhlig á teagasc i mórán scoileanna, agus faoi láthair tá na Comhairlí Oideachais ina na ceantair eile ag díriú níos

mó ar an bhunscolaíocht i nGàidhlig a fhorbairt le freastal ar an éileamh ó thuismitheoirí. Níl de bhac ar an dul chun cinn ach an ganntanas múinteoirí cáilithe Gàidhlig. Agus cá bhfágann seo an Mhanainnis? Cé go bhfuil smacht ainmniúil ag Rialtas Oil-eán Mhanainn ar chúrsaí Oideachais, táthar ag glacadh leis an Curaclam Nua "Náisiúnta" gan aon áit ar leith a thabhairt don Mhanainnis sa churaclam seo. Glacadh le rún ar an ábhar seo ó chraobh Mhanainn ag an cruinniú cinnbliana. (Is dócha go bhfuil tagairt dó in áit eile san iris).

Gan amhras sí an Bhreatnais an teanga is fearr a bhfuil stádas bainte amach aici sa Churaclam Nua, a bhuíochas sin don feachtas láidir a thionscnaigh gluaiseacht na teanga i Cymru. Beidh an Bhreatnais mar croí-ábhar i bhfurmhór na scoileanna sa Bhreatain Bheag, agus mar ábhar tanáistach sa chuid eile. Ag an Rúnaí Stáit amháin an ceart a mhalairt a cheadú. Mheasfaí ón méid sin go bhfuil an Bhreatnais slán sábháilte sa chóras oideachais, ach ní hamhlaidh atá. An bhgairt is mó atá ar an mBreatnais i scoileanna Cymru, tagann sé ó na inimirigh, nó an chuid sin díobh nach bhfuil sásta glacadh leis an Bhreatnais mar mheán teagaisc ins na scoileanna Breatnaise nó fiú dhátheangacha. Tharla raic ar an gceist seo le linn chruinniú de Chomhairle Chontae Dyfed ar an 29 Iúil, nuair a rinne dream inimirigh léirsiú i gcoinne scoil dhátheangach a bhí le bunú sa cheantar, agus lucht na Breatnaise ag déanamh léirsiú ar son na scoile ar an ócáid chéanna.

Cás eile ar fad is ea cás na Briotáinise. Níl an teanga mar ábhar scoile ach i dtús a réime mar adeirfeá. Ceann de na deacrachtaí móra atá le sárú ná an ganntanas múinteoirí cáilithe, mar nach raibh an deis ann chun na cáilíochtaí a bhaint amach go dtí le fíordhéanaí. Fós féin níl aon chinnteacht ag baint leis an soláthar mar go mbrathann sé

cuid mhaith ar dhea-thoil na n-údarás scoile. Is ar éileamh ó thuismitheoirí nó daltaí a cuirtear ranganna ar fáil go hiondúil, agus cé go bhfuil an ceart ag na daltaí an Bhriotáinis a dhéanamh mar ábhar roghnaitheach don Bac (scrúdú Ardteastais) muna mbíonn scrúdaitheoir cáilithe ar fáil sa réigiún ní gá do na húdaráis oideachais na daltaí a chur faoi scrúdú. Go minic is ag imirt cluichí leis an gcóras a bítear in ionad cearta an mhionlaigh a aithint agus freastal dá réir a dhéanamh air.

Is léir ón méid sin thuas nach aon bhealach réidh atá ag na mionlaigh teangan laistigh den CE in ainneoin na cearta atá dlíte dóibh i bprionsabal. Ní chuirfinn san áireamh na mionlaigh a labhraíonn mórtheanga Eorpach laistigh de bhallstát m.sh. an Ghearmáinis san Iodáil. Ní hionann cás dóibh siúd agus na teangacha Ceilteacha agus an Bhascais (agus cuid de na teangacha mionlaigh eile san Iodáil) atá faoi síor-bhrú ón mhórtheanga sa Stát céanna.

Is fada ó Chothrom na Féinne atáimid gan trácht ar Chomhionannas na Réabhlóide agus is míthid dúinn leanúint leis an troid agus an cur ar ár son féin.

**Brid Heusaff**

*This article considers the present position of the Celtic languages in the fields of Education and the mass media. In spite of the progress made within the European Parliament in having the rights of minority language communities recognised in principle, especially their right to the provision of services in their languages, most of the minority languages remain in a very vulnerable state and are under continuous pressure from the major European languages. This pressure will increase as European integration continues. The integration process will have detrimental effects and will in no way benefit minority cultures as some would wish to claim. The survival of the Celtic languages in particular depend very much on the work of voluntary organisations working within the communities.*

## UNEMPLOYMENT RISES

**The number out of work rose by over 1,750 in August to a total of 231,374. This in spite of the greatest emigration figure in decades. This figure constitutes 17.7% of the workforce, an unemployment rate which remains one of the highest in the European Community.**

## JOHN ROBB -

### NEW IRELAND, NEW EUROPE?

Following the hunger strike in 1981, John Robb, a Presbyterian surgeon practising in Ballymoney in County Antrim, founded the New Ireland Group, a pressure group whose aim was to pave the way for a new kind of consensus politics, and in the process to provide a forum and support for those of the Ulster Protestant tradition who rejected the form of Protestant ascendancy perpetuated by traditional Unionism in the north of Ireland (and also, it should be added, the politics and social doctrine of Catholic ascendancy in the Republic). In 1982 the Taoiseach, Charles Haughey, appointed John Robb to the Republic's Senate, and during his seven years in office Senator Robb's contribution to political debate has been an eloquent and forceful enunciation of the New Ireland Group's politics, perhaps never more eloquent than in November, 1988, when his silent offering of the single poppy to the Senate expressed more powerfully than any words the nature of the grief that followed the Remembrance Day bombing in Enniskillen.

It is to be regretted, therefore, that Senator Robb has decided that it would not be right for him to accept a further term in office, believing as he does that "his impact was less now than it had been", and that "there should be changes, new faces, fresh voices and new ideas". One could cheerfully say "Other senators, please copy", but in this instance the Senate will be the poorer for the absence of John Robb's insistence upon bringing to that institution's frequently lack-lustre attention the importance of combatting in every sphere the encroachment of both internal colonialism and cultural imperialism. The two essential tenets of the New Ireland Group's political philosophy are that that encroachment is best combatted by the achievement of consensus politics, and that that achievement is crucial to the well-being of the smaller European states in particular. This is a fitting juncture at which to examine more closely and consider John Robb's application of those tenets not just to Ireland but to any small nation whose culture is threatened by the general European "conspiracy of centralism".

In June of this year Senator Robb gave the Douglas Hyde Memorial Lecture at Ballaghaderreen in County Roscommon. His theme was the need for the preservation of minority cultures in the context of the advent of 1992, and his perception that that preservation would be best served by "concentric politics with the centre acting as the

axle of a wheel rather than pyramidal politics with the centre placed at the apex". Ireland, he believes, has a responsibility to others as well as to itself to develop new political structures which would exemplify two fundamental truths of man's political and social existence. The first is that beyond a certain critical mass of population people will react violently against any increasing accretion of power which seeks to control them in a uniform manner; the second that human beings are at their most stable when operating in accordance with the ecological principle outlined in *A Blueprint for Survival* (Penguin Books, 1982), that: "All eco-systems tend towards stability; the more diverse and complex the eco-system the more stable it is ... the more species there are and the more they inter-relate, the more stable the environment". Minority cultures are not, according to this principle, the out-dated freaks of late twentieth century Europe, but rather the chief guarantors of the preservation of the diversity upon which the Continent's biological, psychological and social survival must depend. And if the power-brokers of the European Commission in Brussels have not the wit to recognise this for themselves, the greater the responsibility of those minority cultures to make them recognise it. Phil Williams of Plaid Cymru was preaching the same message as long ago as 1977 in *Resurgence*, arguing that as small nations "we must involve ourselves more and more in the debate that will decide whether Europe becomes a third centralist super-power ruled by the bureaucratic machine - or whether it becomes a revived civilization, united by traditions and democracy but flying a hundred flags".

How then, to achieve the consensus politics that will enable minority cultures to make themselves heard, and in doing so ensure global as well as local survival, the concentric rather than the pyramidal system that would foster the essential ecological principle outlined above? To quote John Robb: "The quest for dynamic stability in the New Europe would seem to suggest the need for the development of inter-dependent autonomous regions co-ordinated rather than controlled by consensus-seeking processes with institutions sufficiently responsive to ensure that accountability at all levels goes hand in hand with responsibility ... such a state of affairs can only be obtained at the expense of the present over-centralised nation-states".

He further argues that representation, as presently constituted in the European Par-

liament, is related too exclusively to numbers of population, and that this in turn both exacerbates and accelerated the centralising process. Democracy, under the crude "one man, one vote" definition, is actually conducive here to a failure in federal harmony, because where representation in that Parliament is related too exclusively to numbers of population, expanding conurbations must accrete themselves to increasing number of representatives, while those living outside such conurbations cannot be sufficiently represented to let them balance, let alone outvote, the interests of the conurbations. Obviously, the peripheral regions of Europe cannot but be increasingly isolated under this system, which is in essence centralist majority rule.

One possible way to reverse this trend would be to introduce, at both the micro- and macro-levels a form of bicameralism, whereby one chamber furnishes representation by number of population and a second chamber representation by area or the two chambers differ fundamentally over a bill passing through them, they have to come together and reach agreement regarding its final enactment. Were such a system to be introduced in Ireland, John Robb cites a situation in which there could be an Upper House of circa 100 members with three representatives for each county, with similar representation for any conurbation exceeding a certain population number. The bleak alternative implicit in the present system is self-destruction; "no political organism containing disproportionately large subordinate units can produce the acceptable enforcement power capable of holding them together indefinitely. If this principle holds for the coming together of nation states it also holds for the holding together within nation states".

The application of this principle to the north of Ireland leads to the emergence of what by now ought to be a self-evident truth, that if minorities are not to wish to secede in order to achieve their own consensus, they must be accommodated within consensus, for where consensus does not exist, majority vote becomes an expression of majority rule. In the final analysis, says Robb, "consensus is as much a question of the distribution of power and the right to participate effectively at local community and district level as it is about structures at regional, national and European community levels". And if consensus is to be felt where we live and not just in a national or supra-national parliament, regional assemblies must be given the economic power to be politically effective. It is only through responding to the significance of its many minorities and reversing the trend towards centralised European imperialism that the European community can foster its own survival. The poet Derek Mahon has described the Prot-

estants of Ulster as a lost tribe standing on a lonely headland, singing "Abide with me". There is a lesson there for all minority cultures if they wish to avoid the icebergs of the European Titanic, for, whether we like it or not, we are all passengers.

Oonagh L. Warke.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### ● EMIGRATION SOARS

Figures released at the end of August indicated that in the twelve months to April 1989 a total of 46,000 people emigrated. This is the highest figure for the Republic since the late fifties and is surely an indictment of successive governments. Emigration has increased steadily since 1982. In the three years 1982-1984, 24,000 left the country. About 20,000 emigrated in 1985, about 28,000 in 1986, about 27,000 in 1987 and about 32,000 in 1988.

Those in other Celtic countries who see some mystical benefit in the centralisation of the European Market or see some possible improvement in their situation by 1992 should reflect on the above figures which illustrate how a small open economy on the periphery of the market fares.

### ● CALL FOR ACTION ON ECONOMIC UNION

A report of The National Economic and Social Council says the *plans to create a single European market will, in their current form, be of greater benefit to the larger member-States than to smaller countries, such as Ireland.*

The report is the first comprehensive examination of Ireland's EC membership and says a new approach is needed because the existing plans for the completion of the single market by 1992 would create a situation where regions with large and innovative industries would gain most. "Ireland is not such a region".

The NESCC believes that even the doubling of the EC structural funds will not narrow the gap in living standards between richer and poorer member-States. It dismisses the conclusion of the major EC-sponsored study - the Cecchini report - that smaller countries had most to gain from the single market as "erroneous".

The Irish Government's response to 1992 must not only include a "positive strategy" of attempting to influence the future course of the EC but also new policy initiatives in Ireland, according to the report. It calls for continued "sound economic policies" based on consensus between the social partners.

### ● "AN POST" ANTI-IRISH

In a statement Conradh na Gaeilge deplores the anglicization of postage stamps and the continuing anti-Irish policy an "An Post". It is an insult to the memory of the second Uachtarán of Ireland and former Ard-Rúnaí of Conradh na Gaeilge, Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh, that the stamp which "An Post" has issued in "honour" of him bears his name in English. He himself preferred to use his Irish name.

"An Post" regularly shows its lack of interest in the Irish language and in the rights of Irish speakers. It is frequently impossible and often extremely difficult to get Irish-language forms in Post Offices. This situation is deplorable but it is all the more so in the case of Post Offices situated in Gaeltacht areas.

### ● CENTURY RADIO'S ATTITUDE TO IRISH DERISORY

Century Radio, in revealing its proposed broadcasting schedule has shown an utter disregard for the Irish language. Its proposal to broadcast only one programme in Irish per week is derisory, a statement from Conradh na Gaeilge said.

Century Radio's attitude to Irish is at variance with the importance of the Irish language in broadcasting as outlined by the Minister for Communications, Ray Burke, T.D., during the Oireachtas debates on his legislation for the establishment of new independent radio stations.

Conradh na Gaeilge calls on the Minister for Communications, Ray Burke, T.D., to make it clear to the Independent Radio and Television Commission and to those companies awarded broadcasting contracts that the references to Irish in the legislation allowing for the establishment of new independent radio stations are to be taken seriously and adhered to.

### ● BRITISH CONTEMPT

Following revelations that a sectarian murder by loyalists in the North were inspired by lists obtained from the British security forces, many complaints have been made about the retention in the British Army of a soldier who had been charged and convicted in court of having documents which were part of an alleged intelligence leak to loyalist paramilitaries. These complaints were treated with the same contempt by the British as many others made over the years about their actions involving illegal killing of suspects, slaying of innocent people with plastic bullets and the reinstatement in the army of one soldier ever charged and convicted of a killing.



# KERNOW

## ESKPLOYTORYO A DHYSTREWI MOY ERTAGHT KERNOW

Dydh Gwithyans an Bis (World Conservation Day) dhe 7.30 mytynwyth trygoryon yn Westheath avenue, Bosvenna a wrug difuna dhe'n son a heskornow-chayn. Bilton Homes a Londres esa ow treghi dhe'n dor an owrwern, a wra an pella avenue a'n furf ma aji Kernow, res dhe'n dre gans Mr Pethybridge nans yw 80 blydhenn.

A dhistowgh an bobel Bosvenna a'ga hedhi, mes soweth 10 a'n gwidh re beu treghys. Kyns pell i a wrug kuntell 12000 hanow war betyshon.

Delhevel an dhystrewyans ma o res kumyas gans Konsel Kernow neb a res "OUTLINE planning permission" rag 100 chi, hag o gwarnys gans Bilton Homes yn kever aga thowl dhe dhalleth oberi 14 dydh kyns dal-leth an ober. Mes dhe'n pris na ny wrug Konsel an Rannir Kernow Kleth ri Kumy-as ewn, ha ny wrug Konsel Kernow lever travith dhe Gonsel an Dre Bosvenna. An kynsa tra klywys gensi o pan godhas an gwidh.

Yth esa kerth dres an dre 13ves Mis Meth-even, hag o tra marthus. Hembrinkyas gans Band an dre, sewys gans agan baner gwla-sek, krows S. Perran. Ha wosa an re na o bagasow kepar ha'n British Legion skorenn Bosvenna, Majorettes an dre, an Scouts ha Guides, Kowethas an Lu Mor Rial skorenn Bosvenna, ha'n bobel a osow oll. an kerth o metyas gans Mr Pethybridge Kotha, Map an den a res an gwidh.

Nebes an hwethel ma o dyllys yn media yn Kernow dhe'n termynn, mes ny ny wrus-sensi lever travith yn kever an kerneweg-neth an krothval ma. Nag o marnas agan baner gwla-sek dysplegyas yn tyller ughel, mes Konsellor an Dre Bosvenna Peter Davies a leverys dhe vos an dystrewyans an gala dewetha ha dhe vos an bobel Bosvenna moy unyas ages termynn vith oll nans yw an rebellyans an Gov ha Flamank yn 1497.

Mes a vydh an dysplegyans meur a gerne-wegneth sigera mes pan yw konkludys an tra ma, pe a vydh treyls dhe nerth da rag Kernow?

**gans Martyn Miller**

*The dawn of World Conservation Day was greeted by the sound of chainsaws felling down the longest avenue of lime trees in Bodwin. Public reaction was such that Councillor Peter Davis stated that "never had the people of Bodwin been more united since the An Gov and Flamank rebellion in 1487".*

### CORNISH - COMMON POLICY?

Ius yma yn kernow ha dres hy or re beu owth omwovynn dre an hanter- blydhyen dremenys, "pandr'a hwyrvydh dhe'n ta vas kernewek. a vydh fals ynno a bys bys viken?

Hogen peub a'n djeves hwans a wul may saffo agan yeth anfelsys ha'n yeth hy honyn dhe vos mar salow dell allo y wul.

Ytho yma bagas lemmyn dewisys ha'y dhe-var a vydh mires orth an Ttybyansow a'gan beus adro dhe sonyow an yeth kernewek ha'y lytherennans. An bagas ma a glyw kusul gans an re a's teves mall a gewarhe an yeth (dell hevel dhedha) ha gans an re a vynsa pedja gans "kernewek unys". Dres honna y fydh dew gannas a'n re a vynn sevel "cornoak".

Gwaytans a'gan beus yn kettep penn y hyllyn mos yn rag hen kedryn vith.

*(A group has been chosen to examine the situation which has arisen in respect of the pronunciation and spelling of Cornish. It will seek to harmonise the several views and it is hoped that a common policy can be evolved).*

**Wella Brown**

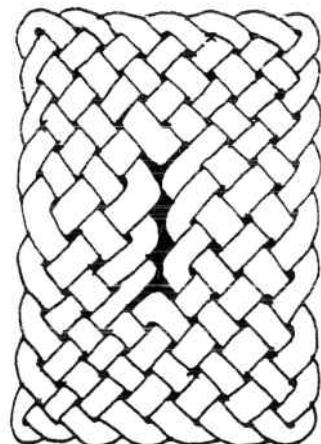
### RADYO HA PELLWOLOK YN GWYDHALEK

Lyther re beu degemmerys gans an Skrif-nyas Kemmyn diworth Soedhva an Bro (Home Office) ow styrya nag yw ober an Gogemans profya gonis Radyo na Pellwo-lok mes ober BBC hag IBA. Y koedh dhed-ha i, heb gorhemynadow diworth an Gubernans dyghtya an gonis yw res rag pub den oll, bagasow arbennek kepar ha tus diworth Asia ha tus Gwydhalek y'ga mysk. Byttegens an lyther a pes:

"Ny grysyn ni y'n eur ma bos nifer bras a dus a vynn kavoes gonis pellwolok arben-nek yn Gwydhalek a'n par a wrug gwiw gwryans an peswara kanel kembrek."

Yn termyn a dheu y fydh moy a bellwolok tythyek der wyver ha gans hemma, mar-tesen y fydh chons dhe lesa pollwolok yn Gwydhalek dhe rannow Alban.

*(The General Secretary has received a letter from the Home Office pointing out that broadcasting is the responsibility of the BBC and IBA, not the government.)*



# EURO-ELECTION 1989

## RESULTS IN CONTEXT

1979			1984			1989		
Party	No. of votes	% total vote	Party	No. of votes	% total vote	Party	No. of votes	% total vote
Con	94650	55.20	Con	81627	42.50	Con	88376	38.9
Lab	36681	21.40	SDP	63876	33.30	SLD	68559	30.20
Lib	23105	13.50	Lab	35952	18.70	Lab	41466	18.30
M. K.	10205	5.95	Ind	5645	2.90	Green	24581	10.80
Eco	5125	3.00	Ind Lib	2981	1.60	M. K.	4224	1.90
ACM	1834	1.10	CNP	1892	1.00			
turnout .. 35.0%			turnout .. 37.9%			turnout .. 41.8%		

(ACM = Anti Common Market)

At first glance the nationalist vote in the recent Euro-elections looks disappointing. The number voting MK (Mebyon Kernow the Cornish Party) dropped by over a half when compared with 1979 and the percentage by more than two thirds. When we sift through the debris, however, things are not as bleak as they first appear. Of course, the vote was lower than MK and supporters had hoped for, but there are a number of factors that should have made nationalists wary of expecting a similar or better result than 1979, namely

1. MK organisation has gone through a very low point recently. Absence of news coverage and, more important, absence of candidates in Westminster and local council elections since 1983, is in stark contrast with 1979 when the Euro election followed a peak in MK activity.

This had been a period of far higher membership and energy. Then the organisation had stood 3 candidates in Westminster elections, 19 in district council elections and 17 at parish council level. This only a few months before the elections to the European Parliament. In short, MK's public profile was much higher. And this capped a few years of fairly consistent, if regionally patchy activity.

2. The Liberal Euro candidate in 1979 was unknown to the Cornish electorate. This time the Liberal/Democratic candidate was not only an ex-M.P. for one of the Cornish constituencies, but had a good record on the fight for a separate Cornish Euro constituency. In fact, SLD loudspeaker cars were capped a few years of fairly consistent, if regionally patchy activity.

2. The Liberal Euro candidate in 1979 was unknown to the Cornish electorate. This time the Liberal/Democratic candidate was not only an ex-M.P. for one of the Cornish

constituencies, but had a good record on the fight for a separate Cornish Euro constituency. In fact, SLD loudspeaker cars were heard calling on people to "vote for Cornwall - vote SLD". This made it difficult for MK to carve out a clear image.

3. The SLD emphasised the fact that the constituency was "marginal" and that votes for the other parties were "wasted". In 1979 the fact that it was the first time that the "UK" had participated in the Euro elections, made this sort of opportunism impossible.

Given the level of MK and nationalist resources generally, the campaign went fairly well. The uncritical borrowing of Plaid Cymru and Scottish National Party slogans might need a re-think. Every household in Cornwall received at least one MK leaflet and the media coverage was fairly good. After the low point in nationalist activity the chance to build on this opportunity of relatively low cost publicity will, hopefully, not be missed by nationalist groups.

MK did better than all the minor parties in England apart from one independent Conservative in Leicester. The Green Party vote in the Cornwall and Plymouth constituency was 10.8% which is relatively poor compared to Southern England where it was around 21-22%. It has been estimated that the Greens' vote amongst the Cornish may have been as low as 5%, near the percentage in Scotland, although their vote in Plymouth may have been nearer the English norm.

The difference between the nationalist vote in Cornwall in 1979 and that in 1989 is most likely to have been a result of gains by the SLD, which has a solid ethnic Cornish working class core of support. The Cornish duality problem (i.e. problem to nationalists) - are we Cornish, English or both? - is of obvious benefit to opportunistic West-

minster party propaganda writers. The MK candidate was up against "Paul Tyler direct descendent of the Bishop Trelawney of the national Cornish song", a Cornishman who not only "stands up for Cornwall", but will be "Cornwall's (note Cornwall's not Cornwall and Plymouth's) best voice in Europe. Even the SLDs leaflet had the name of Annette Penhaligon, wife of the late agus arguably semi-nationalist Liberal MP David Penhaligon, as publisher, which they possibly thought would squeeze a few extra votes out of the "gullible" Cornish.

Although the Conservative Party's candidate won the Cornwall seat it is the SLD who are the ruling party in local politics. They are the main competitors for the Cornish vote in most areas. The SLD, however, is now being seen to be failing to make a real stand for Cornwall on the environment, on the threat from wholesale housing development. As this becomes more obvious and the Cornish start questioning their allegiance with the Liberal/SDP the opportunity will be there for the Cornish political movement to move in on this fertile ground and start building a real alternative the the Cornish people.

BD/IW

### LOWENDER PERAN

The "Festival of the Celts" will be held from 18-22 October, 1989 in the Ponsmere Hotel, Perranporth with artists from Brittany, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Isle of Man and Cornwall.

Dance spectacular, concerts, theatre, céilí's, choirs, street entertainment, workshops and a celtic market.

Festival Office : 8 Tywamhale Rd., Perranporth, Kernow, UK. Tel. Truro 573103

# MANNNIN

## Vel Nalbin Doostey?

Rish tammylt foddey, ta mee er smooainaght er Nalbin myr foawr Celtiagh ta er ve ny chadley rish ymmodde blein. Nish as reesht t'eh jeeaghyn dy vel y foawr shoh er-chee doostey, agh eisht t'eh tuittym ny chadley reesht. Foddee ta'n foawr dy firrinagh doostey nish (ta treisht aym).

Ta'n spyrryd jeh seyrnsys er naase dy niartal ayns Nalbin rish paart dy vleecantyn nish. Fodmayd cur bwoosise da Bnr Thatcher son shoh. S'goan yn Albinagh ta ayns foayr jeh'n ven shen. T'ee jannoo myr cowrey jeh dy chooilley nhee ta ny Albinee coontey y ve olk mastey ny Sostnee: ard-vooaralys as mooarleaghaght (snobbery) as jannoo beg jeh'n theay. Ta tranlaasid y Thooder er chur er Nalbin dy hurranse y Cheesh Theayagh (Poll Tax) roish ny Sostnee as Bretnee. Bunnys dy chooilley nhee ta'n Thooder cur er y hoshiaght, ta ny Albinee noi. Kyndagh rish shoh, ta ny Thoreeyn Albinagh goll magh ass. Ta fys ec dy chooilley pheiaigh nish dy vel Nalbin fo'n smaght jeh cheer voarree: Sostyn. Ta ny smoo Albinee laccal seyrnsys. Agh cre'n sorch dy heyrnsys? Paart dy hiaaghteyn er dy henney, va chaglym ayns Inbhir Nis. Va shoh y nah haglym jeh'n Cho-chruinnaght Vunraghtoil Albinagh (Scottish Constitutional Convention). She sheshaght neu-oikoil t'ayn as ta'n chooid smoo dy 'leih ta goaill aym ayn woish ny sheshaghtyn politickagh "Goadagh" - yn Cheshaght Obbre as ny Deynlaghteyryn (Democrats). Ta'n Cho-chruinnaght shoh shirrey cummey Ard-whaiyl son Nalbin. Ta'n Cho-chruinnaght shassoo seose son y kiartys jeh pobble Nalbin yn Ard-whaiyl hene y ve oc. Er lhimme jeh'n Cheshaght Obbre as ny Deynlaghteyryn, ghow ny Cummynee as yn Cheshaght Ghlass aym sy Cho-chruinnaght. Dob ny Thoreeyn aym y ghoail aynjee. As cha jinnagh yn Cheshaght Ashoonagh Albinagh, yn SNP, goaill aym noadyr. Va'n SNP smooainaght nagh row y Cho-chruin-

naght coontey seyrnsys kiart son Nalbin y ve mastey ny reddyn oddys ve jeant. Er y hon shen, foddee nagh vel obbyr ny Cho-chruinnaght feeu.

Aghterbee, ta queig possanyn-obbre jeh'n Cho-chruinnaght gobbraghey dy jean dy chur magh skeealyn mychione oddagh Reiltys Hene cheet gys Nalbin. Bee ny skeealyn shoh resoonit magh fud ny cheerey. Eist, ayns Mee y Nollick, nee yn Cho-chruinnaght meeiteil reesht dy resooney magh y clane cooish reesht. Lurg shen, nee yn Cho-chruinnaght cummey aghdyn dy chur Nalbin er y raad gys Reiltys Hene. S'cosoylagh dy bee ad cummey claar slatysaght son Ard-whaiyl Albinagh.

Son shickyrys, cha nel pooar leighoil erbee ec y Cho-chruinnaght shoh. As cha nel yn SNP goaill aym aynjee. Agh ny-yeih shen as ooilley, t'eh jeeaghyn dy vel reddyn mooarey taghyrt. Ta'n Cheshaght Obbre ayns Nalbin er soilshaghey magh dy vel ee arryltagh dy obbraghey marish possanyn elley as dy vel ee arryltagh dy smooainaght mysh chaghterys coreiragh (proportional representation) ayns reihysyn. Veagh chaghterys coreiragh scanshoil ayns Ard-whaiyl Albinagh er y fa dy vel anchaslyssyn mooarey eddyr ny baljyn mooarey goll rish Glaschu as ny hEllany, myr sampleyr.

Dy firrinagh, t'eh jeeaghyn dy vel ny smoo as ny smoo dy 'leih Albinagh gra nish nagh vod ad jannoo arragh lesh yn Ard-whaiyl ooilley niartal ayns Lunnin. Rish keeadyn dy vleecantyn, ta ny Sostnee pooaral er ghra dy vel Ard-whaiyl Lunnin reill harish dy chooilley nhee. Cha nel ad laccal bunraght (constitution) screet veagh cur kiartysyn leighoil da gagh peiaigh. Agh nish ta ram sleih "Goadagh" toiggal dy vel bunraght screet feer scanshoil dy 'endeil ad veih cretooryn goll rish y Thooder. Ta'n Cho-chruinnaght Vunraghtoil Albinagh er ghra

dy vel y kiartys beayn ec y phobble Albinagh dy chummey y sorch dy reiltys ta Albinee laccal (as gys y jouyl lesh Lunnin).

As c'raad ta'n Co-vargey ayns ny cooishyn shoh? Oddagh oo gra nagh lhisagh shin ve boirit mysh Reiltys Hene Albinagh as y Covargey goll dy gheddyn rey rish steatyn ashoonagh. Cha nel mish hene smooainaght dy jean shen taghyrt er agh cho glen as shen. Oddagh cooney ve ry gheddyn trooid yn Vrusheyl (Brussels). Ta'n Vrusheyl ayns foayr jeh bunraghtyn screet as kiartysyn leighoil y theay as ram reddyn elley ta'n Thooder cur feoh da. Oddagh shen cooney lesh ny Albinee.

*It can be argued that the Scottish Constitutional Convention is irrelevant in the campaign for Scottish independence. But the apparent willingness of the Convention to consider previously forbidden topics could lead to important changes.*

**Brian Mac Stoyil**

### CAARJYN NY TROOR PETITION TYNWALD

A petition for redress of grievance was presented at this year's Tynwald Ceremony on behalf of Caarjyn ny Troor (Friends of the Three - F.S.F.O.). It contended that the Manx people had never in the past 25 years been consulted or made properly aware of the long-term costs as well as the obvious short-term benefits to themselves of the new economic and new resident ideologies. Furthermore, it claimed that the voice of the Manx people had not been heard because these policies have never been adequately presented to the people for their mandate at the time of a general election. As a result of the non-party political structure of the Manx governmental system, these policies had been evolved behind closed doors in committee with minimal publicity and de-



bate in Tynwald or the country as a whole. The petition called for the appointment of a Select Committee to determine the extent of popular support for the narrowly conceived economic policies. These policies are not only environmentally untenable and ethically repugnant to many Manx people but also threaten the long term existence of the Manx people as a cultural, social and political entity.

The above petition along with a petition presented by Mec Vannin were considered to be "premature" by Tynwald's Standing Orders Committee and ruled out of order. It considered that the petitioners had not pursued other avenues and that their objects had not therefore reached the stage of being a proper grievance. This reveals that the traditional right of petition is a sham, reinforcing the petitioners' contention that the Manx people have lost considerable ground in terms of political control over their own destiny.

The petition presented on behalf of Mec Vannin asked that Tynwald redesign its programme mandate to continue on its present course. Mec Vannin has consistently opposed successive governments' economic and new resident policies - the results of which are the very reason for Mec Vannin's existence as an organization for the past twenty five years!

## F.S.F.O. NEWS

Gregory Joughin and Christopher Sheard appeared before the Parole Board following their application for parole. They were questioned on their present attitudes towards the finance sector. Since their imprisonment it has become increasingly clear that market forces are being allowed to determine our future. National life is irrelevant. As one might expect their attitude has hardened considerably. Parole was refused.

In early August, the third member of F.S.F.O., Phil Gawne, was released after serving 10 months of the 2 year sentence.

## CULTURAL FOCAL POINT LOST

Following the take-over and amalgamation of the two main Island breweries, the question of monopoly arose. Okell's Brewery was given the perfect excuse to sell off around 40 of its less profitable public houses to private enterprise. This caused great concern to licencees, most of whom were not in a position to buy at a time when property prices were at a premium. Not only would they lose their jobs but also their homes. Some pubs have already closed and

more will follow, few enough will become "free houses".

The Central Hotel in Peel will be closing as a pub at the end of August. Well known by many people in and outside the Island, it has been the main focal point for the revival of traditional music for the past fifteen years. It has been a place to gather for Gaelic speakers and a workshop for those interested in cultural revival. There are plans to go elsewhere, but the loss of so many will put extra pressure on the remaining pubs and reduce the choice available. This is symptomatic of the sweeping changes taking place which are impoverishing the social and community life of Mann.

C.J.K.

## MANX GAELIC ORTHOGRAPHY

R.L. THOMSON

Readers and speakers of Gaelic in Scotland and Ireland are often surprised and even shocked at the appearance of the Gaelic of the Isle of Man in its written form, and wonder why it should be so different from their own languages. They then go on to suggest that Manx orthography should be brought into line with the Gaelic tradition and wonder why this has not already been done. There are two kinds of answer to the second question: a difficult one connected with the history of Manx sounds, which I won't enter on here, and an easy one, which is simply that all we have printed and written in the language is in this form and that any change would mean either that we

should have to reprint it from scratch, which would be impossibly expensive, or the else we should have to resign ourselves to making all earlier Manx a closed book for the future, which we could not contemplate doing.

So back to the first question: why (and how) is Manx not written in a variant of the Gaelic spelling system? The short answer is that the knowledge of that system was lost by the time writing in Manx began. As far as we know now there was no occurrence of continuous writing in Manx before the beginning of the seventeenth century when John Phillips, the Welsh bishop of the diocese, completed a translation of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* in 1610, a manuscript copy of which, dated about 1630, survives and was printed in 1893-4. There is, it is true, an historical poem, composed about a century earlier than this, but the manuscript evidence for it dated from the second half of the eighteenth century, so we do not know how it was written originally, if indeed it was written at all. The great differences between the copies we have make it likely that they were written down from oral recitation or from memory.

Of course, individual personal and place names occur in the records before this, but the records themselves were kept in English and the administrators, recruited by the Earl of Derby, the Lord of Man, on his estates in Lancashire and Cheshire, were also ignorant of the Gaelic system, just like the Tudor administrators in Ireland, and wrote them in an English fashion. How far this occasional spelling had hardened into a system we do not know. Phillips certainly followed the same pattern but at the same time encountered some criticism of his spelling, which suggests that he had made some innovations. The only precise criticism was directed at his choice of vowel symbols, in



*Central Hotel, Peel. Photograph courtesy of the Peel City Guardian.*

which he seems to have followed the "continental" values rather than those current in England, though in his case they may really have been the Welsh values; and Welsh too might account for the high frequency of *y*. One point which is concealed by the printed edition is the extent to which Phillips used *w* as a vowel; Moore transcribed manuscript *u* and *w* as *u*, whereas in fact *u* is confined to a small number of words. Thus he printed *marru* "dead" for the manuscript *marrw*, like Welsh *marw* of the same meaning. This, however, was one of the features of Phillips' spelling which did not continue but was replaced in the next century by *oo*, as *maroo*; there was a parallel introduction of *ee*.

While some change was made in the representation of the vowels the consonants continued almost unaltered in the later "standard" spelling, and they are clearly based on English, perhaps late Middle English, conventions. Though in detail quite different and unconnected with Manx, the spelling of the Gaelic texts in the early sixteenth-century *Dean of Lismore's Book* in Scotland, based on the conventions of Middle Scots, shows the same process at work as in Manx; but in that case the Dean's spelling did not survive, and the early Gaelic printed books, from 1567 onwards, are in the traditional orthography, the knowledge of which was never lost.

Perhaps the most disconcerting point for the Gaelic reader is that in Manx *h* after a consonant is not necessarily the sign of lenition (or aspiration): *bh*, *dh*, *lh*, *mh*, *nh*, *rh* and *th* are simply rarer alternatives to *b*, *d*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* and *t*. In the case of *dh* and *th* the intention may have been to stress the dental, as against the alveolar, pronunciation of these consonants; with *lh* and *nh* the purpose is more ambiguous, either to suggest a palatal pronunciation or a more strongly non-palatal one than in English. Sometimes such spelling variants exist for another purpose, however, to distinguish to the eye what are homophones to the ear.

However, *ch*, *gh*, *ph* and *sh* are significant and distinct from *c*, *g*, *p* and *s*: *ch*, *gh* and *ph* at the beginning of words represent the lenition of *c* or *k*, or *d* and *g*, and of *p*, respectively (as in traditional Gaelic spelling), while *sh* represents palatal *s* (as in English). Initially *ch* is ambiguous for it can also represent Gaelic palatal *t*, and similarly *j* does duty for palatal *d*: this practice goes back to 1610 and shows that the palatalisation or assibilation must have been more marked in Manx than elsewhere, for at that time English speakers were still noting palatal *t* and *d* in Scottish and Irish names with *t* and *d*, though Scottish Gaelic in the eighteenth century has palatal *t* and *d*

for English *ch* and *j* in *Tearlach* "Charles" and *Deòrsa* "George", as well as the earlier approximation with palatal *s*.

The initial lenition of *b* and *m* is represented by *v* or *w*; of non-palatal *d* and *g* by *gh*, and of the palatal equivalents, written *j* and *gi*, by *y* or *ghi* (to preserve the parallelism with broad *g*); *f* simply disappears; *t* (and *ch*) and *s* (including *sh*) appear as *h*. Some examples may make all this clearer: *béal/beul* "mouth" = *beeal*, *my veel* (with possessive "my"); *cos/cas* "foot" = *cass*, *my chass*; *ceann* "head" = *kione*, *my chione*; *dorn/dorn* "fist" = *doarn*, *my ghoarn*; *diallaid/diollaid* "saddle" = *jeelt*, *my yeelt*; *freagairt* "answer" = *freggyrt*, *my reggyrt*; *guth* "voice" = *goo*, *my ghoo*; *geall* "pledge" = *gioal*, *my yioal/ghioal*; *méar/meur* "finger" = *mair*, *my vair*; *póg/pog* "kiss" = *paag*, *my phaag*; *saint/saant* "greed" = *saynt*, *my haynt*; *searrach* "foal" = *sharragh*, *my hiar-ragh*; *talamh* "earth" = *thalloo*, *my halloo*; *tír/tir* "land" = *cheer*, *my heer*.

As the example of *kione* shows, *k* is used for *c* before *e*, *i* and *y*, and sometimes before *a*; before a rounded vowel a glide may develop and then *qu* is the preferred symbol, e.g. *queig* "five" = *cúig/coig*; *quaiyl* "court" = *comhdháil*. The case of *sharragh* illustrates an inconsistency whereby Gaelic *ch* initially is represented by Manx *ch*, but

medially and finally by Manx *gh*, as in the common adjectival suffix, Gaelic *-ach*, Manx *-agh*.

The lenited dentals in medial and final position disappear and the labials are vocalised in most cases. As already mentioned *marbh* (and *marbhadh*) and *talamh* become *marroo* and *thalloo*; after a vowel they form diphthongs as *sgriobhadh* = *screew/scriew*, *sníomh* = *snee*, *rabhadh* = *raaue*, *gabhadh* = *gaue*, *gabha/gobha* = *gaaue*, *leabhair* = *liauyr*, but other modification also occurs, as *leabhar* = *lioar*, *gabhar/gobhar* = *goayr*, *gabhail/gabhail* = *goaill*. In monosyllables final *dh/gh* is palatal, as *bagh* = *baie*, *laogh* = *lhei*, *lagh* = *leigh* (with *-gh* silent as in English after a front vowel), *cladh* = *cleiy/cleigh*. Medial *dh/gh* in some cases behaves like *bh*, as *bodhar* = *bouyr*, *odhar* = *ouyr*, *doghraimn* = *dourin*, but generally leaves no trace as *saidhbhir* = *souyr* (as is *\*sabhar*). The groups *mp*, *nt* (still so in 1610) become voiced throughout, as *teampall* = *chiamble*, *ciontach* = *kyndagh*, *cinnteach* = *kinjagh* (with sense "constant").

*Chiamble* illustrates the use of the English convention of *-le* for final syllabic *l*, as also in *aggle* (*eagal/eagla*), *pobble* (*pobal*, *po-ball*), *feeackle* (*fiacail*), *fockle* (*focal/facal*). Final *-e* in Manx spelling is not sounded but

#### A Visit to Manx Political Prisoners

An unusual visit was paid to two of the three Manx political prisoners during Yn Chruinnaght festival this year. As Phil Gawne (far left) and Chris Sheard (far right) took their lunch break from prison work on Snaefell mountain, they were visited by Ite Ní Chion-

naith (former president of Conradh na Gaeilge), Brian Mac Stoyll (Celtic League, centre) and Stuart Stacey. Also on the visit was Seán Mac Mathúna, general secretary of Conradh na Gaeilge, who took this photo. Philip Gawne has since been released.



long vowel, as *kione* (ceann), *share* (is fhearr), and in the stressed form of the suffix *-áin/-an*, as *arrane* (amhrán/oran), *bolvane* (balbhán), *carnane* (carnán), *carrane* (cuarán), *farrane* (fuarán), *moorarane* (mórán). Similarly with *-óg/-ag*, the stressed form of which appears as *-age/-aag/-aig*, as cabbage "a cheese" (*ceapóg*), *liehbage* "flat-fish" (*leadhbóg*), *faasaag* (*féasóg*, *feusag*), *renaig* (*roineag*).

The letter *y* is frequent in Manx spelling, sometimes as a length-mark, as *gloyr*, *poyll*, even when, as in *foayr*, *liauyr*, there are other indications; but chiefly in unstressed syllables to express the obscure vowel, Gaelic *-a*, *-e*, as well as *-adh*, and in the plural suffix *-yn*, and the abstract noun ending *-ys*, as well as in words permanently unstressed, as the article *y*, *yn*, *ny*, the possessives *my*, *dty*, *nyn*, and various conjunctions and prepositions, as *dy* (do), *dy* (go), *my*, *gys*, *mysh*, etc.

The indication of palatal quality in consonants is, as in the spelling of the Dean's Book, far from complete; it is rare with the labials (*b*, *p*, *f*, *m*) which seem to have abandoned the distinction quite early in Manx; where it is not shown by the choice of consonant (*ch*, *j*, *sh*) the indication is an *-i-* inserted after the initial consonant, before or after a medial, and before a final one, as *rieau* (*riamh*), *ooilley* (*uile*), *uinmag* (*fuinneog*, *uinneag*), *sooill* (*súil*).

The use of double consonants follows the English convention whereby the doubled consonant indicates a preceding short vowel, or rather one which was short at the time when the spelling was formed; it is not necessarily so now, though the vowel will generally be etymologically short, as *aggle*, *pobble* (both now long). In final position in monosyllables other conventions may apply, as *red* "thing", pl. *reddyn* (the original long vowel is short in Manx), *giat*, pl. *giattyn*.

The initial groups *cn-*, *gn-*, *tn-*, as in some other Gaelic dialects, appear as *cr-*, *gr-*, *tr-*, though the nasalisation of the vowel may find expression elsewhere, as *craue* (*cnámh*), *griu* (*gníomh*), *troo* (*trúth*), but *cronk* (*cnoc*), *ramp* "plague" (E. *dnap*). Medial and final *sc/sq* appear as *st*, *sh*, as *ushley* (*uisge*), *lhiastey* (*leasg*).

The treatment of the vowels is a more involved subject but this summary of the conventions regarding consonants may help the reader puzzled by the initial difficulties of Manx spelling.

## CELTIC LEAGUE SUBMARINE CAMPAIGN CONTINUES

In late June the Royal Navy (R.N.) announced a volte-face on its previous policy of secretiveness about submarine (sub.) and motor fishing vessels (M.V.F.s) collisions. The Deputy Commander of Submarine Operations, Captain Paul Hoddinott revealed that there was to be a new policy of "owning up and paying up". Curiously, he went on to announce new training for submariners in an attempt to avoid collisions in the future. This last statement is interesting because it confirms that the R.N. has not yet implemented International Maritime Organisation (I.M.O.) Resolution A-599, which was adopted several years ago and instructed member states to take just such action. The R.N.'s attitude can only be described as lax. The C.L. will be writing to the I.M.O. asking it to ascertain which of the other sub. operating powers have not yet taken action on the Resolution - the aim of which was to cut down the number of incidents and suspicious drownings.

The new R.N. policy was to be soon put to the test when on 28th. June the M.F.V. "Huntress" was snagged in a sub. exercise area off Arran. On this occasion the sub. did surface and the "Huntress" was able to cut its gear. The incident occurred near to the area where M.F.V. "Girl Fiona" disappeared (with all hands) in March of this year.

On the same day as the incident with M.F.V. "Huntress", another more tragic event occurred in the North Channel between Ireland and Scotland. The converted fishing vessel "Connaught" sank with the deaths of both crew members. The vessel, about 40 ft. in length, with an experienced crew, managed to send out a "Mayday" message at 13.56 G.M.T., from which the Coast Guard (C/G) service was able to fix an exact position. Weather conditions were reported to be bad by some media sources, however our enquiries to Liverpool C/G indicate that in fact this was not the case. (Wind speed given as 4-5, wave swell 3'-4'). Why a fairly substantial vessel should founder in these conditions is a mystery. Our checks with Faslane indicate that there were continuous sub. activity in and out of the complex all week. We are at present awaiting a detailed report from the Faslane Group. If the "Connaught" was the victim of a sub., it is highly unlikely that Captain Hoddinott's new policy of openness will be invoked. As far as we are aware, the R.N. and indeed all other sub. operating navies show a marked reluctance to "OWN UP" when deaths are involved.

The Royal Navy and all other sub. operating powers will find themselves quite literally "in the dock" when the inquest opens into the deaths of the three crew members of the M.F.V. "Inspire" last September. Strong evidence indicated that there was sub. activity in the area at the time of the sinking - the vessel foundered in perfect weather conditions. Unusually for an inquest of this nature, Counsel for the one surviving crew member has succeeded in having the inquest heard before a jury. R.N. or Ministry of Defence (M.O.D.) spokesmen seem likely to be summoned as witnesses. The case will be followed with close interest by the Celtic League, which has given information and support to the survivor's Counsel.

We wish to express thanks to George Foulkes and Dafydd Wigley M.P.'s for their continuing support for our campaign in the U.K. Parliament. Both M.P.'s have put down several questions in May/June on M.F.V.'s/sub. incidents. George Foulkes raised queries in relation to incidents with the M.F.V.'s "Majestic" and "Laurel" and also an unidentified Norwegian vessel. Dafydd Wigley raised the issue of the general level of incidents.

Since the rash of incidents in the last 18 months, world media attention has been focused on the sub./M.F.V. problem in the Irish and Celtic Seas. Newspapers, magazines and T.V. from Australia, Denmark, Sweden, France, Belgium, Germany, Japan and the United States have all run features on the problem. There is no doubt that this unprecedented media attention has forced some of the sub. operating powers to re-think their strategy. In the U.K. a decision has been taken to attempt to distance the Fishing Lobby from the peace organizations. With schemes like "Netmind" and Captain Hoddinott's "Own Up/Pay Up" policy, the M.O.D. is hoping to con the fishermen. The only solution to the problem is, as indicated by the Celtic League and other peace groups, surface transit or more preferably, de-militarization of areas of commercial sea fishery.

The M.O.D. has confirmed the presence of Soviet Auxiliary Gathering Intelligence (A.G.I.) in the Irish Sea. In a reply to our letter querying the presence of one in mid-May the M.O.D. said: "The activities of Soviet vessels are essentially a matter for the Soviet authorities - I notice you have already written to the Soviet Embassy on this subject. However I should point out



(cont. from 23)

that A.G.I.'s enjoy rights of innocent passage under International Law just the same as other vessels. Furthermore since there is usually at least one such vessel off the coast of the British Isles, it would be wrong to associate their presence with any particular R.N. or N.A.T.O. exercise." The M.O.D. shows a certain naivety in that the presence of A.G.I.'s almost certainly indicated the presence of Soviet or Warsaw Pact sub. These certainly would not have the right of "innocent passage" submerged in U.K. coastal waters or the North Channel. Another observation we would make is that the estimate of one A.G.I. in U.K. coastal waters is, to say the least, a little conservative and certainly should be revised prior to September's N.A.T.O. exercise "Sharp Spear".

#### Celtic League Military Monitoring

## CELTIC EDUCATION IN LONDON

An initiative by the Celtic League's London Branch has resulted in the establishment of a London Association for Celtic Education (LACE).

In April, 1990, the Inner London Education Authority will disappear, axed by the English Tory Government. This, together with other education budget cut-backs by central and local government, offers a bleak outlook for the future of Celtic languages teaching and other related cultural education facilities in London. Already several language evening classes are feeling the constrictions and Ysgol Gymraeg Llundain, the only Welsh-language medium school in London, are finding it difficult to obtain grant aid.

On May 17, the League's London Branch convened an organising committee of leading Celtic educationalists in London. Twenty-four educationalists, covering the entire spectrum of education from playschool to higher education levels, as well as all six Celtic cultures, decided to form the London Association for Celtic Education (LACE) to fight to maintain and, in the face of growing interest in the Celtic countries, their languages, cultures and histories and music, to expand education facilities in London.

It was decided to form the separate organisation in order that it act as an independent body from the League to pursue the required academic funding needed to set the project in motion. Indeed, this way forward had already been proposed by the London

Branch of the League who saw its role as a catalyst to establish the project. The Association will soon be registered as an educational charity.

LACE will be launched at a special all-day conference on the state of Celtic education in London to be held on November 4, this year, at the University of London Union, Malet Street, WC1. After the conference, it is hoped that a permanent secretariat and a Council will be set up in order to ensure adequate facilities and funding for those wishing to learn a Celtic language, study Celtic literatures, history, music or other aspects of Celtic culture.

Membership of LACE is now open at £5 (waged) or £3 (unwaged). The Association is also seeking affiliations from organisations, not only in London but in the home-lands.

Officers of LACE are: Chairman - Peter Berresford Ellis (Chairman of the Celtic League); Secretary - Marian Geoghegan BA, H.Dip.Ed., Dip.I.S.; Treasurer - Maurice McCann BA(Hons), Dip. H.E.; and Minutes Secretary - Jackie Redington BA(Hons), Dip.H.E., SRN.

Further information and membership enquiries to - Marian Geoghegan, Secretary, LACE, c/o The Irish in Islington Project, Eastgate Building, 131 St. John's Way, London N19 3RQ, England.

## CELTIC POLITICAL PRISONERS

I refer to last years resolution establishing the Celtic Political Prisoners Support Group. I am anxious to progress this resolution further and to this end require details of any incidents of suspected political imprisonment, other than those known to us.

Also welcome would be ideas for publicity materials - poster/card design, logos, etc. for the Celtic League generally. J.B. Moffatt, P.R.O., 24 St. Germain's Place, Peel, Mannin.



## 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: IR7, stg7, 66FF or US\$17.50. 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, Old Mission House, Nth. Erradale Ross-shire IV21-2DS.

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

**CYMRU** Merfyn Phillips, Parc y Ffrier, Llandudoch, Dyfed.

**ÉIRE** Janice Williams, 22 Bóthar Belgrave, Baile Átha Cliath 6.

**KERNOW** Ian Williams, 6 Rose Row, Redruth.

**MANNIN** Cristl Jerry, 6 Glenfaba Road, Peel.

**LONDON** Séamas Ó Colleáin, G.42 Du Cane Court, London SW17 7JR.

**U.S.A.** Stephen Paul de Villo, 313 East 201 Street, Bronx, New York 10458.

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

When renewing please send cheques to same Branch as previously, or notify its secretary of any change. The General Secretary of the Celtic League is Davyth Fear, 58 Ffordd Eryri, Parc Henre, Caernarfon, Cymru LL55 2UR.

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

Our next deadline for CARN 68 will be the 6th. November, 1989. I would ask regular or new contributors to meet this due date and would appeal especially for more photographs/illustrations (not necessarily accompanying articles). Materials sent for publication in CARN must relate to our aims, and be typed; if in languages other than English articles should be marked to ease editing (bracket sentences/paragraphs which may be omitted in case of need to shorten).

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