

# CAFD

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

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COMMEEYS CELTIAGH

CELTIC LEAGUE



# ALBA

## A' Ghàidhlig agus An Gaeilge agus Yn Gaelgagh

'S ann an trì pàirtean a tha dealachadh beatha an sgrìobhadair, 's e sin ri ràdh a' teagasg sna sgoiltean, a' cleachdadh an lagha agus a' teagasg an lagha ann an colaistean is oilthighean ann an Glaschu is DunEideann. Theagaisg e a' Ghàidhlig feadh seachd bliadhna deug sna clasaichean-oidhche.

Uime sin, leugh e iris Eireannach d'am b' ainm "Education Today" le uidh ro mhòr, gu h-àraidh bhon a bha a' cheist mu dheighinn na Gàidhlig Eireannach (Gaeilge) am broinn.

Thàinig atharrachadh mòr air teagasg na Gàidhlig Albannach fad fichead bliadhna ach tha mòran rudan nach eil ceart fhathast. Ach taing do Chomunn nan Sgoiltean Araich, 5 Caolshràid Mhìcheil, Inbhir Nis IV2 3HQ, Alba agus na croileagan aige chan eil difir mòr eadar teagasg tre na Gàidhlig san sgoiltean feadh Alba gu leir.

Ach 's ann an Eirinn a tha dà riaghailt, tè sa Ghàidhealtachd agus tè eile sa Ghalldachd. Gun teagamh, mur eil sinn air ar mealladh, tha mearachd mhòr ann an seo. Ach bhon bhliadhna 1973 tha sgoiltean Ghàidhlig Eireannach a' dol o neart gu neart taing do na *Gaelscoileanna*.

Leugh sinn "An Ghaeilge sa Ghaelscoil" (A' Ghàidhlig Eireannach san sgoil Ghàidhlig) agus chord a h-uile facal ruinn uamhasach math. Sgrìobh Niamh Nì Mhaoláin gur e Gaeilge an ead cànan a tha a h-uile neach a' bruidhinn eadar an luchd-teagaisg, an fheadhainn òg agus an luchd-stiùiridh.

Nuair a thig an leanabh a-steach don sgoil seo air a' chiad latha gach Sultain aig ceithir bliadhna a dh'aois, gabhaidh e ris an Ghaeilge gu nadurra, dìreach mar a bhiodh leanabh Albannach a' dol don sgoil Ghàidhlig an deidh dà bhliadhna ann an croileagan. Mata, san siathamh clas san Ghaelscoil bithidh a h-uile mac mathar fileanta sa Ghaeilge ia sa Bheurla.

Taing don obair aig Gaelscoileanna, 7 Cearnóg Mhuirfean, Baile Átha Cliath 2, Éire, an deich fichead bliadhna gus a' bhliadhna 1992 's ann a tha 70 bunsgoiltean agus 16 iarsgoiltean air an stèidheachadh far a bheil teagasg tre na

Gaeilge feadh Galltachd na h-Eireann ged nach eil facal den Ghàidhlig Eireannach aig an leanabh nuair a thig e don sgoil sa chiad dol a-mach.

Fad iomadh bliadhna cha robh na sgoiltean Gaeilge anns a' Ghalldachd Eireannach ach tearc. A-nis, tha dochas ann gum bi a h-uile sgoil Eireannach a' teagasg tre na Gaeilge. Bithidh ar Gàidhlig agus a' Ghàidhlig Mhanainneach (Gaelgagh) sabhailte cuideachd nuair a bhios ar sgoiltean a' teagasg tre na Gàidhlig/Gaelgagh. Ach de mu dheighinn na h-ard-



sgoiltean, na colaistean agus na h-oilthighean ann an Eirinn, ann an Alba agus ann an Eilean Mhanainn? Feadh an Aonaidh Eòrpach agus feadh an Roinn Eòrpa uile gu leir, de chànan-theagaisg a tha ann ach a' chànan dhùthchasail eadhon tre gach sgoil, colaiste agus oilthigh. Cha bhi Eirinn, Alba no Manainn saor fhad's a bhitheadh uachdaranachd na Beurla orra!

Nach lionmhor ar nàimhdean! Bu mhòr am beud! A reir aithris bhiodh firsgrùdaidh nan àrd-sgoil toilichte an dìchioll a dhèanamh ar Gàidhlig a chur às!

Rud eile, chan eil àite air son litreachas sa Bheurla sna sgoiltean againn. 'S ann sna

colaistean is sna h-oilthighean a bhuineas an litreachas coimheach seo! Ionnsaichemaid tre a leithid doigh-teagasc nan dùthchannan Eòrpach eile!

Mata, thubhairt sinn gun robh dà riaghailt a thaobh teagasg na Gaeilge feadh Eirinn. Air an aon laimh, sgoiltean sa Ghàidhealtachd agus Gaelscoileanna far a bheil an Ghaeilge 'na meadhoin teagasg agus, air an laimh eile, sgoiltean Gallda na h-Eirinn.

O nach truagh an fheadhainn Ghallda Eireannach! Coltach ri draibhear a' breabadh a chàr bho nach robh e a' ruith no coltach ri marcaiche a tha a' buailleadh an eich mharbh aige bho nach eile e a' gluasad!

A reir aithris tha iad a' teagasg na Gaeilge tre na Beurla mar gun robh i na cànan choimheach le cailc air a' bhòrd-dhubh agus cus gramair agus daonan a' sgrìobhadh mar gun robh iad a' teagasg Laideann! Tha sgoiltean Gallda ann far nach eil iad a' teagasg na Gaeilge ach 20% de gach latha an àite faisg air 100% a-measg nan Gàidheal. No sgoiltean Gallda far a bheil iad a' bruidhinn na Beurla a h-uile Di-Luain, Di-Màirt, Di-ciadaoin agus Di-h-Aoine. Ach de an ùine a tha air fhàgail ach Diardaoin a-mhàin air son labhairt na Gaeilge? Nach gòrach iad! Sna sgoiltean Gaeilge tha iad a' bruidhinn na Gàidhlig Eireannach fad an latha a h-uile latha. A bhàrr air seo, tha sgoiltean Gallda seo a' cur na Gaeilge aca gu deuchainn (examination) agus tha iad daonan ag obair ris an deuchainn seo!

Chan eile e neònach gu bheil an luchd-teagaisg Gallda, an fheadhainn òg aca agus na pàrantan aca diombach, fo imcheist, mìshona, troimh-chèile bhon a tha an teagasg aca cho ceàrr. Chan eil ach aon fhuasgladh ann ... chan eil e doirbh idir ..... abair gum bheil e furasda ri dhèanamh ..... diochuimhnich na doighean-teagasg Gallda seo agus gabh ris na Gaelscoileanna (na sgoiltean Ghàidhlig Eireannach) agus sgoiltean na Gaidhealtachd Eireannach!

Teagaisgidh fàilinn nan sgoiltean Gallda Eireannach sinn nach eile co-rèiteachadh (compromise) glic. Feumaidh sinn a' bhi teagasg a h-uile cail tre na Gàidhlig/Gaeilge/Gaelgagh. Feumaidh sinn a bhi dìleas don Ghàidhlig/Gaeilge/Gaelgagh.

Dìreach mar a thuirt Ungarach, "Mur an robh sinn dìleas don chànan againn fhinn (Ungaireis) bhiodh Budapest a' bruidhinn na Gearmailteis fhathast!"

Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich (Gilleasbuig Lachlainn 'Ileasbuig)

# Celtic Autonomy and European Interdependence

## A Scottish Perspective on Thirty Years of Celtic Progress

Readers of the Scottish section of CARN would be forgiven thinking that the apologists for racist views or illegal methods in the independence movement have widespread or legitimate support. They do not.

Analysis is also needed of the views expressed by Bernard Moffatt, the Celtic League General Secretary, on his theme that Celts must "reclaim the radical and progressive roots of nationalism in the shadow of the twin dangers of the Euro-American bloc".

He particularly misunderstands the Scottish situation in a speech at a conference held in Romania in January concerning "Conflict Prevention and Building Democracy from Below". (See Carn 85) However any general theory which can be developed to understand the Celtic predicament and prospects must be welcomed.

With regards the aims of the Celtic League I would argue that constitutional nationalism is now well placed to promote the League 30 years on in the corridors of power at local, national and European levels. Of course there has been no even rate of progress but a review of these issues from a Scottish perspective is pertinent given the relative electoral success of the Scottish National Party in comparison with other national parties.

Nationalist parties in the Celtic countries have not developed in isolation, like fellow members of the European Free Alliance and with the EU Parliament Rainbow Group they are a part of the Euro-American cultural, political and economic bloc. They also have specific and long-standing claims to a place in the Europe of a hundred flags.

## Comparison, Contrast and Analysis

Economic, political and cultural comparison are often made between such peoples, e.g. J.J. Lee's work in comparing Ireland's development with Denmark, Switzerland, Finland etc., and of Tom Nairn's marxist analysis of uneven development which identifies historic nations like Scotland and Catalunya, less well developed nations like Euzkadi, Wales and Ireland, and least developed nations like Brittany and all the gradations in between. They provide us with useful sources of comparison and contrast to gauge our progress or otherwise.

Bernard Moffatt hails from Mann which is, in effect, an off-shore tax haven on the fringes of the EU. He is a trade union official who regularly collaborates with Liverpool Labour MPs on issues of mutual interest such as Sellafield emissions and Submarine accidents in the Irish and Celtic Seas. His concerns about the "twin dangers of the Euro-American political, cultural and economic bloc" in my opinion, take on a specific slant. He could do with making regular contact with SNP and Plaid Cymru MPs and SNP MEP Winnie Ewing to establish a broader perspective.

## Constitutional Nationalism in Action

The very recent inclusion of Manx in the school system of Mann owes much to nationalist pressure. What distinguishes the years since the Celtic League's foundation is the degree of involvement and support wrung from various arms of existing Multi-national states. In the UK, Wales in 1981 and Scotland in 1992 gained major media developments for their languages in both TV and radio. This may have influenced the backward Irish state to get its skates on when it realised that TV etc. creates real jobs. The Welsh struggle paved the way, the Scots were able to make the Thatcher-friendly argument that Gaelic usage would stimulate the entrepreneurial spirit through the medium of Gaelic!

State institutions' involvement may be erratic due to budget constraints in the ailing UK economy but involvement is now the norm. Also the head of steam for self-government has seen elected many nationalist councillors who control areas like Taff-Ely, Gwynedd, Angus and West Lothian Districts and shared power (with Labour) in Grampian Region.

Behind this push in Scotland is an all time high stable SNP vote of 25% and all parties but the Tories pledged to deliver some form of democratic parliament. If that is not progressive and radical compared to the Union, what is? Hopefully the Regional elections and Euro elections will push the SNP vote much higher this May and June creating a platform for democratic take off.

The SNP's Independence in Europe stance recognises interdependence among European peoples in trade, cultural matters and common heritage. It can see an ally in Europe against the UK's lax environmental policies and building co-operation between small states to push their needs at the top

table. When the protests against Sellafield are laid end to end what could beat a Scottish voice at the top table alongside Ireland's? What is more natural for a nation like Scotland to offer oil and gas supplies and a high percentage of European fish stocks to the common good?

There is no contradiction in proposing co-operation with our neighbours and an end to isolation and "separatism" imposed from Westminster. Of course local self-sufficiency in basic commodities is important as an early goal but that would not be achieved immediately by our people as so much economic activity is Europe orientated and building self sufficient structures will take time.

## Democracy v Racism

Regarding human rights the SNP has proposed in its democratic constitution equal status for Gaelic with English. None of the Unionist parties pledge this essential. We seek to transform the participatory nature of democracy in the nation at all levels. Our proposals include all who live in Scotland at the time of independence no matter where they were born. They will have the right to choose Scottish citizenship or not and of course they will have EU citizen's rights in any case.

So the issue of "an alien class of oppressors" raised by Scottish Watch is merely old-fashioned scapegoating by racist reactionaries. At around 7% of the Scottish population those born in England are a welcome addition to a population depleted by centuries of emigration under British rule. Many people of English origin as "New Scots", already support the SNP and their children will be Scots just as the children of the Irish, Italian or Lithuanians and Poles now are.

Given huge publicity by the Unionist media in reality these are minuscule groups of racists peddling the Scottish Watch. Settler Watch line of resentment as their abortive public meetings have shown. In my local area a meeting in Dingwall in April attracted 20 people, one third press, one third opposition and a third silent!

## "Tartan Terrorism"

The Andrew McIntosh case is one of a long line of half-baked "tartan terrorism" trials which the establishment delights in and has usually fomented when the SNP is seen to be on the rise. His link with Settler Watch fly posterers and paint sprayers led the police to him after his car was used in the Deeside Settler Watch campaign. Their characteristic use of language associated with the Irish armed struggle and attempted linkage to cases of direct action in Wales or Ireland is another predictable trait. In the McIntosh case it is bombast not real bombs!

(Continued overleaf)



## Celtic Progress in Europe

So what of Bernard Moffatt's reclamation of radical and progressive roots of nationalism? Talk of Connolly and MacLean is easy nationalist nostalgia for a bygone age. Today's struggles are engaged on an altogether more complex battlefield where the constitutional forces of national liberation cut their teeth in a mixture of protest politics, language promotion etc. which is linked loosely or directly to the Westminster hothouse and European Parliament. Their solid work in local government where many real decisions are taken promotes the Celtic language in many educational, cultural and economic aspects. It also establishes the credibility of the nationalists as competent representatives. For Scots this is "no retreat into defence of our historic roots" but the very "counter attack that recaptures the initiative" which Bernard Moffatt calls for.

On top of that Ireland has reached the top table in Europe, while the SNP have had a nationalist MEP since 1979. We Scots hope that Plaid Cymru will join the Rainbow Group along with many other representatives of small nations and autonomous regions of Europe in Strasbourg after the June elections. For Scots today Hamish Henderson's phrase, "no Gods and precious few heroes" is the spur to claim the future by our own efforts.

In order to seek political and economic solutions that "counteract the more far reaching effects of European and American influence" in Bernard Moffatt's words, we have to pursue solidarity with similar, mainly small, nations struggling in the European context, e.g. the Scandinavians and many potential entrants to the EU are small nations which makes the idea of a European bloc a much more diverse entity than the monumental language he invokes. We can decide then to co-operate in confronting international capitalism with our flags standing at the decision taking place. For decentralising the European Union is a natural consequence of widening its membership. This should be the touchstone of the Celtic struggle which matches the aspirations of our peoples to James Connolly's famous words, "True patriotism seeks the welfare of each in the happiness of all".

### Note:

1. A free pamphlet "Our Changing Scotland" is available from SNP, 6 North Charlotte St., Edinburgh EH2 4JH. It chronicles sixty years of SNP in action 1934-1994.
2. A selection of news cutting regarding the activities of the Scottish Watch, Settler Watch cells. They are available on request for the price of an A4 sized stamped addressed envelope from this writer at: Ruadha Alaimn, Upper Knockbain Road, Dingwall, Easter Ross-shire, Alba.

Rob Gibson

## Scottish Independence An Acceptable Face of Nationalism?

Scotland is a small country, though with a population of 5 million and rich in natural resources it has the potential with self-rule of being a successful one. In spite of 280 years of Westminster rule we still have our own independent legal system, police force and education system. We have our own parliament building and at the last elections we had over 75% voting for devolution or independence. There is no constitutional reason why the Scottish Parliament couldn't be recalled tomorrow. Indeed at a recent demonstration all the major Scottish parties apart from Labour called for this. Labour, the majority party in Scotland is too interested in winning in the British Parliament to listen to the needs and desires of the people of Scotland.

The adjournment of the Scottish Parliament in 1707 was the result of blatant bribery and blackmail of the Lowland aristocracy and a deliberate policy of denying food to the Highland Clans who were starving due to the potato blight.

After the 1745 rebellion, the English Government went all out to destroy Scottish culture and life. Gaelic speaking was banned, as was the wearing of tartan, many clans were disbanded and their lands given to those who supported the English armies.

The main problem though was the clearances. The widespread and forcible removal of the people from the land to make way for sheep. Sheep made more profit than people and the Government needed the money to expand its empire.

In places, like Lewis, people were cleared from fertile land to areas where there was not enough soil to bury the dead, many were transported to the colonies, those who refused to leave had their home burned down while they were inside.

After the sheep came the deer, huge hunting estates for the aristocracy. The overgrazing by sheep and deer has destroyed the fertility of the land and has helped reduce the native woodlands of Scotland to only 1.5% of its former area, a far worse record than of any Third World country.

In the 70's came the oil, only the profits went to American companies and the British Government and never fed back into Scotland.

What we got in return is Nuclear Power Stations, Nuclear Powered Submarines and all our major industries closed down.

The resistance to English Imperialism (the domination of a small country by a larger, more powerful one) is growing and through culture, politics and action the right of Scots to self-determination is being demanded. The Scots and Gaelic languages are in the ascendant after generations of having them beaten out of us. Gaelic TV and playgroups are now common. Scots

story, song and music have never had such a following.

The BBC in Scotland, Television and Radio, is very strongly for Scottish Nationhood. Recently the crofters at Assynd achieved an historical land rights victory by forcing the foreign company who 'burned' their estate to sell it to them. Other crofters are following the lead, moving towards locally owned and managed land. Reforesting Scotland, an organisation with a lot of influence within the Government and the establishment places land rights and local employment as central to its demands.

Groups like the vigil outside the Scottish Parliament, Democracy for Scotland and Artists for Independence work hard to keep the issue alive in the media and in the hearts of the people of Scotland.

Of course the feeling for independence and celebration of our culture can have another side. In many areas there is high unemployment and homelessness. The unemployment is largely due to the policies of an English dominated parliament and the number of houses bought by wealthy Southerners for retirement homes or holiday cottages result in locals having to bring up their children in damp caravans with no hope of ever affording to match English prices.

Sometimes the resentment becomes personal rather than general and few of us would support organisation like Settler Watch that targets individual white settlers. The more moderate Scottish Watch has much support and though we may disagree with the methods, part of us celebrates the Welsh burning of holiday homes. On a recent visit to West Wales, around 80% of the people I met were English.

If white settlers are to avoid conflict they must respect the land and the culture that they are "buying into". It is a mistake to believe that having money and power means that they own the land and its people.

Any Green future involves decentralisation of power. An Independent Scotland would be a major first step. Local people must have the right to self-determination and self-rule.

I firmly believe that the nationalism of a people who are oppressed and demand self-determination and respect in their own land is not the nationalism of an expansive dogma where one people want to impose its ways on other lands or peoples.

I support Scottish Nationalism but totally oppose groups like the B.N.P. in the same way as I support feminism and oppose patriarchy. I believe that in Scotland we are fighting for liberation of ourselves not domination over others and

(Cont. on page 5)

# Faslane

## Grassroots activism against the military

Twelve years ago when the British Government agreed with the Americans to site four Trident Submarines on the Clyde increasing Britain's nuclear stockpile by a factor of eight to 4,000 Hiroshimas local people chose to act by setting up a peace camp outside the military base to vigil and protest.

Over the years the camp has developed from a few tents on the roadside to large caravans, plumbed toilets and hot running water, computer, photocopier, phone and mobile phone. More important than the physical comforts is the links we have built up with individuals and organisations.

We have had a lot of support from the local councils. One of the original peace campers was, until recently, head of the District Council and another is in charge of the Nuclear Free Zones of the Regional Council. They have helped us out with funds, planning permission and much else.

Surveys show that over 70% of Scots don't want Trident, interestingly a similar percentage don't want English rule. The British government spends £23 billion a year on 'defence' while the total for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland is £26 billion. In a world that pretends to becoming more peaceful we proliferate our nuclear warheads and potential targets. In the last four years we have increased our share of the world arms sales from 9% to 20%. Trident will cost us £3 million a day for twenty years and is due to come into service in only one year.

As well as the costs we have the dangers, monthly convoys travel through our towns and cities carrying live nuclear warheads, complete with sensitive high explosive. The emergency services are not even told. We have submarines with

dangerous nuclear reactors based on our coastline and an ever growing number of fishing boats sunk or damaged by submarines.

We also have to look at the possibility of Britain using Trident on Third World countries. When a leak showed that 40 tonnes of depleted uranium spread over Kuwait and Southern Iraq by using armour piercing rounds the government estimated 500,000 deaths. The true figure for depleted uranium is nearer 300 tonnes. Add the bombing of nuclear reactors and facilities and a couple of Trident warheads dropped on Baghdad would be an improvement in terms of the amount of radioactive contamination and death in the long term. After the massive pollution of the Gulf War we have the prospect of 'limited nuclear strikes' being called an environmentally friendly way to bring countries back into line.

Britain is also determined to be a major part of the nuclear club in order to maintain its position on the security council and help America keep the world under the yoke of a 'new world order!'

In 12 years the camp has also done much to publicise and actively oppose the war machine. Nuclear convoys, once a total secret, are now followed, filmed and blockaded every time they move. Local Authorities now know of their existence and campaign against them. Photographs, articles and letters get into local and national papers, television has covered them as news and on documentaries and this has all come about through the activities of the peace camp and a growing number of active supporters.

We have always tried to maintain support in local communities as well as being a focus for non-violent direct action.

Regular actions include land and sea blockades, mass trespass, reclaiming military land, breaking into bases, street theatre and leafleting, winning actions, painting slogans and harassing nuclear convoys.

We take stalls and displays all over the country, hold public meetings, give input to conferences and meetings, write reports for ourselves or for organisations such as Greenpeace and the Nuclear Free Local Authorities and press release our activities or news of accidents or problems we hear about.

Among the organisations we work closely with are CND, CAAT, Nuclear Free Seas, Ploughshares, Gulf Peace Team, PPU, Green Party, Scram, SAND, At Ease,

Greenpeace, Earth First! and the Nuclear Free Zones.

Details of our activities and research go out in many different journals and newsletters and we produce our own newsletter, *Faslane Focus*, that goes out to all our supporters.

As well as the Nuclear Submarines we have been active in opposing the Falklands War, the Gulf War, arms trade and arms fairs, the bombing of Libya, the destruction of the land of the Western Shoshone people by nuclear testing and the nuclearisation of the Pacific. We maintain links with many related campaigns.

The vast majority of Scots and Scots MP's have been no help to us. Only by getting through to people and getting them actively involved in campaigning and non-violent direct action can we force the will of the people on an unwilling government. This applies in many areas of life, not just the nuclear issue. I believe that the activities, and success in mobilising people, of the Faslane Peace Camp is an inspiration for antimilitarist and Green activists throughout the world.

For those of you who think that green issues are more important than antimilitarist issues may I remind you that the Pentagon produces five times more toxics than the five biggest American chemical companies added together and that two thirds of the world's CFC use is military. Nuclear Weapons and military might are used to keep control of the United Nations and to ensure that the rape of the world's resources allows the West to live unsustainably for a while longer while much of the world starves and dies.

If I sat in my house or at work and did nothing but talk about how bad things were I would despair. If a nuclear warhead convoy was coming into Scotland and I did nothing I would be responsible because I didn't do everything in my power to oppose it.

Often I may be doing press work or legal support, maybe looking after the children or cooking instead of lying in the road but I am enabling others to be active and so helping make their protest more successful.

Faslane has been an inspiration to many to take the protest and action back to their own areas and provides mutual support and contact for activists. I would ask you all to visit the camp if you can and to give it your full support.

How much longer will the people of Scotland have to endure the British Government forcing American Nukes on us.

For evil to triumph it is only necessary for good people to do nothing. A pacifist approach to violence must not be passive. We must act now, with our hearts as well as our heads. If we allow ourselves to be coerced into doing nothing then we condone, by our inaction, genocide and environmental destruction and there will be no future.

Mark Johnston

(Cont. from page 4)

that, I believe, is a good aim. It is a mistake to equate all nationalism with fascism.

Land rights for Scots in Scotland are as important as land rights for Native Americans or Australian Aborigines. If we are to oppose the domination of the world by an 'American' consumer culture we must be proud of our own cultures and differences and celebrate them while tolerating others.

Mark Johnston

### Footnote

The above is the submission delivered by Mark Johnston to the Regional Conference for Europe, Sinaia 1994

# BREIZH

## PA VIMP REZ

Bep bloaz da vare Pask ec'h aoz Fondúireacht an Phiarasigh ur rummad bodadegoù evit delc'her bev an eñvor eus Pádraig Pearse. Ar Fondúireacht zo un ensavadur - hep harp Stad - hag a voe krouet e 1979 da geñver kantvet deiz-ha-bloaz an hini a oa e penn emsavadeg 1916. Pearse ne oa ket hepken ur stourmer politikel er ster strizh: ur stourmer evit an iwerzhoneg e oa ivez, hag un desavour a lakaas e pleustr menozioù deskadurel hag a oa un tamm mat en a-raok e-keñver an darn vrasañ eus e gempredidi dre ma roent tu, da skouer, d'ar skolidi da gemer ur perzh oberiant en o destadurezh. En abeg da se paneve ken e tellez bezañ enoret.

Breizhiz an Eil Emsav o deus bet tro d'ober anaoudegezh gant e oberenn a-drugarez d'ar buhezskrid anezhañ gant L.N. Le Roux embannet gant (pe war intrudu) Breiz Atao. En Iwerzhon e voe lakaet evel delwenn ur sant war ur sichenn uhel met ne voe ket graet nemeur a vrud d'e gelennadur. D'ar c'houlz ma oad o lidañ 50vet deiz-ha-bloaz emsavadeg 1916 e kroe istorourien 'zo da adskriñ istor Iwerzhon e sell da ziskouez ne oa bet abaoe ur prantad mat nemet un niver bihan a dud o kas disteuler beli ar Saozon. Neuze, gant ar brezel er C'hwec'h Kontelezh o kendalc'her hag o kinnig direnkañ buhez peoc'hus ar peurrest eus ar vro e voe kavet mat teuler diskred war Pearse hag e genstourmerien gant aon na vefe broudet an dud yaouank gant o skouer da vont a-du gant an IRA. Diboell e oa, gouez d'an adwelourien-istor-se, menozioù Pearse a-zivout aberzhiñ e vuhez da zieubiñ e vro, gallet he dije houmañ gounit he "frankiz" dre an hentoù parlamantel. (Se n'o deus ket prouet!) Ma vije goulennet peseurt frankiz e lavarjent moarvat an aotre da gas kannaded d'ur Bodad Broadel e Dulenn, 'da zeskiñ un tamm iwerzhoneg d'ar re a garje ha da wintañ ar banniel iwerzhonat ouzh tal ar savadourioù foran. Ahendall chom brav e-barzh ar Rouantelezh Unanet...? Goude 50 vloaz, gwir eo, ez eo bet gredus ar bras eus an dilennerien o kroazañ war ar frankiz gounezet evit mont e-barzh Europa Unanet, en gortoz eus gouidoù danvezel, hep bezañ diskoulmet evit-se ar c'hudennoù a oa bet lakaet o diskoulm da benngefridi ar stad: labour

d'an holl er vro, adsav an iwerzhoneg, unanidigezh Iwerzhon.

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Ar re a grouas Fondúireacht an Phiarasigh ne oant ket enep un emglev europat met fellout a rae dezho lakaat Iwerzhoniz da gounaat ez eus e-leizh e kelennadur Pearse hag a dalvez atav hiziv an deiz, barrekoc'h ma vefent, oc'h ober dioutañ, da dalañ ouzh ar gwask a laka warno ar bed a-vremañ.

A vloaz da vloaz ez eus bet kouviat meizourien, istorourien, renerien kevredigezhioù da zisplegañ o menozioù ha da daolennañ o labour dirak ar re a zeu da Scoil an Phiarasigh evel ma anver ar rummad prezegennoù ha kendaeloù aozet gant ar Fondúireacht. Dalc'het e vez ar Skol er savadur bras, lec'hiet e-kreiz ur gourliorzh kaer, ma oa ar skol renet gant Pearse, Scoil Éanna, ur skolaj divyezhek anezhi. Ar savadur hag an douar tro-war-dro a voe legadet d'ar Stad pell goude. Siwazh, e-lec'h adkrouiñ eno ur skol-skouer, awenet gant ar spered a *rezid*, e voe graet ur mirdi eus al lec'h.

Hevlene, ar brezegenn bouezusañ d'am meno a voe unan, e saozneg, gant ur c'helaouenner eus an Irish Times, John Waters. An titl: "When we are free" (pa vimp rez). Me'gred e voe aozet re vuan gantañ hag e c'haller kavout abeg e lod eus e zezvarnadennoù met mat e vo reiñ un alberz eus e zisplegadur.

Hervezañ, ar Stad diazezet e 1921 n'he deus ket degaset rezid da Iwerzhoniz Petra? Daoust ha n'eus ket ur gouarnamant iwerzhonat, kannaded dilennet gant an holl, lezioù-barn, kelaouennoù, skolioù iwerzhonat? An traoù-se a ro tu da Iwerzhoniz da grediñ ez int dieub. Padal, ar genreizhad krouet gant ar Saozon evit sujañ Iwerzhoniz a voe kemmet nebeut a dra enni hag ar vro zo chomet e par un drevadenn. Evel meneget n'eo ket bet diskoulmet ar c'hudennoù o doa stourmet Pearse ha re all evit kaout diskoulm dezho. Deskiñ a reer iwerzhoneg er skolioù\* met n'eus ket bet diorroet ur reizhad deskadurezh stummet diouzh ezhommoù ar bobl-mañ. Ma vije bet, "ne vijemp ket ken amoeñ dirak an direizhderioù, ken berrek a ijin dirak hor c'hudennoù, ken laosk dirak kement seurt impalaerouriezh mod-nevez. Hor gourstlenn (media) n'eo ket dieub: ne aotre ket kendaelañ diwar-benn ar sevenadur iwerzhonat. N'eus gantañ koulz lavaret nemet drevezerezh, mevelegezh, izelder-kalon". Sellit ouzh ar moc'haj a roer d'ar skinwelerien eus Amerika, ar jestraouerezh

ginniger en abadennoù "sonerezh", an hudurniezh hag ar chatalegezh a vager gant ar c'henwerzh video...

Ne gav ket din ez eus frankiz gant an dra-se, rak piv a ziviz ar c'hiz, petra a ra d'ar re yaouank ober diouti? N'eo ket rezid ar frankiz-se a-dra-sur. "Ar vroadelezh", a skrive Pearse, "n'eo ket un dra danvezel termenet dre lezennoù pe gwarantet gant kenlazoù. N'eo ket ur perzh a rank da gentañ bezañ anavezet gant ur Stad. Ur c'hlod eo, un dellid da vezañ sevenet. Ken gwir all eo evit ar rezid: ur ret speredel eo hag a zo dreist da bep ret danvezel. N'eo ket reizh kroazañ warnañ war zigarez dont pinvidikoc'h, kaout ur vuhez sioulloc'h, bezañ lodek en ur riez c'halloudus." (Hiziv e teu da gentañ e preder an darn vrasañ eus an dud ar miliardoù a dle bezañ roet gant an Unaniezh Europat evit aozañ meurhentoù tra ma sav kevezerezh evit kaout skoazelloù arc'hant etre ar re a fell dezho kaout muioc'h a barkeier da c'hoari golf hag ar re a zouj na vo ket roet a-walc'h evit ar Servij skinwel iwerzhonek nevez).

An dizalc'hded a felle da b-Pádraig Pearse gounit da Iwerzhon a dlee bout diazezet war hini ar spered, hini ar reizh. Ne badje ket a-drugarez hepken da genvadoù korfel hag a gemm gant an amzer ha diouzh an degouezhioù. Derc'hvoud ar rezid, a lavare, ne gemm ket gant an amzer.

"An deskadurezh a dle dougen da gresk ar bersonelezh. N'eus ket anezhi hep rezid. En ur reizhad deskadurezh wirion e tle ar relijion, ar vrogarantez, al lennegezh, an arzoù hag ar ouezoniezh bezañ degaset e buhez pemdeziek ar vugale e seurt doare ma vo levezonet ganto o zemz-spered hag o emzoug. Ar relijion he deus ul lec'h a bouez avat er skolioù iwerzhonat met an traoù all n'eus ket koulz lavaret anezho. Ne atizer ket ar youl a gened, ar youl da lenn, da anaout, da seveniñ traoù harozek. N'eur chalet nemet gant ar programm." Bremañ ez eur chalet gant an niver a boentoù a ranker kaout evit mont d'ar skolioù uheloc'h... N'eus kemm ebet, eme J. Waters. N'eo ket souezh e taver diwar-benn Pearse er metoù politikel hag er gourstlenn: diaezet e vezer gantañ. Mez o deus abalamour ma voe diazezet ar Stad diwar-bouez implij an armoù, ne aozur mui lidoù gant an arme o kemer perzh da geñver deiz-ha-bloaz Emsavadeg 1916.

Lakaat a reas ar prezeger e selaouerien war evezh rak dreistprizañ an hengoun. Evel an istor e oa ret e anavezout evit gouzout petra a chom bev ha gweredus anezhañ ha gouest da greñvaat hor broadelezh c'hoazh. Ret eo kounaat evelato



ne glot ket mui dilhad ur mare zo bet. Kemm zo bet gant an trevadennerezh. En dael etre arnevez ha hengounel e ranker eta diwall na lakfemp dre varanegezh ar re a ra fae war an tremened da zisteuler pezh zo talvoudus ha bevaus en hor sevenadur, ar yezh, ar sonerezh, an dañsoù.

\* En ul levr nevez-embannet, "The Irish and Irish" e testeniek ar Frañsiskan Colmán Ó hUallacháin ec'h enebas start kargidi uhel eus Maodierniezh an Deskadurezh ouzh erbedoù graet gantañ, pa oa rener Ensavadur Yezhoniel Iwerzhon (1967-1971), evit aesaat a-galz deskiñ iwerzhoneg er skolioù. Rebechoù lemm a reer el levr-se da leviadurezh ar gouarnamant a-zivout an iwerzhoneg etre 1950 ha 1980.

\*\* En e levr "The Waning of Humaneness" e tiskouez an Aostriad Konrad Lorenz ez eo tizhet hor sevenadur gant ur c'hleñved-bred a ginnig e zistrujañ. Ur remed eo diorren ur reizhad deskadurezh a lakay ar vugale da greskiñ en un endro kenedek hag e kenstok gant an natur (plant hag anevaled), dezho da veizañ pegen nes hag etredalc'hiat eo an holl vodoù bev, da santout, da verzout ar c'henfeurioù zo kenetrezo.

A Heusaff

#### Gerioù nebeut anavezet

Kendael - colloquium; rezid - freedom; gourstlenn - mass media; kenlazoù/kenvadoù - common interests; riez - state; emzoug - behaviour; metoù - milieus; gweredus - active; baranegezh - fanaticism; maodierniezh - ministry; etredalc'hiat - interdependent.

#### Summary

*Fondúireacht an Phiarsaigh was founded in 1979 to commemorate the life and work of Patrick Pearse and others who took part with him in the struggle for Irish independence. Every year around April 24 it organises a week-end of bilingual lectures on themes related to that struggle. Much of Pearse's teaching regarding education and the Irish language remains valid. Yet little is done officially to honour his memory. This year in a lecture dealing with freedom, John Waters (a journalist) argued that this was not achieved in the spiritual sense in which Pearse had meant it. Material considerations predominated, there was no public debate about the Irish culture, for the media the positive aspects of the Irish language movement were not "news".*

In March several Bretons were arrested for having put up Basques fleeing from Spanish prosecution. No political status for the latter anymore. Vigorous protests in Kemper, An Oriant (here 500 demonstrators) resulted in the eventual release of all except for Karim Chakroun (of Tunisian origin) who according to the latest news was still in prison near Paris.

## Langleiz Prize to René Le Gléau

Al Liamm Publications have recently brought out the last volume of R. Le Gléau's Dictionnaire Classique Français-Breton. It is the 10th volume, with 608 pages larger than the previous ones. It costs 125F in paperback, 160F in hardback. It brings to an end one of the most important works of 20th century Breton lexicography: the total comes to 4064 pages! It forms a complement to Roparz Hemon's monumental Geriadur Istorel (Breton Historical Dictionary) of about 4000 pages also, in which the use of each word is illustrated by examples, sentences taken from works dating from the period of Middle Breton to the beginning of this century.

Le Gléau's dictionary also relies entirely on the written language in providing examples to show how the words should be correctly used: he selected them from the best modern writers. Examples are as it were the soul of a dictionary: like an organ separated from the body a word has no real life when detached from a sentence.

Here we have if ever it was needed the demonstration that Breton has again become a fully fledged literary language, like every such language developing a life of its own, drawing resources of course from the spoken language but also deriving strength and confidence from a continuously growing corpus of literature which has become part of our people's spiritual domain.

I said "again" because contrary to an opinion which is peddled around, Breton hardly ever ceased to be a literary language, the exception being perhaps the short period when the Maunoir reform of spelling (in the second half of the 17th century) caused a break in the tradition. Breton was indeed a literary language well before French, it was the elaborate language of the higher classes of the Breton society at the time of Nominoë (ca

830-845) when French was just emerging from Low Latin as only a spoken language.

R. Le Gléau (or Reun ar Glew in the corrected form) was born in 1922 in Lokronan (W. of Brest) in a devout Catholic Breton speaking family. It was he and his brother who, in turn read Buhez ar Sent (The Life of the Saints) aloud before bed-time, as was then the custom. He got secondary school education thanks to the patronage of a priest who is known as the author of a Dictionnaire Universel de la Pensée: the personal links which Ar Glew kept with this protector may well have indirectly influenced him when he later took up his lexicographic work.

His active interest in Breton first came to notice in 1949 when he went around the country selling books in Breton from house to house for BALB, an association set up for that purpose. Having completed university studies in literature he joined SADED which during the sixties organised a successful system of secondary school education by correspondence. He then began preparing his dictionary, reading extensively and indexing quotations. This work went on for thirty years, quietly, devoting 2 hours a day for ten months in every year, like clockwork!

The members of the Langleiz Prize committee were unanimous in their decision to honour an achievement performed over so many years, the value of which cannot be exaggerated. The prize is to be awarded by Madame de Langlais herself in the castle of Trevarez near Kastellnevez-ar-Faou on the occasion of an exhibition devoted to the work of her husband, a painter of high renown and the author of several books in Breton.

Y. Bouessel du Bourg  
(transl. by A.H.)

## Stourm ar Brezhoneg

Stourm ar Brezhoneg celebrated its 10th anniversary in March by painting over signposts in French only on a motorway near Morlaix. The Finistère and the Cotes-d'Armor councils have put up a considerable number of bilingual signposts but the State which has responsibility for the "routes nationales" continues to oppose the Breton forms.



Stourm ar Brezhoneg at work - 12.3.1994

# In the shackles of the French Republic

The French Senate voted almost unanimously in mid-April in support of the bill proposed by Minister Toubon (for Culture and French) for the protection of the French language. Its declared purpose is to stop the invasion of French by English terms. But if passed into law – it is to go before the Chamber of Deputies at the end of May – it could be used also to put crippling constraints on the use of the minority languages spoken within the borders of the French state, the so-called “regional languages”. Corsicans, Alsacians, Catalans, Occitans, Basques as well as Bretons are opposed to it. On the initiative of the Alsatian senator Goetschy a National High Council for Regional Languages has been set up.

The article 19 says that the new law would apply only in as much as it would not run counter to the laws and regulations dealing with the “regional” languages. This, no more than the bland assurances given by Toubon during the Senate debate, does not dispel the worry and the anger felt by those struggling already against great odds to maintain these languages. The laws (Deixonne 1951, Haby 1975) are so weak in their import, the regulations (circulars from the Minister of Education to local heads of education) so devoid of legal value that this article amounts to nothing more than eyewash.

French was already stated constitutionally to be the (sole) language of the Republic. Article 9 of the present bill says that “it is the language of education, examinations, theses, treatises in public and private schools, except for teaching foreign languages”. If adopted, it would render illegal the DIWAN schools and put an end to the bilingual classes set up in State and Catholic schools which use Breton as a means of teaching other subjects. It would also definitely rule out the acceptability of exam papers written in Breton (five Lannuon students have already last year experienced the unexpected rejection of such papers).

At a meeting on March 19, the Breton Cultural Council, to which 38 associations are affiliated, passed a resolution opposing the bill and sent a request to all the members of the French Senate and Chamber of Deputies not to vote for it unless amended in such a way as to guarantee its non-application to the “regional” languages. “It is these”, it said, “which are in danger here, not French”. (A similar request was sent by the committee representing the minority languages of France in the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages). On April 5 Senator

Goetschy organised a meeting attended by delegates from each ethnic group and a few senators and deputies (two from Brittany...). The above-mentioned High Council was then launched, with an invitation to all elected representatives from the areas concerned to join. Will it be more effective than the National Council of the Languages of France established officially when L. Fabius was Prime Minister and which strictly did **nothing**?

It went quickly into action anyway by commissioning an opinion poll (by I.F.O.P.) according to the usual rules to find out what the French people in general think about the ‘regional’ languages. 77% of them are favourable to the adoption of a law to protect them. 93% think they are part of the French culture (which does not appear to tally with the 13% who think they are “part of the foreign languages” or the 12% for whom they are a threat to French). 74% consider it important to defend them (against who? what?) – the figure is even higher among those aged under 30, and it is distinctly higher among leftists than among rightists. The majority hold that it is for the regional or the more local collectivities to take the required measures, only 8% see it as the role of the State – (the question was not put whether these collectivities should then have sole control and have all necessary means in those matters). All this indicates that the French people are tolerant but do you think that the supposedly democratic system which governs them will take account of such figures anymore than of similar strong majorities shown previously to be in support of positive measure for Breton?

## Confounding outcome

The debate in the Senate started on April 12. Toubon was put on the defensive by a barrage of questions and compelled to deal with amendments proposed by Goetschy with the backing of several other senators. All the minister conceded was that the status quo regarding the minority – pardon, the regional – languages would not be interfered with. But according to him it would lead to too many complications for France to ratify the European Charter of Minority Languages. (Too old to adapt to the new climate around is she?)

In the event, very few of the proposed amendments in favour of the minority groups passed the hurdle. Indeed they were assimilated to the foreign languages, textually bracketed with them, in being allowed in education only for their own teaching.



How do they reconcile that with Article 19? Don't breathe a word! It leaves the Breton and the other “subject” languages to the mercy of these ethnic cleansers who claim that they stand for European diversity. Some of their amendments went further than the original proposals: thus inscriptions, signposts, the names of regional dishes will have to be translated in French (and in other languages!?) for the sake of the tourists at cultural festivals; also it is specified that French is to be not only the language of education but also of work, exchanges and public services. This could make illegal the use of the minority languages in a wide range of social activities. Could any free thinking member of the groups to which these languages belong accept to implement such ukazes, edicts which as the I.F.O.P. opinion poll shows, only a small minority of the French themselves would approve?

What squealing we would hear from these language imperialists if similar laws were adopted or only proposed in other countries where French is a minority language? This bill goes far beyond the legitimate concern of a nation to safeguard its language against corruption. Personally I see nothing wrong with maintaining or favouring certain standards in linguistic development and seeking to avoid the massive introduction of loanwords and particularly alien turns of phrase. But this bill lays the ground for the strangling of all that has been achieved in promoting the Breton language during the past fifteen years.

It is completely at odds with the liberal or even the positive attitude of France's partners in the European Union and the Council of Europe towards the minority languages. In her dictatorial frame of mind this self-proclaimed champion of the rights of man is prepared to trample on the rights of other nations where it has the power to do so, with impunity. The vote in the Chamber of Deputies will be crucial in deciding whether the Jacobins of the various French parties can be restrained by international or for that matter the internal opinion.

A. Heusaff

(The facts referred to in this articles are taken from Bremañ, May 1994).



## Don't Pay TV Licence!

Stourm ar Brezhoneg, backed by seven other organisations, has launched a campaign against the payment of the television licence motivated by the failure of France 3 Iroise to provide a proper service in their language to the 689,000 people who speak or understand Breton (figure calculated following investigation by the "Institute of National Statistics", Rennes). A booklet, available for 10F from S.ar B., BP 15, 29480 Ar Releg-Kerhuon, advises those deciding to take part in the campaign on how to go about it. Two participants, J.Y. Le Soueff and Anne Bessec, from Brest, have been threatened to have their property seized and sold. Obviously those taking such risks\* must be supported, if need be materially, by a well organised, widespread movement of solidarity. Three or four hundred people demonstrated on 29/1 in An Oriant for a Breton TV service serving the interests of the Bretons. This will never be forthcoming from a station outside Breton control. The hour and a half devoted

weekly to our language is repeatedly curtailed, as happened on Feb. 13th and 20th when a one-hour broadcast was cancelled to make room for the Winter Olympics (skiing is so important in Breton life!)

The man in charge of France 3 in Rennes, J.P. Guguen, has been decorated with the Legion d'Honneur red ruban: he is the most compliant servant of the French cultural policy in Brittany. He deserves the honour!

A.Ch.-arG/A.H.

\* Talking about risks, they are different from the type against which Rennes University Professor Department of Celtic, cautioned. He is reported as saying there was no longer any problem of Breton identity (meaning presumably it is now secure notwithstanding the stranglehold on DIWAN, Toubon's bill, etc.), that the risk was to appear too Breton, regarding the future of Breton the main thing was to bear witness to it (how?). Sounds like preaching disarmament while the opponent remains as aggressive as ever. Yet, in *Le Peuple Breton* (April) he recognises that the "Education Nationale is unreformable". It is impossible to develop an alternative while Brittany remains part of France. It is

true that the Breton parties score disappointingly in elections. (The best results in the March Departement Councils elections was obtained by J. Guégan, Greens/UDB, editor of *Le Peuple Breton*, with 10.5% of the vote in An Oriant and by P. L'Héréc, UDB, Lannuon, 9%.

What chances have parties which are barred from access to the mass media? (Cf. Berlusconi, for contrast...). The dedication of the Breton parties is important however, as pointed out in *Combat Breton*, in that they are the only ones in putting the local problems in the overall political Breton context, in upholding the right of the Breton people to have powers of decision like other free people in Europe. Indeed it is thanks to them that the Breton sense of identity can survive the brainwashing of the powerful French agencies. Prof. Favereau does not seem to see that. No more than did F. Broudic, safely entrusted with the 1.5 hours of TV in Breton, recognise in a thesis that if the mass of the Breton speakers are discarding the language it is not out of indifference but because of the pressure exercised and the handicaps placed on them by the whole State apparatus during the past two hundred years.

A. Heusaff



## DAZONT in leading position

Dazont, stressed on the second syllable, means Future. It is the name of a federation of Breton students unions which has branches in the three universities of Brittany and is seeking to establish itself also in the universities of the Paris area.

Founded in Rennes five years ago it has become the main students organisation in Brittany. In that city, where it is strongest, it got 733 out of 1,854 votes in this year's elections to the University's administrative council and student's council. It works for practical aims, improvements in the material conditions for studies, decentralisation of power in educational matters, recognition of regional diplomas in a European system of

education. It faults the French students organisations for their subservience towards the big parties. It concerns itself only with the interests of Brittany. It is affiliated to the Breton Cultural Council. In Rennes it was instrumental in getting bilingual signposts put up in certain areas of the university, in Brest it works also to promote the Breton language and culture, in Nantes it obtained 3,000 signatures to a petition demanding that the university be named after the last ruler of independent Brittany, Anne de Bretagne.

"Na ruz na gwenn, Breizhad hepken" (neither red nor white, Breton only - Breiz Atao slogan, 1936).

A. Charlez-Ar Gevello

DAZONT for real powers in decision in Brittany

## Learning Breton

If you wish to learn Breton by correspondence get in touch with Skol Ober, Gwaremm Leurven, 22310 PLUFUR.

If you have already made a good start you could spend a fortnight in Kamp Etrekeltiek ar Vrezhonegerien held every year in July in Skaer. Only Breton spoken. Further information from K.E.A.V., 22 Hent Moulouen, 29000 Kemper. Opportunities for Breton-speakers to meet one another, to attend courses, lectures, to learn songs in Breton exist at several urban or semi-rural locations. We list here a few of them:

Oaled Abherve, 15 Str. F. Menez, 22000 Sant-Brieg;

Kreizenn Roparz Hemon, Pl. de Verdun, 22200 Gwengamp;

The Students Union Dazont, 20 Str. Le Gorgeu, 29200 Brest;

Kreizen Klasoù Glas, 22160; Ar Chapel Nevez/La Chapelle Neuve.

Ti ar Vro, 29270 Karaez-Plogêr;

An Oaled, Treglonou, 29870 Lanniliz (Tel. 98 04 07 04).

For the Gwened/Vannes dialect, phone 97 51 27 03/97 28 02 43.

The best atmosphere is guaranteed at the Breton Language Festival, last week-end in May in Spezed near Gourin (NW of Lorient).

In Paris, there is Ti ar Brezhoneg 15 rue des Tourelles, 20th arrondissement (Phone 43 64 63 33).

# CYMRU

## PIGION CELTAIDD

### Yr Alban

#### Celfyddydau Albaneg

Dyma brif fudiadau'r celfyddydau Albaneg a'u cymorthdaliadau oddi wrth Gyngor Celfyddydau'r Alban ar gyfer 1994-5:

Y Prosiect Celfyddydau	
Albaneg	£88,000 (+11.1%)
Oriel An Lanntair,	
Steornabhagh	£50,000 (+19%)
Feisean	
(gwyliau lleol)	£40,000 (+23.8%)
Cyngor Llyfrau	
Albaneg	£98,250 (+2.9%)

#### Heddwch y byd a dyfodol yr Albaneg

Gyda diwedd y Rhyfel Oer ac asesiad o anghenion milwrol Lloegr ceir argymhellion cau gwersylloedd talegryn y Fyddin a'r Llu Awyr ar Beinn a'bhaghla/Benbecula a De Uibhist ar yr Ynys Hir ar ôl 35 mlynedd a symud y gwaith arbrofi i Aberporth. Y mae 17% yn ddi-waith yn ardal yr ynysoedd deheuol ar hyn o bryd. Y mae'r gwersylloedd yn cynnal 40% o'r cwmnïau lleol a 40% o'r swyddi lleol. Ar y llaw arall dim ond 29% o boblogaeth gogledd Beinn a'bhaghla (lle mae tai'r lluoedd a'u teuluoedd) sydd yn siarad Albaneg, o'i chymharu â 76% yn ne Beinn a'bhaghla â'i phoblogaeth 'normal'.

#### Addysg

Yn ardal Aird nam Murchan/Ardnamurchan mae problem darparu athro teithiol i ddysgu'r Albaneg mewn saith ysgol gynradd leol ers i'r athrawes bresennol gael ei phenodi i'r uned Albaneg newydd a agorir yn yr hydref yn Acharacle gyda 21 disgybl. Oherwydd prinder athrawon cymwys methwyd â recriwtio athro er mwyn agor uned Albaneg ar Ynys Muile/Mull.

#### Teledu Albaneg

Dim ond 25% o oedolion a 13% o siaradwyr Albaneg sydd o blaid rhoi'r holl raglenni teledu Albaneg ar un sianel. Mae'r un arolwg gan Deledu Grampian yn dangos bod 54% o'r holl oedolion a 97% o siaradwyr Albaneg yn gwylio rhaglenni

Albaneg o dro i dro. Mae 71% yn dweud bod safon y rhaglenni yn 'dda iawn' neu yn 'weddol'.

#### Radio Albaneg

Ers mis Medi mae gan Radio nan Gaidheal ei donfedd UHF ei hun yn yr Ucheldiroedd a'r Ynysoedd. Ond ers pan gwtogwyd yr oriau Albaneg ar y donfedd ganol mae'r hanner o'r siaradwyr Albaneg sydd yn byw y tu allan i'r ardal UHF wedi colli 20% o'u rhaglenni. Felly mae Commun na Gàidhlig wedi dechrau ymgyrch i gael 65.5 awr yr wythnos o raglenni Albaneg drwy'r Alban i gyd erbyn 2003. Trwy addasu un trosglwyddydd yng nghanol yr Alban ar gost o £2 filiwn gellid cyrraedd 37% ychwanegol o'r holl siaradwyr. Mae'r gwasanaeth presennol yn costio £3.5 miliwn y flwyddyn. Bydd rhaid cael £3.4 miliwn ychwanegol ar gyfer y gwasanaeth llawn.

#### Ysgolion Meithrin

Mae diddordeb newydd yn yr Albaneg yn ardal Glaschu/Glasgow ac mae cefnogwyr yr iaith yn ceisio sefydlu grwpiau "mam a'i phlentyn" yn ardaloedd Partick, Hillhead, Battlefield, Comar non Allt/Cumbernauld, Bishopriggs a Cille Mhearnaig/Kilmarnock.

#### Cynllun Datblygu

Cyhoeddwyd cynllun datblygu 10 mlynedd ar gyfer yr Albaneg yn ardal Lochalsh. Mae copïau ar gael oddi wrth Catherine MacDonald, ffôn 0397-706232.

#### Is-Albaneg

Cynhaliodd Cymdeithas yr Iaith Is-Albaneg ("Scots Language Society"), mudiad sydd yn ceisio hybu "Lowland Scots", eu cynhadledd flynyddol yn Aberdeen ym mis Ebrill dan y thema "Is-Albaneg yn y Theatr", Gwnaed penderfyniad i geisio defnyddio mwy o'r iaith yn y gynhadledd, a nodwyd bod yr ymdrechion i greu orgraff safonol i'r iaith yn perhau, ond nid yw'r mudiad yn hybu dysgu eu hiaith yn yr un modd â mudiadau'r ieithoedd Celtaidd.

### Cernyw

#### Cyngor Cernyw

Mae Cyngor ("sir") Cernyw wedi cyhoeddi llyfryn o fanylion am eu gwasanaethau. Gellir cael copi drwy ffonio'r Uned Cysylltiadau Cyhoeddus ar 0872-74282. Ceir manylion o gyllideb o £300 miliwn a chymhariaeth â chynghorau tebyg. Dim ond cyfeiriad bychan at iaith a diwylliant y wlad sydd - enwau lleoedd a phatrwm aneddeleoedd. Mae'r boblogaeth wedi cynyddu, trwy fewnfudo yn bennaf, o 339,000 ym 1961 i 473,000 ym 1992. Mae 24% o'r gweithlu yn hunan-gyflogedig. Ar frig y tymor ceir 250,000 o ymwelwyr yng Nghernyw, fydd yn gwario £600 miliwn yn yr economi leol. Cydnabyddir effaith drwg ar y gymdeithas leol yn ogystal â bud economaidd.

### Ynys Manaw

Ar ôl defnyddio hanes ei rheilffyrdd fel thema y llynedd, y mae Eiraght Ashoonagh Vannin/Manx National Heritage yn hyrwyddo twristiaeth dan y thema 'Hanes ac Etifeddiaeth yr ynys' eleni. Efallai y bydd blwyddyn 'Iaith a Diwylliant' rywbryd!

## THE CELTIC PEN

A quarterly journal, mainly in English, dealing with Celtic language literature



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## NEWS FROM WALES



### Election Results

In the Dyffryn Banw ward on Powys C.C. the Liberals held the seat over Independents. At Graig in Gwent Labour gained a seat from the Conservatives. In Pontir ward in Arfon borough Plaid Cymru held a seat against the Liberals but lost 7 Felinhdi on Gwynedd C.C. to an Independent. On Fairwood ward in Swansea City the Liberals held a seat against the Conservatives. In Elli ward on Llanelli B.C. Labour gained from independents, as they did at Graig ward on Taf-Elai B.C.

### Language Grants

Grants totalling £6.5 million will be paid in 1994-95 to support Welsh Language activities. £1.95 million will be paid to local education authorities (Clwyd £259,000; Dyfed £235,000; Gwent £334,000; Gwynedd £224,000; Mid Glamorgan £253,000; Powys £201,000; South Glamorgan £201,000; West Glamorgan £240,000). £2,250,000 will be paid to the four organisations which the Welsh office believes are the most essential to further the Welsh language – the Welsh nursery school (+15%, especially for work in Gwent and north east Clwyd), the Welsh Books Council, the National Eisteddfod and Urdd Gobaith Cymru (Welsh League of Youth).

### Welsh Chapels in London

The secular growth in Welsh society is made worse in London by less migration from Wales to London and the tendency for those migrants who do so to live in the outer suburbs well away from the historic

Welsh chapels and churches in central London. In the central areas there are now 19 chapels and churches with services entirely in Welsh – Church in Wales (Anglican) - 2; Wesleyan Methodists - 1; Congregationalists - 4; Baptists - 1 and Presbyterian (Calvinistic Methodists) - 11. Serving them are only 5 full time ministers – one each by the Baptists, Anglicans and Congregationalists and two for the Presbyterians. Normally a third of the congregation are present in a normal service and about two thirds at major events, with many travelling great distances. In addition there are “community” chapels around London at centres such as Ealing, Harrow and Leytonstone.

### Boundary Changes

Wales will have two new MPs following the next general election after a boundary shake-up.

Dyfed and Clwyd will each gain an extra parliamentary seat to take account of the growing population. It will leave Wales with 40 MPs compared with the current 38.

### Welsh periodicals

The Welsh Books Council has published a survey of Welsh language periodicals. As a result no radical change is proposed except that existing magazines will be assisted to improve their style and marketing. The weekly newspaper ‘Y Cymro’ may be grant aided for the first time to increase sports coverage. The weekly magazine ‘Golwg’ may set additional, perhaps weekly, inserts aimed at younger teenagers and adults.

## ‘An Briathar Saor’

‘Sé ‘An Briathar Saor’ ainm na h-irise a fhoilseofar, dhá uair sa bhliain, i gCaerdydd na Breataine Bige chun teagmháil a chothú idir daoine ar fud na Breataine a bhfuil suim acu sa Ghaeilge.

D’fhás grúpa neamhfhoirmiúil anseo i gCaerdydd ó rang Gaeilge a bhunaigh Barry Tobin, Éireannach a bhfuil cónaí aige sa chathair seo, roinnt blianta ó shin. I mí Eanáir 94 bhunaigh muid cumann nua foirmiúil, ‘Comhlúadar Chaerdydd’, le Barry Tobin mar Chathaoirleach, Patrick Egan mar Rúnaí agus Hywel Merfyn Jones mar Chisteoir. Rith sé linn le déanaí go bhfuil grúpaí de Ghaeilgeoirí, cosúil linn féin, ar fud na tíre. De ghnáth ní bhíonn an méid sin cumarsáide eatarthu agus go minic ní bhíonn a fhios ag daoine i ngrúpa amháin go bhfuil grúpaí eile ann ar chor ar bith. Ba chúis suime agus misnigh é dá mbeadh níos mó teagmhála

idir na daoine seo go léir. Sin a cheap muid anseo ar aon nós agus is de bhrí sin a thosaigh muid ag smaoineamh ar an iris seo a bhunú.

Tá muid ag smaoineamh ar iris a bhéas ag teacht amach dhá uair sa bhliain: i rith an tSamhraidh agus arís i rith an Gheimhridh. Beidh 12 leathanach, méid A4, san iris agus tá muid ag pleanáil go mbeidh altanna, gearrscéalta, cartúin agus dánta ann. Tá súil againn go mbeidh muid in ann ‘comhfhreagraithe’ a fháil i ngach áit a mbíonn Gaeilgeoirí ann le tuairiscí faoi chúrsaí a gceantar féin a chur chugainn. Tá súil againn freisin go mbeidh muid in ann an iris a sheoladh tríd an bpost ar shíntiús £2.00 (£2.50 taobh amuigh den UK) in airgead Shasana in aghaidh na bliana. Scríobh chuig: Patrick Egan, 7 Mimmy St., Caerdydd CF2 4ER, Cymru.

## London Branch Public Meeting

Ken Rees who is a lecturer in the City Literary Institute gave a very informative talk on the Mabinogion and shamanism mainly referring to the Fourth Branch.

In 1838 the Mabinogion was put together by Lady Charlotte Guest. Ken explained that the tales are partly myth and are of Celtic origin though the name is a hybrid between English and Welsh. They originated when a Bard would go round to the petty kings telling all these tales. They may be the origin of fairy tales.

Ken Rees then held a packed audience enthralled by telling them one of the stories. Everyone in the audience enjoyed this and thought we should have story-telling more often.

There were a lot of questions and a lively discussion afterwards on whether there was any connection between the Mabinogion and shamanism. The role of the shaman is to maintain contact with the supernatural on behalf of the tribe. The supernatural was rather more self-evident in the days of the Mabinogion than it is today.

Suffice to say that opinions varied from the mystical to the Marxist, a not uncommon feature of Celtic discussions.

Flo Kenna

## Flame

In December 1993 Scottish National Liberation Army (SNLA) member, Andrew Mac Intosh, 37, was jailed for 12 years for various explosives and firearms offences, as well as for an alleged SNLA conspiracy to “coerce Her Majesty’s Government”.

In March 1994, another campaign was announced by a previously unheard of group calling itself “Flame”.

So far “Flame” has in the main limited itself to bomb alerts directed against estate agents and newspapers which advertise Scottish homes and property outside Scotland. But the attacks have been widespread, and disruption has been caused to English newspapers, such as the Sunday Times and Sunday Telegraph, which Flame accuse of contributing to “colonist promotion” by advertising Scottish homes to English people.

Whether “Flame” is an entirely new group, or, as some suggest, simply the SNLA operating under another name, is not yet known. Whatever, the group has, in recent publicity, stated its intention of continuing, and intensifying, its campaign.

A.S.



## Extention to Aberporth Range?

On the 26th anniversary of the loss of Aer Lingus Flight EI 712 over the Aberporth Missile testing range alarming plans are under discussion to further increase the danger posed by the British military installation to civil air traffic in the Irish Sea area. The range currently straddles or abuts four major air routes.

Junior Defence Minister Jonathan Aitken is considering a report recommending the transfer of the weapons testing functions of the Royal Artillery Rocket firing range at Benbecula in the remote Hebrides island chain to the Irish sea installation.

Aberporth already has a chequered history with a disturbing series of malfunctions by both missiles and target aircraft.

The range's danger is already so extended that it comes to within twenty miles of the Irish coast and only two years ago a missile was reported to have been deliberately exploded in a remote area of Wicklow when it strayed in to Irish airspace.

The extension of the current Benbecula operations to Aberporth should be resisted in the view of the Celtic League, a consistent and successful campaigner

against British military installations in the Celtic countries.

Aberporth's greatest infamy is its suspected involvement in the loss of the Irish airliner with the deaths of 61 people on March 24th, 1968. The League will be stepping up its campaign, begun in 1986, to have the UK explain its involvement. The British government's initial cursory and brief replies to our requests were complemented in June 1993 by a substantial release of information, including firing data and range documentation, however the MoD astonishingly continue to protest that **crucial naval log books from Royal Navy warships in the area of the 1968 crash are lost.**

With the threat of increased usage of Aberporth and the outstanding question marks around the loss of Aer Lingus Flight EI 712 the Celtic League has asked the MoD to disclose what discussions if any, have taken place with the CAA the European Organisation for the Safety of Air Navigation or the Irish Government about the desirability of increasing the missile traffic in an area of several busy Civil Air Transport Routes.

## EXCHANGE PUBLICITY

**Bremañ**, monthly, in Breton, subs 200F/annum, to 8 ru Hoche, 35000 Roazhon/Rennes.

Its 150th issue is a special one with 32 pp, as usual full of news about the various aspects of the Breton struggle and cultural life. Arising from the fishermen's revolt in February when the ancient Parliament building in Rennes was burnt there is an account of the historical events associated with it. The destruction caused widespread emotion. Many, who were ignorant of our history, learned that it was the centre of Breton resistance against French absolutism in the 17th/18th century. Others expressed reserve because it had involved the common people. The Parliament was a high court of justice, half of its members were blow-ins nominated by the Kings. Still, the building was a fine piece of architecture.

### Al Liamm

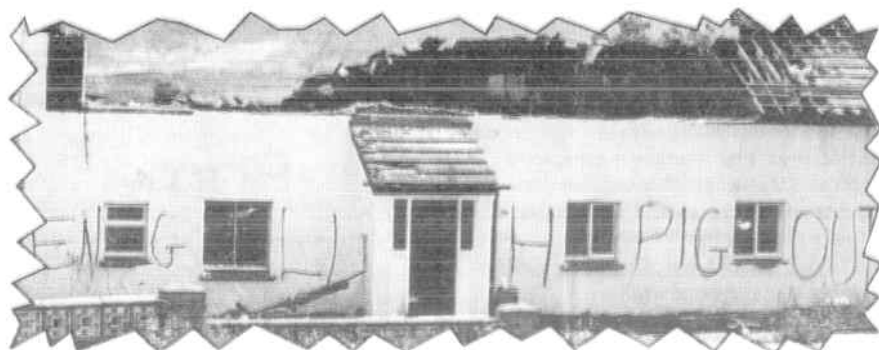
Bimonthly literary magazine in Breton. Subs. 150F (160F/200F airmail outside State) to P. ar Bihan, 16 r. des Fours à Chaux, 35400 Saint-Malo.

The issues Nr 282/283 carry a humorous story by Jakez Konan. It is about a prank arising from a bet which misleads the police into thinking first they are dealing with a murder and then with an attempt to ridicule them. In Nr 282 a fantasy from F. Oillo treats us to an interstellar trip and a crash from the future into the early 16th century in the Caribbeans. In Nr 283, we have a poem from Per Denez inspired by Catalonia's march towards freedom, a brief biography of Goulver Jacq and a detailed one of Alan al Louarn, both banned for 17 or 18 years from their country in 1945 and as regards the latter and his family reduced to live in destitution for much of that time.

### L'Avenir de la Bretagne,

monthly, 16 pp. mainly in French, for a Free Brittany in a Europe of the Peoples. Subs. 180F/200F outside State, to BP 4103, 22041 St. Brieuc-Cedex.

The May issue reports about a week-end gathering held by the POBL party in March in which Brittany's economic prospects were reviewed and discussed. There is also an interview by J. Gaucher of Per Lemoine about the work of the Federal Union of European Nationalities in which he has represented Brittany and occupied a leading position for the past 45 years. The FUEN has secured recognition as an advisory body by the Council of Europe and the CSCE. As Lemoine reminds us, France does not mind FUEN's interest in ethnic minorities because by decree there are no such within its borders...



*A house damaged during the campaign*

### Second-home Exodus

The number of second-homes and holiday cottages owned by foreigners, mainly English, in Wales has dropped drastically. The exodus is attributed to the firebombing campaign by the Meibion Glyndwr and the recession.

Leading estate agents say the arson attacks have driven owners out of Wales by pushing up insurance costs and they see little likelihood of a resurrection in the market. Dorian Evans, of Evans Bros., in Hampeter, said, "We will never again see Wales as a land of second-homes and holiday cottages. A lot of these homes have been put on the market because of insurance costs and the worry of owning an often-empty property which could be damaged or broken into".

New figures show that in the heartland of the holiday home, Snowdonia National Park, the numbers of second homes has almost halved in some communities.

Senior manager of the Nationwide in Bangor Chris Dibb said, "The arsonist campaign has got to be a factor, it is something you cannot close your eyes to".

Large numbers of empty homes have been torched since the first attacks on one night in December 1979 by two separate groups on targets many miles apart in Gwynedd and Dyfed.

Royston Jones, adviser to the Nationalist group the Conventantors, said, "It was when Meibion Glyndwr extended their campaign to businesses in the late 80s that the English realised they were faced with a nationalism and not just the same sort of homes problem as found in East Anglia or the Lake District".

There was a time in the early 1970s when a lot of second homes were put on the market and they were nearly all bought by local people. It is hoped that this sell-off will benefit the Welsh people and give them back what is rightfully theirs.

# ÉIRE

## Gleic i Meiriceá Thuaidh

Conradh sé náisiún é an Conradh Ceilteach. Conradh sé náisiún eile í an Chónaidhm Iroquois. Bunaíodh an chónaidhm sin i 1390. Is iad an sé phobal atá inti Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga agus Tuscarora. Tá a dtailte dúchais i stát Nua-Eabhrac seachas i gcás mhuintir Tuscarora arbh as Carolina Thuaidh ó thús iad. Ní dheachaigh siad siúd isteach sa chónaidhm go dtí 1715 agus níl gaol gairid acu leis an gcúigear eile ó thaobh teanga de.

Tá an comhphobal Iroquois ann i gcónaí breis agus 600 bliain tar éis dóibh teacht le chéile an chéad lá. Faoi láthair tá siad ag troid ar an-chuid frontaí. Ar na fadhbanna reatha atá acu tá bagairt ar a gcuid tailte - an beagán atá fágtha acu - ó scéim hidrileictreach, andúileacht dhrúgaí i measc déagóirí, dífhostaíocht agus an brú ón gcultúr coimhthíoch atá thart timpeall orthu. Maireann go leor gnéithe dá gcultúr traidisiúnta. Bíonn tábhacht leis an teaghlach craobhaithe ina measc i gcónaí. Tá na spóirt thraidisiúnta, lacrosse agus an iomrascáil dhúchasach, á gcleachtadh acu go forleathan agus bíonn tóir ag na sluaite orthu. Traidisiún eile a mhaireann go láidir is ea traidisiún na filíochta agus an tseanchais.

Sula dtáinig na hEorpaigh ní raibh aon choinceap ag an Iroquois ar nós úinéireacht talún. Bhí an talamh ann do gach duine. Ní maith leis na pobail dhúchasacha i Meiriceá Thuaidh go dtagraítear dóibh mar threabhanna. Is náisiúin iad.

Le linn na seascaidí agus na seachtóidí leath ghluaiseacht ar fud na Stát Aontaithe agus Cheanada arbh é a chuspóir scoileanna dúchasacha a bhunú, go háirithe i mrase na Mohawk. Sampla amháin is ea an scoil Mohawk i Kahnawake, gar do Montréal, Quebec.

Is cuid den bhéaloideas anois é gur eascair an scoil sin as beirt bhuachaill a bheith ag caitheamh clocha sneachta lena chéile. Cuireadh duine amháin de na buachaillí ar fionraí ón scoil ach níor gearradh pionós ar bith ar an lead eile. Ba Mheirindiach é an buachaill ar cuireadh pionós air ach ba pháiste geal an gasúr eile.

Eagraíodh léirsithe in aghaidh na héagóra sin. Tharla an eachtra i scoil ina raibh 2,700 dalta arbh dúchasaigh 400 duine acu. Ní raibh oiread agus cúrsa amháin á mhúineadh sa scoil i stair ná i

dteanga na Mohawk. Ba é an feighlí an t-aon Mhohawk a bhí ag obair sa scoil.

D'fhás éileamh ar chúrsaí i gcultúr na Mohawk agus ar mhúinteoirí dúchasacha de thoradh ar na léirsithe sin. D'éirigh méid áirithe leis an éileamh sin. Ceapadh comhairleoir Meirindiach sa scoil chomh maith le roinnt múinteoirí dúchasacha. Tosafodh ar ranganna i stair agus i dteanga na Mohawk.

I 1978 léirigh reifreann go raibh tromlach mór an phobail ar son scoil dá gcultúr féin ach ní bhfuair siad ach diúltú ón rialtas. D'eagraigh tuismitheoirí feachtas agus thairg múinteoirí a gcuid oibre saor in aisce. Fuarthas treallamh agus

áitreabh. Bunaíodh scoil Mohawk in Kahnawake ar 4 Meán Fómhair 1978.

Tá an ghluaiseacht seo tar éis dul níos faide ó shin sa mhéid is go bhfuil daoine fásta ag foghlaim teanga na Mohawk. In *The Eastern Door*, coiciseán Cheantar Mohawk Kahnawake feictear fógraí le haghaidh ranganna sa teanga, ag trí leibhéal éagsúil, tosnaítheoirí san áireamh.

Luaitear caint a rinne seanóir ag féile lár an gheimhridh i mí na Nollag: 'What will we do when all of our speakers have passed on? Who will recite the words of our ancestors?'

Deir scríbhneoir in *The Eastern Door*: 'Let us not let this happen. If we can learn a few phrases and words to pass on to our children, we will begin to put the brakes on as we see the language towards extinction. Remember that when the language and customs of the Onkwehon:we exist no more, so it follows that the Onkwehon:we also cease to exist.'

Deirtear in alt in eagrán 28 Eanáir 1994 de *The Eastern Door* nach bhfuil na Qubecois ná na hAngla-Cheanadaigh báúil leis an bpobal dúchasach. Molann an páipéar go réiteoidh an phobal Mohawk in Kahnawake iad féin le haghaidh féin rialtais trína meáin chumarsáide féin a chruthú, trí thionscal a bhunú agus trí cheannasaíocht pholaitiúil a fhorbairt. Meabhraítear do léitheoirí a laghad agus atá Andóra, Monacó agus Lichtinstéin.

Sna seachtóidí nuair a bhí feachtas idirnáisiúnta ar bun ag Conradh na Gaeilge bunaíodh teagmháil idir iad féin agus gluaiseacht na Meiriceánach Dúchasach. Tá sé in am do dhream Ceilteach éigin an teagmháil agus an comhdhlúthú sin a athbhunú.

**Micheál Mac Aonghusa**

*Cónaidhm* - confederacy; *hidrileictreach* - hydroelectric; *teaghlach craobhaithe* - extended family; *comhdhlúthú* - solidarity.

### Summary

*Like the Celtic commonwealth the Iroquois Confederacy of North America consists of six nations - Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga and Tuscarora. These peoples are fighting for their lands, rights and culture. Since the 1960s a movement to establish schools where Native American languages and history would be taught has met with some success. There has been an upsurge of interest in the languages among adults also. The article is based on material supplied by Barenwyn Davies who would like to see links between Celts and the Iroquois.*



*Crios Síochána na Sé Náisiún, crios ar shiombal é ar chomhghuaillíocht shé náisiún an Iroquois. Six nations peace belt*

## The ring of the Ultach

*Ní lossat na troich,  
reacit bernaid mbraith:  
men upon whom damnation  
sits, who reach that  
narrow pass of betrayal,  
shall never prosper.*

Neither shall they earn  
passing regard in  
the annals of grey  
stones. The wording  
of their skulls shall be  
undone.

*Is and sin cétríastarda  
im Choin Culaind  
co ndearna úathbásach  
n-íl rechlach n-ingantach  
n-anachnid de. Then  
the first contortion  
seized Cu Chulainn  
and he became twisted,  
ghastly-shaped,  
unrecognisable.*

*Ocus rabert na  
biathra sa:  
and he uttered  
three things, heard  
stones swung over  
graves, saw ruin,  
the corpses of  
men.*

*Imthúsa fer nHérend  
imráter sund iar tain.  
Táncator-saide connici  
in corthe ic Árd Cullend.  
Ocus gabsat oc fégad  
in chúicid anéóil úadib,  
cúicid Ulad.*

And then the men of  
Ireland who had reached  
Árd Cuillenn's boundary-  
stone, surveyed the  
unknown lands of  
Ulster.

And there a ring was found  
around that marker-stone,  
with ogham gashes  
chiselled in it, cold:

*Do chur chesta cétaib  
drend for cethri  
cóiceda Herénd,  
nocon fetar-sa acht  
mad sin cid imma  
ndernad in t-id.*

Its purpose was to  
cast dread upon four  
provinces of Ireland,  
and bring men to conflict.  
That is all my knowledge  
of why this ring  
was made, according to  
the Táin  
Bó Cúalnge.

Robert Coleman Williams

## Extensive Criticism of Department of Education

Extensive and detailed criticism of Department of Education policies towards the status of Irish in second level schools were made by the President of Conradh na Gaeilge, the Gaelic League, Proinsias Mac Aonghusa, in his final Presidential Address to the Ard-Fheis at Ballinasloe, Co. Galway, in May.

Mr Mac Aonghusa said that a recent directive by the Department to school's managers diminished, demeaned and demoted the Irish language. Its full implementation would likely mean that Irish would no longer be taught as a serious subject in second level schools.

'As a direct result of decisions taken behind closed doors in the Department of Education Irish is now under direct attack as never before since the independent Irish State emerged. Should Irish be destroyed in second level schools it will be but a matter of time until it is eased out of state primary schools and Third Level Institutions. Essentially, the Department of Education declares that any pupil who spends three years outside the State, and any pupil whose parents can arrange for a psychologist to say that to learn Irish would harm him, may forego Irish. Nothing whatever is said about any other subject.

'Why is Irish deemed by the Department of Education to be dangerous? Who in the Department of Education took these decisions? Was the Government consulted, or even informed, of what the Department of Education was doing?

'Years ago the late Professor David Greene said that there were more Yahoos to the square yard in the Department of Education than in any other place in Ireland. Are these Yahoos breeding?

'I now request the Taoiseach, whose attitude to the language is most positive, to make enquiries as a matter of urgency into what is taking place within the Department of Education. If necessary, foreign educationalists might be invited to carry out an investigation into the Department of Education's policies in regard to Irish. Should the Department of Education be allowed by Government to fly in the face of public policy on the restoration of Irish? Is the Department of Education to be allowed to ignore the Constitution?', asked Mr Mac Aonghusa.

Mr Mac Aonghusa went on to praise the recommendations on Irish of the National Conference on Education and called for their implementation. He also praised the advances made in education through Irish at Dublin City University.

'However, until an all-Irish University is founded it cannot be claimed that education through the medium of Irish at Third level is in any way satisfactory', he declared.



Proinsias Mac Aonghusa

### Language Ombudsman is required

In the course of paying tribute on behalf of Conradh na Gaeilge to the outgoing Ombudsman Michael Mills for his efforts to defend the rights of Irish speakers against boorish officialdom, Mr Mac Aonghusa again said that a Language Ombudsman was needed. He said that Conradh na Gaeilge regarded the creation of the Office of Language Ombudsman as an important short term aim.

'Language rights are denied Irish speakers not alone in the North where Irish is still in legal shadows, but even in Gaeltacht regions and throughout the 26-Counties. Citizens protected by the Constitution have an absolute civil right to use Irish and Irish only in the conduct of business with the State, Local Authorities, and state and semi-state organisations.

'Yet this is denied them very often, sometimes insultingly and sarcastically. This denial of civil rights is no longer acceptable. The patience of Irish speakers over the years has been extraordinary; the patience especially of the people in Gaeltacht regions in amazing. Will it remain so?' he asked.

Mr Mac Aonghusa, who was first elected as President of Conradh na Gaeilge in 1989 and annually since then, did not seek a further term in office.



# The Rocky Road Forward

As Scots will remember from the days of 'devolution now' a majority means whatever the English want it to mean from time to time. Rather obviously, therefore, Irish nationalists – especially not those who in their war-weariness clutch at the straws in the occasional breezes of apparent English benevolence – must treat with caution any communicate, declaration, bill, act, or deed about the Irish question emanating from the English authorities.

There is no doubting the skill and the care and the tact of the Irish diplomatic team's contribution to the Downing St. declaration. What is not clear is what they hoped for from it – if it wasn't peace now was it even peace in our time?

And English diplomatic skills have been honed over the centuries: in our own history one can recall for example the settlement of December 1921 which Irish commentators still miscall 'the Treaty' but which was nicely entitled by the English 'Articles of Agreement for a Treaty'. It may appear to be a difference without distinction to the layman: at international level it is quite significant. From an Irish point of view a major point of significance has to be the immensity of the effort, the enormity of the sacrifice needed to budge the English even minimally from their entrenchments.

They may for example offer a 'compromise' to-day which was their own intended but not publicised position yesterday. The story of the partitioning of the Hugh Lane collection of impressionist paintings is an illustrative example. When challenged to honour the unwitnessed codicil to the will they offered in parliament what was in effect a partitioning of the collection: a 'solution' which was greeted with derision by Unionist and Nationalist alike in Westminster and accordingly shelved. Sporadic agitation ensued and eventually the English took down from the shelf the partition package, dusted it off and offered it as a 'compromise' to an apparently delighted Government, who appeared to be ignorant of its provenance, and who greeted it as a 'victory' of some sort for their patient manoeuvrings: it was of course a victory for the patient manoeuvrings of the English authorities who stood to the original brief and, in effect, imposed it more than half a century later.

Unfortunately for the rest of mankind it is hard to shift them from an entrenched position: they stood rigidly over the inclusion of Kashmir, say, in the Hindu state when they made a stupid mistake (if it wasn't a careless or drunken one on the part of Mountbatten) in the partitioning of their Indian empire – and the day knows



*The funeral of Martin Doherty, the IRA man killed in the attempted UVF pub bombing in Dublin, referred to in this article. The display at the funeral led to outbursts in the Dáil from opposition Fine Gael leader John Bruton who conveniently forgot the influence his party's antecedents (the Blueshirts in the 1930s) had on the framing of the legislation on such issues.*

what a permanently suppurating sore that has become). What was at best stupidity became by virtue of being in their writ unbudgeable.

Of course people are impatient with Irish republicans lengthy internal debate on the Downing St. declaration; of course people hoped for a quicker and more positive response. And of course a sufficiency of people realised that in their delays the republicans and other Irish querists were quite right to be so careful. The 'mouse' of a secretariat was the only apparent 'constitutional' result of a previous agreement (the 'permission' to fly the Irish flag north and east of the border was the really important advance there: symbolic of course but nonetheless significant) and so proud were the English of this wording (apparently satisfying the aspiration of all) that one of its framers was given their Foreign Office's highest post High Commissioner for India as a mark of that establishment's appreciation for his role in the compilation of that masterpiece of obfuscation. I knew the man and respect him – one of the few at that level there without a spying background in MI5 or MI6 or the like – and know from some published articles on aspects of 18th century Irish history how knowledgeable he is. The point to be repeated is that it took all of twenty years pain to deliver that tiny incremental addition to the carn of freedom.

The English government did give Sinn Féin some of the clarification they rightly requested: even if it took five months of sustained hectoring, editorial abuse (all over Ireland and England), and persistent

efforts to negate the genuineness of nationalist wishes for peace and needs for clarity, before they did so. And diplomatically they scored a point or two in replying as they did.

As a recent issue of the independent Belfast journal *Fortnight* put it:

"By providing 'elucidation' to the Provos, the British played an ace: the U-turn represented no concession at all. They appeared, to international opinion, sincere and conciliatory – the archetypal honest brokers."

And such 'appearances' are most central to the issue.

Whether the republicans can hold their own following, and as *Fortnight* had it 'their relationship with Dublin and Mr Hume!' and whether 'they (can) hold out against his (Hume's) colleagues, such as Séamus Mallon (once thought to be on the 'republican' side of the SDLP) who said that "the party's over in terms of wet-nursing Sinn Féin", cannot be read in the auguries of the time of writing, but that the need to do so is urgent was illustrated by the UVF's attempt at Mass-murder in a Dublin pub, containing an estimated 400 people, last month.

And all the time one realises that Major remains dependent on Unionist support to survive in Westminster and that elections are more important to them it seems than Irish lives.

P. Ó Snodaigh

# KERNOW

## Onen Hag Oll

### po Na Wra Kervya Kernow

Yma'n governans Sowsnek yn Loundres re beu ow trelya pub tremmyn agan bywnans nans yw blydhynyow - dyskans, yeghes, difresyansow, tollow y'ga mysk - ha' nessa towl yw dhe dhasresta governans an ranndiryow, ow kemmeres an tri nivel a'gan beus lemmyn ha gorra y'ga le dew. Own a'gan beu y fedha Konsel rag Kernow oll disevys ha gorrys yn y le dew po tri Konsel Ranndirel. Mes geryow dedhewadow a glywyn lemmyn diworth eseli an Kessedhek rag Oryon y'n mater ma ow leverel martesen y fydh Kernow gwelys avel kas arbennik (wor'tiwedh!).

Bagas nowydh re beu gwrys rag gwitha unn Konsel rag Kernow oll pan vydh daswrys governans ranndirel. Herwydh 'Kaskergh rag Kernow' mar pydh diswrys Konsel Kernow ha gorrys yn y le po dew po tri honsel selys war an hwegh ranndir eus genen lemmyn, ny vydh:

- \* lev kernewek dhe gewsel orth an bys ledanna;
- \* towl dhe les dhe Kernow yn tien;
- \* galloes ervira taklow yn Kernow, ha moy ow pos gwrys a-barth dhyn yn Loundres.

Yma an 'Kaskergh' owth ynnia war dus dhe skrifa dhe Vr M. Eastel, Dessedhek Governans Leel, Dolphyn Court, 10/11 Turnstile, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Loundres WC1V 7JU, yn unn leverel bos edhomm dhe Kernow a unn Konsel gans unn lev rag unn bobel!

Herwydh survey gwrys gans Konsel Kernow a worthybow a 18,000 chy 53.9% a dus trygys yn Kernow a vynn gwitha an status quo. Ynwedh peswar a'n hwegh konsel ranndir a vynn gwitha an status quo, mes Karadon a vynn tri konsel ha Restormel a vynn 2 po 3 honsel.

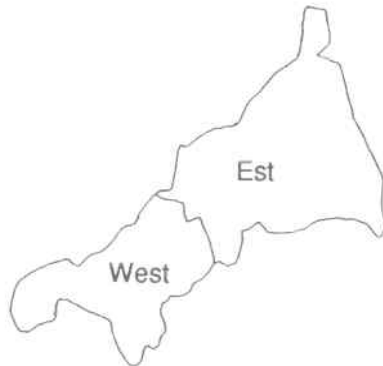
An Dessedhek Governans Leel a wrug assaya hedhi Konsel Kernow synsi survey aga honen. Geoff Mannell, rewler an konsel a leverys "an sewyans mos rag status quo po unn konsel yn unnik, hag yma marnas skoedhyans mynys rag treghi Kernow dhe nyver a konsel byghanna".

### An DGL brofyas tri dewis:

Dewis onen yw Kernow yn tien gans an ober dell wrens i lemmyn ha'n ober gwrys lemmyn gans an konsellow ranndir.



Dewis dew yw dew gonsel gwrys a Pennwyth, Kerrier & Karrek y'n west ha Karadon, Restormel & Kernow Kleth y'n est.



### Summary

*The English government in London has been changing every aspect of our lives for years - the next plan is to reorganise local government, instead of three levels as we have now, they want to put two in their*

### Po dewis tri

Tri honsel gwrys a Pennwyth ha Kerrier y'n west, Karrek ha Restormel y'n Kres, ha Karadon ha Kernow Kleth y'n est. (An 'nightmare scenario' martesen)



Po an dewettha dewis  
An status quo

GSB



*place. We fear that a council for all Cornwall will be replaced by two or three regional councils. But word from members of the commission indicate that maybe Cornwall will be seen as a special case.*

## Pewa An Curnowean? Radn 2

An gevan enwedgack treeth Curnow ha Gwenez leb ve dallethez metessen en 2a cansblethan ken Creste reeg pedgia per greav en oze henwez 'tewl', buz thera kevradow aweath treeth Worthen ha Curnow poran, Worthen ha Curnow der vorr Kimbra, Worthen ha Kimbra, ha treeth pob ha Lezow.

An kensa radn a lecan eze thene en kever Curnow thew an romans a Dristan ha Iseult; plengez en bar Foath ha Lestwithiel, ma oberow an whiddel moaz adro tho

Curnow, Kimbra, Worthen ha Lezow, oagoze thon vlethan 500 gun Arleth. Nagewa scantlowar aneth dressa an Kimbrack, an Curnooack ha an Arvorack gawaz kebmez ew kemmin tho go thry. Nagewa aneth dreeg Norden, screffa en 1580, merkia, "Na ell dean an Sooth a Kimbra guthvaz warbarth an dean an Noor a Kimbra, ha'n dean an Noor a Kimbra buz nebbaz an Curnooack, an Sooth mear."

Mar thewethaz vel 1810, potho bownaz an Curnooack avel comyn talke de, bagaz poscaders coath Curnooack oia whathe geel nebbaz marhazna ha angye en por

Lezowack, dreath skeeanz an tavaz go hunnen.

An matearn Gerrans II a Curnow (pokean Deunans) a golhaz e vownaz ombla bedn an Sausen thon bresel a Longbor en Gwlasen an Have en 710. Nango gweskez gedn gen an Sausen treeth Gwenez ha Curnow dreath an victory anye thon bresel a Dyrham en 577, ha lebmen an hean gwlaskeath an Sooth-West a thallathaz tho ombdina. En 936 thon bresel a Boleit en Curnow, an Curnowean dadn go dewetha matearn, Howell, ve fethez wor an duah gen an matearn Sousnack Athelstan, ha gye ve requiriez tho forsakia go hean cheif city a Careesk, ha ombdina rag nevra tho dreneuhan west an awen Tamar. Pub kevran vase treeth Curnow ha Gwenez ve trehez nena.

Ma hebma merkia deberthva an Curnoack ha'n Kembrean (ca veea gwell, metessen, laull an Gwenezack) en tavazow dibblans. An thiberthvama, nago hye thosympyas, conorea. An heanez-cowsez leb ve screffez aleaz en duah en Oze Creaz avare carra heanez Kimbrack o seer lowar heanez radnez; oudga an bresel a Boleit, ko an heanezma en Curnow reeg cotha tho veaz, heb pedgia heer luck malgava boaz sawiez dreath screffa en Curnoack. Na reeg Kimbra e hunnen kumba nena, andelna drizlebm al an heanez reeg treegaz obma pell lowar dressava boaz recordiez.

Richard Gendall

#### Summary

##### Who are the Cornish? Part 2

*Cornwall's links with Ireland, Wales and Brittany continued through the so-called 'dark' ages, the scene of c. 500 A.D. being captured in the first piece of literature we have relating to Cornwall: the romance of Tristan and Iseult.*

*In 710 at the Battle of Langport Cornwall lost her king Gerrans, and the Cornish began to lose ground to the Saxons. Finally defeated in 936 at the battle of Boleit, the Cornish were expelled from Exeter, and required to remain to the west of the Tamar. From this time Cornish and Welsh began to separate more obviously into distinct languages, yet ties with Gwent remained so strong that in 1580 Norden remarked upon the extent to which the Gwent men were still able to follow Cornish.*

#### Brenda Wooton

We were all saddened when we heard of the death of Brenda in March and we give thanks for her work for Cornwall and our language.

Twenty years ago, or more, with her distinctive voice, her true love for her country and with songs written by Richard Gendall, Brenda went to the wider world and found a following in Europe putting Cornwall on the International map and making the Cornish language be heard.

Brenda's records remain with us; her voice continues and those who have seen her singing and those who know her will remember the joy she gave to us. Her life's work is her true epitaph.

## Academic Breakthrough for Cornish

Ever since the Cornish language revival, scholars and international linguists have criticised contrived spelling systems and manipulated grammar of mixed historical periods. Until now, only Medieval (or Middle) Cornish was available for study at university level but now, thanks to the research of R.R.M. Gendall, Cornish from the later Modern period is also accepted.

Indeed the acceptance of Cornish has gone so far as to have a degree course in its own right with the historical texts of both the Middle and the Modern periods studied as two distinct periods of Cornish.

R.R.M. Gendall was elected as Hon. Research Fellow to Exeter University in recognition of his work on Cornish. He is in constant contact with several universities who use his research either as part of a Celtic languages course, or now announced, a degree course in its own right at Newcastle University in Australia.

Richard Gendall who is a retired modern languages teacher started to learn Cornish at the age of four. Now, at nearly seventy, he has more experience in using and teaching the Cornish language than any other person now living. His early

books and dictionaries first appeared over forty years ago and his songs in Cornish have featured on over fifteen L.P.'s released in places as far apart as Japan and Australia. It is, however, in Brittany and Cornwall that his many songs were best appreciated, sung by the now retired Brenda Wootton as well as by male voice choirs and soloists.

As a result of both the academic approach with serious research and the entertainment approach through his songs, Richard Gendall has probably spread the knowledge and reputation of the Cornish language more than any other living man. In spite of ill health he continues to work doggedly with his life's work, that is presenting the Cornish language to the public in the unaltered forms in which it was used by the native speakers, using the later, easier Modern period as the revived language and the more cumbersome Middle period as an advanced study. This approach is in line with the teaching of all modern languages.

The sheer authenticity of Richard Gendall's work has earned him the respect he well deserves.

Merfyn Phillips

## Fishing: Its Importance in the Cornish Economy

	Boats		Fishermen	
	Nos	%	Nos	%
Summer only	174	28	358	28
Part-time	239	39	312	24
Full-time	206	33	627	48
TOTAL	619	100	1297	100

Of the three categories of fish caught, demersal species account for 84% of the total landings by value. (Shellfish make up 14% and Pelagic 2%). In fact there are four species, all demersal, which constitute 50% of the total catch. These are Hake, Megrim, Monks/Anglers and Soles. These prime quality fish are in the main exported to the continental markets in France and Spain, where they are highly regarded.

While these species, comprise a major element of the industry in Cornish terms, in England and Wales, with the exception of Soles, they represent an insignificant proportion of the catch. The UK government, though it does little for UK fishermen as a whole, is hardly likely to pay much attention to the needs of Cornwall and its fishermen. In this year the quota for Hake has been cut by 17%, for Monks by 8% and Megrim 7%. Not particularly important for England and Wales but critical for the Cornish industry. There is no doubt that it is only in the context of Cornwall having greater control over its own resources, that its interests can be adequately served.

Peter Wills

Fishing has always been an important industry in Cornwall. It is well known that the landing and export of Pilchards was a major sector of the economy in the 18th and 19th centuries. However, this century saw an almost constant decline in the fortunes of fishing. From 953 boats and 3,110 fishermen in 1924, by 1950 there were only 420 boats and 820 fishermen. For the first twenty years after the second world war, the industry's prosperity fluctuated. By the 1970's, however, the real value of landings in Cornwall had started to rise, largely as a consequence of the Mackerel boom. Then Mackerel landings fell, many predicted the end of the Cornish fishing, but there was a surprise. As a result of the exploitation of several prime demersal species. Newlyn was establishing itself as a major fishing port, not only in Cornwall, but in relation to the main English ports.

At present there are estimated to be 619 fishing boats and 1,297 fishermen. Newlyn is the main port with over half of the full-time boats and 63% of the full-time fishermen. The details are set out here.



## CAMPAIGN FOR CORNWALL

*Don't let  
them carve  
up Cornwall!*

We need  
ONE COUNCIL  
with ONE VOICE  
for ONE PEOPLE.

### Campaign for Cornwall

A newly formed group *Campaign for Cornwall* is actively working to keep one Council for all Cornwall when local government is reorganised.

According to a survey carried out by Cornwall Council 53.9% of those surveyed (18,000) want to retain the status quo.

The group's most recent publicity states:

We, the people of Cornwall, have fought to keep our separate identity through the ages. Now that identity is threatened.

The Government wants to divide Cornwall. They plan to abolish our County Council and divide Cornwall into two or three pieces.

There will be:

- \* no one to speak for Cornwall to the world outside
- \* no one to plan for the good of Cornwall as a whole
- \* more and more decisions taken in London

The Government has done nothing for us. Don't let them carve us up.

"One and All" has been, is, and should always be what we stand by. 50,000 of us showed them at Twickenham. Now let's show them at Whitehall. If you want to stop them carving up Cornwall you must write to the address below and tell them Cornwall needs **One Council, with One Voice for One People.**

Mr. M. Easteal, Local Government Commission, Dolphyn Court, 10/11 Great Turnstile, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London WCW 7JU.

## Kernow One, Two, Three??

No, it's not that Cornwall is starting to multiply, but some of the options facing Cornwall in the light of 'Local' Government reform. As part of the Government's continuing emasculation of democratic bodies in the UK, a Commission has been established to look at ways of reorganising local government. After examining various options the Commission will recommend to central Government how it considers each county area in England should be run. At present, Cornwall has a three tier system: Cornwall Council, 6 District Councils and over 200 Town and Parish Councils. Although excluded from the review, there are a considerable number of quangos and assorted bodies, which play an important role in the running of Cornwall. Several of these are 'Devonwall' organisations, which are not only undemocratic but blur the distinction between Cornwall and its neighbour Devon.

The Government have indicated a number of reasons for their proposals. They believe that "some authorities which emerged from the 1974 reorganisation are still not wholly accepted by the communities which they serve" and "The very existence of two tiers can also cause confusion over which tier is responsible for

which service". It is suggested "that there should be close co-ordination of the functions for which local government is responsible". The Government conclude that the ideal solution would be to replace the current system with one of unitary (one-tier) authorities. Each unitary authority would be responsible for all the services provided by local authorities.

In the case of Cornwall, there is no doubt that Cornwall is viewed by most people as the territory with which they identify. Looking at the issues of confusion and co-ordination, there is no doubt that reform is desirable. But are these the only issues to consider? How should reform be defined?

Looking at the options likely to be proposed, it appears that the status quo is a possibility, though not one preferred by the Government. The County Council and the Districts seem to be supporting this, not so much because of any inherent advantages in the system, but simply because it is the one facing least opposition. The other options put forward are a variety of unitary authorities, ranging from one covering all of Cornwall, two for west and east Cornwall to three separate authorities.

It is evident that any division of Cornwall would deal a severe blow, not only to Cornwall's identity but to its ability to operate on a strategic level. It is essential that Cornwall is retained as one unit, with responsibility for these functions. In fact there is a definite need for Cornwall to increase its control over strategic issues - particularly in the realm of planning, economic development and transport. The retention of an authority operating for all of Cornwall would also enhance its status as an historic European region, and the chance of gaining its own Euro representative.

The partition of Cornwall would also create conditions for the further growth and power of Devonwall institutions. With a number of small powerless authorities in both Cornwall and Devon, the Devon and Cornwall Training and Enterprise Council and the West Country Development Company, would then claim that there was a need for a body to co-ordinate 'regional' planning, with their organisation playing a leading role.

What would be the ideal solution for Cornwall? What is clearly desirable is that the people of Cornwall take this opportunity to stake their claim for a regional government for Cornwall. It is essential to establish a government structure where more decisions are taken in Cornwall and not outside and by a body which is accountable to the people of Cornwall. It is also necessary to create a number of local councils to deal with local issues. These should reflect the unique nature of the settlement pattern of Cornwall, providing those services where contact between the electorate and providers is essential. Cornwall needs a system of government to suit the needs and aspirations of its people and not the needs of an anti-democratic centralising government.

Peter Wills

Join Campaign for Cornwall - a group of concerned people drawn from across the County and from every walk of life.

Register your support by contacting:  
Lawrie Piper, Penolva, 1 Belhay, Truro Hill, Penryn TR10 8DF.  
John Bolitho, 15 Bramble Hill, Bude.

# MANNIN

## Lioar mychione Caghlaa-Chengey

Haink lioar feer anaasagh magh blein ny ghaa er dy henney. Ta'n lioar shoh enmyssit

'Reversing Language Shift', as v'eh screut liorish Joshua Fishman. Ta fo-enonym er y lioar shoh: 'Aghtyn Sheiltynagh as Aghtyn Treecalagh ry-hoi Cooney lesh Chengaghyn ta fo Baggyrtys' ('Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages'). Ta'n lioar shoh ayns strane (series) dy liaryn currit magh ec colught enmyssit Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Ec toshiaght y lioar, ta meer feer chooie veih'n Vible, lioar Esther, 1-22: 'Son hug eh screunyn trooid ooillee rheamyn y ree gys dy chooillee ard coardail rish nyn aght screuee, as gys dy chooillee phobble lurg nyn ghlaire hene, dy row dy chooillee ghooiney dy ymmyrkey reill ayns e hie hene, as dy beagh shoh er ny ockley magh ayns glare dy chooillee phobble.'

Son y chooid smoo, s'fardailagh ta eabaghyn dy chur er e hoshiaght chengaghyn t'ayns gaue. Ta lioar Fishman prowla dy 'eddyn magh cre'n fa. T'eh shirrey geddyn rey rish yn aght-obbrete ta gra 'Lhig dooin prowla dy chooillee nhee oddys mayd as foddee dy bee red ennagh speeideilagh'.

Ta'n lioar shoh goaill toshiaght lesh ny feyshtyn 'Vel eh feeu dy phrowla dy chur ergooyl arraghey-chengey? Neeu eh dy phrowla bree noa y chur ayns chengey ta goll sheese?' Tra ta caggaghyn agglagh goll er, tra ta milliunyn dy 'leih geddyn baase lesh yn accrys, tra ta chingysyn dyn lheihs jannoo cragh feiy'n teihll, tra ta druggaghyn stroie yn aeglagh, tra ta baljyn currit mow ec meereiltys as sollaghey, lhisagh shin boirrey mychione chengaghyn ta goll mow?

Ta lioar Fishman cur freggyrt da shoh: lhisagh. Sleih ta coayl yn chengey oc, cha nel ad surranse lesh gorley ta jeh beggan scansh. Tra ta sleih coayl yn chengey oc, t'ad coayl yn henoilaght (Identity) oc as t'ad eginit baghey er y chemmal jeh henoilaght stroshey, as jannoo nyn gooid share dy vaih yn henoilaght oc hene. Ta shoh caghlaa seihll y sleih shoh as ta ram jeu (ny yn chooid smoo jeu) coayl bree as dunnallys.

Son shickyrys, shegin dooin streeu noi caggey as gortey as chingys, agh, ec yn un cheayrt, shegin dooin goaill rish dy vel coayl-chengey ny red olk. Son y chooid smoo, ta neunhee jeant jeh coayl-chengey. Shen red aggairagh, ta Fishman gra.

Myr t'eh gra, ta toyrnt mow ny myn-chengaghyn yn un red as toyrnt mow tradishoon liorish fassan unnaneyssit, toyrnt mow seihll ynnydaght liorish colughtyn mooarey, as toyrnt mow smooineaghtyn dowin liorish genney smooineaghtyn ny smooineaghtyn aa-ghowin. Ta Fishman gobbal dy vel eh soie er yn teihll jeianagh as e vondeishagh chaghnoaylleaght. S'mooar yn scansh jeh reiltyssyn as sheshaghtyn-reiltys ayns cooishyn chengey. Agh, er y laue elley, cha nod bree noa ve currit ayns chengey faase mannagh vel obbyr yecan goll er mastey lughtyn-thie ayns ny thieyn oc hene. Ta obbyr ynnydaght y theay hene scanshoil erskyn towse.

Reesht as reesht ta ughtar y lioar shoh dy ghra nagh nee red voish romanseeaght y nuyoo cheead jeig y caggey dy hauail ny myn-chengaghyn. Ta'n caggey shoh dellal rish shiartanse dy ard-ghoilleedyn yn teihll t'ayn nish: genney henoilaght, eebirtys-anmey as yn agh dy vel sleih eginit ve nyn lomarcen ny smoo as ny smoo.

As shimmey keayrt ta Fishman screu dy vel eh doillee agglagh dy chur ergooyl arraghey-chengey. Er y cheu elley, t'eh smooineaghtyn dy vod reddyn foaysagh ve jeant eer son ny chengaghyn t'ayns y stayd smessey. Sleih ta laccal obbraghey son ny chengaghyn shoh, t'ad goll rish fir as mraane-lhee ta jeeaghyn er peiagh ta ching kyndagh rish ymmodee gortey. Shegin da ny fir as mraane-lhee gra cre ny gortaghyn phrowys ad dy lheihs hoshiaght as cre ny gortaghyn vees faagit gyn lheihs ec y tra t'ayn (my vees lheihs er ny hirrey dy bragh). As foddee dy bee 'lheihs' ennagh cur er chingys ennagh dy ve ny smessey choud's t'eh geddyn rey rish chingys elley.

My vees sleih laccal cur ergooyl arraghey-chengey, shegin dauesyn kinjagh cooinaghtyn dy vel ad laccal nyn jenney ennoil dy ve currit veih sheeloghe dys sheeloghe elley, veih'n chenndiaight dys yn aeglagh.

Cha noddym cur ayns shoh agh coontey giare jeh'n lioar scanshoil shoh er y fa dy nee lioar mooar t'ayn. Shoh sheinys Fishman ry-hoi cur ergooyl arraghey-chengey, screut ayns kesmadyn, nane lurg nane:

1. Aa-hroggal yn chengey as sleih aasit gynsaghey ee.
2. Sleih aasit gymmydey yn chengey mastey yn theay ynnydaght.
3. Cur yn chengey da paitechyn ayns lughtyn-thie.
4. Sleih (aeg as shenn) gynsaghey yn chengey ayns scoillyn.
5. Scoillyn raad ta cooishyn ennagh goll er ynsaghey trooid yn chengey.
6. Ymmyd jeant jeh'n chengey raad ta sleih gobbraghey.
7. Yn chengey er y radio, chellveeish, ayns pabyryn-naight as y reiltys.
8. Yn chengey ec gagh leval ayns edjaghys, buill-obbrete, yn ym-ysseraght as reiltys.

Ta Fishman cheet erash dy mennick dys y smooineaght dy nhegin da sleih gobbraghey veih'n vun neese. T'eh gaueagh dy obbraghey veih'n vullagh neese. Myr sampleyr jeh shoh, t'eh gimraa yn agh va Yernee dy lioar credjal dy beagh mirrilyn jeant son Yernish tra v'ee currit ayns ny scoillyn. Son shickyrys, t'eh scanshoil dy chur yn chengey ayns scoillyn-reiltys, agh cha nod oo croghey er shen ny lomarcen.

Sheeu studeyrys dowin y yannoo er y lioar anaasagh shoh.

Orree Crennell

Joshua Fishman's book, 'Reversing Language Shift', stresses the importance of the bottom-up approach in work which seeks to improve the position of threatened languages.

### Manks Language Films

Most Manks speakers will be familiar with Foillan Films made by Dr. G. Broderick and Peter Maggs. The seven films - six of which are entirely in Manks and the seventh in Manks and English - have been transferred onto videotape and are catalogued in the Museum Library. The films deal, in the main, with various aspects of cultural life.

## Education Packs

The Manx Heritage Foundation has put its highly acclaimed education packs on general sale throughout the Island.

Up to now the packs have only been available to schools and at the Manx Museum, but they are now on sale at bookshops priced at £9.95.

The two packs are devoted to fishing and agriculture and represent a significant contribution to the knowledge of these aspects of Manx life.

The packs give an over-view of rural life in the Isle of Man over the past two centuries. Each pack contains a resource book as well as individual sheets and reproductions of contemporary documents such as the details of the possessions of a farmer in the 18th century, and an account of the potato riots in Rushen in 1825.

A number of sheets detail every aspect of farming and fishing, and there are many photographs and line drawings included. The packs were compiled by Fred Radcliffe, who was commissioned by the foundation to produce the packs.

### Manx Placenames – Survey Update



*Dr George Broderick with volume one of his survey (IP)*

Dr George Broderick has sent the first volume of his Manx placenames survey to the printers.

Material on the sheading of Glenfaba – the first place he examined in his monumental study – has been despatched to a publishing house in Tuebingen, Germany.

It comprises a 43-page introduction, 377 pages of text and three maps.

It is being produced in a card-backed edition, which will cost in the region of £70-£90 per copy, and he expects it to be on sale by September at the latest.

**Correction:** Information received by the CL and stated in *Carn* 85 concerning the Allied Irish Bank literary prize is incorrect. The prize is in fact £500 not £300. All other details are correct.

## THORP

### Shut it now! Jeigh eh Nish!

A Manx campaign for the stopping of Thorp and the shutting down of the Sellafield complex. Basically aiming to support and raise cash towards Greenpeace's campaign against BNFL. Also to educate and create awareness of the dangers to the people of the Isle of Man from Thorp and Sellafield.

We are urging anyone who is opposed to Thorp or who is concerned about their safety, or their family's in the event of a nuclear incident at Sellafield to write to their MHK and demand to see, or to have available to the public, the emergency provision planned by our government in the event of a major nuclear incident at Sellafield.

We know such a plan exists as the Chief Secretary, Mr. Kissack states in a previous letter to our committee.



"There is an Isle of Man Government emergency plan which would be activated in the event of a nuclear incident. It is not a public document and it is not therefore available for circulation". It ought to be!

For anyone wanting further information about the campaign or who would like one of our car stickers (showing the logo at the top with the words *Jeigh eh Nish - Shut it now*) which cost 50p. can contact Cathy or Simon on 835778, "Dell Cottage", Spaldrick, Port Erin, Mannin IM9 6PF. ("Thie Glionney", Spaldrick, Port Chiarn, Mannin, IM9 6PF).

### Donations to Les Teare Appeal

Isle of Man Newspapers have launched an appeal in the name of courageous Manxman Les Teare.

Les is dying of a rare form of cancer he claims was caused by discharges from Windscale - Sellafield's predecessor - in the 1950s.

Les Teare will be making history by becoming the first person to sue British Nuclear Fuels Ltd. in Australia, his home for the last 20 years.

But his whole case will fall apart unless he can raise the £16,000 he needs to obtain vital evidence held by BNFL.

Les believes his fellow Manxmen, women and children have a right to know what is in the evidence, which runs to at least 586 documents.

Legal aid, granted after a long battle, was withdrawn by Australian authorities just six days after the nuclear giant's lawyers threatened to mount a legal challenge to the use of Australian taxpayers' money.

Les has only months to live and is receiving strong chemotherapy. But he is determined to stay alive long enough to take to the witness stand.

Isle of Man Newspapers has set up a special bank account, number 41234146, at the Isle of Man Bank. Donations, no matter how small, can be paid directly into this.

They can also be forwarded to Amanda Clarke, Newsroom, Isle of Man Newspapers, Publishing House, Peel Road, Douglas IM1 5PZ.

## LETTER

Charrey Veen,

For the past two years, it has been known that the Isle of Man Post Office Authority (an independent body for the U.K. counterpart) was working on bringing in post-codes. This was mainly to facilitate the sorting of incoming mail from the U.K., where the bulk of mail is sent to and from. I wrote to the Chairman of the Authority (Mr. David Cretney, MHK) stating my belief that this would allow full Gaelic addressing. His reply was polite but less than enthusiastic, stating that confusion could occur where two or more places shared the same Gaelic place-name. Well, I thought that the whole idea of post-codes was to eliminate that!

So, post-codes are now with us, with one code covering around fifteen individual

addresses. There has been a predictable amount of grumbling, but I would ask people to recognise this as an opportunity to reverse an erosion of identity brought on by the Post-Office's own sorting system as well as using Gaelic.

Disregarding Mr. Cretney's negative response to my letter, I have been using my Gaelic address for the past couple of months, with post-code included, for both correspondence within and without Mannin. It works perfectly. Furthermore, there is no longer any justification for the Post-Office's annoying insistence that the "correct" address for places such as Baldrine, is "Baldrine, Douglas, Isle of Man" when Baldrine is two parishes away from Douglas and under completely different administration! I think post-codes have some very positive aspects and will support their use.

Mark Kermode





## Mec Vannin News

Mec Vannin has submitted a detailed document to the Tynwald Select Committee investigating the need for freedom of information laws.

In their submission Mec Vannin claims: "Despite having the oldest parliament in the world, rights and freedoms of the individual to question and investigate the workings of the government are thin on the ground."

There seems to be an assumption that by electing a representative the populace abrogate all rights and confer them upon the representatives. These representatives then abrogate many of their rights as representatives and confer them upon indirectly elected bodies – ie the Council of Ministers and Legislative Council.

This situation is paternalistic rather than democratic.

It may be argued by certain quarters that there is no abuse of the system and therefore there is no need to change it. This is completely fallacious.

Human nature is exactly the same in Mannin as in any other part of the world. It must be assumed that there are individuals who have and will abuse positions of authority and will use confidentiality/ secrecy to present proof of this".

The Party says any law should also apply to private organisation such as companies and business.

One of the main policy foundations should, according to Mec Vannin, be: "Any person should have the rights to access any record that relates directly to them. This would include records held by other individuals or bodies."

In court cases, defendants should have the right to see prosecution evidence.

All meetings of public bodies where decisions are formally taken should be minuted 'at least to the extent of stating who was present and what decisions were taken'.

Any citizen would have the right to access any and all such records, provided that it does not infringe privacy or prejudice or compromise an ongoing police or legal matter", the submission adds.

Government reports should be made public and the media and general public should have the same rights of access to information.

The Party also feel there should be an appeal system for anyone denied access to information.

The Manx Council for Civil Liberties is also in the vanguard calling for reforms. Speaking on behalf of the Council, Bernard Moffat warned: "But if Joe Public considers that it's not relevant to him then every employee should be aware that virtually every employer has a file on him and they have no automatic access to that. That applies to all government employees and people who work for most large companies as well".

## Immigration Crisis Looms

In 1988 the Island was still in the grips of the last (most recent) economic expansion. It brought with it the biggest spiral of house prices ever known, homelessness, environmental exploitation and consequent social unrest, culminating in the FSFO campaign. Fearing that public indignation had reached the point where other campaigns could follow; moreover, that we would lose our reputation as a 'politically stable area'; the Government was forced to be seen to be doing something – albeit cosmetic.

In July 1988 Peter Karran MHK, moved in Tynwald that a policy on immigration was urgently needed. The Social Issues Committee was given the task of investigating the matter, taking public evidence. In September 1988 a consultative document was produced.

A year after the matter was first raised, Executive Council's report on the Management of Population Growth (based on the consultative document), was approved by Tynwald. Miles Walker Chief Minister promised to control immigration by means of a Residence Bill (based on the right to occupy accommodation).

Almost five years after Peter Karran first raised the matter, he is now pressing for legislation to be in place before a crisis situation re-occurs. The Chief Minister does not believe we are anywhere near a situation where a crisis can occur. He has announced that the Residence Bill is scheduled in the 1994-95 programme; but not until there are further consultations, will it be placed before Tynwald.

Let no-one be deluded about the intention of such legislation. The Bill is not intended to be a measure to address the problem of uncontrolled immigration at times of economic expansion; but rather one to monitor numbers and keep out those whose economic contribution is not considered worthwhile. It must not be forgotten that there have been recent pilgrimages to South Africa and Hong Kong.

At a recent Chamber of Commerce forum, Miles Walker re-iterated his cliché that the Government's central policy aim was to increase the standard of living and well-being of the existing population whilst maintaining the quality of life. Government has still not grasped the obvious – that its concept of economic growth and quality of life, is mutually exclusive.

C.J.K.

### Government Mispending

The Manx government is to spend £600,000 on the refurbishment of its own offices phased over two years. The work will complete refurbishment of the offices which were built twenty years ago and which have been modernised on a floor by floor basis.

The measure came under attack from some members of the House of Keys who felt that the money could be better spent. At a time when the Manx Treasury has instructed all departments to look at ways of making cuts this measure can only be questioned, especially as there are no 'exceptional circumstances' as to why the work should be carried out according to Minister David North who is responsible for Government Offices.



## Land Sale Scandals

In a recent statement the Manx Green Party condemned the recent sale of agricultural land at inflated prices as nothing short of scandalous. The Party was referring to the purchase of a large field by the DHSS on which it intends to build a new local health centre and eventually a community hospital. In the not too distant past the Department of Education paid £250,000 for land to build a primary school, now under construction.

The statement reads: "It is a stupid economic system that allows an agricultural field, worth a few thousand pounds, to be worth a small fortune by virtue of being designated development land by the planning authority, especially when it is needed for projects to benefit the community such as a new school, a health centre or housing."

The Green Party believes that land is a primary source of wealth for the benefit of all. Land is our common heritage.

We do not believe that historic title, or speculative acquisition, should entitle landowners to make vast profits from its sale. A Green Party government would phase in a site value tax on land which would be primarily aimed at speculators and developers."

The statement goes on to outline in some detail how a site value tax system would operate for the benefit of all and as it quite rightly concludes: "It is wrong that the taxpayer should be helping to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few landowners."

# CELTICA

## Among the Books and Other Things

Ladakh (or Little Tibet), tucked into the Himalaya and administratively part of Kashmir, may be a long way from our blue-green islands and peninsulas yet I would encourage readers of *Carn* to get hold of Helena N. Hodge's book *'Ancient Futures: Learning from Ladakh'*. The experience of this ancient land will strike common chords among Celts (it certainly does with this Celt!).

Hodge begins her account with the Ladakh she found in the early 1970s, a Buddhist society without extremes of material wealth yet one in which most people lived materially comfortably and sharing a rich cultural life. Equally important the people were psychologically healthy. Society functioned through a network of reciprocal arrangements based on the extended family and the village community – all living in balance with the available resources. Autarchic and disdaining the cash-nexus in their immediate relations the Ladakhians were – alas – not to be allowed to live in peace.

Part two of the book charts the arrival of 'development' – first the encroachment of central government (and the military, who see it as a strategic area), then the tourists:

*'The impact of tourism on the material culture has been wide-ranging and disturbing. Still more significant, however, has been its impact on people's minds'* (p93).

Hodge charts the disintegration of family and community and the illusion of 'western' style civilisation as the panacea for the whole world. The book ends on a positive note by looking at ways in which the Ladakhis are fighting back.

In reading the book I was reminded of George Thomson's observation (based on his life-long involvement with the Blasket Islands) that as material civilisation 'progresses' there is a corresponding decline in the cultural life.

On a different note I have recently acquired a copy of Blackwell's *Encyclopaedia-dictionary of Marxist Thought*, edited by Tom Bottomore (ISBN 0 631 14236 3, price £13.50). Surprisingly, despite its 587 pages, there is no entry for James Connolly – yet plenty of space given to anarchists such as Proudhon and

Kropotkin, who given the historical antipathy between Marxism and Anarchism are less deserving to be in a book on Marxism than Connolly, who was, after all, a Marxist.

There are two references to Connolly. Under Nationalism we read that it was his endeavour 'to fuse socialism with national revolt' – something which 'met with little success'.

Under Syndicalism we read that Connolly was a 'British trade-unionist'. How utterly insulting... Like millions of other of the Irish diaspora, Connolly saw himself as Irish – pure and simple.

Could it be that in certain Marxist circles at least the old antipathy to nationalism still persists? Given the fact that since Connolly's day (and up to recent times) there has been an increased convergence of national and social struggles (in Cuba, Algeria, Vietnam, Nicaragua for example). I can only look on bemused.

Still on the theme of Marxist misunderstanding of nationalism I recently purchased a copy of the magazine *'Living Marxism'* (although after reading it I felt it should be retitled 'Killing Marxism') and stumbled upon an exchange of letters on the subject of Basque nationalism. I had missed the articles which had set off the exchange but the author's reply is of interest:

*'Basques were fully complicit in the Reconquista crusade against the Moors, the Counter-reformation (the Jesuits were a Basque initiative), the inquisition, the expulsion of the Jews, the construction of the Spanish Empire... and as guerrillas against Napoleon'...7*

and on it goes culminating in...

*'Today a minority of rural Basques speak Euskera... extraordinary efforts are needed to prevent Euskera dying out'*.

In short the writer, Andy Clarkson, objects to the Basques because they are Catholics. Many Celts are also Catholics forming a slight majority of the combined populations of the Celtic lands. As Catholics we were involved in the counter-reformation (especially in Ireland and Brittany – which saved 'France from

Catholicism'. We have been involved in the Catholic missionary movement – and since the writer, Clarkson, believes in guilt by association, in the inquisition. As conscripts or 'volunteers' forced by poverty we have been instrumental in building two\* world empires – the British and the French. The Bretons were also guerillas against Napoleon (who it is strange to find being defended by Marxists!)

So we are all guilty of being Catholics. The fact that many of us – like the great James Connolly – are also committed socialists (and by socialists I don't mean the wishy-washy extreme liberals of the type that dominate most socialist and labourist parties and organisations) seems to count for nothing in the eyes of Clarkson. Fortunately writers such as Clarkson – who have inherited the typical anti-Catholic ethos and prejudice of formerly 'protestant England' can make no authentic claim to their brand of Marxism being the definitive one. Those of us who are Celts and Catholics have a trump-card: we have James Connolly.

\* or three if we include the 'American' (U.S.)

K. Collins

### All-Breton Dictionary

For the first time a Breton dictionary is to be made available in which the definition of words and all the required explanations for their correct use are given in Breton, with examples and illustrations. It is due to be published by AN HERE, a publisher who provides books for children in our language, towards the end of this year. Work on it, begun in the late eighties, has involved cooperation between 50 and 60 people. Several public bodies or agencies have undertaken to contribute financially to the cost of publication. The Finistère and Côtes-d'Armor Councils, the Rennes-Regional Council, the Breton Cultural Institute, the Crédit Mutuel de Bretagne (bank), The Centre National des Lettres, the European Community.

We have numerous bilingual dictionaries. From now on those who come across an unknown Breton word will no longer have to resort to another language to find out what it means if they already have a moderate knowledge of Breton. Roparz Hemon, in so many ways a pioneer in the task of making our minds independent, had already in the 70's published in the monthly AR BED Keltiek a series of instalments as a model of what a Geriadur Broadel (National Dictionary) should look like.

This *Geriadur Brezhonek* can be ordered from AN HERE, Kergleuz, 2948 Ar Releg-Kerhuon, Brittany for 480F. On publication the price will be 520F.

### APPEAL

Articles for the Cymru Section of *Carn* in both Welsh/English are needed. Contributions should be sent directly to the Editor.

# Regional Conference for Europe Report

## Sinaia '94

In *Carn* 85, the General Secretary's submission to the *Regional Conference for Europe* was reported in full. Hereunder, follows a report on the theme of *Nationalism, Self-determination and Human Rights* submitted by Mr. Mark James Johnston (Scotland). Also included is the final communique which outlines the future work of the coordinating group whose remit is to explore ways of building a positive future for Europe and humanity.

In this section a wide range of subjects were covered.

The speakers were:

1. Bernd Lange, Germany, who supported national liberation wars and who claimed that Hitler and Mussolini moved away from nationalism.
2. Mr. Plugare, Moldavia, who was worried about Russian imperialist nationalism and hoped for support for the people of Moldavia.
3. Knud Pedersen, Denmark, spoke well on the reasons for Danish opposition to the European Union and made it clear that this was not due to narrow minded nationalism.
4. Mr. Moffatt, Isle of Man, put the case very clearly and was well supported in his defence of Celtic nationalism and his opposition to imperialist blocks like the US and the EU.
5. Prof. Tousmohammad, Russia, spoke on the rights of people as birth rights and therefore independent of any nation state.
6. Jan Fjellander, Sweden, concentrated on internationalism and citizens of the world and thought nationalism was bad, though he did say he supported the struggles and rights of oppressed people.
7. Mark Johnston, Scotland, put the case for Scottish independence and for nationalist independence struggles generally.
8. Mr. Kuzmanic, Ljubljana, spoke about Serbian imperialistic nationalism and its effects, especially the racist and anti-islamic results of it.

After the papers there was a wide ranging discussion. It was expressed that Europeans were being Eurocentric and ignoring the reality for much of the non-world's population. The non-Alignment of countries like India and Libya was commended. There was some support for self-determination without nations and worry that even if a nation was not imperialistic it may be insular. There was more support for the view expressed by Ali Farfar that the problems of oppression and underdevelopment etc. will not be solved by getting rid of nationalism and that the calls for world citizenship and National Liberation are not contradictory or exclusive. There was a very interesting and at times heated discussion on the positive or negative role of nationalism. Some

argued that nationalism is basically good in the struggles of oppressed people while others argued that nationalism quickly becomes a negative force leading to racism.

Speaking personally I got a lot of positive feedback for my point of view and noted that, by and large, those who opposed Scottish Independence lived in independent, secure, Nation States...



Bernard Moffatt, CL General Secretary speaking at the conference.

## Concluding communique

1. This conference declares solidarity with all oppressed peoples throughout the world and expresses its concern that inter-governmental institutions are incapable of protecting the world's citizens.
2. This conference further notes its opposition to the growing military and cultural US domination of Europe and the use of Nato as a tool of US foreign policy.
3. *This conference supports self-determination, at individual, group and national levels*, providing this does not harm the self-determination of others. Accordingly, this conference unequivocally supports respect for people's sovereignty and equality as enshrined in the United Nations Charter.
4. This conference recognises that many of the most serious problems faced by the world today are caused by the democratic deficit in the existing political systems.
5. This conference recognises that building a better future for Europe, humanity and nature depends on achieving an effective role for the green, peace, anti-racist and other social movements.

6. Accordingly, this conference agrees to select a coordinating group to continue the work of the conference in exploring ways of building a positive future for Europe and humanity. This coordinating group will initiate contacts with individuals and organisations committed to facilitating mutual learning and cooperation between all of Europe and the South.

7. The coordinating group will develop the themes of this conference to generate practical, grassroots alternatives to the existing inter-governmental institutions. The group will also seek ways of challenging the political, military and

cultural US domination of Europe. *The coordinating group's work will be based on the ethnic and cultural multiplicity of Europe* and its peoples and will develop ways of helping the green, peace, anti-racist and other social movements to build a better and fairer Europe.

8. In solidarity with people who are suffering, this conference agrees to send documentation about the conference to the United Nations, the members of the UN Security Council, and the European Union, this will include mention of the concern, expressed at the conference over the use of sanctions against countries, including Libya which is the subject of unproven allegations of involvement in the 1988 plane crash over Lockerbie. The letter emphasises that "collective punishment is intolerable".

9. We, the participants, express our appreciation to the Jamahir Society for Culture and Philosophy and the Romanian Ecological Movement for hosting this conference and looks forward to further successful meetings.

Mark James Johnston



# — "Citizens - Not Subjects!" —

## Republicanism in England

The February open meeting of London branch addressed the subject of English republicanism. The speaker was Chris Ford of the English Republican Forum. The dominant relationship of England with five Celtic countries means that political movements in England potentially friendly to the movements of Celtic countries should be of interest, and the English Republican Forum rejects a British state.

The recently formed English Republican Forum (E.R.F.) does not restrict itself to being republican in the 'narrow' sense of seeking the abolition of the English monarchy, but stands for the removal of the crown powers and the transfer of sovereignty to the people. The parliament at Westminster, acting for the crown, has absolute power in the English state, often called the 'United Kingdom' (but which is the historic continuation of mediaeval England with neighbouring territories subsequently absorbed). In, for example, the 26 counties or the United States the power of governments is limited by a constitution which guarantees certain rights to the people. In the English state the Westminster parliament is 'sovereign' and any rights it chooses to give to the people (such as the vote) can be legally removed when Westminster wishes. The people are not citizens but subjects of the crown.

Unlike Alba, Cymru and Éire, England does not have a long republican tradition. The E.R.F. seeks to build a working-class republican movement, but such exists presently only in embryonic form. It is notable that English popular movements of the past, like the Chartists, are not widely commemorated, unlike the case in the U.S.A. or France. One exception to this, the annual commemoration of the Levellers at Burford, Oxfordshire, is a notably depoliticised event.

In the discussion which followed it was suggested that in Scotland there still existed

a tradition of working class political dialogue, in e.g. Govan or Dundee, which was absent among the English working class whose minds were dominated by the royal family, soap operas etc. The speaker rejected this as simplistic but stated a need for workers' education in England to reclaim history for the working class, and said that Republicanism was culture-democracy from below.

The role of the mass media to turn people's attention away from political issues was also condemned. Numerous laws restricting peoples' rights had been pushed through parliament in the month before the wedding of Carlo and Diana in 1981 while a few days before this meeting a significant gay rights law vote had taken place at Westminster, the result of which was seen by many as a violation of human rights, but all the talk among the people the following day was of the performance of two English ice-skaters at the Winter Olympics.

Uncle Tom Cobbley

### Celtic League AGM 1994

This will be held in Dublin  
on the weekend of  
27th/28th August.  
Members please contact your  
national/branch secretary  
for details on agenda,  
accommodation and travel  
arrangements.

### Bi-lingual Celtic Journal from Cape Breton, Canada

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## Membership and Subscriptions

All those who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership fee (including *Carn*) and subscription rates are IR£9; Stg£9; 85FF or US\$20.00 (US funds, cheques drawn on a US bank). Europe and airmail outside Europe Stg£10.00

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

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**BREIZH Subscriptions: Youenn Craff**, Talbodek, 29300 BEI/BAYE, Brittany.

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Our next deadline for material for *Carn* is 1st May 1994. Materials sent for publication in *Carn* must relate to our aims, and should be typed. All materials copyright © *Carn* unless otherwise stated. The views expressed in *Carn* are not necessarily those of the editor nor of the Celtic League.

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## Notice

Since Merfyn Phillips resigned the post of Cymru branch secretary, Robat ap Tomos has distributed *Carn* to members and has agreed to look after membership renewals for the time being.

This temporary arrangement is obviously not in the best interests of the Cymru branch. If any member of the branch could take on the distribution of *Carn* contact our General Secretary.

Also, if any member, committed to the aims of the Celtic League, is interested in the post of branch secretary please contact the General Secretary, with a view to allowing their name to go forward for election to that post at a specially convened branch meeting.