

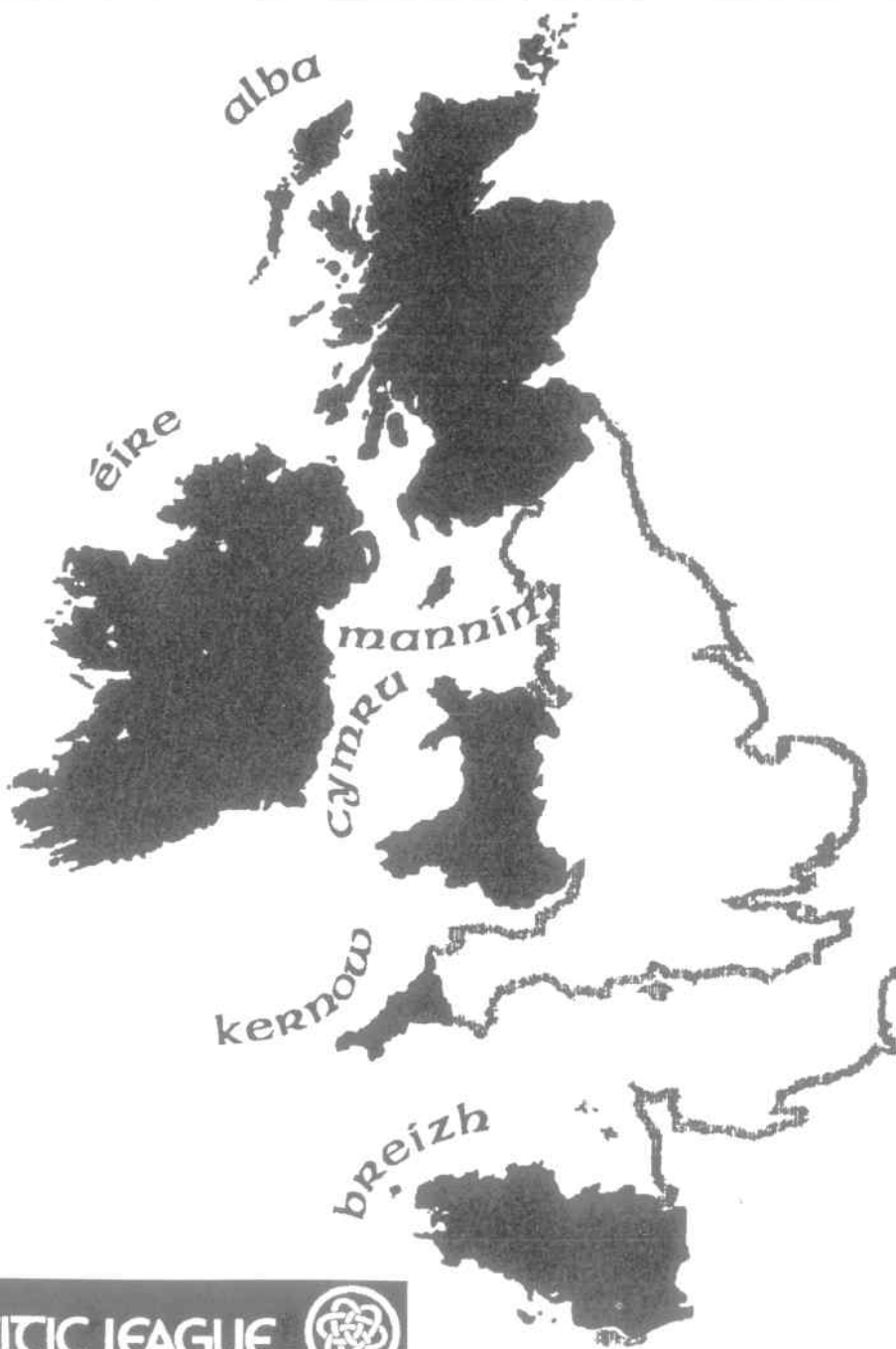
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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

No. 87

Autumn 1994

£1.70



- 1994 A Year of Electoral Progress for Scotland
- EU Election Results in Brittany
- Etre Spi Ha Spont
- S.A. Roberts: Victim of Conspiracy
- IRA Ceasefire
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ALBA: COMUNN
CEILTEACH • **BREIZH:** KEVRE
KELTEK • **CYMRU:** UNDEB
CELTAIDD • **ÉIRE:**
CONRADH CEILTEACH •
KERNOW: KESUNYANS
KELTEK • **MANNIN:**
COMMEEYS CELTIAGH

CELTIC LEAGUE



Annual General Meeting

This year's A.G.M. was held at Conradh na Gaeilge, Harcourt Street, Dublin, 27th August 1994.

The General Council Members elected: Chairman - Cathal Ó Luain; General Secretary - Bernard Moffatt; Assistant General Secretary - Mark Kermode; Treasurer - Paul Kelly; Editor - Patricia Bridson.

The following resolutions were passed:

* This Ard-Fheis declares that it shall be a general policy of the League not to refer to the Irish, Manks or Scottish languages in English as "Gaelic". The names *Irish*, *Manks* and *Scottish* (or *Gàidhlig*) shall be used instead, in the same way as we say *Welsh*, not "Welsh Brythonic".

* This Conference rejects the concept of British nationalism and condemns attempts to propagate it.

* This A.G.M. calls upon Manx National Heritage to commission a memorial to Manx patriot William Christian (Illiam Dhone). Such memorial to be sited at the place of execution of Illiam Dhone.

* This A.G.M., being mindful that the UK Government has declared itself to have "no strategic interest in Northern Ireland"; calls upon the British Government to fix a date to withdraw its military presence there.

* This A.G.M.:

(a) Calls upon the Manx Government to end the practice whereby UK broadcasting organisations levy licence fees within the Isle of Man.

(b) Calls upon the Manx Government to determine the level of a broadcasting licence to be collected within the Isle of Man for the purpose of Manx broadcasting.

(c) Seeks, via the Manx Nationalist Party, Méc Vannin, the endorsement of a joint campaign of action against the British authorities.

* This A.G.M. congratulates the Manx Government and Department of Education following its decision to continue the Manx Language Programme in schools.

* This A.G.M.:

(a) Welcomes the aspirations and objectives set out at the recent "Irish Race Convention" held in New York.

(b) Recognises the pivotal role the United States can play in promoting co-operation both within Ireland and between the British and Irish governments.

(c) Calls upon the United States Government to exercise its influence with all parties to secure a free and peaceful Ireland.

* This A.G.M.:

(a) Deplores the inertia of the relevant governments in failing to provide adequate protection to Cornish, Irish and Breton fishermen during recent difficulties in the Biscay sea fishery.

(b) Calls upon the European Fisheries Commissioner to provide a report on the disastrous economic impact of Community fishery policy on the Celtic fishing communities of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Mann, Cornwall and Brittany.

* This A.G.M.:

(a) Demands that the Canadian Government restores lands currently used for NATO air exercises to the Inuit people of Labrador.

(b) Instructs the General Secretary and Council of the Celtic League to orchestrate a campaign in Europe against continued NATO usage of the Inuit lands.

(c) Requests the Cape Breton and United States branches of the League to co-ordinate efforts in North America in respect of this campaign.

* This A.G.M. opposes any re-organisation of local government that would leave Kernow (Cornwall) divided, without an overall authority for the whole Nation.

* This A.G.M. opposes the proposed siting of a Royal Navy target range off Dodman Point on the south Cornish coast, thus preventing fishing vessels free access to their fishing grounds, especially at this time of hardship in the fishing industry.

* This A.G.M., being aware of the continuing severe limitations and of the disruption imposed on Breton language programmes by the France Regional 3 TV service, expresses its full approval of, and support for, the resistance action taken by a

number of viewers in refusing to pay their TV licence.

Considers that the seizure of their personal property with which they are threatened would add a further injury to a people deprived of a service that is available to other linguistic minorities in other European states.

* This A.G.M., informed of the fact that two police officers recorded the registration numbers of cars belonging to participants to a Breton language course in Skaer on July 18th 1994, asks the Prefect of Finistère, who has the authority over the police in that Department, to state why it was necessary to thus intimidate people gathered solely for a cultural purpose.

* This A.G.M. deplores the fact that, 25 years from the day when British troops were sent on to the streets of Northern Ireland, RTE decided not to commemorate an event of such seminal importance to the people of Ireland, other than with a mere mention during a news bulletin. The A.G.M. welcomes the fact that the BBC marked the occasion by holding a series of programmes containing comprehensive analysis. We accuse the RTE Controller of Programmes of failing in his educational duty to the younger generation of Irish people by creating a situation where they have to take their television history lessons from Britain.

* This A.G.M. supports the Irish peace initiative and urges all parties to hasten the process towards total demilitarisation, in order for the political process to progress and expose the inadequacies of the Anglo-Irish agreement and the Downing Street Declaration.

* This A.G.M. calls on the Irish Government to host a conference of the stateless Celtic nations to explore future political structures that would more adequately represent their national aspirations.



Some delegates at Annual General Meeting

ALBA

Bha a' Bheurla i-fhèin an cunnart uair

Dè mo dheighinn an t-àm ri teachd bhon a tha sinn a' dlùthachadh ris an aonamh linn air fhichead?

Faodaidh sinn coimhead air aiseirigh na Gàidhlig san fharsaingeachd.

Sa chiad dol-a-mach, chan eil e cho doirbh a thuigsinn carson a tha sinn a' strì airson aiseirigh na Gàidhlig. Carson, mata, iongantach ri ràdh thàinig a' Bheurla a-steach don Alba, sa chiad dol a-mach taing don Blàr Hastings. Cheannsaich Diùc Uilleam à Normandaidh Sasainn sa bhliadhna 1066 an sin agus thàinig Fraingis a-steach do Shasainn comhla ris agus luchd na Fraingis aige.

Gus an dàinig Mairearad bha ar cànan sàbhailte gu leoir oir bha i ann an teanga an Riaghaltas na h-Albainn agus gu ìre bhig aig gach Albannach sam bith.

Bhon a bha Diùc Uilleam brùideil neo-thruanta do na Sasanaich theich iad gu Alba mar fhògarraich. Bha a' chiad fhògarraich ainmeil d'am b'ainm Mairearad (no Mairead) nam Mallachd leis na Gaidheil agus Naomh Mairearad leis an fheadhan eile.

Bha i gòrach agus cha robh ach dà chànan aice – an Ungaireis agus a' Bheurla a-mhàin. Cha robh a' Ghàidhlig aice. Bhon nach robh uidh aice 'nar cànan, thug i na dreuchdan as fheàrr do na fògarraich eile à Sasainn!

A nisd, bha nithean iongantach a' tachairt ann an Sasainn. Nochd sinn ciamar a bha Fraingis cho làidir ann an Sasainn an deidh a' Ceannsaich sa bhliadhna 1066. Ach beagan is beagan dh'aisig na Sasanaich a' Bheurla an àite na Fraingis feadh Sasainn uile gu leir. Ach cha do dh'aisig sinne ar cànan fhìn an àite na Beurla feadh Alba gu leir fhathast ged a tha Mairearad nam Mallachd 'na h-uagh fad naoi ciad bliadhna!

Gun teagamh, le sin, bu chòir dhuinn coimhead air mar a bha na Sasanaich buadhmhor mar a rinn iad aiseag na cànan dhasach aca. Is docha gu bheil mòran a tha a' dèilig ri thuigsinn.

A reir Mario Pei an deidh 1066 bha a' Bheurla gur tur toirmisgte a-measg an fheadhain a bha modhail no oifigeil mar a bha a' mhòr chuid de na Normanaich. Cha do ghabh iad sùim dhen Bheurla agus gu ìre bhig sguir i a bhi na cànan sgrìobhte. Gu deimhinn bha sin coltach ri inbhe na

Gàidhlig eadar na bliadhnachan 1746 agus 1975!

A bharrachd air sin ghoid na Normanaich a h-uile cail a bha aig na Sasanaich... na taighean aca... am fearann aca... an crodh agus an stoc aca air sgath luchd taic Diùc Uilleim. Mar sin chaidh na Sasanaich fodha, gu gnù (sullenly) gus an robh iad nan tuath-cheatharna (peasantry) caran coltach ri Fuadach nan Gaidheal!

Roimh 1100 sgrìobh bard à Winchester nach robh easbaig no maighstir -sgoile feadh Sasainn aig an robh a' Bheurla oir an deidh Blàr Hastings gun dail shuidhich Diùc Uilleam luchd na Fraingis anns gach cearn ann an Sasainn seach Worcester ach chan eil fhios againn carson a dh'fàg e Worcester a-mach.

Bha an geur-leanmhainn seo coltach ris a sin ann an Alba, gu h-àraidh a-measg nan Gaidheal an dèidh Bliadhna Thearlaich no Achd an Fhoghlaim 1872 a dh'fhuadaich teagaisg tre na Gàidhlig.

Gu nàdarra, chaidh a' Bheurla leis an t-sruth mar a chaidh ar cànan nuair a bha i gun taic is toirmisge.

Bha an litreachas san Fraingis agus gu tric air a sgrìobhadh le daoine a bha air am breith is air an togail ann an Sasainn.

Sgrìobhadh "Pelerinage (eilthreachd) de Charlmagne à Jerusalem" ann an Sasainn agus duain maiseach d'am b'ainm "Marie de France" agus iomadh uirsgeulan Frangach mòr-chòrde. Sgrìobh Turoldus à Peterborough "Chanson (òran) de Roland" ann an Oxford. Aig an àm sin bha ùghdaran gu leoir ann an Sasainn a' sgrìobhadh deagh litreachas san Fraingis. Bha e coltach ri buth-leabhraichean abhaisteach ann an Alba an diugh far a bheil leabhraichean is leabhraichean ann sa Bheurla agus a mhòr chuid de na h-ùghdaran nan Albanaich a' sgrìobhadh sa Bheurla.

Chaidh a' Bheurla fodha agus bha an Fraingis buadhmhor ach beagan is beagan phut na Sasanaich dealasach an Fraingis a-mach thar Caolas na Frainge dìreach mar a tha sinne a' putadh a' Bheurla thairis air a' Chrich!

Mata, thachair rudeigin cudthromach on taobh a-muigh agus rud eile a bha cho fortanach on taobh a-staigh.

Sa bhliadhna 1337 bhris an t-Arm Sasannach a-steach don Fraing. Le sin

thòisich Cath nan Ciad Bliadhna agus leis a sin chaidh an Fraingis à fasan feadh Shasainn.

Thachair an aon seòrsa atharrachaidh ann an Alba on taobh a-muigh sa bhliadhna 1975 nuair a thuig an riaghaltas ann an Westminster còirichean aig ar cànan Albannach cuideachd, sa chiad àite bhon a bha uiread de "ethnics" a' tighinn a-steach on Iompaireachd Bhreatannach nach maireann agus a chionn 's gun robh Margadh Coitcheann Eorpach ann.

Thachair an darna rud a bha cudthromach do aiseirigh na Beurla mu àm toiseach Cath nan Ciad bliadhna. Chaidh Iain Trevisa a bha na phears' eaglais aig an robh Coirneis thairis air an abhainn Tamar a-steach do Shasainn. Thàinig e à Crocadon, St Mellion, sa Chorn agus chaidh e dhan Oilthigh Oxford far an do thachair e ri dithis Chornaich eile, Richard Pencrych agus fear eile.

Nochd iad do na Sasanaich doigh aiseirigh na Beurla agus teagaisg tre na Beurla dìreach mar a bha na Cornaich a' teagaisg tre na Coirneis anns a' Chorn.

An sin, sa bhliadhna 1385 sgrìobh Trevisa e-Fhèin gun robh an t-atharrachadh a' dol uamhasach math... "feadh a h-uile sgoil-gràmar ann an Sasainn trèigidh an fheadhainn òg an Fraingis agus tuigidh is ionnsaichidh iad tre na Beurla".

Mar a theireamaid ... glè mhath ... bhon a tha sinne a' teagaisg tre na Gàidhlig a-nisd mar sin beagan is beagan bhon a tha tuilleadh luchd-teagaisg na Gàidhlig a dhith oirnn.

Ach rinn luchd na Beurla tuilleadh. Sa bhliadhna 1362 rinn a' Phàrlamaid aca Achd a thaobh nan cùirtean-lagha far a bhiodh gach cùis-thagraidh (plea) an fhridiona sa Bheurla, agus beagan is beagan, dh'fhàs an lagh ann an Sasainn air a cleachdadh uile gu leir sa Bheurla. Feumaigh sinn a bhi cur ar cànan an àite na Beurla anns a h-uile cùirt-lagha feadh Alba mar an ceudna.

San aon bhliadhna, 1362, dh'fhosgail iad a' Phàrlamaid aca sa Bheurla agus bha e ceadichte Beurla 'a bruidhinn ann gus an diugh. Feumaidh Gàidhlig a bhi ceadichte on latha a dh'fhosgaileas dorsan na Pàrlamid Albannach againn a-risid mar an ceudna.

Sin agad e! Dèanamaid ar cànan Albannach buadhmhor feadh Alba uile gu leir mar a tha Portagailis sa Phortagail no Pòileis sa Phòlainn 7c. no a' Bheurla ann an Sasainn!

Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich
(Gilleasbuig Lachlainn 'Illeasbuig)

Letter from Australia

"... The Celtic Council of Australia holds annually a Celtic cultural festival at Glen Innes in New South Wales. It takes place in May (which corresponds here to the Autumn—Samhain) around the magnificent array of granite Standing Stones which at my instigation were erected as a Monumental Memorial to the contribution of the Celts to this country over 200 years of European presence. About 2,000 people come to a very good display of dance (and other) music from all our communities, except alas that we have no Bretons – do you know any here? We work together well here and are increasingly aware that we are one people in origin... despite the two millenia of separation and recent religious differences... We could do with more Irish involvement but things are moving forward.

As part of the creation of a Celtic centre I named a new grove of oak trees Glen Nemeton near the Stones. We created a Gorsedd Stone for the Brythonics; there is an Ogham Stone, and we have with the support of the local council called the hill above Tynwald Hill.

None of this is, of course, political freedom for the Celts in Europe which is the prime aim. I am Convener of the Scottish National Party here and we do raise some money for Scotland. But maintaining Celtic consciousness here must tend to help in Europe.

The University of Sydney is teaching Celtic studies in three undergraduate years, post-graduate, Masters and Doctoral levels, again at our initiative. Last year they taught five of the 6 Celtic languages and the courses have great support from students.

The University of Newcastle (here) is starting similar courses – majoring in music – since the initiative is Welsh!

On Australia Day (January 26th) we had a Celtic festival in Sydney and the State Premier, John Fahey, came. That festival, well supported by some Glasgow-born influential figures, will continue.

I have created an "Honours" system by which we recognise the work done for the Celts through local or Clan societies etc. These honours are in the various Celtic languages, i.e. Duine Uasal — Duine Urramach — Cyfaill y Celtaid — Tus Enorys Ewn — and Chairn Tustey Ceilkaig in ascending order of seniority. They carry post-nominals and are valued. It is all part of the cohesion process.

We do have conservative criticism (academics say Standing Stones were pre-Celtic – so they may have been but Celts have dwelt among them for millenia. Others say there were no "Honours" among ancient Celts – nor were there, but we Celts are a living, developing people, strongly interested in and protective of our ancient



Glen Innes Standing Stones

history but not stranded in it). But generally things are moving harmoniously enough forward.

We wear national dress more here than is done in Ireland or Scotland but we need to do so: when in a minority you need badges of identity for cohesion and pride.

What else? Just continuing devotion to Celticism and for me personally a passionate longing for the Scotland of my ancestors. Celtic memories endure for many generations. We in dreams behold the Hebrides. Le deagh dhurachd.

Padruig Alasdair

Rinn Ragnvald
Blik an fhealla-dhà
is an dealbh seo sa
bhliadhna 1927 mu
dheighinn gleac air
sgath na cànaidh
Lochlannach.
Bean-tuathanaich:
Dè nì sinn ma
bhios galar *foot*
and mouth (an
galar ronnach) a'
tighinn a-steach do
Nirribhidh?
Fear-dealasach na
cànain: Feumaidh
sinn a bhi air lorg
facail Lochlannach
air a shon!



CELTIC HISTORY REVIEW

A new biannual magazine dealing with the histories of the six Celtic countries from a national and inter-Celtic viewpoint.

First edition out August 1994. Price £1.50.

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1994

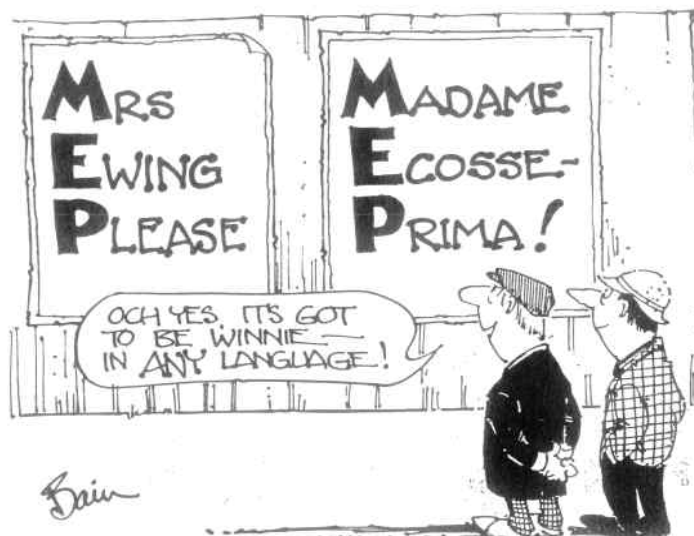
A Year of Electoral Progress for Scotland

Scottish voters made full use of the local Regional elections in May and the European elections in June to register a new high in support for the Scottish National Party and its message of Independence in Europe. The Labour Party still rules the biggest Regions of Strathclyde, including Glasgow; Lothian, based in Edinburgh; Central, based in Falkirk; and Fife, based in Glenrothes; but they lost a shore of power in Grampian, based in Aberdeen with the SNP whose new partners are the Liberals. The most spectacular success for SNP was to take control of Tayside Region, based in Dundee. This was a first for the party at this level of government.

SNP gained most seats and aggregated over 27% of the votes cast across Scotland. This consigned the Tories to fourth place and no Regional councils once again. Yet while Labour was winning handsomely in Southern England they were losing ground in Scotland. Although local government reform, which is being pushed through parliament by the in-built Tory majority, will abolish most of these Regions next year, these results set up a great opportunity for further SNP advances next April. SNP gains such as those around Kilmanock in Ayrshire bode well for that poll. Scottish politics has entered a new period of volatility in which Labour's long domination of the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities is now in the balance.

SNP's steady growth is based on a campaign to show Scots that Labour votes can't stop the Tories from savaging Scotland. The London parliament has imposed VAT (value added tax) on fuel in a country which is far colder than SE England. Old Age Pensions are frozen. Scotland's water is being taken from our local council's control, while Scotland needs a voice at the top table in Europe to protect our oil and fish stocks and put Scotland's case directly with other nations. The voters see the link with constitutional change as the way forward.

Just as this victory was sinking in, John Smith, leader of the Labour Party since 1992 died. He had been a Scottish advocate (lawyer) and represented Monklands East as MP, it was Labour's fourth safest majority, over 16,000 votes over the SNP at the General Election two years ago. John Smith's untimely death shocked the country, he had been tipped to beat the Tories at the next election and public politics were paralysed for ten days at the start of the European election till his funeral in Edinburgh. Such was the coverage of what amounted to a State



occasion and his burial in Iona, the ancient burial place of Irish, Scottish and Pictish kings. Would there be a huge wave of sympathy for Labour? A by-election would take place just after the European poll at the time Labour was beginning to pick John Smith's successor.

In the event the Euro Poll on June 9th brought new success to the SNP with an all-time high result of 33.7% of the Scottish votes and a gain of the North East Euro seat to give SNP two and Labour retaining six in Scotland as a whole. Winnie Ewing held her Highlands and Islands seat for SNP handsomely, gaining 59% of the votes cast, while Alan MacArtney turned a two thousand vote Labour majority in the NE, which includes much of Grampian and Tayside Regions, into a stunning SNP gain with a majority of over 31,000.

The unprecedented TV coverage across Britain included gains in two European seats for the Liberals in Cornwall and Devon. Across the UK Alan MacArtney's delighted supporters with Scottish flags flying high made a brave sight. It marks another steady step forward for the Scottish Independence cause but not so for all of our allies in the Rainbow Group, the representatives of the European Free Alliance in the Euro Parliament.

We found out that the drop in support for the Regionalist/Autonomist and Green lists in France and Spain had robbed us of members like Simmioni and Gerrakachioia. So the SNP two and the Flemish Nationalist and member for the Canary Islands agreed to join with two Italian Radicals, and thirteen French radicals and ecologists of the left. How this will work out in Scotland's interests will be reported on in Carn in future.

In the Monklands East by-election the SNP slashed the Labour majority from 16,000 to under 1,600! It had been the most vicious election in living memory but the SNP's message of the Power for Change has reached a new high in popular support.

Rob Gibson

Call for Gaelic on Border TV

Gaelic learners and TV viewers in the South of Scotland are being discriminated against – and there is even demand for Gaelic programmes in Northern England and the Isle of Man!

This is the message from a recent petition in the Border TV area organised by the voice of Gaelic learners, Comann an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh (CLI).

According to the latest edition of the organisation's magazine "Cothrom", 685 Border TV viewers added their names to the call for the Carlisle-based TV company "to broadcast the successful Gaelic learners' series and sub-titled Gaelic programmes currently seen on STV and Grampian TV".

The petition has been sent to Border TV.

The geographical distribution of the names collected was: 52% from Dumfries & Galloway Region; 40% from Borders Region; 6% from Cumbria and Northumbria; and 2% from the Isle of Man.

CLI board member Anna Guthrie argued that interest in Gaelic in the Border TV area should come as no surprise: "The language was once encountered throughout the south during the early days of the Scottish kingdom, and the Gaelic monks had an important base on Lindisfarne.

"Galloway still had Gaelic-speaking communities as late as the 18th century, and the Isle of Man still has its own, related Gaelic. And of course, all in Scotland should have access to what is a fundamental element of our living national heritage".

For further information contact: Comann an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh, 5 Mitchell's Lane, Inbhir Nis (Inverness), IV2 3HQ.

BREIZH

Etre Spi Ha Spont

An disklêriadur embannet e miz Kerzu gant pennvaodierned Breizh-Veur hag Iwerzhon e Straed Downing, London, a oa kinniget evel un diazez a c'hallfed diwarnañ aozañ peoc'h e Norzhiwerzhon. An dek kraf anezhañ ne dleent talvout nemet da sturianañ ar c'henbrezegoù a vefe da ober etre an daou c'houarnamant ha dileuridi ar strolladoù political norzhiwerzhonat – re an Unanourien (UUP, DUP, Alliance) ha re ar vroadelourien (SDLP, ha Sinn Féin gant m'he defe an IRA kroazet da vat war ar stourm dre an armoù). Gant unan eus ar c'hrefen e oa anavezet gwir Iwerzhoniz da zivizout o dazont politikel o-unan. Penaos? Dre hollguzuliadeg-bobl moarvat. Ne oa ket spisaet an doare-ober. Ur guzuliadeg e framm ar 26 Kontelezh hag unan a-ziforc'h e framm ar 6 Kontelezh, pe unan evit holl dud an enez a-gevret? An eil doare – div guzuliadeg – ne vije ket kavet mat gant Sinn Féin. Egile a vefe distaolet gant an Unanourien. Setu, lezet an traoù en amzivin. Koulskoude gant ur c'hraf all e oa diogelaet ne vefe kemmet netra hep asant ur muianiver eus poblañs ar 6 Ko., da lavarout eo ac'hann da bell hep asant an Unanourien peogwir ez int un tamm mat niverusoc'h c'hoazh eget ar vroadelourien. Se, evit Sinn Féin, a oa kement ha reiñ ur veto – an dalc'h-diarbenn, – d'ar re-se war an emdroadur, reiñ tu dezho da gendele'her d'ober o mistri evel diagent er c'horn-se eus ar vro. Rener an UUP, J. Molyneux, a oa prest a'walc'h da asantiñ da Zisklêriadur Straed Downing, hogen e gevezer Paisley (rener an DUP) a c'hwesas un taol trubard en afer-se: ne zeufe ket d'an daol-gembrezeg keit ha ne vefe ket lamet ar melloù 2 ha 3 eus Bonreizh Iwerzhon hag a zisklêr ec'h en em astenn beli gouarnamant Iwerzhon hervez ar Gwir war an enez a-bezh. Ha tost da Ian Paisley hag e genseurted emañ arvilourien an UDA hag an UVF, hag a ziskouez abaoe ur pennad ez int mennet da herzel dre ar sponterezh, da skouer o teuler bombezennoù e tavarnioù leun-chouk pe dre ar prenester en tiez prevez, ouzh nep kemm en o stad keodedel. Ha pa baouezfe an IRA, int a gendalc'hfe gant o reuz ma klaskfe gouarnamant Dulenn lakaat e fri en aferioù ar 6-Kontelezh.

Sinn Féin zo evel brec'h politikel an IRA. Marteze e karfe G. Adams reiñ muioc'h a bouez d'an obererezh politikel met faltazius eo ar soñj ez afe a-enep da zivizoù ar re a ren ar stourm dre an armoù. Displeget en deus e oa an emsav republikan a-zevri gant ar c'hoant da dizhout ar peoc'h hogen ret e oa emguzuliañ etre e gevrennoù a-raok disklêriañ petra soñjed eus Disklêriadur Straed Downing. Se hon eus gouezet da heul ur C'hendalc'h Sinn Féin e Leitir Ceanainn, 23 a viz Gouere. Anzav a reer ez eus kinniget gwellaennoù gant ar Saozon met ne spiront ket; ez eo ret kaout asant an Unanourien, met ne dleont ket kaout ur veto. Ar Saozon a dle o c'hendrec'hiñ n'o deus ket da goll oc'h en em glevout gant an Iwerzhoniz all, ur roll ha ne fell ket da c'houarnamant J. Major sammañ, sañset e roll zo hini un tredeog etre Iwerzhoniz (dibocell). Sinn Féin a lavar kendele'her gant ar c'henbrezegoù, met daoust ma red ar vrud e vo un arsav-brezel hep dale an IRA a gendalc'h ivez da dagañ soudarded, archerien, arvilourien, ha zoken ar re daerañ eus ar bolitikerien lealourien. Nevez 'zo eo bet lazhet ganto lod eus ar re a greder bezañ e penn an UDA pe an UVF. Ha tal-gwall da heul, ouzh tud na gemeront ket perzh ar stourm, perzh oberiant da vihanañ.

Bremaik, ma ne baouez ket an IRA da vat – ha goulennet e vefe outo en prouiñ o taskor holl o armoù – e strivo ar gouarnamantoù da aozañ kenbrezegoù hep Sinn Féin (koulz ha hep an DUP?) Daoust hag e talvezfe d'un dra bennak? Ret e vefe kinnig traoù fetis, a-walc'h evit tennañ un darn vat eus o dalc'hidi digant Sinn Féin/an IRA diouzh un tu ha digant Paisley/UDA/UVF diouzh an tu all. Dulenn zo prest da blediñ gant skoilh ar melloù 2 ha 3, met en eskemm e c'houlennet ouzh London asantiñ plediñ gant ar Government of Ireland Act (1920) a zo anezhañ diazez lezennel an Disrann etre an div lodenn eus Iwerzhon. Lakaat an holl zarempredoù war un diazez nevez eta! Tamallet e vefe trubarderezh adarre da J. Major ma asantfe d'an enepgoulenn-se. Ne lavar ket nann, ha ne lavar ket ya kennebeut. Met e gomiser e Norzhiwerzhon, Patrick Mayhew n'eo ket bet nec'het o tisklêriañ e rankfed plediñ gant ar melloù a-raok gallout dedennañ an

Unanourien da genbrezeg. Kentoc'h eget un tredeog e kav da galz ez eo eñ ivez un Unanour. Mont a ra kontrol d'ar pezh a oa bet divizet-start gant an daou c'houarnamant: na vefe emglev da vat a-zivout netra keit ha na vefe ket emglev diwar-benn pep tra. Gant ar sturienn-se ne dleje ket al Lealourien kaout aon da zont d'ar c'hendivizoù. A. Reynolds n'en deus ket ehanet abaoe miz Kerzu a lavarout ne vo graet netra hep asant ar re-se, ha ne glask ket Dulenn bezañ kevrenn e gouarnamant Norzhiwerzhon, met e bal eo kaout ensavadurioù dezho gwir ha galloud da oberiañ en daou du d'an harzoù. Nann avat, eme Paisley ha Molyneux: gant seurt ensavadurioù e vefe graet ar c'hentañ kammed war-du unanidigezh Iwerzhon. Gounit dre gaer ha dre laer ar pezh a glask an IRA gounit dre heg. Tra! Tu zo da vevañ evel amezeien, da aozañ emglevioù a-zivout an hentoù-houarn, an tredan, an droiadouriezh, da zifenn a-gevret al labourerien douar e Brusel; met anaout, kedanaout ez int an hevelep pobl pe broad gant an Iwerzhoniz (all) se ne fell ket dezho. Pe neuze ez eo ken dister niver ar re a asantfe da unanidigezh politikel ar vro ma ne gredont ket hel lavarout, nebeukoc'h c'hoazh aozañ ur strollad politikel evit hen erbediñ. Renerien an UUP kennebeut ha re an DUP ne anzavont nepred o deus nac'het o gwirioù d'ar re a sant ez int Iwerzhoniz a ouenn pe a sevenadur, ne anzavont ket ez eo bet treset harzoù ar 6 Ko. e doare da c'hallout delc'her krog war ul lodenn brasañ ma oa tu eus Iwerzhon. Lealourien? Leal e-keñver o zadoù ha hendadoù a aloubas Bro-Ulad, met lakomp e tisklêrfe rouanez pe roue Breizh-Veur nad eo ket mui stag ouzh ranngredeenn ebet, petra 'teufe o fealded d'ar Gurunenn da vezañ? Forzh penaos, peseurt pouez he deus ar gristeniezh e gwirionez evit "stourmerien" a daol bombezennoù en un davarniad tud, pe a ya da vindrailhañ micherourien a vez Protestanten en o mesk?

Petra 'vo gounezet ma sav drailh evel e Bosnia? D'am soñj ma vije bet youl-vat a-berzh ar Saozon hag an Unanourien e oa tu da reizhañ ar gaou bet graet er 6-Kontelezh, da anaout gwirioù ar vroadelourien, da aotren gouarnamant Dulenn da oberiañ evel gwarezer ar re-mañ, ha lezel ar peurrest da vezañ ken "British" ha ma karjent. Koulskoude ez eo heñvel-mat tud an daou rumm e meur a geñver, en o orin, o doare-komz zoken. Hag e-lec'h ma oa peoc'hus o darempredoù ec'h en em glevant mat a-walc'h. Gant strivañ ha bezañ digor a-walc'h a spered ne dlefe ket bezañ

European Parliament Election

The parties which stand for some form of selfgovernment for the ethnic minorities within the French State territory had hoped that an agreement could be arrived at with the French ecologists to set up a common list of candidates for the European elections. As there is only one constituency for the whole of that territory, any party or group had to present a list of 85 candidates.

In 1989 a similar agreement had made it possible to get a Corsican nationalist Max Simeoni, elected. He appointed Chr. Guyonvarc'h of the UDB (Breton Democratic Union) as his secretary in Strassburg and proved very outspoken in the defense of Breton interests.

However this time sharp divisions among the Ecologists resulted in the breakdown of the talks with representatives of the selfgovernment parties. The Corsicans, Bretons, Basques, Alsacians and others (in particular from French overseas territories) decided then – late in the day – to put forward a list headed by Simeoni under the name of "Peuples et Régions solidaires". None of its candidates got

Etre... (Contd)

dic'hallus trec'hiñ d'an disfiziañ vras zo bremañ etrezo hag e vefe gwelet marteze ez eus tu da adsevel ar peoc'h war ziazez Disklêriadur Straed Downing. A bep tu e vo ret plegañ mui pe vui. Evit an darn vrasañ ez eo tremen poent paouez gant an drailh.

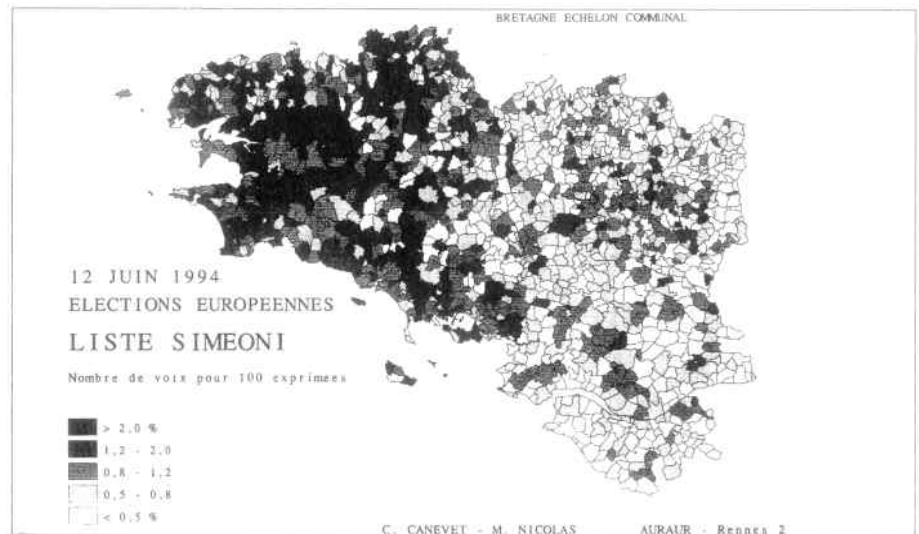
A. Heusaff

Gerioù diaes

pennvaodiern: kentañ ministr;
hollguzuliadeg: plebiscit; arvilourien:
paramilitaries; tal-gwall: reprisal;
troiadouriezh: tourism; kedanaout: to
recognise.

Summary

The December '93 Downing Street Declaration put forward a set of principles on which agreement between the parties to the conflict in N. Ireland could be built. It was immediately rejected by I. Paisley's DUP. Sinn féin gave their response after prolonged consultation with its members and Republicans in general: in a statement issued after a conference in July, they recognised some positive elements in the declaration but considered it necessary to hold further talks with the London government before they could persuade the IRA to renounce the use of arms, the condition laid down for the S.F. participation in any future negotiations. Will the London and Dublin governments be able to agree to a plan which could bring the other N.I. parties to the conference table?



Percentage of votes for the Simeoni List, commune by commune
(Courtesy of Le Peuple Breton)
UDB Options

elected (nor did any Ecologist... so much for electoral calculations). The significant fact is that for the first time all the minorities of the French state joined together to fight for their rights in the political arena. In Brittany the four parties which advocate selfgovernment urged their members and supporters to vote for the list, the UDB and Frankiz Breizh being the most active in this.

As expected, the French Establishment ensured that they got practically no publicity: on television, two slots of 40-50 seconds each; no Corsican, Breton etc. flags must be shown. Having established the common list so late, time was too short for the mobilisation of resources and canvassing.

The overall results were analysed by Prof. M. Nicholas, University of Rennes. He stressed that the outcome was heavily influenced by the concentration on internal "national issues" in most EU countries but particularly so in France. One could hardly say "issues", as media attention was devoted above all to personalities. European matters, no more than the regional ones, did not concern the manipulators of opinion. Give plenty of distraction, that is what counted. It was said, after the Maastricht Treaty referendum, that it was the fault of the Brussels Commission bureaucracy if the mass of the people felt so little involved in the idea of European union. The same could be said of the governments. The French one, which acts above all as the representative of powerful interests centering around Paris, obviously does not want the "provinces" to have a say in the European process. Only 52.4% of the Breton electorate took the trouble to go to the polling stations.

Generally speaking there was no great change in the position of the French parties in Brittany as compared to five years ago except that the conservative vote increased in the area surrounding Nantes, and that the ecologists suffered a considerable drop in support.

As regards the Simeoni list, it achieved percentages varying from 10.9% in Corsica to 1.65% in the N. Basque Country, 0.93% in Brittany, 0.70% in parts of Occitania and 0.64% in Alsace. In most overseas territories (Caribbean Islands, Guyana) it got 17 to 25% of the vote. Of the total 79,000-odd votes in its favour, Brittany contributed almost 13,000, which is considerably less than the number of people who voted for the Breton parties in previous – more local – elections (on some occasions almost 40,000). As you might say, there is nothing to crow about in those figures. A point worth noting is that the pro-Simeoni vote was comparatively twice as high in the area where Breton is traditionally spoken as in other parts of the country, particularly S. and E. of the Vilaine River, i.e. SErn Brittany.

Looking at it from the U.D.B. point of view, H. Gourmelen in Le Peuple Breton observed that while his party gets 7.5% to 10.5% of the vote in local elections, it has so far not been able to exceed 2 or 2.5% in those which are dominated by French-national issues, and this mainly on account of the very restricted access to television. As we mentioned above there were other handicaps arising from the failed attempt to cooperate with the Greens, but H. Gourmelen wonders also whether the name of the list (Solidarity of Peoples and Regions) was not too abstract to appeal to others than the already committed. No matter how apposite the message was in the European context, if you cannot reach the eye and the ear of the public, it is as if it did not exist. How to transmit the Breton idea more widely is a problem to which more thought and imagination must be devoted. The fact is also that for the past two years or so the evolution of the European Community or Union has been characterised by a reassertion of nation-state sovereignty on the part of its larger members. In France this tendency is strengthened by the fear of having to play second fiddle in Europe. There are renewed efforts by the likes of Minister Pasqua to

tighten government control over cultural and economic matters with a corollary reversal of the decentralisation which took place in the 80s. In such a climate Breton concerns find it more difficult to gain attention.

From its inception the UDB avoided calling itself a national party in the belief that the Bretons, in spite of possessing all the characteristics of a nation, were not ready to claim the rights pertaining to such a community. So they built their propaganda around the apparently concrete but also vaguer notion of "people", the Breton people. It is doubtful that it has had greater mobilisation value. A further step towards the indefinite is the increasing frequent use of the term "region" when Brittany is meant. Anything can be a region... although to be fair for the UDB it means Brittany in its historic, 1100 year-old limits. But if the term does not shock, it leaves rather indifferent. Mr Pasqua wants to reorganise the state on the basis of 7 regions, one of which would be called Loire-Armorique and would stick Brittany to five other departments as another step to dissolve its identity. Regions are like chewing gum. In the wake of this election, the UDB appears intent on seeking to stimulate political regionalism throughout France (some Picards and Lorrains were involved in the "Peoples and Regions Solidarity list), and to renew cooperation with the Socialists, who in opposition might well be prepared to promise **once more** historic reparation... This cooperation helped the party about 10 years ago to win seats in municipal elections. But judging by the 0.25-to-0.35% obtained by the Simeoni list in the French provinces, it seems that it would be a waste of efforts trying to stir them up to work for internal federalism in France. They have long lost a real sense of identity.

EMGANN for Independence

The party EMGANN takes a much clearer stand in following an unequivocal nationalist line. Its monthly **Combat Breton** devotes a long editorial in its July issue to its policy of independence for Brittany, arguing that it is not only legitimate but realistic in view of Brittany's economic assets and possible as exemplified by several other small European nations which actually achieved freedom (Slovenia, Slovakia, the Baltic countries) or are well on the way to it (Catalonia, Flanders, Scotland). Independence is necessary for the Breton interests to be defended at European level. Selfgovernment in subordination to French sovereignty (i.e. autonomy) will never give us the freedom necessary to restore the viability of the Breton language. But independence is not autarchy (selfsufficiency). Inherent in its geographic position, Brittany when free was always open to the world and keen on developing its international relations and exchanges.

EMGANN did not support the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty because

it offered nothing to us as a nation in its own right but it stands for a European union based on peoples (national communities). EMGANN's role is to make the Bretons massively aware of the need to liberate themselves both individually and as a collectivity.

Like the UDB it places itself on the Left, criticising the existing socio-economic set-up though not proposing any definite outline for the Breton society.

The party POBL, nationalist in outlook, positions itself as a centre party or rather rejects the Left-Right dichotomy. It has been much less successful than the two others, particularly EMGANN at present, in getting its members "out in the field". Its monthly, *L'Avenir*, gives much attention to a criticism of the political framework which constricts our country but it is quiet on social issues.

Finally there is FRANKIZ BREIZH close to the UDB, with (apparently) geographically limited support.

From previous elections in which these parties put up candidates it would appear that by espousing socialist views the support which exists for Breton self-government was halved. The dispersion of means could not but reduce their influence and credibility.

For one Breton party

Since the setting up of the UDB in 1962, following its founders' departure from the Movement of the Organisation of Brittany (launched in 1957), the specifically Breton political organisations have remained captive of or coloured by the Left-Right dialectics which are normal for free democratic countries but have not proved a convincing way to advance our national claims. A comparison with the SNP and Plaid Cymru should not be taken too far but one cannot fail to contrast their electoral successes with the poor show of their Breton counterparts. There were tendencies within those parties which could have led to splits, but they were able to keep the support of almost all nationally minded people and, owing to the strength acquired through perseverance, to compel British parties to adopt a good deal of their demands so that they have now a real prospect of achieving their aims.

Is a revision of tactics not long overdue in Brittany?

While it may be argued that a party seeking self-government or independence needs a social policy in order to obtain the strong commitment of its members, is it not the case that people who are mainly concerned with social issues will rather give their vote to the French parties as they are much more likely to get soon the power to deal with them?

The primary justification for any Breton party being the achievement of a Breton power of decision it would surely be tactically more effective to acknowledge openly the common ground which exists between it and other Breton parties and then together to strive to establish a

common social platform capable of winning the greatest support in numbers in elections. This could well mean the adoption of a left-of-centre position involving a real commitment to ideas of social justice and equality, without dogmatism, even at the price of alienating the more extreme in the social-political spectrum. One thing is undeniable: the corrosion of Brittany's identity has not been prevented by the "Left" any more than by the "Right". A good agreement acceptable to the great majority of those who give priority to the Breton interests, requiring trust between the contracting parties is the only way of impelling the movement towards freedom. What has been possible in Wales and in Scotland should also be so in Brittany, provided that the prominent elements in the existing organisations are prepared to recognise the ineffectiveness of their separate lines and adopt a program that will gain the largest possible popular support for a Brittany in control of its own affairs. Who is capable of taking the initiative of such a movement?

Alan Heusaff

Obituary

Youen An Oac'h, one of several Bretons who took refuge in Ireland after World War II died in Dún Laoghaire on July 6th aged 72. A Breton speaker he became keenly aware at the age of 18 of the dire consequences of the French occupation for our language. He then took an active part in propagating the message of the Breton National Party and later was willing to take great risks in the *attempt* to ensure that, whatever might otherwise happen, the grip of the French State on our country could not be reasserted. As a result he had for many years to face a life of deprivation in exile. In Ireland he was fortunate in meeting Bríd, a Galway girl who became his wife and both reared a family of six children, one of which, Ciarán, is a journalist working for the Irish language weekly *Anois*. Bríd herself is active in running an Irish nursery in Dún Laoghaire and an Irish conversation class for adults. Youen's funeral was attended by a large number of friends who thus testified to the great esteem in which he was held.

L'Avenir de la Bretagne,
monthly 16pp. For Brittany's national
sovereignty. Subs. 180F/
outside State 200F. to B.P. 4103,
22041 Saint-Brieuc, Cedex 2.

On the Breton Language Front

To press their demands for (a) the teaching of Breton to be put on a proper basis, (b) the right of students taught in Breton to pass their exams through its medium, (c) the setting up of an oral exam in Breton for trainee teachers, (d) the replacement of the double-headed Breton-English certificate testifying to competence to teach the language (CAPES) by an exclusively Breton one, several associations jointly staged demonstrations and sit-ins on several occasions in May and June. Their delegates met the French Education minister Bayrou and the Culture Minister Toubon. On the 28-6 the (b) demand was acceded to and 27 students (Brest, Lannuon, Rennes) immediately took advantage of it.



Demonstration for Diwan in front of the Education Head Office in Rennes, in May. Courtesy Combat Breton.

A partial solution was brought to the financial problems of the DIWAN schools early in July when an agreement was signed by Minister Bayrou and representatives of the association: it guarantees that about 65 teachers will be paid by the State, including those of the lycee due to be opened in Ar Releg, near Brest, as an extension of the existing Roparz Hemon college there. But the opening of a second college in Phjidi (near Gwengamp) has to be deferred till 1995 although all but the financial requirements could be fulfilled this year.

Catholic Schools look like wanting to catch up with the DIWAN and the State bilingual schools in providing teaching of Breton. The heads of Catholic education in Morbihan announced that they planned to open 5 new bilingual schools in September and to train some 300 teachers of Breton over the next 3 years.

The most used Breton surnames

Les noms de famille les plus portés en Bretagne by Gwenolé Le Menn. Publ. by Coop. Breizh. 255 pp. 120 FrF. No science is harder than onomastics, there is no road with so many pitfalls. Here in addition to a vast scholarship you must be endowed with a strong intuition and be aware of the risks involved in following it. On the other hand it is a subject that concerns us very closely, being capable of fascinating us, of stimulating our imagination and urge to discover. Indeed, apart from the personal aspects, its study is apt to reveal a great deal about the past of our people. Such is the abundance, the diversity of the Breton surnames that one cannot help thinking of a luxuriant forest: Gw. Le Menn has recorded 75,000 to 80,000 of them used today, and there are tens of thousands which unfortunately became extinct over the centuries.

Our corpus of surnames is one of the

most precious parts of our heritage. Who is not curious to find out the meaning and origin of his own? That leads sometimes to wonderful surprises. Although this work deals only with 5,000 of our surnames, they are the most commonly used so that a majority of our compatriots should find in it an answer to their question. In an excellent introduction of over 40 pages the author discloses to us the mechanisms and the secrets of his method. He gives a survey of the origins and of the general development of the names with statistics for the most widespread which are in certain cases astonishing. There is also a very comprehensive bibliography for those who would like to go further with the research.

The book is presented in the form of a dictionary and is therefore of easy access. I am sure that you will often, along or with your family, feel like perusing it and

referring to it, that you will find it an inexhaustible source of conversation and discussion.

It must be the most momentous work of its kind in French dealing with the surnames of Brittany, particularly as it takes into account the three main origins from which they derive – Celtic, Germanic and Romanic – something which was generally not the case until now.

Y. Bouessel du Bourg
(transl. by A.Ch.-ar G./AH)

Request

Domitille Vittenet, address 2 Résidence du Rond Point d'Assas, 114 Rue A. Maillol, F-34000 Montpellier, Tel. 67-61-18-94 would like to meet Irish people visiting the Languedoc region. He is a member of a group studying Irish traditions and he would gladly give information about the numerous beautiful old (often prehistoric) places in the region. There is an Irish centre in Montpellier.

Gouel ar Brezhoneg



At the Alan Stivell Concert, Spezed, 1994 (Courtesy Combat Breton)

The Festival was held as is now the well established custom during the last week-end in May in Spezed near Karaez. It attracted 10,000 visitors, the largest attendance since its foundation eight years ago. Its organisers, EMGANN, have secured the best cooperation from the small town's business people and its municipal council who have made Spezed a model of bilingual signposting. The festival has become an enthusiastic demonstration of the vitality of the Breton language and culture providing publishers with a good opportunity to sell. The enjoyment is enhanced by numerous musical performances, the most noted this year being those of Alan Stivell, Gilles Servat and a Kabyle group playing Berber traditional airs. During the two days, all the money transactions could be carried out by means of Breton notes issued by the Bank Broadel Breizh (Br. National Bank) created for the occasion.

CYMRU

Brwydr y Tamiliaid

Daeth tua mil o bobl y Tamiliaid ynghyd yn Llundain ar y 23ain Gorffennaf mewn rali i alw am ymreolaeth i wlad y Tamil, sydd yn rhan o'r ynys a elwir Eelam gan y Tamiliaid. Ceylon oedd enw'r ynys o dan y Saeson a Sri Lanka ("gwlad y Sinhala") ydyw'r enw swyddogol yn awr. Tamiliaid sydd yn byw yn ardal Llundain oedd y rhan fwyaf yn y rali.

Mae Ynys Eelam yn gartref i ddwy genedl ers canrifoedd - y Tamiliaid sydd yn byw yng ngogledd a dwyrain yr ynys, a'r bobl Sinhala, y mwyafrif o bedwar i un, sydd yn byw yn ne, gorllewin a chanol yr ynys. Thamil Eelam ("Eelam y Tamil") ydyw enw tiriogaeth y Tamiliaid. Dwy hil wahanol ydynt, yn siarad dwy iaith hollol wahanol ac yn meddu ar draddodiadau crefyddol gwahanol.

'Roedd y ddwy genedl yn hunanlywodraethol pan oresgynwyd yr ynys gan Ewropeaid imperialaidd tua 1619. Yn meddiant y Portiwgalwyr oedd Eelam ar y

cyntaf. Fe'i cipiwyd gan yr Iseldirwyr ym 1658 a chafodd y Saeson afael ar yr ynys ym 1795. Gwnaeth y Saeson Eelam yn uned gweinyddol ym 1833 er mwyn eu cyfleustra eu hunain. Creodd y Saeson wladwriaeth annibynnol ar yr ynys ym 1948. Er bod y llywodraeth yno yn senedd etholedig, 'roedd y cynrychiolwyr Sinhala yn fwyaf fel mae'r Saeson yn fwyaf yn San Steffan. Ers hynny mae'r llywodraeth wedi dilyn polisi o geisio asimileiddio cenedl y Tamil drwy ormes ieithyddol a choloneiddio'r ardaloedd Tamileg â mewnfudwyr Sinhala (hanes cyfarwydd!). 'Roedd gwrthwynebiad di-drais o ochr y Tamiliaid ar y dechrau, ond digon treisgar oedd ymateb y llywodraeth Sinhala. Ym 1983 lladdwyd 3,000 o Damiliaid mewn ymosodiad dialgar gan y Sinhaliad - 'Bloody Sunday' gwlad y Tamil. Yn sgil methiant y dull di-drais mae'r LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) yn arwain ymgyrch arfog i ennill ymreolaeth i Thamil Eelam.

Wrth ormesu'r Tamiliaid mae llywodraeth Sri Lanka wedi dod yn un o'r troseddwyd gwaethaf yn y byd yn erbyn hawliau dynol.

Mae tebygrwydd rhwng y Tamiliaid, lleiafrif ar ynys Eelam, a'r Cymry, lleiafrif ar ynys Prydain - y ddwy genedl yn gorfod byw dan lywodraeth na etholwyd ganddynt ac nad ydynt eisieu ei pholisïau. Ond mae tebygrwydd mwy i'r Chwe Sir sydd hefyd yn ardal artiffisial a grewyd gan y Saeson er mwyn eu cyfleustra eu hunain, heb ymgynghori â phawb, ac lle mae ymgyrchu heddychlon am hawliau suful wedi denu trais o du'r awdurdodau. Ac mae trais y gormeswr wedi esgor ar wrthsefyll arfog gan y rhai dan orthrwm.

Robat ap Tomos

Summary

The above compares the situation of the Tamils as a minority on the island of Eelam (officially Sri Lanka) and that of the Welsh as a minority on the island of Britain. Both nations suffer the consequences of being outvoted in the parliaments of the centralised states of which they have been forced to be a part.

Pigion Celtaidd

Iwerddon

Canlyniad Etholiad Ewrop yn Iwerddon:

Plaid	Sedduau	
	Nifer 1994	Ennill/colli
Fianna Fáil	7	+1
Fine Gael	4	0
Gwyrdd	2	+2
Llafur	1	0
Annibynnol	1	-1
P.D.	0	-1
Comiwnyddol	0	-1
Sinn Féin	0	0
S.D.L.P.	1	0
O.U.P.	1	0
D.U.P.	1	0

Cernyw

Mae Mebyon Kernow wedi ennill sedd ar Gyngor Dosbarth Carrick. Curodd Tom Termewan, ffermwr lleol sydd yn medru Cernyweg, yr ymgeisydd annibynnol yn ward Perranzabuloe.

Yn Etholiad Ewrop, sedd Cernyw a Gorllewin Plymouth oedd un o'r ddwy i syrthio i'r Democratiaid Rhyddfrydol.

Yr Alban

Dyma sefyllfa'r cyngorau rhanbarth ar ôl yr etholiadau.

Borders

Annibynnol yn colli rheolaeth: Annibynnol 11, Dem. Rh. 8, SNP 6, Tori 2.

Central

Llafur o hyd: Llafur 23, SNP 6, Tori 4, Annibynnol 2.

Dumfries a Galloway

Annibynnol 12, Llafur 11, Dem. Rh. 6, SNP 2, Tori 3.

Fife

Llafur o hyd: Llafur 28, Dem. Rh. 12, SNP 4, Tori 3.

Grampian

Neb yn rheoli o hyd: Dem. Rh. 18, SNP 17, Llafur 12, Tori 8, Annibynnol 2.

Yr Ucheldiroedd

Neb yn rheoli o hyd: Annibynnol 34, Llafur 8, SNP 4, Dem. Rh. 3, Tori 2, Eraill 3.

Lothian

Llafur o hyd: Llafur 36, Tori 5, Dem. Rh. 4, SNP 4.

Ynysoedd Erch

Annibynnol 28.

Shetland

Annibynnol 16, Dem. Rh. 2, Llafur 1, Eraill 7.

Ystrad Clud

Llafur o hyd: Llafur 86, SNP 7, Dem. Rh. 6, Tori 3, Annibynnol 2.

Tayside

SNP 22, Llafur 16, Tori 4, Dem. Rh. 2, Annibynnol 2.

Ynysoedd y Gorllewin

Annibynnol o hyd: Annibynnol 24, Llafur 6.

Siôn Aubrey Roberts: Victim of Conspiracy

It is generally agreed now that there were very dubious goings-on in Wales around the time of the arrests of Siôn Aubrey Roberts and David Gareth Davies ('Stwmp') in December 1991. When MI5 admitted at the trial that they'd bugged Siôn's flat, had two cameras trained on it, then (on a single day!) had 34 of their people (plus police) following him, a lot of people seemed surprised or shocked by these revelations. They came as no surprise to me.

By the autumn of 1991 I had concluded that something very nasty was in the air. I therefore contacted a television journalist I trusted and explained my suspicions to him. He was interested enough to arrange for a film crew to record his interview with me at the Owain Glyndwr Parliament House in Machynelleth, on November 27, 1991. The word I used to him before that interview was, "insurance"; that's how I regarded it.

In the interview I made four things clear; MI5 had been up to no good in Wales for some time; our organisation, Y Cyfamodwyr (The Covenanters), had been targeted; I feared arrests; but Y Cyfamodwyr was not involved in unlawful activity. Eight days later Siôn and David were arrested; Dewi Pryor Williams was arrested on January 22, 1992. All three were members of Y Cyfamodwyr.

Their trial began on January 11, 1993, as it progressed it became obvious that the jury, and even the judge, were far from convinced by the MI5/police case. Had they seen the interview, or even been aware of its existence, their doubts might have been confirmed. But certain people, when they learnt of the existence of that film, and its contents, went to considerable lengths to ensure it gathered dust in some film store.

Three months before the trial began rumours started to be fed to the three men that I was working for MI5; or that I was, or had been, a policeman. After a year on remand they were bitter and confused, not knowing who or what to believe any more; none of them knew me well - so I became suspect. The smear campaign had its desired effect.

Did the interview serve any useful purpose? Yes, I think it did. As the whole sorry business dragged on it became clear that the intention had been to smash Y Cyfamodwyr and probably arrest many more. But I couldn't be arrested, nor could others in the leadership, who'd known me for over 25 years. They wouldn't have fallen for a cheap stunt like that; they, and I, would have used that interview in our defence. I'm not suggesting it was proof positive of a frame-up, but for a jury already questioning the prosecution case it could have been the clincher.

After the trial, after Siôn had been sentenced to twelve years imprisonment, the (self-styled) Welsh media was full of

uninformed speculation, and some deliberate misinformation. That MI5 had been so busy here seemed to amaze, and frighten, a lot of people. But one television company, HTV, had in its possession a film, in which someone not only detailed MI5's involvement, but also put it into its wider context and then *predicted* where it was heading. But HTV never transmitted that interview, they just sat on it. I suspect that someone was sitting on them.

What were the signs that made me believe Y Cyfamodwyr were being fitted up? In a general background sense, once the Cold War was over an underworked and overstaffed MI5 had to find pastures new: Wales and the arson campaign was an obvious attraction. Another indicator was a very silly, unguarded remark by David Owen, chief constable of The North Wales Police. In a television interview in 1989 he said that when he caught Meibion Glyndwr he would also "deal with the hangers-on"! Finally, certain events in 1991 convinced me of what was afoot, and that's why I have the interview - "insurance".

Meibion Glyndwr ceased their activities in 1990. The North Wales Police soon realised this; and also realised they would have nothing to show for 11 years of frustration and humiliation. So they, in concert with MI5, decided to settle for framing David Owen's "hangers-on", those who dared articulate the reasons behind Meibion Glyndwr's campaign.

Siôn has just lost his appeal; after closed-court dealings between the judges and MI5. He is no terrorist, he is no criminal. Siôn is another martyr for his long-suffering people. He is a victim of MI5's refusal to pay the peace dividend. He became the scapegoat for a police force's embarrassment.

Let him know you understand, and care; write to him: Roberts BJ3795, HMP Full Sutton, York YO4 1TS, England.

The Charges

Siôn and David were charged with sending incendiary devices through the post. Siôn was also charged with possession of explosive substances. Both were further charged, with Dewi, of conspiring to cause explosions.

David and Dewi were acquitted, as was Siôn of course, on the conspiracy charge. But he was convicted by 10-2 majority verdicts of possessing explosive substances and of posting incendiary devices.

The substances were those MI5 "stumbled on" when they burgled Siôn's flat on 5/12/91 to plant a fresh bugging device. They claim to have told the police, who waited until Siôn returned from work, broke in, also "found" the material, and arrested him. A few hours later the police arrested David.

The incendiary devices were those which turned up in the Bangor sorting



Siôn Roberts

office the next day. On being informed of them the police did not call in the bomb squad, as is their normal practice. No, they sent down a young female officer to collect these letter-bombs and bring them back to the station in her car!

Royston Jones

Language Status in the Private Sector

Following the dilution of the promised Welsh Language Act by the English government to an extent where it gives no extra rights to Welsh speakers at all when dealing with private sector organizations such as building societies, Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (the Welsh Language Society) has been targetting individual organizations once again to attempt to win status for the Welsh language.

The current edition of Tafod y Ddraig, the CIG magazine, reports that CIG have succeeded with their campaigning to bring about a change in the attitude of the Halifax Building Society towards providing a service through Welsh. The Halifax is one of England's largest building societies and has several branches in Wales. CIG had campaigned through written correspondence and pickets on branches of the Halifax, particularly in Caerdydd/Cardiff. Initially the response of the Halifax was very Thatcherite and included statements such as "English is the language of Britain and Wales is part of Britain".

However, after months of campaigning by CIG, the Halifax have said that they acknowledge Welsh as an indigenous language and were aiming to strengthen the service they provide through Welsh. We have yet to see what exactly this means. It is unlikely to mean a switch to a fully bilingual policy in their branches in Wales. We will be lucky if it is more than a few new pamphlets published in Welsh and a few Welsh or bilingual signs appearing in some branches.

This all shows that concessions to the language can be won from the private sector by concentrated campaigning. Banks, building societies and shops do not like being picketed in full view of the public. They are embarrassed by slogans painted on their branches, which cannot be cleaned up immediately. Such actions do damage to their public image and they tend

NEWS FROM WALES

Television costs and times

The relative costs and production times of television programmes in London and by the two companies in Wales have been

released. Budgets available for both companies in Wales are far lower and the production patterns of the two companies vary considerably:

HOW MUCH SHOWS COST TO MAKE BY THE HOUR

	BBC London	BBC Wales	HTV (estimate)
News and current affairs	£39-140,000	£21,000	£18,000
Sport	£58,000	£18,000	£15,000
Arts and music	£107,000	£61,000	£52,000
Drama	£512,000	£86,000	£74,000
Factual	£130,000	£52,000	£45,000
Education	£108,000	£35,000	—
Network	£120,000	£222,000	—

HTV costs are estimates as the company refused to reveal any figures.
Network costs are average

OUTPUT PER WEEK

	BBC Wales	HTV
News and current affairs	0 hrs 33 mins	5 hrs 59 mins
Sport	5 hrs 2 mins	37 mins
Factual	1 hr 46 mins	1 hr 27 mins
Drama	1 hr 32 mins	11 mins
Arts and music	1 hr 25 mins	46 mins
Network	31 mins	44 mins
Education	25 mins	45 mins

Welsh-language programmes for S4C are included for both stations

Children's Books

618 titles of children's books – 551 brand new – were published in Wales in 1993, up from 550 in 1992.

Lang. Status (Contd)

to yield to some demands. However, such improvements gained in language policy tend to be of limited duration (especially with building societies and shops). Shops and offices are frequently refurbished with signs etc. and leaflets are often revised and republished. Among organizations whose main concern is maximising profits, the Welsh language will tend to be overlooked during such changes and progress made is lost.

In the long term a comprehensive Language Act which would legally oblige commercial organizations to provide the same service in Welsh as in English is the only way the status of Welsh can be maintained in the private sector without endless campaigning.

Robat ap Tomos

Unfit Housing

According to unofficial statistics 22% of all housing in Wales is unfit for human habitation – well above the figure of 13% in England. Also 40% of the housing stock is in need of repair. The worst areas are Dinefwr and Dwyfor.

Educational Qualification

At long last the new work place orientated National Vocational Qualification (NVQS) can be obtained entirely through Welsh in caring, management and retailing.

No New School

Due to local English medium pressure and objections from Welsh parents in the Vale of Glamorgan, South Glamorgan County Council will not now be opening a new Welsh medium secondary school at Ely.

Brand New School

However in autumn 1995 Mid Glamorgan County Council is on track to open a brand new Welsh medium secondary school in Cwm Cynon.

European Elections

Following the elections in May Labour held all five Welsh European parliamentary seats. The overall percentage of the vote throughout Wales was – Labour 58%, Plaid Cymru 17%, Conservative 14% and Liberal Democrats 8%. Plaid Cymru were second in North Wales and Mid & West Wales.

University funds and students

University of Wales colleges are to receive an increase in income of 5.4% in 1994-95, compared with 4.5% in England and 6.4% in Scotland. The totals per college and number of students expected are:-

Recurrent Grant* and Funded Full-Time Students 1994/95

	£	Students
Aberystwyth	19,002,623	5,103
Bangor	18,542,669	4,153
Cardiff	42,950,282	10,665
Swansea	27,429,723	6,711
Medicine	11,166,407	886
Lampeter	4,159,948	1,419
Registry	2,788,000	—

UW 126,039,652 28,937

* includes fee compensation totalling £23,749,837.

There was an increase of 68% in the number of Welsh students in the University of Wales between 1988/89 and 1992/93 to 7,856 and in Welsh students studying in England of 13% to 7,830. The proportion of Welsh students in the university is now 31% – by individual college – Aberystwyth 27%, Bangor 31%, Swansea 32%, Lampeter 20%, College of Medicine 52%. The proportion of students per 10,000 of the population in each county studying in the University of Wales is – Clwyd 20.0%, Dyfed 45.3%, Gwent 26.2%, Gwynedd 26.3%, Mid Glamorgan 21.9%, Powys 38.3%, South Glamorgan 39.4% and West Glamorgan 37.2%.

Welsh language circle

A group has been established in the Tokyo area to offer native Welsh speakers a chance to chat and learners a chance to practice.

The group, Cylch Cymraeg Tocio, will meet regularly in suitable locations. Its purpose is to spread knowledge of the Welsh language and enjoy the pleasure of speaking it.

The Welsh language has long been the particular focus of Welsh national feeling. "People who speak a minor language may treasure it more than those whose language is secure", says Lawrence John a native Welsh speaker and organizer of Cylch Cymraeg Tocio. Minor languages of the world have importance beyond their utility, he insists; they express the culture of the people who speak them. There is much to be gained by learning and preserving them.

Anyone interested in Wales and Welsh is invited to join the circle. For information contact: Lawrence John at Kasahata 4606/1/402, Kawogoe-shi, 350 Saitama-ken, Japan.

ÉIRE

Ár lá tagtha nó dallamullóg eile ar Cheiltigh?

Pé dearcadh polaitiúil a bheadh ag duine, ní féidir a shéanadh ná gur laethanta stairiúla iad seo in Éirinn. Tá deireadh tagtha le ceann de na tréimhsí ba thábhachtaí riamh i stair na tíre. De réir ghluaiseacht na Poblachta, tá deireadh leis an ngleic armtha agus tá gleic pholaitiúil ag tosnú. Le linn na ré sin, bainfear amach spriocanna an phobail náisiúnaigh agus cruthófar sochaí nua ina mbeidh fáilte roimh chách, saor ó idirghabháil na Sasanach. De réir na náisiúntóirí bunreachtúla, tá an ceart ag gluaiseacht na Poblachta sa mhéid sin ach go mbeidh aontú an phobail aontachtaigh ag teastáil chuige sin. De réir na n-aontachtóirí, dar ndóigh, tá siad díolta leis na poblachtánaigh agus níl ann ach ceist ama go dtréigfidh Sasana ar fad iad. Ach tá lúb ar lár sa chúram seo go léir - níl rialtas Shasana ag rá faic.

Is é an tost sin agus an drogall a léirigh na Sasanaigh, ón gcéad lá ar fógraíodh an sos cogaidh, díograis a thaispeáint chun an phróisis a ardaíonn ceist faoi thiomantacht na Sasanach do phróiseas atá, dar le gach páirtí eile san aighneas, faoi lánseol. Cad atá ar bun acu? Cad é an ról fadtréimhseach a shamhlaíonn siad dóibh féin in Éirinn amach anseo? I bpaimfléad a d'fhoilsigh An Republican Workers Tendency (RWT) le déanaí*, áitíonn siad sin nach chun na struchtúir a chruthú a d'éascódh a n-imeacht dóibh atá na Sasanaigh cromtha ar pháirt a ghlacadh i bpróiseas na bhfeachtas ach chun an agus a bhaineas an bhfeachtas ba mhó a bhí ag bagairt ar aontacht na Ríochta Aontaithe - an ghleic armtha in Éirinn.

An féidir go bhfuil sé seo fíor? An féidir nach bhfuil ó na Sasanaigh ach deireadh a chur leis an gcogadh agus an deis a ghlacadh an greim atá acu ar na sé chontae a dhaingniú? Chíonn an RWT an próiseas síochána seo atá ar bun ó thionscain Seán Hume sa bhliain 1988 é, ina chuid cainteanna le Gearóid Mac Ádhaimh, mar iarracht ag Tóraithe Shasana straitéis a chur ar siúl ar a dtugtar an Nua-Aontachtóireacht. Is é an straitéis sin, dar leo ná na páirtithe náisiúnaíocha bunreachtúla a láidirí in aghaidh na bpáirtithe réabhlóideacha agus ansin iad a cheannach le quangos agus struchtúir gan

mhaith a thugann an deis do Shasana ligean orthu gur ag géilleadh cumhachta agus aitheantais dóibh atáid. Luann siad imeachtaí in Albain agus sa Bhreatain Bheag mar fhianaise air sin. Dar leo gurb iad Tóraithe Shasana in Albain atá ag stiúradh na straitéis ar aghaidh. Luann siad Michael Ancram, in Oifig Thuaisceart Éireann, agus Malcolm Rifkind, An Rúnaí Cosanta, sa chomhthéacs seo, agus tugann siad an feallaire Breathnach, Dafydd Ellis Thomas (atá in aon leaba Shasanach leis an bhfeallaire Éireannach, Gerry Fit, anois agus ina chathaoirleach ar Bhord na Breathnaise) mar shampla den tslí go bhfuil an straitéis sin á feidhmiú.

Is é bunspríoc Major in Éirinn, dar le RWT, ná *to reinforce constitutional nationalism at the expense of revolutionary nationalism, the better to pave the way for his 'New Unionism' in the whole of the United Kingdom*. Ach an bhfuil dealramh leis an argóint sin? Conas a chuidíonn fás an náisiúnachais bhunreachtúil le fás an nua-aontachtóireachais? Ó bunaíodh an SDLP, níl aon easpa bunreachtúlaithe i measc an phobail sna sé chontae ná aon leisce orthu aitheantas a thabhairt do struchtúir Shasana, ó Westminster go *Royal Ulster Constabulary*. Is cinnte go n-oirfeadh sé do Shasana lucht na gleice armtha a mhealladh isteach sa champa sin, ach ní léir domsa go gcuideodh sé sin le Tóraithe Shasana sna tíortha Ceilteacha eile - a mhalairt ar fad. Is é an rud is mó a chuireann leis ar náisiúntóirí na Breataine Bige agus na hAlban gníomhú níos dlúithe i bpáirt le náisiúntóirí na hÉireann, dar le go leor acu féin, ná an scanradh a chuireann an ghleic armtha ar chuid mhaith dóibh siúd a vótálann dóibh. Agus an 'ré nua' i réim in Éirinn, nár cheart dúinn a bheith ag súil le comhoibriú níos fearr idir ghluaiseachtaí polaitíochta na gCeilteach feasta? Pé scéal é, sin é an rud a mholann RWT, cé gur ar ghluaiseachtaí réabhlóideacha amháin a bhraithfidís sin.

Mar thaca lena n-argóint i dtaobh an nua-aontachtóireachais, dírfonn RWT ár n-aird ar fhoclaíocht Chomhdhearbhú Shráid Downing, áit a ndeir Sasana nach bhfuil aici aon *selfish, strategic or economic interest* sa tuaisceart. An focal atá ar iarraidh, dar leo, ná *political*. Tá leas

polaitiúil ag Tóraithe Shasana in Éirinn, áitíonn siad; dá gcaillfidís na sé chontae, leanfadh na Ceiltigh eile amach as an Ríocht Aontaithe iad. Is pointe tábhachtach é sin agus ba é an pointe sin i dteannta veto na n-aontachtóirí ba chúis leis an "soiléiriú" a bhí á lorg ag Sinn Féin ó eisíodh an Comhdhearbhú. Má bhí leas polaitiúil ag Sasana sa tuaisceart, cad ab fhiú gnó a dhéanamh leo? Ba í an cheist sin ba bhun leis an margántaíocht a bhí ar bun ar feadh sé mhí roimh fhógairt an tsosa cogaidh. Ach ar réitíodh an fhadhb? Dar le poblachtánaigh agus Fianna Fáilithe gur réitíodh, ach nach raibh Major sásta ráiteas a chur ar taifead a d'fhéadfaí a úsáid ina aghaidh in Albain nó sa Breatain Bheag (nó sa Chorn).

Mar seo a leanas a míníodh an leagan amach domsa i nDáil Éireann le déanaí: fógraíonn Arm na Poblachta sos cogaidh iomlán (cé nach n-úsáideann siad an focal *buan*), cuirtear próiseas cainteanna ar bun d'fhonn struchtúir nua eadarthréimhseachas a mholadh, éiríonn sé soiléir de réir a chéile nach bhfeiceann Sasana go bhfuil ról fadtréimhseach ann dó in Éirinn, rud a fhágann rogha ag na haontachtóirí réiteach leis na struchtúir nua nó imeacht go hAlbain chun an troid a choimeád ar siúl in aghaidh an phoblachtánachais Cheiltigh ansin. Le linn an phróisis seo, téann Éire isteach sa Chomhlathas mar aonad, rud a mhílíonn an cógas do na haontachtóirí agus a fhágann gur saoránaigh de chuid an Chomhlathais Bhriotánaigh iad seachas géillsinigh de chuid Bhanríon Shasana. Má tharlaíonn sé, le linn an phróisis, go bhfeareann na haontachtóirí cogadh ar na struchtúir nua, brostaíonn Sasana an próiseas agus fágtar na haontachtóirí ag troid in aghaidh Shasana chun fanacht in impireacht Shasana (cuid de straitéis Hume é seo).

An fíor an méid sin? An leanfaidh na haisteoirí go léir an scríbhinn? Nó an fíor do RWT agus do Ruairí Ó Brádaigh nach bhfuil ann ach *perfidious Albion* ag cur dallamullóg ar na Ceiltigh arís? Mar a dúirt poblachtánach amháin liom ar na mallabha: "Má chreideann Seosamh Ó Cathail (an seanphoblachtánach a chuireadh chuig na Stáit Aontaithe chun an plean a dhíol le lucht tacaíochta na Poblachta ansin) go bhfuil ár lá tagtha, níl aon amhras ormsa!"

Tadhg Ó Priasáin

*"New Unionism and the Communities of Resistance", *Republican Workers Tendency*, £1. This article reviews this pamphlet which argues that English policy

IRA Ceasefire

On the last day of August 1994 the IRA commenced an unconditional and complete ceasefire. The text of the statement issued is:

"Recognising the potential of the current situation and in order to enhance the democratic peace process and underline our definitive commitment to its success the leadership of Óglaigh na hÉireann have decided that as of midnight, Wednesday, 31 August, there will be a complete cessation of military operations. All our units have been instructed accordingly.

At this historic crossroads the leaderships of Óglaigh na hÉireann salutes and commends our Volunteers, other activists, our supporters and the political prisoners who sustained this struggle against all odds for the past 25 years. Your courage, determination and sacrifices have demonstrated that the spirit of freedom and the desire for peace based on a just and lasting settlement cannot be crushed. We remember all those who have died for Irish freedom and we reiterate our commitment to our republican objectives.

Our struggle has seen many gains and advances made by nationalists and for the democratic position. We believe that an

opportunity to create a just and lasting settlement has been created. We are therefore entering into a new situation in a spirit of determination and confidence, determined that the injustices which created this conflict will be removed and confident in the strength and justice of our struggle to achieve this.

We note that the Downing Street Declaration is not a solution, nor was it presented as such by its authors. A solution will only be found as a result of inclusive negotiations. Others, not least the British government, have a duty to face up to their responsibilities. It is our desire to significantly contribute to the creation of a climate which will encourage this. We urge everyone to approach this new situation with energy, determination and patience."

A virtual universal welcome was accorded to the announcement except in certain Unionist circles. In West Belfast and Derry Sinn Féin supporters held parades akin to victory celebrations but in other nationalist areas reaction was more muted. The use of the word 'complete' rather than 'permanent' ceasefire was questioned by the British but following acknowledgment by Sinn Féin leaders that the interpretations of the ceasefire as permanent by Irish Taoiseach Mr Reynolds and USA President Clinton was correct this particular semantic debate appeared to fade away. Much speculation centered on what if anything had been agreed which led to the ceasefire. UK Prime Minister Major remained adamant nothing had been conceded yet in the context of a military stalemate it seems unlikely that certain specific steps were not foreseen with regard the republican prisoners and British troops on the streets in the event of a ceasefire. Mr Reynolds moved quickly (too much so for British liking) to a meeting with Gerry Adams of Sinn Féin and John Hume of the SDLP following which over a tripartite handshake a statement was issued stating all were committed to democratic and peaceful methods and the objective of a lasting and equitable agreement that can command the allegiance of all.

What form such an agreement might ultimately take and unionist involvement in reaching it is the real question. A 'framework document' is being worked on which includes apparently a devolved assembly in the North and cross border institutions. Does this mean that unionists and loyalist paramilitaries will accept an arrangement not dissimilar to the power sharing executive they wrecked twenty years ago? If Britain, as stated in the Downing Street Declaration, has no strategic or economic interest in the North why not set a date for withdrawal and become persuaders in obtaining unionist consent to a long term settlement?



Sinn Féin President, Gerry Adams

(Contd from page 13)

in Ireland as evidenced by the Downing Street Declaration is based on an attempt to bolster constitutional nationalism and divert it by setting up quangos and structures as in Wales and Scotland, which give the appearance rather than the substance of autonomy - New Unionism.

In the wake of the ceasefire the reviewer remains to be fully convinced.

Save the *Irish Democrat*!



When Camden Council sold the premises used by Four Provinces Bookshop earlier this year, they did not only threaten the future of a specialist Irish book service. They also put a question mark over the future of the *Irish Democrat*, because the surplus generated by Four Provinces was used to cover the inevitable losses on the paper.

We are determined to continue publishing the *Irish Democrat*. The paper has the support of the Connolly Association executive, our publishing company and our members and readers. But with a much reduced bookshop service currently being run out of the CA's former office in 244 Gray's Inn Road, we are desperately short of cash.

So we have reluctantly decided to publish the paper on a bi-monthly basis, beginning with the current June/July issue. The CA executive will underwrite any losses until the end of the year. We could not give an open-ended financial commitment. That would have done nobody any favours. The CA's funds are small enough as it is, and we have already had to dispense with a national organiser simply because we could not afford to continue paying even part-time (poverty) wages.

But what is absolutely vital is guaranteed regular income for the *Irish Democrat* itself. The best way to help is by setting up a monthly standing order with your bank. All you need to do is write to your bank manager, telling them you wish to make a monthly standing order to the Connolly Association, account number 50503395, Co-operative Bank, 1 Islington High Street, London N1 9TR (sort code 08-90-33). £10 would be good, more would be great but less would be just as much appreciated.

If you can't take out a standing order, a donation is equally welcome. Rush what you can to *Irish Democrat* appeal, 244 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8JR.

M. Moriarty/E.Finley/A.Rei

British Helicopter Force in Ulster

The helicopter, immortalised in its Hollywood Vietnam war role in films such as *Apocalypse Now* etc., has long been associated with the classic guerrilla war. However, aside from the tragi-glamorous connotations of tinsel town, the military helicopter has a more practical value. Its various incarnations and developments, as a conflict unfolds, are an accurate barometer of the rising and sinking fortunes of occupying powers in guerrilla war and counter insurgency operations.

Background

Since World War 2, various countries (initially the old imperial powers of Britain, France and Portugal, then followed by the United States) have utilised air support to retain control of territory and subjugate guerrilla movements. France and the US opted early in developing the helicopter to support this role. In Algeria, France developed armed support helicopters when the type was still in its infancy. In Vietnam, later, the US developed the type to military perfection; heavily armoured and heavily armed, with sophisticated electronics. It was also used for more complex functions such as target illumination, surveillance and propaganda dissemination.

In its approach to counter insurgency the UK, whilst generously equipped in its early days with helicopter forces, did not deploy these forces with the degree of sophistication mentioned above: Britain opted for cruder methods. Operations in Malaya and Kenya, often cited by military analysts as classic counter insurgency operations, were often achieved with a blunt deployment of fixed wing aircraft. In these two countries, pre-empting the direction the US would later take against villages in Vietnam, hamlets, small communities and stretches of open countryside were saturation bombed.

Even in Aden in the mid sixties, the UK was still applying this policy of crude air control against villagers.

Northern Ireland

When the British Army opened operations in N. Ireland in the late sixties, there was nothing to suggest that it would face the type of threat it had faced in its successful classic anti-guerrilla operations in other colonies. The realisation soon dawned, however, that in this latest manifestation of a long struggle by the IRA, things would be difficult. As a result, the British deployed, with tragic results, some of the lessons learned elsewhere and its use of 'countergangs', as in Kenya and Malaya, led to some of the worst atrocities in the long conflict.

It was also soon realised that British army ground control of parts of Ulster had been lost. In seeking to address this, Britain could not apply lessons learned elsewhere. The nature of the conflict did not allow the deployment, as in Malaya or Kenya, of medium and strategic bombers to flatten local communities. The British reaction was, therefore, knee jerk, and helicopter support of isolated garrisons began and continues to this day in border areas.

These operations invested the army operation with an initial sense of false security. The IRA, acknowledged by all to be the longest standing guerilla movement, had problems. Its operations, historically, were steeped in a tradition of land operations facing a terrestrial response. The Republicans, however, proved adaptable and, as with other guerilla movements, swiftly made moves to counter the helicopter threat. Given that comparable movements globally found swift access to Air to Surface missiles, the IRA response to British air activity in Ulster, whilst apparently unable to procure these weapons, has been significant.

Since the late seventies, there has been a steady and increasing attrition of British military helicopters in Ulster, and a damaging downward spiral in the fortunes of the military air component.

This contention is borne out by the fact that throughout the eighties, the armed

component of helicopter operations has been increased. Most medium and heavy lift helicopters are now armed as standard with one or two 7.62mm machine guns. Within the past four years, the defensive process has accelerated with developments to both defensive armament and other equipment for target illumination etc.

In parallel with the armament update, development of tactics has proceeded. Gone are the days when solitary helicopters would operate with impunity. Progressively, helicopters have had to deploy in twos and more latterly threes, to support each other.

The tactics and armament have, however, still been found wanting. In September 1993, a fierce battle ensued between three helicopters (RAF Puma and two Army Lynx) and the IRA near Crossmaglen. The IRA deployed, reportedly, five Active Service Units with a variety of automatic weapons including 12.7mm and 7.62mm machine guns. Following the encounter both sides claimed success. Behind the claims of both sides it was apparent that, in fact, both had suffered. The IRA had lost some weaponry (hardly significant if reports on their weapons stockpile are to be believed), however, more significantly and apparently totally unrecorded by British journalists briefed in Belfast by the army the following day, the air support operation in S. Armagh had received a nasty surprise. To put this in context, it is inconceivable that a similar force of US helicopters engaging lightly armed ground forces in Vietnam would have enjoyed such limited success.

That the Army received a shock is apparent by the fact that since this incident, major changes have been initiated to helicopter forces. New improved armour protection for flightcrew has been installed. A new cabin door gun mount plus a new sighting system have been developed. In addition, due to an apparent failure to co-ordinate back up, consideration is now being given to procuring a Westinghouse / Skyship (Airship) as a flying Command Post which could loiter over sensitive areas controlling operations from a secure height and calling up assistance in "fire fight" situations.

A more general review of available forces has also taken place. As indicated in





Carn (No.82) in June 1993, the UK helicopter force was already overstretched and attempts were being made to purchase second-hand machines overseas. These attempts having proved fruitless within days of the Armagh battle, Royal Navy Sea King helicopters were deployed to the province, the first such deployment for 15 years. The Sea King was tasked initially to support army forces in the West of the Province, releasing urgently needed AAC machines to bolster the battered effort in S. Armagh.

Today, in addition to the RN presence, the RAF deploy (at Aldergrove) two squadrons of ageing Wessex and Puma helicopters topped up with detachments of heavy-lift Chinook helicopters of No.7-18 Squadron.

Also at Aldergrove are based the largest Regiment of the Army Air Corps, flying Lynx AH7 and Gazelle helicopters and a fixed wing unit of Islander recce aircraft. In addition to aircrew, a REME workshop and support unit is on site to

carry out maintenance and repair CAT 1-3 battle damage. This latter function is useful as it ensures no statistical evidence of minor damage inflicted becomes public.

Today's N. Ireland operation is a far cry from the one AAC troop of six Scout light helicopters based at Aldergrove in 1969. Today's force strength is a telling indictment of the UK's failure to come to grips with its security problem in Ireland. Despite a dramatic expansion of the force, and an unparalleled degree of sophistication in armament and equipment, the air component is not able to operate with impunity in parts of N. Ireland. This is despite the fact that the security forces' nightmare scenario of the acquisition of ground to air missiles by the IRA has not yet materialised.

It seems unlikely that the Republicans will give up on attempts to acquire these weapons, and once that goal is realised, the already vulnerable garrisons in border areas will not be sustainable.

J.B. Moffatt

Irish

Race



Convention

On Saturday, 11 June, the first Irish Race Convention, since 1947, was held at the Jacob Javits Convention Centre in New York City.

Approximately 2,000 persons attended the day-long event, which was sponsored by the Irish American Movement (a consortium of members and officers from numerous Irish organisations in the US). The purpose of the Convention was to gather the Irish community, from around the world, to pass a resolution declaring the "We, the children of the Irish Diaspora, demand that Britain set a date for withdrawal from our ancestral homeland, so that Ireland may exercise its right to be a sovereign and independent nation".

This resolution, which was introduced by Congressman Peter T King, was endorsed by representatives from nearly every Irish organisation in North America, individual activists (including Seán Mackin and Pat Moley), the Troops Out Movement in England, Dr. Des Wilson, CLAB Branch Secretary Stephen Paul De Villo and Irish organisations from as far as Argentina, Australia and New Zealand. In addition, a letter of support, signed by 300 political prisoners in Long Kesh, was received. CLAB Irish Chair Rand P. March (a member of IAM's executive board) read a statement of support from the Welsh nationalist group, Y Cyfamodwyr. The resolution was unanimously, and thunderously, accepted by the assembled throng.

The list of speakers included such notables as Fr. Seán McManus, Dr. Seán Cronin, Mary Holt Moore, Congressman Thomas J. Manton, District Attorney Charles Hynes, Richard Harvey and NYC Councilman Walter L. Mc Caffrey, who announced that the city's Council had proclaimed 11 June to be "Irish Race Convention Day".

Entertainment was provided by a vast array of bands, singers, stepdancers and a theatrical company, the Cill Cais Players.

One of the day's highlights was a showing of Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams' video taped message to the Convention.

CLAB's sales table was ably staffed by Scottish Chair Hugh Doonan, Membership Director Ken Gale and their, above mentioned, Branch Secretary and Irish Chair. Numerous other CLAB members attended the Convention, and Welsh Chair Lowri Sindoni designed the IAM's distinctive logo.

Rand P. March

KERNOW

Lyver Nowydh

'Cornwall Since the War' a veu dyllys nans yw termyn berr. An lyver ma yw da lowr marnas unn chaptra yn kever dasserghyans an yeth dres an hanter-kans blydhen na.

An Chaptra a veu skrifys, gans *Bernard Deacon ha Phillip Payton*, dew dhen yw aswonmys ny ta ha dyskys y'ga arbennikter aga honen, henn yw istori. Ytho an derivas istorek re veu gwrys yn ewn lowr dre vras, kynth yw res leverel i dhe assaya kuntell warbarth oll an krodhvol moy es an kowses mas. Rag ensampel lowen yns i dhe ri tybansow unn akademek, Glanville Price, yw fest erbynn dasserghyans Kernewek, heb mires orth an tu konter.

Byttegyns, trist yw yn lyver da yn pub tremmyn arall bos an dhew skriker mar bell diworth bys an Gernowyon ma na wodhons skant vydh oll an pyth usi ow hwarvos; poken gweh, awos aga skila pynag aga honen, i a vynn pesya liwya delinyans kamm. Rag ensampel i a vynn previ dell hevel bos avonsyans an yeth ow fyllel hag i a wra dewis aga niverennow yndellma; dre dhiskwedhes bos an niver a dus owth ombrofyra rag apposyansow an Gesva nebes isella, i a lever bos an yeth ow hokya yn neb fordh; mar mynnsens dos ha kewsell orth soedhogyon an Gesva po an Gowethas i a dhysksa distowgh bos an klassow brassa ha kreffa es bydhkweyth, saw ny vynn an dus ow studhya holya apposyansow. Yn hwir hemm yw arwoedh pur dha awos bos movyans dhe-ves diworth studhyans skolhejek war-tu ha'n yeth kewsys avel kynsa kostenn.

Ynwedh i a vynn leverel bos an niver a dus ow tos dhe'n Bennseythun Gernewek ow tiynkresya; kamm arta. Prag na vynn an skriforyon dos ha gweles mar mynnsens pregowtha war studh an yeth? Ena i a wrussa godhvos bos moy a dus ow tos dres an jydh – tus yowynk heb lowr a arghans dhe dylly kost tryga pub nos, ha tus nowydh pub blydhen.

Diwettha rann an chaptra yw pur wann yn y dhevnydh owth assaya previ nebes poyntow yn kever gnas an dus a dhysk Kernewek ha heb dustuni vydh oll. Artta gwell via omgusulya gans an re a woer an pyth usi ow hwarvos. Wosa dyski kansow a dus dres an blydhynyow my a lavarsa bos tus a bub oes, soedh, kryjyans ha galloes ow tos dhe'n klassow; mes gwell yw godhvos bos tus yowynka ha krev y'ga

mynnas ow tos ha tenkys an yeth ynter aga diwleuv yn le an re akademek a hevel tryga war gen planet.

An dra yw martesen na garons fordh avonsyans an yeth; mar mynnsens godhvos res yw omgusulya gans an re a woer. Y'm breus evy ow honen, sklander yw bos taklow dyllys yn-dann hanow an 'Fondyans rag Studhyansow Kernewek' ow plegya hag ow trelya hag ow kwia hag ow ri delinyans kamm an bywnans Kernewek.

G.S.

Summary

'Cornwall Since the War' was published recently. Whilst most of the book is accurate the chapter on the language revival written by two well known historians, Bernard Deacon & Philip Payton is one sided and contains several factual inaccuracies. They give the impression that the revival of the language is faltering, citing the fall in the number of people taking the Language Board exams whilst ignoring the rise in people attending classes. If these two had asked officials of the Board or the Fellowship they may have got a clearer picture of what is actually happening within the language revival.

Pywa an Kernowian Radn 3

Ouga an bressel a Boleit en 936 Kernow ve dreiz der vaner creav dadn rowl an Sausen leb, ha judgia thur henwin Sausnack en Kernow, reeg setha en noor en keverang Straneton, en tavaz teer gen urrian gwreze gen an dowr Ottery tua an noor a Lesteevan, ha arta en ennis formiez gen an dowr Tamar ha an dowr Linar, ha dro tha Lannaled. Gye a sesiaz an gwella teer reeg longia kenz than vatearnath Kernuack.

En dallath, an Sausen a wheelaz cuzalatha nebbaz gen an Kernowian dreth appontia epscobow Kernuack. An espack Daniel ve complex en 946 ha'n espack Comoere en 958; ha treeth 942 ha 1050 e ve freeaz leez caith Kernuack. Thera nye cawas dreeg an Sausen grontia teer tha deez gen henwin hanter Kernuack hanter Sausnack, andelna Alfeah Gerent ha Wulfnoth Rumoncant en 969; buz ethyw nevra calish tha judgia dallathfas teez thurt go henwin, car drellen nye gwellas en Aphrica, en Zealand Noweth ha kene tellerriow. Buz an Sausen a humsendgaz

thewez gen an Kernowian der neb maner, ha dreiz licklaud nye reeg wheelas mekia gon nacion dreth an eglos, rag en 994 an espack Sausnack a Bosvena a gawaz charter tha rowlia an manahty a Sent Petrock warlerth an geez Sausnack, ha Kernow ve desstreffe heb tull vel an 'Province a Kernow' ha carra 'diocese' eze wor gon tesky dro an eglos en Kernow rowlez der vaner Romanack kenz vel der geez menehack nenna. Whathe en 1046 an sea a Kernow ve transformiez tha Credition en Pow Densher, mar nebbaz reeg an Sausen gon regardia nye, pokene mar nebbaz reganz gon trestial!

Na orren nye hethow, ha nag eze mene tha gothaz lebmen, venga an Sausen moaz pella war an duath, ha gweel ahanan Sausen aweath, a comeras thurtan pub gweer a sendgy gon hunnen vel Kernuack. Veva an Normanow en 1066 reeg lettia angye dreth geel nothan'gye aweath pobel caith? Dah veea gena ve credgy dressa nye mekia gon haaze Kernuack en neb case; buz dehogall yw drega nye treegas vel teez Kernuack tereba hethow, prout a gon heanez, ha dreeg an tavaz nye pedgia beaw tereba dua an 18vas cansblethan... heb compla drera nye e usia et agon oze nye carra tavaz derevez.

Ma seenez drigge an Kernowian anurma humsendgy mouy ha mouy en lea le ha le Kernuack, was an lyw a Sausen eze devethez hunz obma tha anneza aduethaz. Fatel ella nye boaz drega nye saval mar bel ha mar greav bedn kelly gon haaze nye dreiz meel vliethan? Ethyw tra na ellen nye dismigga en faze... Fatel ellen stirria an carenga eze tha deez rag'go pow ha rag'go thavaz? Nebbaz an story a hedna me a lavar thewh nessa.

Richard Gendall

Précis

After the battle of Boleit in 936 the Cornish came firmly under the rule of the English who confiscated much of the best land, and settled in certain eastern enclaves. For a while the Cornish were still able to assert themselves by retaining their monastic system, but this too had been suppressed by the end of the 10th century though some of the first bishops were Cornishmen, and finally the see was transferred to Credition in Devon. How far the anglicisation of Cornwall would have gone we do not know, but the Norman conquest of 1066 effectively put an end to English expansion, and the Cornish have retained, and lately even reaffirmed their identity despite heavy colonisation.

Spell It!

The game of 'Scrabble' could never work in Cornish, for however you spelt your words there would be a good chance that you would be right, so great a variety is there! If you devise for yourself an artificial norm where the original variety in the language has to be largely stifled for the sake of the system, spelling becomes much easier; this has already been attempted by Nancy in 'Unified Cornish' and by George in 'Common Cornish', and it does have great advantages, the one great disadvantage being that one can very easily lose the original and typical appearance of the language; it is also possible to engender misapprehensions in this way.

Obviously nothing is wrong or can be wrong in spelling the language as it actually was spelt by native speakers and writers at the time when Cornish was a living tongue, but here the disadvantage is that the variety of spellings is so great that some sort of standardisation is essential if one wishes to write in the language oneself, particularly if it is to be taught. Pity the poor student!

The Cornish Language Council favours traditional spelling where Cornish is used as a revived language, and working in co-operation with Teere ha Tavaz, has produced a standardised orthography in which the details are taken from a choice

made from actual historic spellings. It is always necessary, however, to keep an open mind and to be ready to adjust the system if evidence suggests that a better choice could have been made... for it is too easy to fail to notice the obvious at times; a good instance of this is as follows:

The use of the letter combination **ew** was widespread in Cornish in the 16th and 17th centuries to represent three different sounds: [iu], [eu] and [eau]. Thus **ew** [iu]: *is*; **bewa** [eu]: *to live*; **plew** [eau]: *parish*. To people completely familiar with the correct pronunciation, that is, to true native speakers there is no problem; we who use revived Cornish are not true native speakers... if we were, we would not be so worried about how to spell; as it is, we do rely to a very large extent on the written word when it comes to learning, and it is then that we form bad habits of pronunciation that we pass on to others by attempting to reach them without having a sound knowledge ourselves. Much of such trouble can be avoided by choosing spellings which can be clearly seen to represent the correct pronunciation.

Our Cornish for *is* can be found in the Modern period alone spelt as **ew**, **yw**, **eu**, **ewe**, **yew**, **u** and **yu**. The last version which is Lhuyd's makes it clear that the pronunciation is [iu]; of the other six native versions **yw** (from William Rowe) seems to be the best choice.

Our Cornish for *to live* is found as **bowa**, **bewah**, **bewa** and **beua**; the last version, which is Lhuyd's, makes it clear that the vowel is [eu], and of the native versions **bewa** seems to be the best choice.

Our Cornish for *parish* is found as

pleaw, **plewe**, **pleu**, **plew** and **pléu**. The last version is Lhuyd's which shows the vowel to be [e:u]. The most typical native version is therefore **pleaw** as **ea** is the commonest way of spelling long *e*.

It is not really good enough to spell all three words with **ew** as if they had a common vowel (although perfectly correct historically) while alternative native versions occur which make the correct pronunciation clearer. It is for this reason that the Cornish Language Council has recently been overhauling its recommended standard orthography, and contributions in Modern Cornish that appear in **Carn** reflect the adjustments made or in hand.

If you are just beginning to learn Cornish, you accept the orthography as you find it. If you are some way ahead in your learning when alterations are made, a great deal of faith is placed on your good will and patience, for it can be frustrating to relearn what may have taken you so much trouble to learn; yet if we can all be patient we are all playing our part in evolving a sounder system of spelling that will not only be of advantage to future generations of learners (who will, it is to be hoped, outnumber us greatly) but will also be something of which we can all be proud, and can use with confidence, knowing that we are spelling the language as it was spelt traditionally.

Flexibility is conducive to survival... but those who bend over backwards too far run the risk of ending up on their backs! And we do have a proverb... **Cuzal ha teag, sarra wheag, moaz pel: Soft and fair, dear sir, go far or "Easy does it!"**

Richard Gendall

Review of Afforestation Programme?

In view of the great loss of heather moorland in the British Isles, due to afforestation with conifer crops, the Manx Nature Conservation Trust (MNCT) is calling for an immediate review of the Department of Agriculture's 1994/95 proposed planting at Montpelier, Druidale.

It is to be welcomed that the Department has revised its consultation procedures, giving the opportunity to organizations like the MNCT to express their views. This suggests that this is a sensitive issue.

MNCT's submission sets out the conservation, ecological, landscape and community reasons for objection. It points out that the area is part of a Nature Conservation Zone, and that the plan is in direct conflict with the 1990 Wildlife Act, which aims to provide a balance between conservation, enhancement of natural beauty, countryside amenity and wildlife habitat.

Various projects of less significance have recently been subject to a full Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), but this proposal has not. The MNCT believes afforestation of this area would not be allowed if it were subject to an EIA.

The submission also questions the wisdom of proceeding with a programme which as well as being destructive to wildlife and the environment, would also be uneconomic. Timber produced on uplands is poor in quality and expensive to harvest. Great concern is expressed about the likely effects of acidification on water courses, which would be detrimental to the public water supply and aquatic flora and fauna.

The Trust makes clear the value it places on an increase in broadleaf woodland, and that it is not opposed to mixed conifer and broadleaf trees in the right situations. The Trust regrets that such areas mostly lie outside government owned

land and recommends grant aid to private landowners to encourage tree planting.

Proper implementation of the Wildlife Act is called for by the MNCT. It suggests a transfer of responsibility for the Act to Manx National Heritage, or the creation of a new Division of the Department of Agriculture with equal status to the Forestry Division with the remit of nature conservation, or a new Government Department of Wildlife.

C.J.K.

A Syra da,

Nans yw termyn ber my re be ow scryfa lyver yn kever leverysans ha lytherennans an Kernewek dasviewys. Un dra dres oll yw a vern dhym, hen yw, nerthow boken gwakterow an try system usy dhe'n tavas y'n jeth hedhyu: Kernewek Unyes, Kernewek Kemmyn ha Curnoack. Mara's teves agas redyoryon tybansow adro dhe'n mater-ma da vya genef clewes adhywortans. Ow thrygva yw: Roinn na Nua-Ghaeilge, Coláiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath 4, Éire/Ywerdhon.

Yn lel dheugh,

N.J.A. Williams, MA, PhD

Royal Navy Bombing Range off the South Cornish Coast Opposed

Plans by the Royal Navy to site a Target Range off the South Cornish coast have been opposed by the local residents and fishermen, along with Cornwall Council & Tourism organisations and the Celtic League. The National Trust has also denied the Royal Navy access to Dodman Point where they wished to build an observation post.

Armed forces Minister defended plans for a new RN firing range off Dodman Point, claiming that sea training would bring big economic benefits to Plymouth, he also said that the South-West couldn't have the economic gain without some inconvenience. "It is the Navy's intention to work round rather than disrupt the activities of fishing and commercial vessels and leisure craft. We would expect there to be very little impact on Cornwall's economy".

This Statement from the Minister is self contradictory, if as he says there will be "big economic benefits to Plymouth" and "very little impact on Cornwall's

economy". Then, why should Cornwall put up with the inconvenience of the Royal Navy target range disrupting the fishing.

Jeremy Hanley MP (former Minister of State for the Armed Forces) stated that the navy will take all possible precautions to prevent the possibility of danger to other shipping. However not much comfort can be taken from this statement considering that following a recent N.A.T.O. exercise dummy mines and missiles were being trawled up several miles outside the exercise area for weeks after the end of the exercise.

It has not been unusual to hear reports of fishing gear being lost after being snagged on lost or discarded munitions. Mr Hanley also stated that there would only be 70 two hour firing serials each year and that each firing would only be of 15 minutes duration. Since the firing would be only 2 to 3 miles off shore it is quite possible that it could be heard from the land. It should also be made clear that this is an area which is fished mainly by the

smaller fishing boats under 10 metres in length and therefore harder to spot by radar.

The Navy are committed to moving their Operational Sea Training from Portland to Plymouth since it is cheaper to do their training off the Cornish coast than to continue using their existing site off the Dorset coast.

The Navy stated that it wished to use the National Trust owned land as an observation post as it needed to see where the shells fired from their vessels land, but unfortunately for the Royal Navy the National Trust has made it clear that they would not allow the navy access to their land.

We welcome the introduction of 'Subfacts' a MoD broadcast giving mariners information about submerged submarines and the plans to introduce a 'Gunfacts' service giving details of firing exercises.

This may be helpful but it does not prevent the disruption to the fishing industry caused by such firing exercises. This along with the restrictions being imposed on the fishing industry by the British Government and the European Union could put some of the fishermen out of business.

Martyn Miller



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Festival Office: Gerald Morris,
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MANNIN

Eddyr-Ashoonaghys

Gyn ourys (foddee) t'ou er chlashtyn mychione Oik Oarpagh ny Myn-Chengaghyn.

Va shoh currit er bun bleeantyn dy liooar er dy henney dy chur er-nyn-doshiaght chengaghyn goll rish ny chengaghyn Celtiagh (er-lhimmei jeh'n Ghaelg!), Bascish, Freeshlannish as nyr shen. Veih'n toshiaght, ta ny Yernee er ve tarroogh syn Oik shoh, ta fo smaght yn Unnaneyys Oarpagh sy Vrusheyl. Ta obbyr laaoil Oik Oarpagh ny Myn-Chengaghyn goll er stiurey veih offish ayns Divlyn, ga dy vel y pooar hene sy Vrusheyl. She Helen Ó Murchú eaghtyrane yn Oik. Ta Helen er nyannoo niart obbyr son Yernish as ish cur bree ayns aghtyn ry-hoi gynsaghey yn chengey, mastey ram reddyn elley.

My t'ou lhaih mychione yn eab dy aa-vioghey Yernish, son y chooid smoo yiw uss magh dy ren yn eab 'falleil'. Agh ayns ny cooishyn shoh, c'ed ta 'speeideilys' as c'ed ta 'falleil'? C'ed ta 'chengey vio' as c'ed ta 'chengey varroo'? Foddee paart dy Vanninee loayrt 'chengey varroo' feer vie. Madyral rish ny Yernee, v'ad abyly dy ynsaghey Yernish rish thousaneyn as thousaneyn dy 'leih ta toiggal yn chengey feer vie, ga nagh vel ad jannoo ymmyd jee dy mennick. As ta ny Yernee er nyannoo studeyrys dowin er cooishyn chengey, kyndagh rish yn eab dy aa-vioghey nyn jengey hene. Myr shen, she red dooghyssagh dy ren ny Yernee leeideil obbyr Oik Oarpagh ny Myn-Chengaghyn. As red elley, she vondeish vooar v'ayn dy row yn reilys oc hene ec ny Yernee, ga nagh vel reilysyn Yernagh er ve cho jean son yn chengey as va reilysyn Yernagh ayns ny shenn laghyn.

Dy firrinagh, shegin da gagh myn-chengey jannoo caghey jee hene son y chooid smoo. Agh ec y tra cheddin, she vondeish feer vooar t'ayn dy obbraghey marish sleih ta gobbraghey son myn-chengaghyn elley traa erbee ta shen jantagh. My ta cooney jeeragh ry-gheddyn veih'n cheu-mooie, feer vie. Ny share foast my ta cooney neu-yeeragh ry-gheddyn neesht. Ta'n lhied goaill toshiaght ayns cheer ny ghaa nish. Myr sampleyr, ayns Nerin Twoaie ta sleih neu-chadjin cur geill da Yernish kyndagh rish yn toshiaght dy eddyr-ashoonaghys ta bentyn rish yn chengey shen nish. Son shickyrys, ta'n

chooid smoo jeh unnaneyseyryn Nerin Twoaie coontey Yernish myr chengey whaagh ny pobblaghtee (myr dooyrt briw beg shiartanse dy vleeantyn er dy henney ayns cooyrt ayns Nerin Twoaie tra loayr dooinney ennagh ayns Yernish: 'Cha nel shin loayrt gibberish ayns shoh'). As t'eh ny red olk dy vel ram Yernee smooinghtyn, er y twoaie as er y jiass neesht, dy vel Yernish chengey ny Shallidee.

Agh cha lhisagh shin ve dobberan rour. Kyndagh rish dellal eddyr-ashoonagh trooid yn Vrusheyl, ta unnaneyseyryn kiune ayns Nerin Twoaie goaill toshiaght dy hoiggal scansh ny chengey. Cha nel ee ny chengey whaagh ta lesh possan beg dy 'leih keoi, agh chengey ta sleih cur geill da veih cheeraghyn elley. Dy jarroo, hoig unnaneyseyryn ennagh y chooish shoh roish my row Oik ny Myn-Chengaghyn rieu ayn. Cha row yn chooid smoo jeh ny unnaneyseyryn ayns Nerin rieu feer ghraihagh er yn chengey Yernagh, agh she red ta noa dy liooar dy vel paart jeh credjal dy nee chengey y jouyl hene t'ayn. Cha nel fys ec monney sleih nish nagh row Baarle ec ram sleih va currit er egin ayns Nerin Twoaie keeadyn dy vleeantyn er dy henney - va Gàidhlig ocsyn. As va Yernish screut er bratteyn dy liooar ec ny Oranje. Agh, dy dooghyssagh, ta'n caghey ayns Nerin Twoaie er chur er sleih dy liooar dy chredjal dy row Yernish rieu lesh possan beg dy 'leih, Catoleagh as pobblaghtagh.

Nish, ta pabyryn oikoil goll eddyr yn Vrusheyl, Lunnin as Beal Feirshtey - pabyryn ta bentyn rish Yernish. Ec y tra cheddin, ta thousaneyn dy 'leih ayns Nerin Twoaie er hoilshaghey magh dy vel ad slane ayns foayr jeh cur yn chengey er e hoshiaght.

Agh er-lhiam dy nee ny pabyryn oikoil shen ta cur er unnaneyseyryn fondagh dy chur geill da Yernish nish. She cooish staydys t'ayn. Ta sleih ennagh ayns Nerin Twoaie goaill toshiaght dy hoiggal dy vel sleih ayns Catalonia, yn Cheer Vascagh, yn Danvarg as cheeraghyn elley soiaaghey jeh Yernish. Cha nel ad coontey ee dy ve ny chengey neu-feeu noadyr. Son shickyrys, cha nel shoh cooney lesh ny deiney as mraane debejagh shen t'ayns stayd agglagh nish kyndagh rish fir ny gunnyn. Agh she red noa t'ayn, as ta sleih toiggal dy vod yn

chengey tayrn noidyn ry-cheilley ny keartyrn.

Ayns cheer sheeoil, y Chorn, t'ad toiggal y scansh jeh'n Vrusheyl. Hooar ad argid veih shen dy chur magh fockleyr noa ayns Cornish. As ta ny Cornee er resooney cooishyn Oarpagh rish foddee (er y fa dy vel ny cooishyn shen ny sniessey daue, s'cosoylagh).

Ayns Bretin, y Vritaan as Nalbin neesht, ta sleih dy liooar toiggal dy vod aigney eddyr-ashoonagh cooney lhieu.

Ayns Mannin, ta shin cheu-mooie jeh'n Unnaneyys Oarpagh. Agh ny-yei shen as ooilley, fodmayd co-obbraghey marish cheeraghyn elley t'ayns yn Unnaenys. Fodmayd geddyn argid veih'n Vrusheyl choud's ta shen jeant dy neu-yeeragh, trooid sleih t'ayns yn Unnaneyys hene (ta shen er ve jeant hannah). Y red smoo, ta shen dy chur er tooilley Manninee dy hoiggal cre cho scanshoil as ta'n Ghaelg. Ny shenn Vanninee as adsyn nagh vel aeg, cha jean kuse jeh dy bragh geddyn rey dy bollagh rish y smooinght dy vel yn Ghaelg sorch dy hengey gyn feeuid va goll er loayrt ec bonkanyn voish seihll foalsey ny daanyn ayns Baarle Manninagh. Agh eer ny shenn Vanninee shoh, bee paart jeh caghlaa nyn aigney beggan tra vees ny smoo as ny smoo geill currit da'n Ghaelg veih'n cheu-mooie.

Ny smoo as ny smoo, ta seihll ny Manninee er jeet dy ve goll rish seihll beg Hostyn jiass, raad ta sleih dy liooar foast credjal dy lhisagh ad reill harrish yn teihll. Ny deiney ta reill Mannin ec y traa t'ayn, ta dy liooar jeh kianlt seose ayns yn chenn seihll cheddin - trimshey dy vel yn Impiraght ersooyl as trimshey dy vel Britannia er jeet dy ve ny jousagh dree. Ta gleashaght ny myn-chengaghyn cur da Mannin nane jeh ny saaseyn dy scapail veih'n teihll beg shoh. Ny smoo as ny smoo, ta Mannin dellal ayns cooishyn eddyr-ashoonagh, ga nagh mie lhien paart jeh ny cooishyn shoh. Agh ta ny aignaghyn foast soiet boayl ennagh ayns jiass Hostyn. Oddagh yn Ghaelg cur cooney as shynyn livrey ny aignaghyn shen.

Orree Crennell

Summary

The work of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages is fostering sympathy and support for such languages among some of those previously hostile. What is crucial here is that international dimensions raise the status of the languages.

Enmyn Buill

Va mee clashtyn rish claare er y radio voish yn Ullee as v'ad g'acchan dy row sleih ayn er shen as adsyn caghlaa enmyn buill voish Gaelg dys Baarle. V'eh taghyrt feer vennick boayl va thieyn noa goll y hroggal ayns stay baghee noa. V'ad loayrt mychione boayl enmysit Ballyree, mastey buill elley, va caghlaait dys Bexley. Ta lane fys ain, shynyn ta g'ynsaghey Gaelg, dy vel y lhied taghyrt ayns shoh, as ta fys ain ooilley dy vel lane caillt tra ta enmyn gollrish shoh skellal ersooyl.

Ta fys ain er bun jeh fockleyn gollrish "balley", "awin", "cronk" as "beg", as eer mastey ny Baarleyryn ta sleih ayn as fys oc my-nyn-gione. Ga dy vel nyn enmyn buill fo baggyrt as t'eh orrin ooilley dy coadey ad, boayl ta fys ta niart myrgeeddin. Ta sleih ny mast ain ta freayll arrey dy-kinjagh as streppey dy chur erash enmyn va bunnys caillt. Agh nish, smooinee-jee er Sostyn. Ayns shen ta meeryn jerree (suffixes) dy-llooar ayns enmyn buill gollrish "-ton", "-hurst", "-worth", as "-ham" agh cha nel fys ec monney sleih er nyn vun. Ta fys ec bunnys ooilley yn theihll er y vun jeh "-ford" as "-chester" agh er-lhimmeys jesusyn shen cha jinnagh monney cur bun er ennym gollrish "Billingshurst" boayl ta my huyr baghey.

Roish my row mee poost as foast baghey ayns Essex, tra nagh row fys erbee aym er'n Ghaelg, va stay baghee noa goll y hroggal mysh daa veeiley ersooyl voym. Er yn oyr dy beagh palchey dy leih noa cheet stiagh, 'sy valley beg v'ad er-chee troggal thie oast noa da ooilley ny scoarnaghyn chirrym noa shen. Va'n boayl reihit er corneil er raad enmysit "Hanging Hill Lane". Myr shen reih yn thie imbyl dy chur yn ennym "The Gibbet" er. Va lane accan mastey ny barrantee ayns yn balley sniessey (Brentwood). V'ad smooinnaghtyn dy row yn ennym jeh'n raad cheet voish dunverys-hene ennagh as d'ennee ad nagh row ennym yn thie oast cooie. Cha row ad arryltagh kied y chur er-y-hon.

'Sy vlein 1381 va irree magh ny sleih cadjin ayns Sostyn. Va fer jeh ny cooishyn v'ad noi, keesh noa va'n Ree er-chee cur ad fo enmysit yn "poll tax". Haghlee fir-baghee voish daa valley beg cheerey (Fobbing as Mucking) dys Brentwood as hyndaa ad harrish ny buird boayl va ny briwnyn beggey chaglym yn keesh. Tra cheayll ny deiney voish Kent, ta tammylt beg ersooyl harrish yn Thames voish Fobbing as Mucking, dy row nyn vraaraghyn ayns Essex g'irree magh hie ad lesh Lunnin fo'n leeideilys Wat Tyler as Jack Straw. Roish shen va saggyrt ayns Essex enmysit John Ball er ve preacheil voish teks myr shoh:

"When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" Tra rosh ad ooilley dys Lunnin va'n Ree loayrt roo ec chaglym mooar ayns Spitalfields. Va Tyler dunverit dy vraheyderagh liorish yn Ard-Veoir Lunnin as ghow yn Ree as e

History of the Isle of Man

On May 21 volunteer researchers and academics attended a conference at the Manx Museum to consider the way forward for the 'New History of the Isle of Man'. The massive five-volume publication, telling the complete story of Mann from the Ice Age to the present day, is scheduled to be in print by the turn of the century. The year 2000 is the centenary of A.W. Moore's history which is still the standard textbook for the period 798-1830.



Arthur William Moore, Manx scholar and Speaker of the House of Keys, who wrote the authoritative 'History of the Isle of Man' published in 1900. Photograph from William Cubbon's 'Island Heritage'.

The project is being conducted under the auspices of the Centre for Manx Studies, founded in 1992 to act as a focal point for research in a wide range of areas relating to the Island. Part of the University of Liverpool, the centre has premises at Kingswood Grove, Douglas, opposite the Manx Museum, and is governed by a policy board comprising representatives of its three founding institutions - the university, the Isle of Man Department of Education and Manx National Heritage.

Volume one of the history, edited by Dr Roger Dackombe, of the University of Wolverhampton, will deal with the Manx landscape and environment, effectively setting the scene for the arrival of early man and describing some of the effects that have resulted from his appearance.

The second volume, edited by Dr Peter Davey, director of the Centre for Manx Studies, will look at the prehistory of the Island through archaeology, a relatively new discipline when Moore was writing in the late nineteenth century.

Dr Sean Duffy, a lecturer in medieval British and Irish history at Trinity College, Dublin, is the editor of volume three, the Medieval Period 1000-1405, regarded as an extraordinarily formative period in the Island's history when it was a cockpit of English, Scottish, Irish and Norwegian power politics.

Volume four covers the Derby and Atholl Periods, 1405-1830, and is to be edited by Dr Roger Dickinson, of the University of York. It will reassess an important period which included the notorious 'running trade' - smuggling - and the Revestment of 1965.

The fifth and final volume, edited by Dr John Belchem, of the University of Liverpool, will re-examine the last three decades covered by Moore, followed by an exploration of the political, economic, legal and social developments of the subsequent 130 years. This will include such topics as Methodism, labour history and the finance sector. It will also consider the theme of the Manx identity over the period, applying this to an analysis of Manx politics.

Manx Collection

All articles in Manx, published in Carn 1974-1994, have been arranged in chronological order and published in book format. The work was undertaken by Phil Kelly, and forms the most substantial modern text yet available. Copies are available from the Secretary price £3.50 plus £1.00 postage.

Correction

In the Article "Among the Books and Other Things" CARN 86 pg 22 at the bottom of column two/top of column three the quote should run: which saved 'France for (not from) Catholicism'

chiannooyrtys toshiaght er tranlaase ny sleih cadjin. Hug ad palchey jeu dys y chriy ec Gallows Corner as Hanging Hill Lane ayns Essex as buill elley ayns Kent.

Screeu mish as my chaaajyn rish yn thie imbyl as dooyrt shin cre'n fa nagh oddagh ad cur ennym gollrish "The Wat Tyler" ny "The Peasants' Revolt" er'n thie oast. Oddagh jallooaghyn voish yn tra shen ve currit er ny voalaghyn as verragh shen foays er'n thie. Hooar shin freggyrt voue gra dy row ad er ve smooinnaghtyn er'n ennym "The Last Drop" er agh va lane boirey er ve oc hannah, as va'd er reih dy chur yn ennym "The Woodpecker" er.

Colin y Jerree

Summary

The Celtic countries are not the only ones where place names and their associated history can be lost.



Mec Vannin News

At its annual general meeting in May, Mec Vannin adopted recommendations made by the group's finance sector policy review committee which re-iterated the party's opposition in principle to the presence and growth of the finance sector.

The report states: "Even though mostly legal, the business could at best be described as amoral in character, that is, its sole concern is with the making of maximum profit to the exclusion of all other social and environmental costs and ethical considerations such as the creation of Third World debt and impoverishment.

On the other hand we have evidence that the smiling face of the finance sector masks a deeper layer of out and out criminal activities.

The investigations of the US government into the Caribbean tax havens on its doorstep have shown that the self same off-shore mechanisms and secrecy legislation that enable tax avoidance also and invariably provide a conduit and cover for all kinds of dirty money laundering from such sources as terrorism, drugs, fraud and larceny.

The Brinks-Mat investigations by the UK police, which revealed Isle of Man finance sector involvement in just such a chain of money-laundering, indicates that the Isle of Man is no different.

The underlying belief seems to be that given the money first of all we can then buy solutions for all our other social environmental problems.

The trouble with that view is that the more money we make the more money we need to tackle the new problems thrown up by the runaway economic growth.

This is the madhouse economics of money addiction in which the real quality of life is sacrificed for excessive material consumption."

The report goes on to condemn government policy since the sixties which have allowed the finance sector to grow 'uncontrolled to politically dangerous and economically unhealthy proportions'.

"In theory Tynwald still runs the show, but in practice it dare not legislate against the interest of the finance sector community."

Instead of scrapping the industry altogether, which would cause economic dislocation and distress, the intention would be to contain it at its present level through 'licence capping'. New licences would be issued only to replace business lost through natural wastage, while real efforts are made to develop indigenous industries, both traditional and new.

Economic Policies 'which empower and protect the Manx people' are detailed in the policy as an alternative to the

Island's dependence on the finance sector.

On the question of alternative the policy states:

"With its virtual autonomy in domestic affairs, Tynwald has the power to create an economic microclimate here in which home-grown enterprise could flourish.

For instance, the Isle of Man used to be a significant centre of shipbuilding in the 19th century because until 1866 the duty on imported timber was less here than elsewhere. A whole range of activities including a modern leisure-boat building industry could prosper given the right cossetting by government through fiscal and tax preferences.

Measures of economic empowerment would be vital to allow ordinary Manx people to take advantage of the above.

These measures might include a non-profit making community bank or credit union from which low interest, long term loan would be available to those with little or no capital; grants from government to enable attendance on vocational courses on and off the Island; a free small business advice and resource service; specific training at the Isle of Man College; a co-operative development agency. Turning to the kinds of activities that might be encouraged, the committee says: In spite of current government policies, we can already see some examples of the kind of diverse, small scale activity we would like to see as commonplace - eg. farmers converting redundant outbuildings to holiday accommodation and running farm shops to supplement their incomes; hoteliers providing special interest holidays for those interested in birdwatching, rambling etc; an independent brewer providing real ale.

In addition we would suggest that there is scope here for the development of an energy conservation industry, a boat building industry as aforementioned; an ethical investment industry; an education industry centred possibly on a Manx University.

The government might claim to be identifying and supporting such initiatives already. The difference compared with our approach lies in the fact that the government searches far and wide across the world to attract an up and running business to fill an economic opportunity here.

What they ought to be doing if they were really nationally minded is to make an opportunity available first to the people here even though this might take longer and involve investment in training and acquiring skills."

The report concludes: "It is often stated (overstated in fact) that this is a land

deficient in resources. The chief resource which is lacking at the moment, we feel, is a belief by the government in the resourcefulness and worth of its own people."

Island Development

Mec Vannin has pledged itself to 'advance a credible campaign to oppose further untrammelled development and despoliation of the Island'.

They issued a warning to the government 'not to re-create the conditions of the deprivation and homelessness in this decade which led to the unrest of the 1970s and 1980s.

Mec Vannin press officer Bernard Moffatt commented: "It looks as if we are in for another spate of development. More than enough greenfield sites in this Island have been destroyed this century and we wouldn't accept a further round of this environmental vandalism just so certain companies in this Island can line their pocket.

The government is aware of what this led to in the past - there were serious arson campaigns in the mid '70s and late '80s. What we're saying is that all the tensions that existed at that time which caused people's frustrations to boil over are starting to exist again.

'Government ignores the signs at its peril', he warned.

Chief Minister, Miles Walker responded saying: "One of the things different to the situation seven or eight years ago is that the plans are for more development in town than greenfield sites."

The planning office of the Department of Local Government and the Environment is currently handling proposals for new developments totalling nearly £40m in value. It is receiving as many as 130 new plans a week, compared with around 40 a week six months ago.

Planning Committee chairman, A. Downie MHK stated: "We are getting lots of independent enquiries from insurance people and small banks looking to get involved in the Island". This revelation does not bode well for Mann. Any further development of the financial sector will lead to an increase in population which will inevitably result in more pressure to develop greenfield sites for new housing as these companies invariably import foreign labour to work in their institutions.

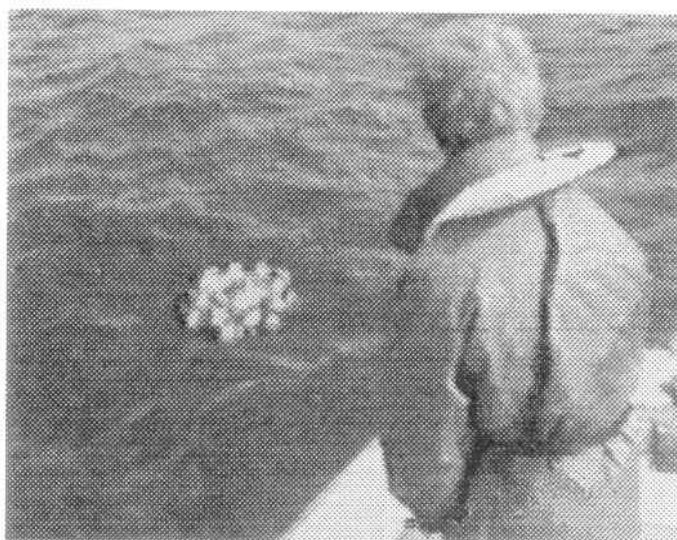
There are all the indications that the Manx people will not tolerate another spate of development. Government would be wise to act this time before rather than after the event.

CELTICA

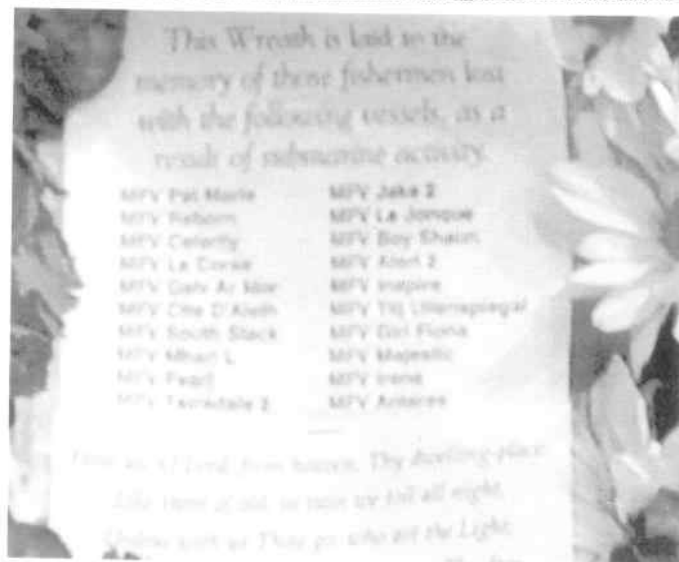
**"Gàir nan Clàrsach" ...
The Harp's Cry:
Anthology of 17th Century
Gaelic Poetry.**

Edited by Colm Ó Baoill.
Translated by Meg Bateman.
Published by Birlinn,
13 Roseneath Street, Edinburgh.

Wreath Laid to Submarine Victims



Mannin Branch member Mark Kermode laid a wreath to the memory of almost 100 fishermen, drowned as a result of submarine activity. The ceremony was performed on Thursday, 26th August 1994, in the submarine exercise area to the west of Mannin while Mark was travelling to the AGM in Dublin. The wreath laying hopefully signifies the end in this chapter of the League's activity, with a significant reduction in submarines in use around the Celtic Sea.



This is both a scholarly and highly enjoyable work by two members of Aberdeen University Department of Celtic. The Introduction gives a résumé of Gaelic history both from the perspective of Scotland as well as that of Ireland. So vivid is its account that it even goes a long way to interpret the causes of the present troubles in the six counties of Northern Ireland. The section of **Poets and Poetry** is of interest to anyone engaged on writing songs or poems. It brings the period into the present day. Meg Bateman tells the kind of crucifixion that waits anyone attempting to translate into verse and must help anyone so engaged. Colm Ó Baoill reminds us that "the art we are concerned with in this anthology is not that of poetry but song-making".

The songs and poems themselves are refreshing in their selection both in modern Scottish usage but also in the artificial Classical Gaelic which allowed the educated classes to savour the delights of Irish and Scottish Gaelic culture, used not only in verse but in prose as with Keating and the "Reliquae Celtica".

The selection gives the Gaelic originals and is faced with a verse translation in English by Meg Bateman which is both readable and lively. Only Song XIX dealing with Iain Lom's death requires correction in that he must have died after 1707 as his last recorded poem, in Annie M. Mackenzie's anthology of his works, gives his last Song against the Union; where in the robust style often to be found in his verse he lists those known to him who betrayed Scottish independence for English gold at the time of the Union.

But this memorable book deserves a place in the hearts and hands of all who love the Gael and all they stand for in both Scotland and Ireland.

Archy Macpherson

Breton Language Service

This service has been set up within Skol Uhel ar Vro for the purpose of giving our language a better place in public life. It intends to publish lists of words to help communes and departement technical services and it is already providing them with advice on linguistic aspects with a view to standardisation wherever bilingual signposts are put up. Another project is a map of Brittany bearing the Breton forms of the placenames recommended by the

Service's Toponymy Commission. The latter is gathering as much as possible of the spoken forms of those names in Lower Brittany. Consultation was carried out this summer among its members about the Breton forms which should be proposed for placenames in Upper Brittany, many of which are Celtic in origin or based on the names of more or less forgotten "saints" from the High Middle Ages who took part in the immigration from Britain.

Breizh-Europa: Histoire d'une aspiration by Annaig Le Gars, 86 pp. Publ. by IJIN, 29000 Kemper. 70F.

The author is a history-geography teacher who was a candidate in the European elections, on the Simeoni list. The booklet, subtitled "Brittany's European Future" outlines the vagaries of the French decentralisation, contrasts France's centralism with the structures of the other EU member States, surveys the assets which would enable our country to take its own place in a united Europe if it had the power to control its own affairs.

Breton Models

The "Presses Universitaires de Rennes" are publishing a series of books under the general heading of "Le Modèle Breton". There is already "Le Modèle Agricole Breton" by Corentin Canévet. We now have "Le Modèle Industriel Breton" by Michel Philipponneau, 420 pp. 200 F.

Welcoming the wealth of information it provides about Breton firms, Herve Person (*Le Peuple Breton*, June) deplores that it concerns itself only with the truncated Brittany of 4 départements in spite of the fact that all the South of Brittany maintains tighter economic relations with the Nantes area than with Rennes. The author thereby pays little heed to the Atlantic Bow concept. Industries have developed along or close to the two motorways from Rennes to Brest and from Nantes to Kemper-Brest, to the neglect of the interior regions. Too much attention is given in the book to the official view, says H. Person. The social problems connected with industry are hardly mentioned. Shall we next have a study entitled "The Breton Social Model"?

A characteristic of the Breton industry is its lack of concentration, contrary to what happens in France. (This corresponds to the urban pattern: we have no big cities but a scattering of large and medium sized towns: it helps to keep the social body better integrated).

A third volume in the P.U.R. series is based on a doctor-thesis submitted brilliantly by J.J. Monnier, ex-editor of *Le Peuple Breton*, a year ago: it is titled "Le Comportement Politique des Bretons (The Bretons' Political Behaviour) since 1945". 220F; obtainable from "L'Agent Comptable de Rennes 2, P.U.R., La Harpe, 2 r. Doyen Leroy, 35044 Rennes-Cedex. It offers a detailed analysis of the elections in the 220-plus cantons of Brittany and shows that there is a Breton political model: the Left connected with and relying on the French State and its organisations, the Right investing in the Breton economy, displaying initiative. Regarding the specific Breton demands, J.J. Monnier concludes that the people in general are aware of their collective identity but take it for granted and don't see the need to defend or uphold it ("identité assumée mais non revendiquée").

Al Liamm

Bimonthly magazine in Breton. Subs. 150F (160F-200F airmail outside state) to Per ar Bihan, 16 r. des Fours à Chaux, 35200 St. Malo.

Most contributions in the double May-August issue are from women. Two of them pay homage to Madalen St. Gal de Pons in a classical form inspired by a strong Christian outlook with death as a rather pervasive theme. Anna Mouradowa tells a story about two students in Communist Russia who listen to rock music and feel guilty about it as it is denounced officially. Of note also is a translation of Yeats' play 'Kathleen Ní Houlihan'.

Skol Uhel ar Vro

(Breton Cultural Institute), 74F rue de Paris, BP 3166, 35031 Rennes-Cedex has just launched a quarterly, *Sterenn* (meaning Star) to serve as a link between its 16 sections and its 800 members (scholars, teachers, leaders of association, etc.) and also to make its activities more widely known. It is mainly in French. Another S.U. ar V. publication is the bimonthly *Bretagne des Livres* (annual sub. 80F), 28 pp., dealing with publishing and providing brief accounts of all sorts of books published in recent months in Brittany or relating to Brittany, both in Breton and in French; the May '94 issue thus mentions over 100 works.

**THE
CELTIC PEN**

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

Literature in the Celtic languages is spotlighted in this new publication. Topics dealt with to date include Poets of the Clearances, Early Irish Literature, Cornish Miracle Plays, Modern Welsh Poetry, Manx Carvals and Breton Theatre. The Celtic Pen carries English translations of poetry with the original, and inter-Celtic translations.

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Appeal

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

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