

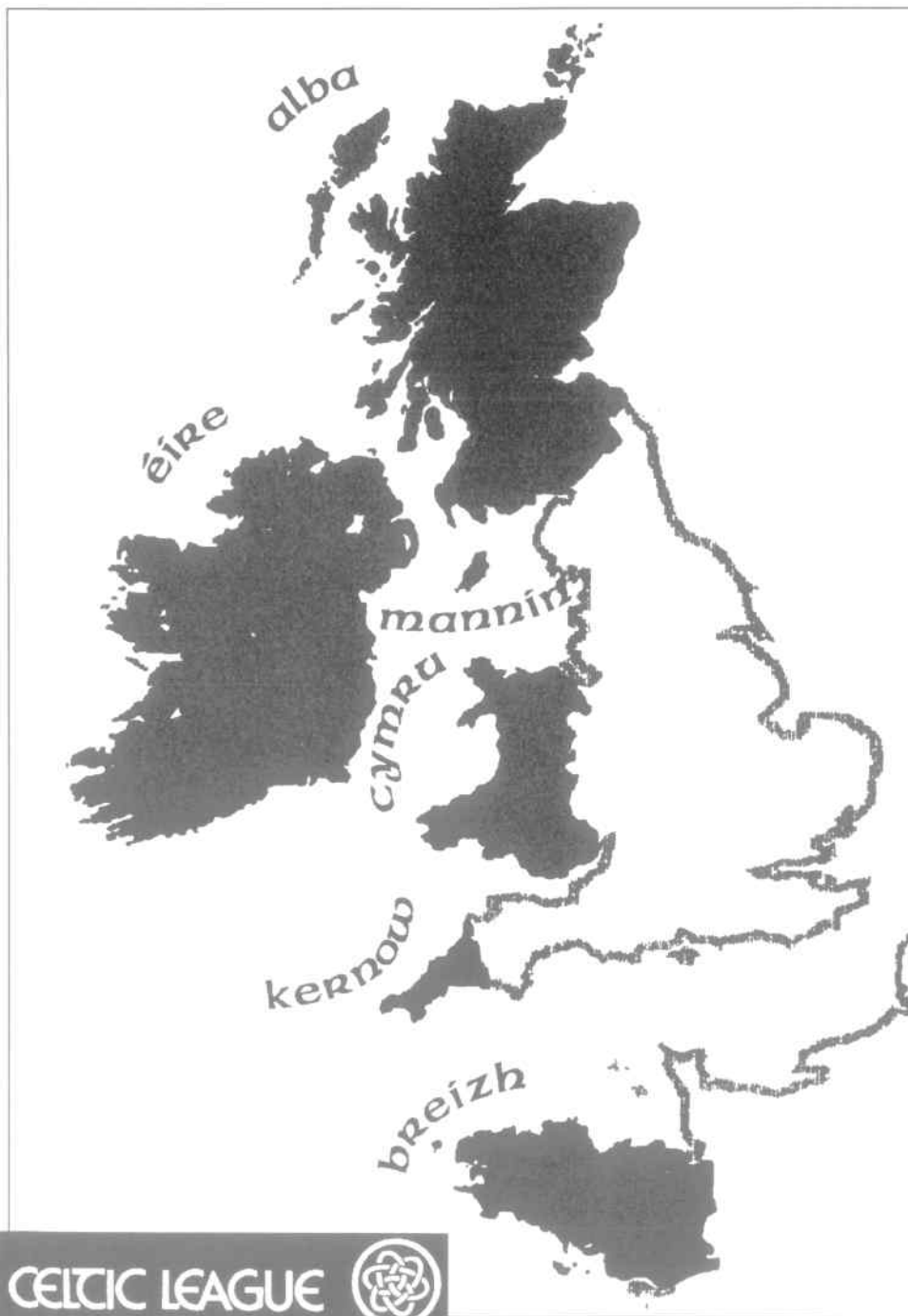
celtix

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

No. 92

Winter 1995/96

£1.70



- Green Lands or Green Deserts?
- Breton on Internet
- Shaping the Divisions in Wales
- Demand for Irish Education Board
- 'Kernow near England'
- Getting the Celtic Message Across
- The Future of the Manx Language
- Promoting National Self-Determination

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

CELTIC LEAGUE



ALBA

Am Muileann Dubh agus an deidh sin..... An Ungair

Tha iomadh rud nach saoil sibh
'Sa mhuileann dubh... 'sa mhuileann dubh;
Tha iomadh rud nach saoil sibh
'Sa mhuileann dubh 's t-Shamhradh!

Tha'm mhuileann dubh air thur-a-man,
Tha'm mhuileann dubh air thur-a-man,
Tha'm mhuileann dubh air thur-a-man,
'Se togairt dol a' dannsadh!

Ma tha, dìreach a reir an orain "Tha iomadh rud nach saoil sibh saoil sibh, 'sa mhuileann dubh.... m.e. program coimpiutair sa Ghàidhlig.... damh nam beann mòra air gloine... crochadain is fàinneachan Cheiltich... usgaran... bràiste spòg circe-fhraoich... braistean is eile air a dhèanamh an airgead... mic-samhail bheaga dhe clachan bho linn nan Cruithneach is croisean Cille Dhatam is Naoimh Mhàrtainn... mapaichean dhe Colla... Barraidh ... Leòdhas 7 na Hearradh... na h-Ubhaistean is Alba uile gu leir.... mugaichean is leabhraichean cloinne... "Bruidhinn ar cànan" Karaoke ceilidh... stiocairean cair... lusan traidiseanta na Gàidhealtachd... cungaichean-maise... curraean is stocainnean traidiseanta... leintean Ceiltich as a' Chuimrigh... leintean-T... cairtean noftaig... mìosachan is leabhraichean-latha da-ghananach... clò-rubair le "Moran taing" no "Le deagh dhùrachd"... CD is teipeachan Gàidhlig gu leoir... Sin agad e! Ulaidhean Ghàidhlig is Cheilteach gu leoir agus bhon a tha gaol mòr againn air ar cànan bithidh sinn toilichte leis a' chatalog seo bhon a tha e a' leudachadh cleachdadh na Gàidhlig.

Agus bhon a tha sinn a' labhairt mu gaol mòr a tha air a' Ghàidhlig dè mu dheighinn bàrdachd a rinn Gilleasbuig Lachlainn?

I

Tha blas na meala air ar cànan,
Cho mìlis ri pòg om leanain
Leumaidh mo chridhe is i na sanas
Ceòl is bruidhinn suilbhir is mi ga cluintinn.

II

Seachd ciad bliadhna' o chionn fada
thoisich ar cràdh.

Eadar -theangaich Calum a' chinn mhòir,
Bhon nach robh facal Ghàidhlig aig
Mairead,
Agus cha robh Beurla againn feadh Alba.

III

Ach thionndaidh cuibhle an Fhortain,
an deidh an treas cairteal na linne seo.
Shèid gaoth ro bhlath nach robh ann
riamh
Is thàinig croileagan, sgoiltean is colaiste
Ghàidhlig leatha.

IV

Ach bi sinn fathast mar an linn Chaluum
'S ar cànan air gach bile, dìleas rithe gu bàs,
Mar a thuirt fear on tìr on dàinig
Mairead,
"Mur an robh sinn dìleas don chànan
againn
Bhiodh Budapest a' bhruidhinn na Gearmailteas fhathast!"

Agus bhon a tha sinn a' labhairt mu Budapest agus An Ungair, thadhail an sgrìobhadair seo an dùthaich sin agus a ceanna-bhaile Budapest. Bha am baile sin mar gun robh e daonnan lan de dhaoine a bha daonnan a' bruidhinn na h-Ungaireis. Bha a h-uile sanas 'sa Ungaireis agus na daoine ga labhairt on chreathail gus an uaigh.

Tha dìofar mòr eadar ìnbhe na h-Ungairis agus na Gàidhlig. Dìreach mar

a' chanain aca daonnan air radio, air s na phaipearan-naidheachd, irisean, leabhraichean, an TV aca agus sna sgoiltean, colaisdean is oilthighean agus a h-uile cail eile. Carson? Bhon a tha iad a' teagaisg gu tur tre na h-Ungairis feadh an rìoghachd aca uile gu leir agus bhon a tha iad neo-eisimeileach. Nuair a bha an lompairachd Ostaireach uile-buadhach bha a' Ghearmailteis a' riaghaladh na h-Ungair dìreach mar a tha a' Bheurla a' faighinn làmh-an-uachdar air a' Ghàidhlig an diugh.

Am faca tu mar a tha na meadhanan — radio, TV is na paipearan-naidheachd 7c — a' dèanamh casaid an aghaidh nan Quebecich bhon a chuir iad a-mach lagh gum b'fheudar do gach buth, taigh-osda, taigh-bidh, oifis is a h-uile ionad eile a' bhith cleachdadh na Fraingeis an àite na Beurla sna sràidean.

Ach chan eil adhbhar gearain aca idir. Anns gach àite feadh na h-Ungair uile gu leir chan eil oifis, taigh-osda no eile nach eil a' cleachdadh na cànan aca o cheann gu ceann agus nì sinn an aon rud nuair a bhios ar cànan uile-buadhach feadh Alba neo-eisimeileach!

Thadhail an sgrìobhadair air sgoil nuair a bha e ann am Budapest agus bhruidhinn e ri ban-sgoilear (bean-teagaisg) a bha ann. Sheall i dha mar a bha i a' teagaisg a h-uile cuspair tre na h-Ungairis eadhon cànaichean choimheach mar Beurla, an Fraingeis is a' Ghearmailteis. Chunnac e dealbh agus bàrdachd a rinn Sándor Petöfi, bàrd naiseanta na h-Ungair, agus smaoinich an Gaidheal Albannach ... Cuin a bhios a h-uile teagaisg tre na Gàidhlig?... Cuin a bhios bàrdachd a rinn MacMhaighstir Alasdair no fain Lom no Màiri Mhòr nan Orain no Donnchadh Bàn no Somhairle MacGilleathain no an fheadhainn eile air ballachan sgoiltean feadh Alba?

Thachair an sgrìobhaiche cuideachd ri urrasairean a bha aig Taigh-Cluiche Naiseanta na h-Ungair... chuala e a chionn gun do leag na Communaich an t-aitreabh aca oir smaoinich iad gun robh an taigh-cluiche ro Ungarach... dh'innis e dhaibh mar a bha sinne a' dèanamh air son adhartas na Gàidhlig. "Ma tha," arsa iad, Dh'òibrich sinne anns an aon doigh air sgàth na cànan againn agus mu dheireadh thall bha sinn soirbheachail!"

Fhuair an sgrìobhaiche dearbhadh on taobh eile... bho seann Ostaireach ann an Vienna.

'Sa bhliadhna 1949 bha an sgrìobhaiche na shuidhe air being air an Ringstrasse, Vienna. Bhon a bha feileadh beag uime, mar b'abhaist dha, thuig bodach aosda liath le cu dachshund, gum biodh



Muileann Dubh, Sràid a' Mhargaidh, Baile
Dhùbhthaich, Siorrachd Rois IV19 IAR
Fòn/Facx: 01862 893 553

breacadh de Bheurla aig an Albannach òg agus esan na shuidhe air an aon bheing.

"Bha mi anns an Seirbheis Shìobhalta Impireil (Ostaireach) ann am Budapest (chanamaid mu 1880+ oir bha e cho aosda) agus bha an riaghladh nam oifis sna làithean m'òige sa Ghearmailteis.

"Sa chiad dol a-mach nuair a bhuaileadh neach an doras agam.

"Thigibh a-staigh," theirinn daonnan sa Ghearmailteis, ach beagan is beagan dh'fhàs luchd na h-Ungaireis na bu làidire is na bu làidire. Mu dheireadh thall dh'ordaich an riaghaltas.

"Bruidhinn a' chàinain a tha aig an neach a thigeadh a-steach don oifig agadsa!"

An deidh sin dh'fhanainn gus an cluinninn de cainnt a bha aig an neach air taobh thall an dorais, nuair a theireadh e (no i)

"An urrainn dhomh tighinn a-steach?"

"Nan canadh e sin sa Ghearmailteis bhruidhinn sa chàinain sin ach ma canadh e sin sa Ungaireis dh'fheumainn bruidhinn gur tur sa chainnt aige."

"Agus nam biodh e samhach?" arsa an Gàidheal.

"Dh'fheumainn radh.... ah ha, ah ha, ah ha, ah ha.... ah ha!"

An deidh sin, beagan is beagan, gus an robh an Ungaireis na h-aon chàinain cleachte an riaghladh na h-Ungair.

Mar a theireadh ar sinnirean.... Ruigidh each mall muillean!

Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich
(Gilleasbuig Lachlainn 'Illeasbuig)

P.S.

Sgrìobh Horvath László à Budapest mun Ungair agus a càinain an ceithir cuibhrrinn an "GAIRM".

1. Ùrachadh-càinain anns an Roinn-Eòrpa.
2. An Ungair is Ungairis anns an 18 linn... le cheile an "Gairm" 156.
3. "Cogaidhean-peanna" — deasbairean beachdail air an ùrachadh-càinain... "Gairm" 157.
4. Toraidhean an ùrachadh — a dh'fhan 's a chaidh às... "Gairm" 158.

Summary

One might consider a catalogue a pretty dull pedestrian means of selling goods but this is a first all-Gaelic "Muileann Dubh" which has appeared with only skimpy English translations. It breathes the very soul of the Gaelic renaissance that is on-going throughout Scotland. This is followed by a discussion of the survival and rehabilitation of Hungarian.



Gaelic Dictionaries

One of the main problems which has always faced Gaelic learners and the Gaelic movement in general is the lack of decent dictionaries. While there are a number of dictionaries in publication, their range and quality fall well short of the standards of those in the major European and even some Celtic languages. In bookshops there are typically a variety of French, German, Italian and Dutch dictionaries to name but a few. Dictionaries for these languages come from a variety of different companies and are made in different sizes and for different markets such as beginners or businessmen. This could not contrast more strongly with Gaelic where the number of Gaelic dictionaries first published in the Twentieth Century is still in single figures.

As well as the small number of dictionaries, many are outdated or of poor quality. Only one ageing Gaelic to English dictionary remains essential, this is Edward Dwelly's "Illustrated Gaelic-English dictionary" (Gairm), first published in parts from 1901-11. As well as being comprehensive, it also reveals much of the eccentric and admirable Englishman who compiled and printed it single-handedly.

Fortunately the situation has improved in recent years. 1979 saw the publication of "Abair" (Gairm), a two way pocket dictionary by Renton and MacDonald. Unlike most, this dictionary gives the plurals and genitives of nouns which makes it ideal for learners. Unfortunately it is very short, shorter than a Collins Gem for example. Containing far more words is Professor Thomson's "New Gaelic-English Dictionary" (Gairm 1981) which has recently been updated with the addition of 1000 more words. Robert C. Owen's "Modern Gaelic-English Dictionary" (Gairm) published in 1993 provides an excellent companion to Thomson's dictionary.

Other recent innovations include Sabhal Mòr Ostaig's "Stor-data Briathrachais Gàidhlig/the Gaelic Terminology Database" (Clò Ostaig), which gives Gaelic words for modern and technical terms. The 1990s have also seen the publication of Richard Cox's "Brìgh nam Facal" (1991, Glasgow University Celtic Department), the first ever Gaelic-Gaelic dictionary. While it is intended for primary schools, it is also of use to older children and to learners.

Despite improvements in the dictionary situation, much remains to be done. The range needs to be broadened for example. A small, cheap but extensive two-way dictionary on the model of a Collins Gem is needed urgently. A large two-way

dictionary with more words than currently contained in Thomson and Owen would also be a useful addition. It could well be that the time has come for Gaelic lexicology to be professionalised. So far Gaelic dictionaries have been written by pioneering individuals like Dwelly and Thomson. Today dictionaries in most other languages are produced by teams of writers with full time workers, sophisticated computer technology and with financial support behind them. A comprehensive range of Gaelic dictionaries would require the support either of a project, probably linked to a university, or alternatively of a large publisher. Why not a modern Gaelic dictionary association to match the Scottish National Dictionary Association? The involvement of large publishers might also be able to bring Gaelic dictionaries to a wider range of bookshops.

If you want to take action on this matter, why not write to publishers of dictionaries on this subject. You could point out to Collins that they have just published a new Scot-English Gem and a two-way Irish Gem and suggest that Scottish Gaelic is the logical next step particularly due to the Gaelic revival. You could also congratulate Chambers on their excellent range of Scots dictionaries and suggest that they produce a Gaelic dictionary, pointing out that they have produced some books in Gaelic in the past. Their addresses are:

Collins Bilingual, P.O. Box, Glasgow G4 0NB.

Chambers Harrap Publishers Ltd., 43-45 Annandale Street, Edinburgh EH7 4AZ.

Alasdair MacCaluim

"The Scottish Separatist"

New paper of the Scottish Separatist Group (SSG). Contains analysis, reports, news and articles on Scottish politics, history, current affairs, social studies and linguistics.

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GREEN LANDS OR GREEN DESERTS?

Book Reviews

On the Other Side of Sorrow (Nature and People in the Scottish Highlands) by James Hunter, published by Mainstream, 1995 hardback price £17.50, ISBN 1 85158 765 9

Green Agenda (Essays on the Environment of Wales) edited by Robert Minhinnick, published by Seren, 1994, price £7.95 ISBN 1-85411-101-9

James Hunter is a Highlander born and brought up in Appin, North Argyll. His doctoral thesis, "The Making of the Crofting Community" published in 1976 was a ground breaker. At last it has appeared in paperback, to complement the long popularity of John Prebble's works on many bookstands. Mr Hunter has since written a series of important books on people and the land which drew on his home area in Skye and the ideas of Highlanders he met on his travels to form the Scottish Crofters Union in 1985. Since then he has looked at the diaspora to North America and compared the hardships and achievements of the emigrants after their flight from the estates ruled by the factor's of the absentee lairds in Scotland.

"*On the Other Side of Sorrow*" drives straight to the heart of the contemporary debate about sustainable lifestyles in the post-industrial age. Hunter draws strong lessons from the attachments of inhabitants of the Highlands and islands to their natural surroundings ever since the Celtic monks living on remote Hebridean islands lyrically praised their surroundings. He notes the detailed ancient Celtic laws which had such high regard for trees and woods and traces the umbilical chord of current thinking through a continuous Gaelic concern of the people for their land.

In contrast he charts the emergence, via Rousseau and then James MacPherson's hugely influential poem "Ossian" in the 18th century, of the huge European school of thought which "re-discovered" scenery and wilderness and which pictured the Noble Savage as doomed hero in wild and hugely romanticised Highland scenery. He links the views of early conservationists like Henry Thoreau with this romantic school of thought, including, controversially, John Muir, the great Scottish founder of Yosemite National Park. To this day, Hunter argues, individuals who see the Highlands as a "last great wilderness in Europe" deliberately ignore the place in that environment of the most endangered species of all, the indigenous peoples.

James Hunter's evidence ranges widely over literature, conservationist writing and

poetry, in Gaelic and English. He acknowledges Frank Fraser Darling's pioneering "*West Highland Survey*" written in the mid 1940s, but only published in 1955, as the key text which recognised the real origins of the "man-made desert". He cites writers like the high Tory, Samuel Johnson, who visited the North West twenty years after Culloden, along with Gaelic poets such as Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir, Alasdair and Duncan Ban MacIntyre during Jacobite times and today's poets such as Sorley MacLean in Gaelic and Norman MacCaig in English, along with others, who realistically view people in their landscape. They and not the Romantics are the prophets of a radical shift in thinking which is needed to transform the prospects of the Highlands and Islands.

Dr Hunter, notes his own origins as a descendant of a shepherd brought to the Highlands at the time of the Clearances. So he is careful to reference the waves of incomers and ideas, of cultures and languages which make up the contemporary scene, he respects the Gaelic core as the essential cement of sustainable ideas but believes that the considerable influx of peoples from various countries to live here in recent years will realistically incur multi-cultural responses to sustainability as much as it did to landscape development in the days of the Picts, Vikings and Scots.

Those who value the environmental, cultural and economic future of the Scottish Highlands and Islands will be stimulated to action by James Hunter's book. These Atlantic coasts and islands have inspired their inhabitants for several millenia, we have a priceless inheritance to build upon.

To say that the "*Green Agenda*" for Wales is far more prosaic than Jim Hunter is not to demean the intention of gathering experts to give a snap-shot of their concerns and these for a sustainable Wales. Robert Minhinnick's guests range over the urban and rural condition, the prospects for energy and farming. His contributors provide much useful information on sources and comparative statistics and how to source information. He also allows analysis of how best for activists to bring about change.

Mr Minhinnick provides a damning analysis of the reasons why various "breeds" of environmentalist largely fail to co-operate in Wales today. He tackles the drawbacks of green consumerism against the development of the holistic debate. He looks at environmental degradation and dire poverty in other parts of the World and pleads that Wales should not be complacent in its cocoon of relative Western European affluence.

Essays on energy, by Phil Williams, professor of physics and veteran Plaid Cymru activist, shows what could be done in Wales if it had the political will. Neil Caldwell shows how chinks in the latest planning guide-lines for England and Wales at last include some sustainability criteria. The threat of the tarmac collar is expertly by-passed by Rory Francis. Margaret Minhinnick calls for better liaison between environmental and "people-caring" groups (like James Hunter above) John Barnie shows how to escape the clutches of the built environment in the "Suburban Park".

Alwyn Jones looks at villages in Fiji to see beyond environmentalism to the imperatives of "green" philosophy. Alan Watson probes environmental information which is available to the public as the means to fuel change and Robert Minhinnick's own essay surveys the role of huge firms like Dwr Cymru/Welsh Water, British Steel, ReChem, Cardiff Bay Development Corporation etc., in their mismanagement, pollution, bad planning and corporate consequences for life in Wales today.

Perhaps for me the most telling contribution is by Nic Lampkin and Peter Midmore, they are pessimistic about rural economy but argue coherently that "the maintenance and enhancement of social, cultural and environmental quality must become key goals alongside traditional economic objectives." They praise examples of bottom-up community development, farm forestry and organic farming which have strong resonance for all the Celtic countries.

These essays from Wales exhibit a keen interest in making sense of powerlessness and lack of balance. They express the core of a programme for change. James Hunter shows us why we should view the Scottish environment "as if people mattered". They each demand your attention.

Rob Gibson

L'Avenir de la Bretagne, organ of the party P.O.B.L. (for a free Brittany), 16pp. monthly. Sub. 200F (but 250F outside State) to B.P. 4103, 22041 Saint-Brieuc Cedex 2.

In the issue Nr 398, read J. Cevaer about France's return to hypercentralisation under a technocrats' regime progressively reinforcing the borders of the State.

Formation of the Scottish Separatist Group

The Scottish Separatist Group (SSG) was formed on Sunday 22nd October, 1995, following discussions over a period of many months.

The decision to form the new group was dictated by the reality of the Scottish situation, which sees the Scottish people rapidly becoming a minority in their own country. In large parts of Scotland, such as Argyll, Inverness-shire, Ross-shire, and many other rural areas, the Scots already are in a minority! But the situation affects the whole of Scotland, and the pressures of English immigration are felt in urban and rural areas alike, with wealthy English colonists forming a privileged élite throughout Scotland.

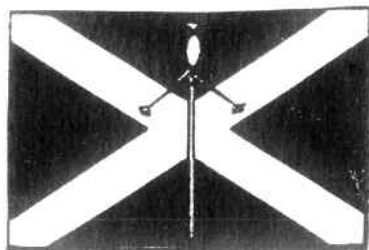
English immigration continues to increase with the active assistance of the State and its agencies, and to the detriment of the indigenous population who are deprived of jobs, homes and education as a result.

Anyone who doubts the involvement of the State should be referred to the records of the various agencies, such as the Scottish Development Agency which had the promotion of English immigration as its official policy since the 1960's, or to the State's own figures which reveal that in the fifteen years 1976-1991, when Scotland's oil wealth was pouring into the English treasury, Scotland lost 1.5 million people or approximately 25 percent of its native population. Equally, anyone who doubts the effects of English immigration on the Scottish population should visit the caravan parks in rural Scotland, where the unemployed and homeless Scots are located in increasing numbers.

The vicious circle of English immigration on the one hand, and mass migration of Scots from Scotland on the other, ensures that, in the very near future, the Scots will be a minority in their own country, and the extinction of Scotland will be complete. The oblivion of the Scots as a national entity is at hand.

The response of the Scottish media, and the political parties, has been to ignore the situation. Anyone who raises the issue is immediately denounced as a "racist".

The SNP, the constitutional nationalist political party, also ignores the issue, and, like its Welsh counterpart, Plaid Cymru, in a similar situation, is attempting to gain electoral support from the English immigrants. When Gateway, a supermarket group in Northeast Scotland, admitted that its official policy was to employ only English people, local MPs, including SNP leader, Alex Salmond, remained silent. When the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds evicted the last Scottish inhabitant from Isle Martin, there was a public outcry. But again the SNP remained mute, even although Isle Martin is in the constituency of the SNP's Winnie Ewing, MEP for the Highlands and Islands.



The Scottish Separatist Group, has no interest in constitutional politics and will concentrate on active opposition and resistance to English immigration, and to opposing discrimination against Scottish

people in jobs, housing and education.

Despite initial publicity (e.g. the report in the Daily Record of 23/10/95 that the SSG is the "political wing of the SNLA"), the SSG will operate on the basis of a legal and legally-functioning organisation. The SSG is unlinked to any other group, membership is open to anyone who agreed with its aims, a number of individual activists have been recruited, several support groups are in existence, and the newspaper, "The Scottish Separatist", will be available from November 1995 onwards.

Details of membership and subscription available from: The Scottish Separatist Group, P.O. Box 4960, Dublin 1, Éire.

New Gaelic Courses

Three Gaelic courses aimed at Gaelic learners have recently been established. The Higher National Certificate (HNC) in Gaelic and Communication Skills (HNC ann an Gàidhlig agus Sgilean Conaltraidh) at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig has now entered its second year. This course, taught through the medium of Gaelic, aims to promote fluency in all aspects of communications in Gaelic. It is intended to be particularly relevant to Gaelic related employment opportunities. Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, the Gaelic college on the Isle of Skye, also runs full time courses in Business studies, Rural development and Television broadcasting, all taught through the medium of Gaelic. Next year these courses will be joined by a new HNC course in the Gaelic Arts. Short courses in Gaelic are also available as is Distance Learning. Possible future projects at Sabhal Mòr include a Gaelic immersion course and a Gaelic medium degree in Celtic.

While the Sabhal Mòr Ostaig course is aimed at relatively advanced learners, beginners will be pleased to hear of a new one year immersion course. This course, currently in its first year, has been developed by Comunn na Gàidhlig and Inverness college. It is being held at the Inverness college Lochaber centre in Fort

William. The course, the first ever Gaelic immersion course, is a pilot project which if successful will be copied in other areas.

The third course is also suitable for newcomers to Gaelic. This is Clydebank College's National Certificate (NC) course in "Media Studies and Gaelic". This course will introduce students considering a media career to both the industry and to Gaelic. Agreement has been reached with Sabhal Mòr Ostaig that successful students may proceed to the Sabhal Mòr HNC Gaelic and Communication Skills course. This course will improve provision for learners in Central Scotland and help to create a clear pathway leading complete beginners to fluency in Gaelic and to the career opportunities currently existing in the Gaelic world.

Such courses are very welcome developments for the language movement. Until now, there has never been much of a coherent infrastructure for those wishing to become fluent in Gaelic.

The addresses of the colleges are:

Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, An Teanga, Slèite, an t-Eilean Sgitheanach IV44 8RQ.

Clydebank College, Student Information Centre, Freepost GW5551, Clydebank G81 1BR.

Inverness College, 3 Longman Road, Inverness IV1 1SA.

Alasdair MacCaluim

Political Correctness for Celts

Number 4: "DORIC"

The word "Doric", meaning "rustic" or "unrefined" among other things, is sometimes used to describe affectionately the local dialect of an area in contrast to more "standard" speech. It has in recent years become commonly used to describe the dialect of Lowland Scots spoken in North East Scotland, which remains one of the strongest Scots-speaking areas with a relatively large number of speakers whose Scots is relatively unanglicised.

Its use has become so frequent that a degree of public confusion has arisen.

with some people thinking that the "Doric" of the North East is "one of the languages of Scotland". This usage has been encouraged by British propagandists whose aim is to confuse the linguistic identity of Scotland in order to maintain the dominance of English.

It is unfortunate that what started as an affectionate term for the language is now used as a propaganda term by its enemies. This being so, however, the term "Doric" should be used with care. It is better to refer to the language as "Scots", and if it is really necessary to distinguish one particular variant of it, this should be done explicitly.

The Celtic Scottish language should, in accordance with official Celtic League policy, be referred to as "Scottish".

Robat ap Tomos

BREIZH

Ar yezhoù Keltiek, evel ma oar lennerien **Carn**, zo daou skourr bras anezho, ar skourr gouezelek hag ar skourr predenek, ha tri adskourr da bep hini. Deveret int diouzh ur yezh voutin, an hengeltieg, ha n'eo anavezet evit ar pep brasañ nemet dre c'herioù distag ha dre adsavadurioù diwar ar gouezelegoù hag ar predenegoù. Kerentiadoù ar yezhoù germanek, slavek, latin/italek, h.a. zo anezho kenurzhiaoù heñvel. Henstummoù an darn vrasañ eus ar yezhoù europek, d'o zro, zo perzhioù boutin dezho: deveret int eus ur yezh a reer an indezeuropek anezhi ha ne c'haller anavezout nemet ur brastres anezhi o keñveriañ an hengeltieg, an henc'hermaneg, ar sanskriteg, h.a. diwanet diouti.

E pe lec'h e veve ar bobl a gomze ar yezh-se, ha penaos e teuas d'en em ledañ a-dreuz Europa ha darn eus Azia? A bep seurt goulakadurioù zo bet kinniget abaoe 1860 pa voe diskouezet gant ar yezhonour alaman August Schleicher an ereoù zo etre ar yezhoù indezeuropek. An hini a vez degemeret peurvuiañ eo e oant o vevañ er stepenn vras en hanternoz d'ar Mor Du pe pelloc'h c'hoazh er reter pevar pe bemp mil vloaz 'zo hag en em skignjont a bep tu, o c'hounit broioù nevez en ur vrezeliañ war vare'h. Deuet e vije an indezeuropek da forc'hañ e yezhoù nevez gant an amzer dre ma voe dispartiet an dud a bobladoù an eil re diouzh ar re all dre ec'honderioù bras, pep poblad o lakaat ar re trec'het ganti da zegemer he yezh-hi.

Disheñvel eo an dezenn kinniget gant an hendraour A. Colin Renfrew er e levr "Archaeology and Language: the Puzzle of Indo-European Origins", embannet gant Cambridge University Press (1988). Burutellet e voe un tammig e **Carn**. Un diverradur eus e venozioù a voe roet gant an aozer er gelc'hgelaouenn "Scientific American" e miz Here 1989. Hervezañ n'eo ket en Ukraina met en Anatolia emañ kavell Indezeuropiz. Eno hag er Reter-Nesañ (etre Turkia, Iran hag Egipt) e oa pleustret al labour-douar seulabred a-raok 6000 KJK tra ma kendalc'he Europiz da vevañ diwar an hemolec'h hag ar frouesha. Dilerc'hoù eus ar seurtoù plant (gwinizh, heiz) a veze gounezet hag eus ar seurtoù loened (deñved, givri) a veze maget ganto - ha na oa ket anezho en Europa betek neuze - a voe kavet gant an hendraourien en hor rannved evit ar milvedoù da heul, pezh a ziskouez e oa en em ledet ar gounezerezh-douar er

Donedigezh Ar Gelted Da Gornôg Europa

prantadoù-se war-du ar c'hornôg hag an kanternoz. Tizhet en doa Gres hag ar Baikanoù a-benn 5000-6000 KJK, Reter Iberia, Su Galia, Alamagn a-benn 4000-5000 KJK, an Izelvrioù ha gevred Enez Vreizh mil vloaz goude, Kernev-Veur ha Portugal mil vloaz diwezhatoc'h c'hoazh.

Renfrew a ra dave da enklaskoù an denoniourien hag ar vevoniourien koulz ha da re ar yezhoniourien evit harpañ e c'houlakadur. Hentoù nevez d'an enklask a-zivout dilec'hiadurioù ar pobloù er ragistor zo bet digoret e-doug an 20 vloaz diwezhañ dreistholl a-drugarez da labour molekulvevoniourien er Stadoù-Unanet. Dre studiañ skignadur genennoù (kevrennoù eus ar c'hromosom) evel an hini ha zo pennabeg d'ar "faktor rhesus" er gwad e c'haller muioc'h-mui dezastum pelec'h edo gourdadoù ar bobl-mañ-pobl, pe darn anezho, o vevañ ha dre belec'h e tremenjont a-hed ar milvedoù tremenet. Ur skourr eus ar ouiziegezh eo ha zo da vat war ziorren hiziv an deiz. War-bouez martezeadoù ha goulakadurioù eo ez a ar skiantoù war-raok!

Gouez da Renfrew e c'hall ar yezhoniourien anaout e c'hoarvezas un heuliad a dreuzfurmadurioù en henyezhoù indezeuropek hag a zo kenstur gant an heuliad a gammedoù milvedel meneget a-us. (Ne zisklêr ket penaos e c'haller gouzout pedavare e c'hoarvezjont pa n'eus ket a stummoù testeniek aet eus an henyezhoù a-raok, lakomp, 1000 KJK). Gant-se ez eo gwirheñvel-mat ez eo gant al labourerien - douar o tont eus ar reter hag ar gevred e voe degaset ar yezhoù indezeuropek da gornôg ha da norzh Europa.

Kinnig a ra Renfrew ur skeudennadur arnodek, un heñveldres, eus an doare ma vije c'hoarvezet an emled. A-drugarez d'al labour-douar e oa gouest Indezeuropiz da vagañ kalz muioc'h eus o zud dre gilometr karrez eget an hemolec'herien-froueshaerien. Gant ar boblañs o tont da vevañ re stank e ranke ar re deuet d'an oad mont pelloc'h war harzoù o ziriad da zifraostañ tachennoù nevez ha da ziazezañ tiegezhioù nevez. Evel-se e vije bet

astennet ar gorread gounezet a 18 pe 20 km a bep tu bep bloaz, well-wazh. Hep mar e voe gorrekaet an emled a vare da vare, du-mañ ha du-hont. Hervez Renfrew e c'hoarvezas ent peoc'hiek, dre vras; met o lakaat e vije bet kemeret an douarc'hounezerezh gant henvroiz digant

Indezeuropiz pe e vije bet enebet e lec'hioù'zo ouzh ar re-mañ, an argerzh a vije bet gorrekaet. Ha pa vije bet div wezh gorrekoc'h e klotf mat a-walc'h koulskoude gant an heuliad a vilvedoù anataet gant hendraouriezh an dilerc'hoù plant hag al loened doñv.

Dre ma 'z ae diskennidi Indezeuropiz pelloc'h-pell hag ar rummadoù anezho dispartiet an eil re diouzh ar re all e tiwasas rannyezhoù ha diwezhatoc'h yezhoù disheñvel, a reas anezho pobloù a-ziforc'h. Krediñ a ra Renfrew evelkent ne voe torr trumm ebet pa c'hoarvezas an tremen eus nevezoadvezh ar maen da oadvezh an arem (war-dro 4000 bloaz 'zo) hag eus hemañ da oadvezh an houarn (war-dro 3000 bloaz'zo). Setu a lavar:

"Ar c'heltieg a vije diwanet e kornôg Europa diwar gwrizioù indezeuropek. Kentoc'h eget bezañ ur boblad arallouenn dispennet gant Indezeuropiz, an dud a savas Stonehenge ha meurvein all Europa a oa Indezeuropiz a gomze ur stumm eus an indezeuropek hag a zeuas diwarnañ yezhoù Keltiek an amzer-vremañ".

Ha pelloc'h:

"Ragistor Europa a ziskouez evel-se bezañ un heuliad a dreuzfurmadurioù hag a emdroadurioù diwar un diazez kentindezeuropat hag un nebeut aspadennoù nannindezeuropat". (Euskariz, Etrusked, marteze Picted). Tregont vloaz'zo en doa diskouezet N. Henaff (C. Lainé) ar c'henglotadur sebezus a zo etre frammadur kenstrollad meurvein Stonehenge ha hini deiziadur Keltiek Coligny. Ur skouer a-douez re all: pemp trilit (= trimaen) o danvez sklaer, arouezius eus unvezennoù o tennañ d'an heol (bloavezhioù), o kenglotañ gant pemp bloaz an deiziadur drouizel. Dougen a ra ar c'hevatalder-se da gadarnaat ar mennozh e oa Kelted en Enez Vreizh d'ar mare ma voe savet Stonehenge (2500-1500 KJK). (Studienn Henaff zo chomet diembann, diheklek!) Klotañ a ra ar goulakadur-se ivez gant ar martezead meneget gant ar yezhoniour iwerzhonat Myles Dillon en ur pennad digantañ embannet en unan eus bloazlevrioù ar C'Hevre Keltiek, war-dro

1968: e c'halle bezañ e oa degouezhet ar Gelted en Enez Vreizh hag Iwerzhon a-benn 1800 KJK. Klotañ a ra c'hoazh gant ar pezh a skriv ar bevoniour bras Walter Bodmer el levr "The Book of Man" (1994) a-zivout skignadur an dud a ra diouer dezho ar faktor "Rhesus" (tud di-rhesus en Europa. Ar paotañ emaint e Kornôg Europa (9-16% eus an dud, 16-25% pe ouzhpenn zoken en Alba hag er Pireneoù), war zibaotaat ez eont dre ma 'z eer war-du ar Reter. Araok donedigezh ar c'hounideien e oa bras moarvat dregantad an dud di-rhesus en Europa a-bezh. Ar c'hounideien o tont eus ar reter, eme v-Bodmer, a zegasas ganto o sevenadur, o yezhoù – hag o gen, a oa rouez genenn ar faktor rhesus en o mesk.

Harpet eo disoc'hoù ar studi eus skignadur ar c'henenn-se gant re an enklaskoù diwar-benn genennoù all. O varn diouzh ar paotoc'h ma 'z eo an dud hep faktor rhesus e Kornôg Europa, en Euskadi dreist-holl, hag en un doare heverk e Bro-Skos ivez, e c'haller soñjal en em veskas eno an enbroerien deuet eus ar Reter, cleze ar Gelted, gant un niver brasoc'h eus an henvroiz eget e broioù pelloc'h war-du ar reter. Pe e troas an henvroiz abard da labourerien-douar ivez evit bezañ gouest da gevezañ gant an nevezvroiz.

Ken buan ez a studi ar c'henoniezh (pe hêroniezh) war-raok, hag implij an disoc'hoù evit anaout dilec'hiadurioù ar pobloù er ragistor, ma vo gallet moarvat kent pell gouzout resisoc'h a-zivout orin (où) ar pobloù Kelt. Hañval eo e oa degouezhet Kelted en hor broioù a-benn 1500-2500 KJK hag e voe gouest ar Rak-Kelted da genveañ ha da gendeuziñ ganto, o tegas o lodenn, korfel ha sevenadurel, d'hon hêrezh.

Gerioù nebeut anavezet
seulabred: dija; molekulvevoniour;
molecular biologist; skignadur;
distribution; heñveldres: model; argerzh;
processus; gen; genes; kentindezeuropat;
proto-indo-european; genoniezh: genetics.

A. Heusaff

Summary

This article elaborates on the review made a few years ago by our subscriber K. Collins of a book by the archaeologist A. Colin Renfrew according to which farming would have spread gradually after 6000 BC west – and northwards from Anatolia, reaching the Atlantic by 2000-3000 BC. He identifies those farmers with the Indo-Europeans. The Celts would have been established in our countries by the time Stonehenge and other major megalithic monuments were being built. Renfrew's hypothesis is supported by conclusions drawn from the latest research in genetics. These however don't invalidate the accepted view that non-Indo-Europeans also contributed to our "genetic pool", though it seems to a smaller extent than the Indo-Europeans.



DIWAN Continues to Grow

The DIWAN schools reopened with a total of 1390 pupils. Attendance in the colleges, of which there are now two, increased by 15% compared to the previous year, and by 10% and 11% respectively in the pre-primary and the primary schools. The college in An Releg near Brest became a lycée in 1994, its terminal class will now be preparing its pupils for the baccalaureat. As well as the new college in Plijidi near Gwengamp, three new primary schools were opened (Plabenneg, Brest, Naoned/Nantes), hoping this would not be countermanded by a court decision which would not be known until November 27.

DIWAN remains subject to judicial control: it must satisfy the court that its budget is balanced. An agreement with the

ministry of education providing for 60 teachers to be put on the State's payroll is not being implemented to DIWAN's satisfaction, thus adding to its financial difficulties.

In the State-administered bilingual classes, the total has reached 1035, an increase of 16%. In those under Church control, it is 620, i.e. 20% more than last year. Breton/bilingual education is now being provided to 3037 children and teenagers in 66 "sites" (schools). This increase is encouraging, but the problem of finding qualified teachers to meet the mounting demand has yet to be solved. The number of places offered by the public training colleges to prospective teachers of Breton is only a trickle of what is needed.



Dominig Jolived, principal of the Plijidi Diwan College with some parents and pupils. (Courtesy of Bremañ)

Breton on Internet

Breton is available on Internet thanks mainly to the initiative of Romuald Texier from Roazhon. Already in 1994, Alan Cedelle from nearby Bruz, had started to feed lessons in Breton into the system with the help of a Scottish friend, Caoimhin Ó Donnaile in Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, I. of Skye. But since July, a program designed for that purpose was installed by R. Texier at the Telecom school near Brest. It is called Kervarker, after the collector of the Barzhaz Breizh.

It disseminates lessons taken from the textbook "Ni a gomz brezhoneg" (= We speak Breton), which includes conversations. To-date it contains 17 lessons with grammar, explained in French, and four through the medium of English (thanks to A.C. and Caoimhin, do doubt). A Swiss has started to put them into

German and it is hoped to find someone to do the same in Spanish. Use is also made of songs, and there are simple texts for beginners. Kervarker is looking for further assistance for the Breton part, as they want to offer a variety of materials – articles dealing with history, science as well as stories, news in Breton, French and English, with illustrations. They hope thus to be able soon to bring our language to learners and fluent speakers alike in every school and every house, to provide information at a moderate cost, independently from the ordinary State- or corporation-controlled media. You can get access to Kervarker by dialling <http://titan.enst-bretagne.fr/~leleanne/kervarker/>

You can otherwise write to Romuald Texier, 17 Straed Kerjaouen, 29200 Brest or phone him: 98.46.75.34, for further information.

From Bremañ/M.K., Oct. '95

Welsh Poetry in Breton Translation

Recently *Al Lanv*, which publishes a magazine in Breton, has brought out a survey of the Welsh poetry of this century by Morwenna Jenkin under the title "Ar Varzhoniezk Kembraek, 1902-1986". This book of 204 pages testifies on her part to a wide ranging scholarship and taste. It can be considered as quite an event, the more so that its aim is to acquaint us through the medium of our language with the best of the contemporary poets of our sister-nation. I have always deplored that there is not a deeper osmosis between our literatures which to me are two aspects of the same culture. As our Flemish friends say, *Eendracht maakt macht*, there is strength in union. I am not forgetting that our literary productions were, inevitably, subject to different influences. I would also welcome a closer cooperation in the creation of neologisms, the need of which is constantly felt with the evolution of modern life. Why would the Celtic, particularly the Brittonic, peoples not establish a Words Bank on the model of what has been done for the Scandinavian languages. We should in Brittany give a greater place to the adaptation of Welsh words where needed.

Sometimes our new words are quite apt, but too often incomprehensible ones are proposed, based on long vanished words and roots. Let us keep in mind that Cymru remained down through the ages the guardian of a treasure of which our ancestors had a share.

How fortunate we are that Morwenna Jenkin, who is now a Breton with all her heart, presents to us in our language, so skilfully, these most recent poets from her country, those whom she selected as particularly significant and whom, apart from the most prominent, we knew little about.

It is by gaining a knowledge of that other half of ourselves that is Cymru – even though we have long gone dissimilar ways – that we shall authentically achieve our own "renaissance". As expressed by T.S. Eliot and, with particular reference to our situation, by Roparz Hemon, this can be done only through a return to the basics of our identity combined with a more open relationship with the wide world.

This work, in its faultless style and structure, simple, luminous and accurate, embellished with excellent photographs of the poets under consideration – who will now be around us as a circle of friends – will certainly incite us to become better acquainted with that other face of our common heritage.

Yann Bouessel du Bourg

performance was in Cill Chiaráin. In the small harbour there is a factory where a type of sea-weed, *ascophyllum nodosum*, is dried and burnt to make ashes. The Connemara coast is rich in sea-weeds. To us, Paganiz and Leoniz, who inhabit the coastal area of NW Brittany, it was a pleasure to see that here, as in our home area, the seaweed is put to good use.

In the afternoon, we were in Camus. Next morning, having crossed two sea channels over stone bridges, we played in Tír an Fhia – which means The Doe's Land – then in a school in An Cheathrú Rua. On the Wednesday it was in a hall in Tulach next door to a big modern factory and then in a school in An Spidéál. Two days later we were back in Tulach.

"Ar Roue Marc'h" was performed in Breton. A local girl who accompanied us translated into Irish summaries of the scenes as the play went on, to facilitate understanding. In fact, everything went well, the children were attentive, participating, laughing. But visual elements are an important part of the play, there is no need to understand the words to know what is going on.

We had already used that method in Ireland and in Wales. We should do it also more frequently in Brittany where it is not often we can perform a play for children entirely in Breton, unless they are attending DIWAN or bilingual schools. Too often we tend to intersperse with French, the teachers request it. The experience we have gained in Ireland will enable us to improve our method: Breton with translation, also when we play in other countries.

Our tour was useful from the point of view of the interceltic relations. We are always encouraged when coming back from Ireland or Wales by their great determination in struggling for their languages.

"Pléaraca" offered many other displays of course, particularly in the pubs. They were well attended by people of all ages speaking Irish. We had also the opportunity to visit Inis Mór, the main Aran Island and its numerous vestiges from the time of the Ancient Celts and the Early Christians. Tourism plays here an important role. It is sad to see the local people waiting for the visitors, in their cars and their horse-drawn hackneys. Here, they say, culture helps to make a living. The language itself is seen as a prop to tourism."

'Ar Roue Marc'h' is to be published bilingually in December '95 by 'A-bouez Penn, c/o Maivon Berthou, Leztevennok, 29260 Plouider, together with a cassette of the actors' performance in Breton. It will include a summary of the story in the other Celtic languages. Ar Vro Bagan are staging 8 performances of another play, Amoko 2, during this Autumn in six venues in various parts of Brittany.

From a report in Breton by
Goulc'han Kervella

"Ar Vro Bagan" in Ireland

The professional Breton theatre company Ar Vro Bagan was invited to present a play as part of the Irish language festival "Pléaraca '95". This is an annual event which takes place in the autumn in the Galway Gaeltacht. Singing, dancing and music figure prominently in it.

It was not the first time for the company to play in Ireland. Three years ago they gave performances of a play, "Imram", in the Taibhdhearg in Galway, in Inis Oírr (an Aran Island), in Cill Chiaráin and an Cheathrú Rua in Connemara. This time they were at the Pléaraca, from the 8th to the 17th of September with a play created in 1994: "Ar Roue Marc'h e zivskouarn-varc'h" (King Marc the Horse-eared). They had applied for, and obtained, a subvention from the European Commission – thanks to Anna Vari Chapalain of The European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages – on condition that they would use it for a tour abroad. They decided they would come to Ireland, and then to Scotland, Wales and Cornwall.

"Ar Roue Marc'h" was written by Goulc'han Kervella. He based it on the well-known myth, combining several forms of the story and using an important

research work by Gael Milin, professor of Mediaeval Literature at Brest University: *Le Roi Marc aux oreilles de cheval* (Publications Romanes et Françaises, 1991). Thus we have here versions of the tale collected in Brittany ("Roue Karn", in Porsall; Yann ar Floc'h...) as well as in the other Celtic countries, particularly Ireland. It is found everywhere in the world (Number A.T. 782): Korea, India, Nigeria, the Ukraine, Greece, Bulgaria, etc. Sometimes the king has horns or ass's ears. In the Celtic countries it is nearly always horse's ears.

Ar Vro Bagan arrived via Roscoff and Corcaigh with a big lorry carrying sets, dresses, lights, etc... heading for An Spidéál, W. of Galway. They were scheduled to play in seven schools in the Connemara Gaeltacht, during school time. This was no small matter as they had to play in different places twice a day. "As soon as we had finished in one place, we had to pull down the set, move quickly to another place and put it up again. We drove in narrow roads, at times towards the sea, at others towards the mountains. A marvellous country, so beautiful, and the people so friendly and hospitable! Our first

Blinkered Thinking Serves Neither Ireland Nor Brittany

We were quite surprised in the Association Solidarité Irlande in Brittany to see an article in CARN (summer issue) repeating the now familiar line of a writer in *Combat Breton*, the organ of the Breton nationalist party Emgann. This writer, whom we will refer to as P.C., peddles the line that Solidarité Irlande is a French, and by inference, a French nationalist organisation. We would have thought that Carn might contact us for a comment before trotting out the now familiar Mr P.C. Solidarité Irlande bashing line.

Solidarité Irlande is registered as an Association in Paris and separately in Brest (Brittany). Those who call us a French association must then be assumed to accept completely the present status quo of Brittany being part of France. One of the forerunner associations of S.I., the Association Irlande Libre, also existed organisationally in Belgium (Flanders and Wallonie) and in Quebec. Unfortunately, when S.I. was formed from the remnants of the 3 Irish solidarity groups existing in the Hexagon (as the French state in Europe is called here), the anti-imperialist movements in general were not sufficiently strong to repeat the feat of Irlande Libre (one of whose founder members was Roger Faligot).

As regards boycotting Emgann, the Breton nationalist organisation, the facts are far removed from the wild claims of P.C. Because of the time schedule permitted for Brittany in this hexagonal tour, meetings were only organised in 3 towns, Lorient, Brest and Rennes. Peripheral press conferences and encounters were organised in these 3 towns, as well as in Quimper and Plougastell-Daoulas. Letters of invitation were sent to what we thought to be 2 personalities (including P.C.) in the Lorient region and Emgann members were also invited in the Brest region. Mr André Le Gac, Mayor of Plougastell-Daoulas and an Irlandophile since at least the '70s, invited a number of personalities (including a local socialist MP and Roger Faligot, a resident of Plougastell Daoulas) to a reception for and an encounter with Mr. McElduff. In Rennes, students from Dazont, the Breton Students Union organisation (Another

French organisation?), some of whom are members of S.I., organised encounters and a meeting. The present writer turned up at Rennes to meet Mr McElduff and subsequently introduced him to a number of Breton nationalists. When Sinn Féin representative Dodie McGuinness toured Brittany in 1991, members of Emgann (including P.C.), participated in organising meetings and encounters which included French socialists, Greens and the UDB.

We in S.I. are not surprised to receive criticism from any political parties (or factions of political parties) who have their own political agenda as regards Ireland. We are quite happy to remain independent of French, Breton and Irish political parties, believing that this non-sectarian approach permits us to reach a wider audience and thus to spread support for freedom, justice and peace for all the Irish people.

Stiofan Mac An Ri

(Irish member of Solidarité Irlande in Brittany)

Association Solidarité Irlande, Centre Social Penn Ar C'hreac'h, Rue Prof Chaetien, 29200 Brest, Brittany, via France.

Dubious offer

At a round table conference organised by the Breton Cultural Council of Ploermel on Sept. 19, representatives of Radio France including the director of its decentralised services proposed to have 2 hours of Breton broadcast daily in the evening from its RBO/RBI station in Kemper, instead of 1hr 50mn at various times of the day as at present. The advantage would be very doubtful since the programmes would be at TV peak viewing times! Moreover, R.F. wanted the "Regional" Council to contribute 800,000 FF to the costs, the same amount as is now given to FR3 Television. This demand coming from a "national" service was strongly objected to. It would serve much better the interests of the listeners to allocate that sum to local radio stations such as Radio Kreiz Breizh and Radio Gwened which are committed to our language.



At the "Round Table": (2nd, 4th and 5th from left) Per Denez, J.L. Latour, L. Kergoat of the Breton Cultural Council, with Radio France officials. (Courtesy of Bremañ)

38 Bretons on trial in Paris

November 6. Of the 120 persons who have been questioned by the French police since May 1992, mainly in Brittany, for giving shelter to Basque fugitives, 38 are to go on trial on Nov. 13. Several of them are in police custody or on remand.

Of those who were subjected to an investigation, generally for alleged "criminal conspiracy" or for "complicity with criminals planning to carry out an act

of terrorism", about ten had their case dismissed for lack of evidence.

The association Skoazell Vreizh, set up some 20 years ago to help Breton militants condemned for their activities, or their relatives, chose Mr Yann Choucq, of the Nantes bar, to defend the 38 accused.

In an article published on October 26 on the page "France" of a regional daily, Brittany is depicted as a "rear base" where Irish and Basque terrorists can link up with the help of the Breton autonomists. There would even be a "training camp" in Fouenant, South Finistere! What will be thought on reading such wild totally unfounded statements? That type of articles

is more and more frequent. In the view of most Bretons, the aim is to discredit their country abroad. Fortunately, reactions from all sides have not been long in coming, particularly from elected representatives. In the Perroz-Gireg, Lannuon, An Oriant and Brest areas, protest movements, some of them vehement, are beginning to appear.

V. Le M.

Sympathisers of the accused make the point that those who put up Basques were not supporting violent activities but acting on humanitarian grounds as they believed that if the fugitives were extradited to Spain they would be subjected to torture.

CYMRU

Pigion Celtaidd

CERNYW

Diwedd Y TGAU Cernyweg:

Ers 1991 mae CBAC yn cynnal arholiadau TGAU Cernyweg (Kernewek Kemmyn) ar ôl i Fwrdd Arholiadau De Lloegr beidio â'u cynnal. Ond oherwydd pwysau ariannol bydd y Cyd-Bwyllgor yn peidio â'u cynnal eleni, a ni fydd arholiadau ganddynt ym 1996. 'Roedd yr Undeb Celtaidd wedi pasio cynnig yn cefnogi'r ymgyrch i gadw'r TGAU Cernyweg yn ein cynhadledd flynyddol yn Inbhir Nis.

IWERDON

Ffigurau'r Chwe Sir:

Mae poblogaeth y 6 sir wedi cynyddu i 1,610,000. Yn ôl y cyfrifiad mae 38.4% yn Gatholigion, 50.6% yn Brotestaniaid, 3.8% yn ddi-grefydd a 7.5% heb ateb y cwestiwn. Heb gyfrif y rhai di-grefydd a'r rhai heb ateb mae'r gyfartaledd o Brotestaniaid i Gatholigion yn 56.9% i 43.1%.

YR ALBAN

Stiwdio Teledu:

Er mwyn cwrdd â'r galw am stiwdio teledu ychwanegol ar gyfer rhaglenni

Albaneg newydd, bwriedir adeiladu stiwdio newydd ar gost o £1,200,000 yn Steornabhagh/Stornoway ar gyfer ymddiriedolaeth leol.

Prinder Athrawon:

Oherwydd nad oedd athro ar gael ni fu'n bosibl agor uned Gàidhlig ar Ynys Muile/Mull eleni unwaith eto, ar ôl ceisio sefydlu un ers tair blynedd. Ond bu'n bosibl agor dosbarth yn ardal Angus, yn nhref Forfar.

Myth Y 'Lowlands':

Mae cangen Llundain o'r Undeb Celtaidd yn bwriadu ail-argraffu'r gyfres o erthyglau "The Lowland Myth in Scotland" a ymddangosodd yn Carn yn 1978 a 1979. Mae'r erthyglau yn amlinellu hanes dirywiad yr iaith Albaneg yn Neheudir a Dwyrain yr Alban a sut y daeth cymaint o bobl i gredu'r celwydd sefydliadol na siaredid yr Albaneg yno erioed. Mae ail-argraffu'r erthyglau yn gyson â pholisi'r Undeb o beidio â chyfeirio at yr iaith fel "Gaeleg/Gaelic".

Clive James/R. ap Tomos

Ni chydnebydd Llywodraeth y Deyrnas Gyfun y gall y trais ailddechrau. Y mae hi'n meddwl nad oes rhaid iddi weithredu mwy. Peidiodd yr ymladd ac y mae'r Llywodraeth yn teimlo'n rhydd i rwystro unrhyw gam ymlaen. Mae hi meddwl y gall hi ennill buddugoliaeth trwy orfodi amodau annerbyniol. Cytuna hynny ag amcanion yr Unoliaethwyr, trechu'r Gwerinlywodraethwyr yn gyfangwbl.

Dwedodd Llywodraeth y Deyrnas Gyfun nad oedd ganddi ddiddordeb mwy i aros yn Ngogledd Iwerddon. Amheuaif ddiffuantrwydd y gosodiad hwnnw. Ildia hi Hong Kong oherwydd nad oes dewis ganddi i wneud fel arall. Nid ildia hi ddim os na fydd gormod o anawsterau iddi ddal ei gafael. Mae hi'n rhwyddach i San Steffan ddal gafael ar Ogledd Iwerddon nawr na chyn y cadoediad. Dealla Byddin Gwerinlywodraethol Iwerddon hynny'n ddigon da. Mae perygl cynyddol y collith hi ei hamynedd a rhoi ei ffydd mewn defnyddio arfau unwaith eto. Beth a wna Llywodraeth y Deyrnas Gyfun wedyn? Rhincian dannedd, sarhau'r Gwyddyl a gormesu'r cenedlaetholwyr yn y Gogledd fel o'r blaen.

Yr hyn sydd ei eisiau ar unwaith yw trafodaethau gwleidyddol heb ragamodau. Deuai'r Unoliaethwyr i mewn i'r trafodaethau'n ddigon clau i amddiffyn eu buddiannau. Ond y mae'r Llywodraeth yn defnyddio anghymodlonrwydd yr Unoliaethwyr fel esgus cyfleus i lusgo ei thraed. Y mae Llywodraeth San Steffan yn benderfynol i ddal gafael yng Ngogledd Iwerddon. Mae lle i bryderu am y rhagolygon. Gall pethau fynd yn wenfflam yn fuan iawn.

Summary

The British Government says it has no wish to impose its presence in Northern Ireland. The Government's policy of preventing peace talks belies such an assertion.

Merfyn Phillips

Cadoediad, Hyd Ba Bryd?

Ni fu ymladd yng Ngogledd Iwerddon oddi ar 31 Awst 1994. Diolch am hynny ond nid yw cadoediad ym golygu'r un peth â heddych. Peth ansefydlog yw cadoediad. Gall heddych fod yr un mor ansefydlog oni bai iddo fod ar seiliau cadarn.

Bydd seiliau cadarn i heddych yng Ngogledd Iwerddon yn ddi-hynnyol ar ganlyniad trafodaethau rhwng y gwahanol bleidiau. Byddai dyn yn meddwl taw cyntaf i gyd iddyn nhw ddechrau gorau i gyd. Ond cedwir un blaid bwysig mäs, sef Sinn Féin, trwy benderfyniad Llywodraeth y Deyrnas Gyfun. Myn y Llywodraeth honno fod rhaid i Fyddin Werinlywodraethol Iwerddon ddechrau ildio neu ddirymu arfau'n gyntaf. Dwedodd Gerry Adams, Llywydd Sinn Féin na allai fe drefnu hynny.

Gellir dweud bod dwy aden i'r un mudiad Gwerinlywodraethol, Sinn Féin a 10 Carn

Byddin Werinlywodraethol Iwerddon. Y mae'r sôn am Sinn Féin/IRA fel yr un corff yn gamarweiniol. Llywodraeth y Deyrnas Gyfun, Progressive Democrats Gwerinlywodraethol Iwerddon ac Unoliaethwyr Gogledd Iwerddon a gamarwain bobl fel hynny. Gallaf dderbyn bod gan swyddogion un aden ddylanwad ar y llall. Nid yw hynny yr un peth ag i ddweud bod awdurdod gannddyn nhw ar yr aden arall. Darbwylodd y corff gwleidyddol y Fyddin i roi cyfle i drafodaethau gwleidyddol. Ildiodd Byddin Werinlywodraethol Iwerddon yr awenau gwerinlywodraethol i Sinn Féin a dderbyniodd y cyfrifoldeb. Ond beth a all Sinn Féin wneud os na siarada Llywodraeth y Deyrnas Gyfun â nhw? Os na all Sinn Féin wneud dim ni saif Byddin Werinlywodraethol Iwerddon o'r neilltu am byth. Y mae pen draw i'w hamynedd.

Esperanto-Welsh Course

The Esperanto Federation of Wales launched a free postal course in twelve lessons, designed to offer an introduction to the planned language.

For a copy of Lesson One and further details, please contact: The Esperanto Federation of Wales at 8 Vardre View, Deganwy, Gwynedd, LL31 9TE.

70 mlwyddiant baner Llydaw

Ym 1923 y lluniwyd baner ddu a gwyn Llydaw gan Morvan Marchal, pensaer a gwladgarwr o ardal Roazhon. Ond ym 1925 y'i gwelwyd am y tro cyntaf ar ben polyn, ar stondin Llydaw yn Arddangosfa Fawr y Celfyddydau ym Mharis. Fe'i cydnabyddwyd gan Strollad Emrenerien Breizh yn eu cynhadledd genedlaethol gyntaf yn Rosporden ym mis Medi 1927. Am flynyddoedd fe'i hystyrid gan lawer yn faner y "cenedlaetholwyr". Ond yn hyn yr oedd Morvan Marchal eisiau ei wneud oedd "creu nid baner gwleidyddol ond arwydd modern i Lydaw" a fyddai wedi'i seilio ar symbolau traddodiadol y wlad. Ac fe'i defnyddiwyd o fewn ychydig gan bobl fel y "Bretons Emancipés", mudiad Marcel Cachin, ac yng ngwyliau'r Bleun-Brug. Fe'i gwelwyd eto ym Mharis yn Arddangosfa Ryngwladol 1937, yn chwifio yn y gwynt uwchben stondin Llydaw. Ac fe'i gwelir heddiw ym mhob math o lefydd - o flaen adeilad Cyngor "Rhanbarth" Llydaw, o flaen ffatri Citroën Roazhon, mewn protestiadau pysgotwyr a hyd yn oed gan filwyr byddin Ffrainc yn ymladd yn Kuwait!

Mae hanes ymlodaeniad defnydd baner Llydaw yn debyg i hanes baner du a gwyn Cernyw oedd hefyd yn cael ei hystyried yn

"faner cenedlaetholwyr" ond sydd erbyn heddiw yn gyffredin drwy'r wlad.

Mae du a gwyn wedi'u defnyddio i gynrychioli Llydaw ers canrifoedd. 'Roedd baner gwyn â chroes ddu gan rai marchogion o Lydaw yn y drydedd Groesgad yn y 13eg ganrif. Yn ystod y Canol Oesoedd a hyd at ddiwedd yr "ancien régime" byddai du a gwyn ar farchogion a chychod Llydaw. Mae baner wen â charlwm du wedi'i defnyddio ers amser y Dug Yann I yn y 13eg ganrif. Lluniodd Morvan Marchal y faner fodern drwy gyfuno'r ddwy faner draddodiadol uchod, â dylanwad baner yr Unol Daleithiau, gyda naw o resi du a gwyn i arwyddocáu naw hen esgobaeth Llydaw.

Mae baner Llydaw wedi'i gwreiddio yn hanes y wlad ac fe'i gwelir yn ddigon aml heddiw. I'r gwrthwyneb, anaml y bydd neb yn trafferthu dangos y faner a luniwyd yn arbennig ar gyfer "Rhanbarth Llydaw" (4 département).

(Oddi wrth erthygl yn "Bremañ". Cyf. gan Robot ap Tomos.)

Summary

It is now 70 years since Brittany's black and white national flag was first flown.

much publicised two year all Wales consultation process, most contributors wanted a Parliament with primary legislative powers. The report, and ultimately the document, failed to reflect those wishes.

The S.T.V. document is strangely at odds with the growing demand in Wales for devolution. It is disturbing that at a time when opinion polls show support for a Welsh assembly/Parliament at 67% and growing and when even a recent survey of C.B.I. members in Wales showed a slim majority in favour of an assembly, Labour are moving away from an opportunity for real constitutional reform.

Tony Blair's hatchet man in Wales is Dr. Kim Howells, M.P. for Pontypridd. He is officially a front bench spokesman on home affairs and sat on the Party's policy commission charged with drawing up the assembly blueprint.

Dr. Howells is a past opponent of devolution of any kind and his attitude to the Welsh language and its speakers whom he refers to as an "elite" and particularly on Welsh language television reminds this observer of 'Blue Books' mentality.

Ron Davies, present Shadow Secretary of State for Wales (S.S.S.W.) is in an unenviable position. Like Dr. Howells he also is a past opponent of devolution for Wales. But unlike Dr. Howells it is understood that Mr Davies wanted the document to go much further, perhaps even encompassing the primary legislative powers demanded by Plaid, Lib, Dems. and P.W.C. The choice of F.P.T.P. instead of the expected endorsement of proportional representation was a significant snub to the more progressive members of the Welsh Labour Party and illustrated the remarkable extent of Dr. Howell's influence on the document.

It is ironic that now Dr. Davies has accepted devolution as being essential for Wales he is having to battle against much the same reactionary mentality which contributed to the devolution defeat of 1979. Mr Davies was an ardent 'Kinnockite'.

So considerable tension exists within the Welsh Labour Party and indeed between the Welsh Party and their overlords in London particularly after Dr. Davies' rather stage managed clash of the document's launch with Mr Blair's itinerary of public statement of intent speeches. Mr Blair's office has denied suggestions that the launch went ahead without his permission.

But there is still hope for Mr Davies even amongst speculation that he will be replaced on the Shadow Cabinet by Dr. Howells. Some of his fellow Welsh M.P.s notably Paul Flynn, Newport West, have already (in interview) publicly expressed their satisfaction with Mr Davies in this current position.

Plaid Cymru are at present it seems reluctant to capitalise on this tension. Even after some acrimonious exchanges during

Shaping the Divisions

The Labour Party's "Shaping the Vision" (S.T.V.) document on devolution for Wales has been greeted with almost unanimous dissatisfaction in Wales.

The complaint of most is that the "Report on the powers and structures of the Welsh Assembly" does not go far enough. Indeed the only developments in Labour's thinking since 1979 seem to be the adoption of the modern increases in executive powers for the Welsh Office introduced by the Tories.

Even the presentation of Labour's proposals is weak; there is actually very little detail in the document and it does not even fully define the role of the Welsh Secretary or Wales' representation in Europe.

In brief, Labour's Welsh Assembly would have no primary legislative powers, no tax raising powers and will be elected by first past the post (F.P.T.P.). It will be an executive body whose most important function, it seems, and Labour's main selling point, is controlling the quangos in Wales (presumably by appointing more Labour members).

Criticisms of the proposals as they stand have been voiced not only by the opposition parties in Wales, Plaid Cymru and the Liberal Democrats, demanding more powers; Tories, those that are left, bleating about threats to the 'Union', but also by members within Welsh Labour including some M.P.s.

Indeed at this year's National Eisteddfod in Abergele Gareth Hughes, a member of Labour's Welsh Executive, sharing a platform with Lib. Dem. Plaid's Dafydd Iwan and Eleri Carrog, Parliament for Wales Campaign (P.W.C.), has launched a "Campaign for an Assembly with Real Powers" hence the acronym. Woops! (C.A.R.P.) within the Welsh Labour Party.

Mr Hughes' opposition is significant. During the Welsh Labour Conference in Llandudno in May, Mr Hughes, one of the dozen members of the policy commission drawing up the devolution plans, refused to sign the commission's final report and after suffering personal criticism from other delegates, was the next day re-elected to the Labour Party's Welsh Executive by a substantial vote signifying considerable support for his ideas amongst the delegates.

Mr Hughes argued that during Labour's

(contd overleaf)

Carn 11

the local election battle in Cynon Valley. Plaid certainly want to see a Parliament established after the next general election – a far stronger one than Labour at present propose, of course, but Plaid have admitted that without a Labour government in office, Wales will get nothing from the English Nationalist alternative.

But, taking into account Mr Davies' genuine shift from anti to pro devolution, his attitude to Welsh culture (he is at present regaining his own language and his daughter attends a Welsh medium school) and his association with P.W.C. and its aims, it could seem foolish to add to his present allegedly embattled position especially if it encouraged the reactionaries in his own party to use the language issue as a means of attacking him. The language and nationalism is still considered synonymous in Wales by many in the Labour party.

The Tories have leapt upon the supposedly emotive aspects of the proposals. The dangers of partition, isolationism, xenophobia are often quoted; one wonders whether John Major uses the same arguments against his own Europhobes, ultra Unionists, right wing rebels and "bastards".

One good point, however, and one often quoted by the Tories is the disparity between what's on offer to Wales and Scotland. As popular appreciation of the devolution debate continues to develop more people are beginning to wonder why they should be treated like third rate citizens. It strikes a strong chord within a Welsh society which values social equality but enjoys so little of it!

The real danger of these proposals is that by half heartedly trying to solve the democratic deficit in Wales, Labour will merely compound the problems that already exist.

It is feasible that a hostile English government could quite easily abolish Labour's assembly. A legislative body would be much more difficult to remove. Labour's assembly could be easily controlled or crippled financially by an unsympathetic and penny pinching Westminster. Most importantly the credibility of a Welsh assembly would be in doubt if Labour do not attract the broadest possible support from all sections of Welsh society and politics. How can this be done when they choose F.P.T.P. which would secure 56 out of 80 proposed members for Labour on only 49% (1992 election figure) of the vote.

"F.P.T.P. would appear like vested interest if not greed" (Labour Campaign for Electoral Reform). CARP on!

Robert Jones

NEWS FROM WALES

Home Rule under Labour

The Labour Party's proposed devolution plans show Wales are far less than those proposed for Scotland as the summary below shows:

Wales

- * **Title:** Assembly/Senedd to be legislated for in first year.
- * **Method:** Details worked out by Labour Party policy commission with public consultation.
- * **Location:** Cardiff, but no precise location, possibly the coal exchange.
- * **Members:** 80.
- * **Election:** All by first-past-post.
- * **Membership:** Full-time.
- * **Hours:** To be decided.
- * **Make-up:** One chamber. Fully bilingual.
- * **Term:** Fixed for four years.
- * **Admin:** To be decided. But Cabinet-style rejected; likely to be undertaken by a range of committees.
- * **Powers:** Limited law-making powers. No tax-raising powers. Take on functions of Welsh Office such as health, education, housing, arts, environment, employment. It will review quangos. Wales has over 100.
- * **Money:** Take on Welsh Office Budget. Currently £68m a year. Auditor to oversee spending.
- * **Europe:** No Europe minister, but Welsh Secretary given enhanced Euro role; a Euro committee likely to be set up.
- * **London:** Westminster will retain control over main economic and legal matters. In theory Assembly could be abolished by Westminster.

Scotland

- * **Title:** Parliament. To be legislated for in first year of a Labour government.
- * **Method:** Details worked out over six years by special constitutional convention that included Labour, Lib Dems, church, community groups and Scottish TUC.
- * **Location:** Old Royal High School, Edinburgh. Location of some committees will vary. Each parliamentary term will be opened by the Queen.
- * **Members:** A total of 129 MSPs.
- * **Election:** 73 on first-past-post basis and 56 allocated by PR from eight Euro constituencies.
- * **Membership:** Full-time, so neither Westminster MPs nor Euro MPs will serve.
- * **Hours:** Normal business hours.
- * **Make-up:** One chamber. No role in the law-making process for the House of Lords. Procedures to be overseen by Speaker and deputies.
- * **Term:** Fixed term of four years.

- * **Admin:** Headed by Chief Minister normally leader of largest party. He or she will choose Cabinet.
- * **Powers:** Raise revenue, chiefly the ability to vary income tax by 3p in £; control education, law, local government, health, transport, planning, industry, training and the environment. It will be able to abolish quangos. Scotland has more than 160.
- * **Money:** A block grant from Westminster based on Scotland's population - about one-tenth.
- * **Europe:** Will have its own Europe Minister with office in Brussels.
- * **London:** Westminster will retain powers over main economic and fiscal matters, defence, foreign affairs, immigration, nationality and social security. Any legal disputes over jurisdiction between Westminster and Edinburgh will ultimately be decided by House of Lords. In theory the Scottish Parliament could be abolished by Westminster.

It is evident that the Labour Party still does not recognise the equality of Wales with Scotland.

Clive James

Tiez Hor Bro

There are now ten centres devoted to the development and furthering of the Breton language and culture, and in two cases also of the Gallo-Roman dialect of Upper Brittany. They are: Amzer Nevez in Ploemeur near An Oriant/Lorient, the Per Roy centre in St. Vincent-sur-Oust near Redon, Ensavadur Breizh in Kommannz S. of Landivizio, Kan an Douar in Landelo near Karaez/Carhaix, An Oaled in Treglonou on the NW coast, Savenn Douar in Becherel NNW of Rennes, La Soëtt in Concoret near Ploermel, Ti Chapel Nevez in Chapel Nevez near Kallag, Ti ar Gouren (for Wrestlers) in Berrien S. of Montroulez/Morlaix, Centre Regional d'Information Bretonne at 30 Place des Lices, Rennes. Some of them, in addition to providing information, offer facilities for holding courses, meetings. They are grouped since November 1993 in a federation called Tiez hor Bro (= Our Country's Houses), itself linked to a European federation of which the president is Andreu Roparz of Ensavadur Breizh. It held a congress in Brittany in 1994 which was attended by 30 people from a dozen countries including Ireland and Cornwall.

Alan Heusaff

T. ar Brezhoneg
15 rue de Tourelles
Paris 75017

ÉIRE

Eagrán nua d'fhorógra saoirse na hAlban

De réir tuairiscí ó Albain tá an scannán *Braveheart* a ndearnadh cuid mhór de in Éirinn le haisteoirí agus acmhainní Éireannacha tar éis dul i bhfeidhm go mór ar Albanaigh, go háirithe orthusan nach raibh aon eolas acu ar chor ar bith ar stair a dtíre. Stair "Bhriotanach" a mhúinte ar scoileanna na hAlban i.e. stair Shasana. Ní ar an chéad agus an dara leibhéal amháin atá sé amhlaidh. Léachtóir ollscoile i nDún Éideann é Hugh Kearney (a chaith tréimhse i gColáiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath) ar foilsíodh athchló dá leabhar *History of the British Isles* le déanaí. Tá Kearney chomh mór sin ar bís le *British Isles*/Sasana Mór a bhunú mar aonad "nádurtha" na staire go gcaitheann sé uisce fuar ar náisiúntacht na hÉireann, na hAlban agus na Breataine Bige (agus déanann sé neamhshuim den Chorn agus de Mhanainn gan trácht ar an mBriotáin). Dar le Kearney ba é Richard I Shasana an réabhlóidí agus ba é Wallace an frithbheartaí. B'í ag caint ar chinniúnachas! Shílfeá ó shaothar Kearney gur thoradh ar éabhlóid aiceanta dosheachanta (agus inmhianaithe) atá sa Ríocht Aontaithe.

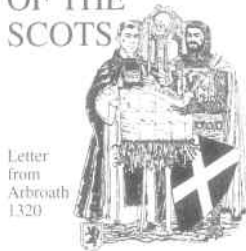
Píosa scannánaíochta thar cionn é scannán Mel Gibson, *Braveheart*. Agus é sin ráite is trua go n-imíonn sé ón taifead staire le leagan spósraithe de scéal William Wallace a thabhairt dúinn. Tá neart amadaíochta tarraingthe isteach sa scannán gan ghá, go háirithe na headarlúidí gan bhunús a bhaineann leis an mbanphrionsa Francach. Is deacair aon ghá ealaíne ná eile a fheiceáil leis an gclúmhillleadh ar Raibeart Brús.

Ar ndóigh is é an lochtú is mó atáthar á dhéanamh ar an scannán i meán na bunaíochta go bhfuil sé rónáisiúnaíoch. Deir Fintan O'Toole san *Irish Times* go bhfuil *Braveheart* "Anglophobic". Is fíor go léiríonn an scannán sotal na Sasanach go seoigh. Is dócha go gceapann Fintan bocht gur ar mhaithe le leas na hAlbanach a rinne na Sasanaigh slad agus scrios ar Albain. Scéal fuilteach é mar a slogadh Albain isteach sa stát Sasanach.

Duine de mhórlaochra na staire é Wallace. D'éirigh sé amach in aghaidh na Sasanaigh i 1297. Níorbh fhada gur léirigh sé ar chumas míleata. (Tá bunús staire le húsáid na lansaí in aghaidh an mharcshlua, faoi mar a léirítear sa scannán). Thaispeán sé an cumas sin nuair a bhuaigh sé ar na Sasanaigh ag Cath Dhroichead Stirling.

Cheap na Sasanaigh pianós barbartha ar leith do Wallace bhí an oiread sin fuath acu dó – crochadh, tarraingt agus roinnt ina cheathrúna – pianós a imríodh, go teoiriciúil ar a laghad, ar dhaoine a ciontaíodh i dtréas go dtí an aois seo féin. D'fhulaing Wallace an phianpháis sin ar Chéadaoin Dhubh, 22 Lúnasa 1305, faoi bhráid dhaoscarshlua London.

DECLARATION OF THE SCOTS



Naoi mbliana tar éis bhás Wallace bhuaigh arm na hAlban faoi cheannas an Rí Raibeart Brús ar na Sasanaigh ag Bannockburn agus ruaigeadh na Gaill as Albain.

Ar 6 Aibreán 1320 chum Parlaimint na hAlban litir cháiliúil chuig an Pápa Eoin XXII a bhí ag tacú leis na Sasanaigh. Sa litir sin – Forógra Obair-bhrothaigh – tá an *cri de coeur* ar thagair Ruairí Mac Easmaint dó agus é ar a thriail i 1916: "*Quia quamdiu centum vivi remanserint numquam Anglorum dominio aliquatenus volumus subjugari. Non enim propter gloriam, divitias aut honores pugnamus, sed propter libertatem solummodo, quam nemo bonus nisi simul cum vita amittit.*" ("Fad agus a mhaireann oiread agus céad duine againn ní ghéillimid ar chor ar bith

d'fhorlamhas na Sasanach. Ní ar mhaithe le glóir nó maoin nó gradam atáimid ag troid ach ar son na saoirse agus é sin amháin, rud nach ngéilleann fear maith coíche ach lena anam.")

Tá téacs an fhorógra ar fáil in *The Declaration of Arbroath* curtha in eagar ag James Adam (The Herald Press, Arbroath, £3.75). Go deimhin, Tá an téacs ann faoi chúig san fhoilseachán gleoite seo – sa bhun-Laidin, i Laidin "chaighdeánaithe," i nGaidhlig, sa Scotsaigh Ghearmánda agus sa Sacs-Bhéarla.

Tugann an forógra éirí amach Iúdás Maccabeus chun cuimhne:

"Rinn Raibeart treun ar Prionnsa gaisgeil

stri mhòr mar Iudus Maccabeus, a chur ar cúl brúadarán Shasainn le aintighearn a chaoidh nar riaghladh"

Ceann de na gnéithe is suntasaí den fhorógra an dearbhú a déanann sé ar ghaol an rí leis an bpobal agus an nós Ceilteach gur féidir é a bhriseadh agus duine nua a chur ina áit dá mba ghá:

"Chuir sinn air áirde Rígh nar taghadh, fear gléidhidh treun air saorsa Alba, a rugadh 'na rígh is 'na dhuine fiùthail, airson sin tha sinne deas ri sabaid.

Ma stríochdas e anfhann gar trèigsinn, sin bitheamaid grad 'n Rígh ud a dhiùltadh, ma ghéilleas e fhèin ri sirbhis Shasainn, 'n sin Rígh nas fheàrr bidh sinn a' taghadh."

Meabhraítear don Phápa go bhfuil an dlí morálta céanna ann do na Sasanaigh agus atá do na hAlbanaigh araon:

"There's but ae law for Jew an Greek an ane alane for Scot an Saxon, for He abune will judge the wrangs owre anguished years o tribulation".

Is suimiúil a shoiléire agus a bhreathnaigh na hAlbanaigh orthu féin mar náisiún an tráth sin: "Edward King of the English... did... invade and occupy as an enemy our kingdom and people, who then had no head..."

Ceann teaghlaigh na mBrúsach, an tIarla Elgin, a scríobh an réamhrá do *The Declaration of Arbroath*, James Adam a chuir Gaidhlig agus Scotsaigh (i riocht véarsaíochta) ar an bhforógra. Angus Mure Mackenzie a d'aistrigh go Béarla agus James Quinn SJ a sholáthraigh an dara leagan Laidine. Tá iarscríbhinn ann le Andy Stewart nach maireann.

(contd overleaf)

Carn 13

Is there a Peace Process?

As we go to press news changes daily and one cannot be sure of how matters will develop.

Some things are constant. The English remain obdurate and obviously think they have the "high moral ground" on the issue of de-commissioning arms. That topic was not part of the agreement between the governments of Reynolds and Major. Obviously Major's advisers thought they had a more malleable partner in the process when John Bruton became Taoiseach. They relied too much it seems on the deep antipathy of the Democratic Left to the republicans, the Workers' Party, from whom they split, left not that long ago – in historical terms. They seemed to think that Dick Spring of the Labour Party would echo the line of the English Labour Party and in this they have been discomfited. While Spring has occasionally distanced himself from the nationalists' consensus he has not really leaned to the Blair/Mowran being closer to the McNamara group in English Labour. Bruton on the other hand seemed to concede and agree and mollify Major and Mayhew but as we write, in mid-November, he has issued a strong reiteration of the Irish position: a statement of which he gave, by courtesy, advance copies of to the English authorities, and which because of this courtesy reached the media in tandem with a rebuttal from Westminster: hardly an augury for cooperation.

Major's is a lame dog government and this factor and his dependence on the support of Ulster Unionists is not taken into account often enough in assessing his actions, reactions and inactions.

What is obvious to all is the consistent English failure to live up to the letter and spirit of the agreement between both governments. They undertook e.g. to be encouragers and facilitators of dialogue and have turned deaf ears to practical suggestions on the way forward. They

promised a generous and imaginative response to a cease-fire: those words of hope have proven to be the empty phrases of a sound bite if they haven't been shown to be cynical in the release of Clegg the convicted killer of a young unarmed unattached civilian, and in the return to northeast Ulster of the 2nd Battalion of the Parachute Regiment whose murderous attack on unarmed protesters on Bloody Sunday was excused in the propaganda war Ted Heath said they were also involved in back then.



Gerry Adams

What then is this issue of decommissioning? It is a very good debating ploy thought up, I suppose, by one of the recently instituted Unionist think tanks – a need for them was perceived, their publications and pressures and press releases are not analysed enough by nationalists. It appears to be reasonable: why should we negotiate with someone who has a gun behind his back. (One answer to that is "why not"). It appears, by dint of rhetoric, to join Sinn Féin and the IRA in mind as one and the same organisation; and thus by extension to have all negotiators from Sinn Féin labelled IRA activists. It tries by extension and by diplomatic double talk to associate the SDLP and the Irish government with the IRA and thus to render all Irish nationalist aspirations anathema in the eyes of English voters and Unionist supporters.

It is a clever ploy and needs to be addressed but not at the superficial way most who disagree with it do. It must be taken seriously as indeed must the other position be so thought through.

The Loyalist paramilitaries have said they will not initiate (this time – they did, it must be recalled, in 1964, 1966, 1968,

1969 and earlier in this century) any armed action if the IRA guns stay silent. Most believe their spokesmen (no sexism here, only men spoke on their behalf), and the great majority hope that what they say holds.

Irish nationalists have no reason now, nor had they in the recent or distant past, to believe that England is benevolently disposed: no empire, by definition an exploiter, can be benevolently disposed except insofar as it is obviously in that Empire's interests to be so. One can therefore understand that any group official, unofficial, sovereign or (in their eyes, in it doesn't matter how many eyes) illegal who are in conflict with England, its armed forces and its armed associates, will not trust the English before good will and practical steps are evinced and taken. No group in our times has in effect surrendered their arms and then asked the armed antagonist to negotiate. That is not the way of life, history or politics and the world is redolent of examples of the contrary in recent times.

The fact is the English are a heavily armed presence in part of Ireland, the Royal Ulster Constabulary is an armed force – an armed constabulary not an unarmed police force – of about 14,000 members, the loyalist population has over 100,000 legally held arms throughout the area and the guns of the original – illegal – UVF, for example, however out of date now were never handed up, surrendered or decommissioned, let alone any of the thousands since acquired.

But even if all those facts are ignored or left aside the whole drift of the English argument was shown to be hollow by John Hume when he said – a statement seldom adverted to, though it cuts through the tripe and the posturing rhetoric – that if the IRA gave up its arms in the morning they could readily acquire replacements.

If it were only a debate one would say they should so do, if only to call the English bluff (they know that as long as England doesn't want to negotiate they will continue to invent or discover preconditions) but it isn't merely a debate, however much it seems to be on the floor of Westminster.

England has now deployed an army of redundant spies, a colloquy of the best professional diplomats in the world, and a phalanx of journalists and writers in their propaganda war against Irish nationalism. And they never fight cleanly.

P. Ó Snodaigh

BRITAIN GUILTY

In early Autumn Britain was found guilty by the European Court of Human Rights of unlawful actions in ambushing and summarily executing alleged terrorists on the Rock of Gibraltar in 1988. The outcry and outrage from British politicians was predictable with calls to withdraw from the Council of Europe but no admission of the fact that such 'shoot on sight' policies have been implemented in the North for many years.

(contd from page 13)

Summary

It is a pity that the film *Braveheart* about the freedom fighter, William Wallace, takes unnecessary liberties with the details of history. The barbaric punishment of hanging, drawing and quartering was instituted to wreak vengeance on Wallace. Fifteen years after his cruel death and six years after the Scots won their independence on the field of battle at Bannockburn their parliament sent the famous letter from Arbroath to Pope John XXII protesting at his support for the English. It is reproduced with translations in *The Declaration of Arbroath*, edited by James Adam. (Herald Press, Arbroath 1993) £3.75 ISBN 0900 454 10 5

DEMAND FOR IRISH EDUCATION BOARD

A number of Irish language organisations have called for the establishment of a separate education board for Irish medium and Gaeltacht schools. The White Paper on Education proposes the establishment of new regional educational boards but it contains no such provision for schools teaching through Irish and indeed the Minister for Education, Niamh Bhreathnach, has already rejected the idea in debate in the Dáil. Organisations supporting the call include Conradh na Gaeilge, Comhdháil na Gaeilge, Eagraíocht na Scoileanna Gaeltachta and Gaelscoileanna. At a conference in Dublin organised by Gaelscoileanna in early November a spokesman for the organisation Breandán Mac Cormaic, stated that the proposed boards would lead to the neglect of various non-mainstream sectors of education, including all-Irish schools and schools in the Gaeltacht.

Under the proposed structures, teachers, parents and other groups represented on the regional boards will be charged with selecting the representatives of minority interests.

Gaelscoileanna fears that in some areas groups hostile to the development of all-Irish schools will be able to block representation for them on the regional boards. It is seeking a separate education board to deal with the specific needs of all-

Irish and Gaeltacht schools. This could eventually have a cross-Border dimension and include all-Irish schools in the North.

Mr Mac Cormaic said that despite an intensive consultative process in the lead-up to the White Paper on Education, the White Paper ignored the needs of all-Irish schools.

Speaking after the conference, he called on the Department to clarify the reasons for this. "We put our arguments very strongly, and our concerns and the concerns of people like Educate Together were reflected in the various documents that were issued, for instance, in the report on the National Education Convention," he said.

"When the White Paper came out there was nothing in it about this. The question has to be asked: why, after all that discussion, wasn't anything put in there?"

At a meeting in an Ceathrú Rua, Conamara, in mid November, organised by Eagraíocht na Scoileanna Gaeltachta, speakers condemned the decision not to set up a separate board for Irish language schools. The very bad experience of the Gaeltacht at the hands of the various existing Regional Boards (Health etc. on which the new Boards are to be modelled) was cited extensively. The state run Bord na Gaeilge was condemned for not supporting the demand of the other organisations.

British Black Propaganda

The Widgery Whitewash report on the murders of civil rights marchers in Derry in January 1972 by the British Army was revealed (to those who needed convincing) in early November for it really was, another piece of black propaganda in Britain's war in Ireland. A confidential Downing Street memorandum was uncovered in a file in the Public Records in London by lawyers acting for relations of the victims who are preparing a case to be submitted to the European Commission of Human Rights.

It is a seven-page memorandum, signed by Robert Armstrong, private secretary to the British prime minister, which records a long conversation between Sir Edward Heath and Lord Widgery (now deceased), who had just been appointed to head the tribunal of inquiry.

The note records that the prime minister drew Lord Widgery's attention to a "number of points". One of these was: "It had to be remembered that we were in Northern Ireland fighting not only a military war but a propaganda war".

The Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign and relatives of the 14 civil rights marchers killed by the Parachute Regiment claimed that the disclosure clearly invalidated the so-called Widgery report of the tribunal of inquiry into the events of January 30th, 1972.

OIREACHTAS IN DUBLIN

The Irish language festival, An tOireachtas, was held in Dublin this year in early November. The festival was centred on the Stephen's Green area and it proved a popular venue with good attendances and enthusiasm. A first this year occurred in the premier Sean Nós (traditional unaccompanied singing) competition which was won for the first time ever by a singer from outside a Gaeltacht area. Mairéad Ní Oistín from Dalkey, Dublin won the Corn Uí Riada performing in front of a capacity crowd of three hundred in the Shelbourne Hotel.

The Irish prose writer and language activist Máirtín Ó Cadhain was remembered at a seminar at which many of those who knew him recounted their experiences of working with Máirtín in various groups. He died 25 years ago and was remembered as the greatest prose writer in Irish. He was a life long radical Republican and fought many battles for the Irish language harrying many political and establishment figures for their failure to work for the benefit of Irish. Although the seminar was interesting there seemed to be a lack of focus on the relevance of Ó Cadhain's ideas and methods for the language movement today. The magazine *Comhar*, edited by Vivian Uíbh Eachach, brought out a special commemorative issue.



Máirtín Ó Cadhain

Irish Medium Schools

Nine new Gaelscoileanna opened in the Republic in September '95. Five of the schools (Tipperary, Kildare, Bandon, Co. Cork, Sandyford, Co. Dublin and Cavan) were recognised by the Department of Education and are well established. The other four were not given recognition but decided to open as unofficial schools. In the North an Irish stream opened in Armagh in the Catholic Primary School and in Coalisland, Co. Tyrone an official school started up.

Gaelscoileanna Submission to Forum

Gaelscoileanna was invited to participate in a session of the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation devoted to Irish medium education, North and South. The difficulties of the Irish language schools in the North relating to lack of recognition were outlined. It was made clear that the Belfast second level school, Meán Scoil Feirste, was not receiving subvention from the Northern Department of Education although financial assistance had come from 'Making Belfast Work'. In its submission Gaelscoileanna called for a National Authority for Irish medium schools and Gaeltacht schools. A cross border institution was favoured which would be responsible for planning, support and linguistic services to all schools in the island of Ireland teaching through Irish. The unifying aspect of the work of the language school movement was stressed and the fact that parents of all religions (or none) were brought together to work for a common aim.

KERNOW

Newodhow Gwydhaleg Alban

Arwedhow Fordh

Towlenn dyworth Comhairle nan Eilean (Konsel an enesow) dhe worra treylans sawsneg yndann an gwydhaleg war arwedhow fordh yn enesow a wrug dri krodhval dyworth Comann Ceiltech Ollthigh Dhun-Eideann (Rann Kelteg Pennskol Duneden). Kowser D.W. Stiubhart a leverys "An hynwyn 'Sowsneg' yw marnas kammytherennans an re ewn gwydhaleg ... Termynn yw rag tewlel an kammderrow ma dhe'n kysk attal a istor".

Isa Kesstrif kan Gwydhaleg

Allan Mac Donald a wrug gwaynya an kynsa kesstif kan fundys gans BBC Radio nan Gaidheal h'an 'National Gaelic Arts Project' rag kavos kan nowedh gwydhaleg. Seyth kan o kemmeres dyworth 57 neb a dheuth a Steòrnabhag dhe Surrey. An seyth kan o kennys gans Mary Sandeman ha dyllys gans Radio nan Gaidheal. An kan a wrug gwaynya "Cum 'Ur Gealladh" (Gwitheugh agas ambosow) yw herwydh an skrifor ynkever an iselder a'n Gwydhalyon yw polytegeg.

Dasformyans skoedhyas gans ysylli An Comunn

Towlennow rag dasformyans An Comunn Gaidhealach re beu skoedhyas gans ysylli dh'aga KGB 9ves mis Metheven '95. Mes yn talleth marnas taklow heb kost a vydh gwres.

Kresenn Gwydhaleg 2sa tro rag 'Arghans Millenium'

Yma skoedhyor a'n Bail' Ur Ostaig Kresenn Gwydhaleg towlennys rag Sleat yn Skye ow tybi yn kever dasprofyans rag arghans millenium. Towlenn Bail' Ur Ostaig - dhe gost a £26 milvil - yw rag gul kresenn an bys rag an yeth ha gonysegryth gwydhaleg.

STV a hedh towlenn pellwolok

Wosa STV a wrug tenna an dowlenn "Tomhais" kevres gwres gans bagas a Steòrnabhag hynwys Eolas, CTG (Comataidh Telebhisean Gaidhlig) (Keskusulyans Pellwolok Gwydhaleg) a wrug gelwel rag Bagas pellwolok Gwydhaleg rag hedhi an kalleter ma. Pan yll unn bagas pellwolok hedhi towlenn heb

lever travydh dhe'n CTG. "Tomhais" o dyllys gans Grampian.

10 Blydhenn a Dhyskans Gwydhaleg

Dhe fer dhe verkya 10 blydhenn a dhyskans dre Gwydhaleg kaderor dhyskans Konsel Rannidir Ugheldiryow Val MacIver a leverys pubhuni a wrug oberi rag dhyskans Gwydhaleg y koth bos prownt yn ewn. 1985 esa marnas dew skol a wrug gul dhyskans dre Gwydhaleg (Central Primary School yn Inbhir Nis he Portree Primary School yn Skye) yn termynn na esa marnas 20 flogh he dew dhyskajor, mes lemmyn yma 600 flogh yn 17 skol ha 50 dhyskajor.

Kaskergh rag aswonvos soedhagel Gwydhaleg

Mr Roy Wentworth usi ow sewya kaskergh y honen rag kavos formow soedhagel yn gwydhaleg dre skrifysans dhe'n Soedhva Alban. Mr Wentworth a wrug nagma lenwel formow soedhagel skrifys yn Sowsneg yn unnik. Gorthyb diworth Soedhva Alban a lever a vydh re kostek gul formow diwyethag.
(Various Scottish Gaelic news items)

Ruairidh Muileach & Martin Campbell
(translated by Martyn Miller)

"Kernow near England"

Ez ezez mennau a goofen thurtam pandrew breaz an bobell Curnoack adro tho matter Kernow avel nacion... Eze whathe a kurtas nab peath an ko edn ooz pell passhez?... Po igge an Curnowean hethow a quellas go hunnen vel Sausen?

Weare, ma oll sortow teeze a treegas en powe nye enowrma a leb an broaza part ew Sausen, rag drew an Curnowean leihez tho 35% an holl lebmen, mouy po lee; hebma ve menegez leez trevath. Whathe, ma deaw sort Curnowean: rina ew Curnowean thea genesegeth, ha rina reeg gweele go hunnen Curnoack. An sort nessa ew neverah parrez tho gozw meaze drenz Curnoack, buz mesk an kensa sort, ke vea nebbaz vedn protestia derag teeze an nacionalite angye, an broaza radn ew ree vethack dressa angye gweele pecare. Whathe arta, ma an crengah eze dothans rag an power angye a resack per

thowne ha leall, ha pecarra gweeth en mena tane ma hebma terry bedgeth cuzal an teere terwitheyaw.

Andelha, po angye inflammyez, ma leall matter go hollan squatchia meaze thosympyas, ha nye ell gwellas hedna an mouyha leez ha pemthack campier quethez en owr ha due ombra rag anar Kernow en gweal rugby! Nye ell gothas hedna po ruth contlez warbarth, rag ma teeze a goerah tane et e gillez, ha ma neverah mouy corag choye than ruth; talvez mouy ewa po dean ednack a dylla meaze heb gweras e hinga driggeva omsenge vel Kernow kenz vel Sows; rag ma matter an resagva an yeigenas en Terathe Euhall adewethaz tisqueethas hebma poran:

Nebun heller yeigenas, leb a usyaz comparya gen deffrans beastaz, a gomeraz zoer edn journa pe reeg an rowlers requyrya dressa kenevrah perhen derevall aman buz edn yeigen en ednack. Na venga e gwary rag hedna. Eah, an marchant ma ew guthvethaz per thaah vel onen an kensa gwaryers yeigenas an powe, ha e theeze keffrys ha e guthmens reeg plodia gonga tho chawngya e vreeze. En duah, eve a roze an gwelha, laull, "Me an gweele rag anar ma powe, Kernow!"

Terwitheyaw an Curnowean vedn kelas go lelldury rag an laze angye dadn gwarhaz geaze. Alebma nebbaz journiow me reeg dryvya aleaze pe riga ve mettia gen kittareen, ha war an delhar notha an tytel **Hambly Coaches, Pelynt, Kernow near England**. Ero whye credge drew hebma geaze?

Nagew an deeze ma seli neb bagaz nacionalistick na gwlascerers omwreze, buz Curnowean leez. Thurt hedna, nye ell comeras collan, a perry ko an lavar coathna *An webesan a latha marth a calla!*

Summary: Among the remaining 35% of the population of Cornwall who claim to be Cornish, the self-made Cornish make the most of the notion of nationality. The native Cornish are shy of revealing their national sentiments except as excited members of a crowd, as when supporting their rugby XV. When the individual gives voice to his convictions, however, this is more significant.

Richard Gendall

LETTER

Y charrey

In any discussion of Curnoack as Modern Cornish there is a danger of getting hold of the wrong end of the stick. It would appear to be labelled Modern at both ends!

I am sorry if my "fantastic gobbledygook" as he calls it (See my letter in *Carn* 89 and replies in *Carn* 90) has blinded Mr Phillips to the fact that I am not in principle opposed to his "Modern Cornish". I just don't like the name. Perhaps the more discerning reader who knows some misunderstandings when "there would appear to be some..." could try and explain to him why. Meanwhile he comes up with some rather extraordinary statements of his own "There is no record of the sounds of Medieval Cornish by anyone who heard them". What did the scribes think they were writing down then... hot air? Conclusions are either sound or they are not. The difference is academics are trained to arrive at them rather than to jump to them. Of course we don't know with the 100 per cent accuracy Mr. Phillips demands what the sounds of Medieval Cornish were but if he were to honestly help himself to the precision tools and techniques of linguistic science which

are available for everybody to master providing they are prepared to take the time and trouble and were to make a painstaking analysis of the data himself in order to establish the phonological base c. 1500 he would come to realise for himself that that "bid to research the unresearchable" as he calls it was not nearly so miserable a failure as his dismissive comments would tend to suggest. According to Mr. Phillips I "advocate a 20th century re-hash of Medieval Cornish with its meagre vocabulary and sounds unknown" and he would appear to know something I do not. I wonder precisely how he knows and how precisely...? His assertion sounds like guess-work to me. Mr. Phillips does rightly advocate a 20th century restoration of Modern Cornish (why not call it Restored Modern Cornish?) with sounds known, i.e. Lhuyd's definite description, but with a spelling that does not reflect them. I do not think the soul of Cornish is enshrined in its orthography but there is still a good deal to be said for common-sense and I do wonder why he doesn't come up with a "home-grown" phonemic spelling system for Curnoack. This would take it into Europe and into the 21st Century. The real point about Modern Cornish (as opposed to Old and Middle) in its strict linguistic sense, is its modernity of structure, simplification of grammar etc. and this is what makes its restored form easier to learn for Cornish people who after all speak Modern English

(Breton speakers might find it more difficult though) and hence find it more familiar. I don't know about languages "deserving" anything but people do deserve to be well-informed. I am glad that Mr. Gendall has the ear of academia; I should like to see Mr. Phillips who if he cares deeply enough will take the trouble to inform himself better, in possession of its mouth. Meanwhile somebody out there is probably planning to revive Old Cornish on the grounds that it's purer and closer to the Ancient British tongue. Another quibbles? Let readers of *Carn* work out if all this "hubbadulya" is "historically justified".

Philip Chadwick

Mebyon Kernow AGM

It was decided at Mebyon Kernow's AGM and conference held at Fraddon November '95 that MK would put up candidates to fight the next UK General Election for the first time since 1979.

Dick Cole Campaigns and Press Secretary reported that this years district and parish council elections had been the most successful for many years. He also said that press coverage had been patchy with the 'Western Morning News' printing some 90% of MK press statements although less success had been had following the revamp of the paper.

The Chairman Dr Loveday Jenkin called on the party to actively promote MK's vision of the future of Cornwall. She described Mebyon Kernow as the only forward looking party operating in Cornwall. Dr Jenkin attacked the main London based parties for not understanding the Cornish economy "The Tory party looking back to the mythical 'Good old Days' of Victorian England... And the Lib Dems paying lip service to Cornish issues but actions speak louder than words."

She said that MK must pin-point the difference between words and action. MK must promote a sustainable economy, not dependent on vast inward investment and working for a sustainable future yet retain our integrity working in Europe and Britain. MK should co-operate positively and combat racial antagonism working outside and inside Cornwall.

Martyn Miller

Cymdaithas Edward Llwyd

A recent issue of *CARN* (No. 90, Summer 1995) carried an interesting article on Edward Llwyd's outstanding contribution to the study and preservation of the Cornish language as he found it in 1700. The author of the piece, Merfyn Phillips, takes Cymdaithas Edward Llwyd to task for including in its periodical *Y Naturiaethwr* little that refers to Llwyd's language interest. I should like to correct the impression that this might give to your readers.

The article, which is largely a review of Derek R. Williams' excellent booklet *Prying into every hole and corner*, rightly draws attention to Llwyd's philological work and also to his numerous other important scientific interests. It is indeed as a scientist that most people will think of Llwyd - both as a practical observer and as a conscientious and accurate recorder. Llwyd's recording in Cornwall was scientific in its method and it is this that gives his work there its great value. He was known to his learned and scientific contemporaries as an outstanding figure, e.g. Sr. Hans Sloane (later to become President of the Royal Society) in 1706 called him 'the best naturalist now in Europe'.

When a Welsh natural history society was established in 1978 it was most appropriate that it commemorated one of

Wales' greatest naturalists in its name. Thus, Cymdaithas Edward Llwyd. The society's journal, *Y Naturiaethwr*, contains, to date, mostly articles and accounts of field meetings together with some substantial annual lectures. Although the latter are largely focussed on natural history, Llwyd's impact on language studies has not been ignored. Indeed two of the published lectures deal specifically with language, viz. Edward Llwyd fel ieithydd (Edward Llwyd as a philologist), gan David Thorne (No 19 (1988), 2-7) and Lle Edward Llwyd yn hanes yr iaith (The place of Edward Llwyd in the history of the language), gan Rhisiart Hincks (No 21 (1989), 2-17). Should any of your readers have any contribution to make concerning Edward Llwyd then I'm sure that the society will consider it for publication (in Welsh) in its new-style *Naturiaethwr* at some time in the future.

Anyone interested in Cymdaithas Edward Llwyd should write in the first instance to the current secretary: Ms Elinor Gwynn, Maes Meheli, Sawmills, Ceri, Y Drenewydd/Newtown, Powys, Cymru/Wales. Field meetings are held throughout Wales on most Saturdays and in all seasons.

Gyda dymuniadau goran i ddarllenwyr *CARN*.

W. Brian L. Evans

Getting the Celtic Message Across

We, in the Celtic League, face the paradox that no one can find out what we stand for unless they buy *Carn*. People tend to buy only those publication with which they generally agree. They are like the man who did not know how Guinness tasted because he did not like it.

This is a problem that many organisations have learned to live with. We need to be more ambitious. Our General Secretary sets us a fine example by all the correspondence he has with the press and with individuals. All the same, we cannot leave everything to the General Secretary and a few proficient letter writers.

Leafletting is the answer. It reaches the unconverted direct. The majority of those leafletted will, on first glance, disagree with what we have to say. Not to worry. They cannot shut our ideas out of their minds. Few of those who agree will join the League. Their normal reaction will be to take our ideas into their own organisations where they can discuss them with people they know and trust.

Printed below is a copy of a leaflet which the English branch leafletting sub-committee distributed at the Trades Union Congress **Unite Against Racism** demonstration in Manchester on October 28th.

The Celtic League Says:- Down With English Racism!

English racism has a long history. The barbarian Anglo-Saxons conquered the land now known as England and exterminated the original Celtic population of that country, estimated at 6 million when the English invaded in AD 410. By the time the English occupation was complete in AD 590, the total population estimate had dropped to 440,000.

Genocide is the ultimate form of racism.

The civilised Celts had lived in stone houses. The barbarian Anglo-Saxons lived in split log cabins and let the cities crumble away.

Over the years the English rulers gradually subjugated the Celtic nations of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall and the Isle of Man. For example, the native Irish were deprived of the land, massacred, starved, expelled, forced to emigrate, etc.

The Celts were used by their English rulers to join in the massacre, subjugation and exploitation of the native peoples of Australia, North America, Asia and Africa which has culminated in today's anti-black racism and Third World poverty.

Throughout the world every self-respecting nation speaks its own language built up over centuries by the people of that nation. The above five Celtic nations all have their own beautiful and expressive languages. Because of English racist bullying their peoples mostly use the English language even for personal names.

English racists are no good at languages. Actually they think other



Celtic League Representatives at the Unite Against Racism Rally.

languages are no good. Just try speaking a Celtic language in their hearing. The effect is the same as that of a black family moving into a white racist neighbourhood.

Celts, like blacks and others whose ancestors were subjugated by English, have nothing to apologise for, except that they were on the losing side in the first place.

However, it is not too late. Everybody

oppressed by English racism should say that they want no more of it.

The English have got England. They should behave in a decent civilised non-racism manner within their borders. They should let Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall and the Isle of Man determine their own futures.

Ifor Kenna

Review

"Cornish Today" by N.J.A. Williams
Kernewek Dre Lyther, 289 ff A4, £9 inc postage.

Williams is a Celticist and phonologist who some may remember brought the problem of the putative phonemes 'tj' and 'dj' to Ken George's attention. This led to the amendment of *Kernewek Kemmyn* by their replacement with 's' or 'j' as appropriate. Since then Williams has done further extensive research. In "Cornish Today" he sets out his findings and conclusions.

Anyone who is not an expert phonologist will be unable to satisfy themselves as to the validity of much of "Cornish Today". One can either accept it on trust, or wait to see what comment is forthcoming from other academics. This matters little in the leisurely world of academia. However, having examined Cornish phonology and three orthographies - *Kernewek Kemmyn*, *Unified* and *Modern Cornish* - Williams proposes that his own form of amended *Unified Cornish* be adopted by the revival. Considering that 95% of fluent

speakers (and classes and students in proportion) now use *Kernewek Kemmyn*, this advice is at least five years too late. Who would want to return to 'qu' and 'c' and the uncertainty of using 'y' for three sounds?

Williams seems to be unaware of this. Antiquarians in previous centuries refused to speak to Cornish speakers as they had no Latin or Greek. Williams comments on the revival from afar, which negates much of his work.

While criticism of Williams' phonology may be beyond the lay person, his general reasoning is not and it is here that severe doubts about the thrust of his argument will begin to form.

It seems unlikely that Dr Ken George will have any difficulty in refuting Williams' criticisms. It remains to be seen if the Late/Modern Cornish supporters can answer his criticism of their work.

GSB

MANNIN

Chengaghyn as Reiltyssyn

Ta'n Oik Oarpagh cour Myn-Chengaghyn er chur magh lioaran mie mychione yn ymmyd jeh myn-chengaghyn ayns dellal oikoil. Kyndagh rish cooishyn sheshoil as cultooroil, adsyn ta loayrt 'chengaghyn sloo ymmydit', t'ad bunnys ooilley daa-hengagh (ec y chooid sloo). Myr shen, foddee ad goaill ymmyd jeh chengey oikoil tra t'ad dellal rish reiltyssyn. Er y hon shen, ta dy chooilley pheiaigh jeant bwooiagh, nagh vel?

Foddee nagh vel. Coardail rish lioaran yn Oik Oarpagh, screu yn Olloo De Witte voish Maastricht: 'My ta shirveish rygheddyn ayns un chengey ny lomarcen, ta ny fir-oik dellal rish lught yn ymmyd er yn aght cheddin, agh foddee nagh vel ooilley ny h-ymmydeyrn geddyn yn shirveish cheddin. Adsyn as chengey elley oc, cha nel ad geddyn shirveish ta cho mie as oddagh eh ve, ga dy vel ad geeck son yn chirveish goll rish yn sleih elley... adsyn as myn-chengey oc, t'ad geeck son yn chirveish ta smoo foaysagh da'n tromlagh (majority)'.

S'feer shen. Adsyn as myn-chengey oc, t'ad geeck keeshyn goll rish sleih elley. Cre'n fa nagh lhisagh ad geddyn shirveishyn theayagh chammah as sleih elley?

Lhisagh reiltys cur arrym da'n heneoilaght (identity), ny fraueyn as yn eiraght chultooroil jeh dy chooilley pheiaigh t'ayns boodeeys (community) ennagh.

My oddys sleih goaill ymmyd jeh myn-chengey tra t'ad dellal rish kiannoortys, ta'n kiannoortys shen goaill rish dy vel yn chengey shen feeu as dy vel staydys eck.

Ny sodjey na shen, t'eh cur bioys as niart da'n chengey. My ta chengey eginit dy ve follit, bunnys, as goll er loayrt mastey sleih cheu-hear jeh dorryssyn dooint, ta shen cur er yn chengey dyn y vishaghey as 'aase. Cha bee ny focklyn as raaghyn cooie ec yn chengey shen dy loayrt mychione dy chooilley nhee ayns seihll y voodeeys.

Ny sodjey foast, goaill ymmyd jeh chengey ayns offishyn as cur urree dy ve fakinit er fograghyn oikoil, ta shen soilshaghey magh da sleih ynnydagh as da joarreyn ta cheet dys y cheer dy vel yn lught-reill cur arrym da'n chengey as da'n chennaghys as tradishoon.

Ta'n Ard-whaiyl Oarpagh er choardail rish kiarail (resolution) ny ghaa ta guee er reiltyssyn dy chur arrym da myn-

chengaghyn ta goll er loayrt ayns ny steatyn oc.

Va Kiarail Arfé coardit ayns 1981 as Kiarail Kuijpers ayns 1987. Ren ny kiarailyn shoh guee er reiltyssyn sy Voodeeys Oarpagh dy lhiggey da sleih goaill ymmyd jeh ny chengaghyn oc hene tra t'ad dellal rish reiltys ennagh, as dy ghoail rish sliennoyn as enmy-buill ayns chengaghyn dooghyssagh.

Ayns 1992, hug yn Choonseil Oarpagh magh Conaant Oarpagh ny Myn-chengaghyn. Mastey reddyn elley, ta'n conaant shoh guee er reiltyssyn dy lhiggey da sleih goaill ymmyd jeh ny chengaghyn oc hene. Agh ta'n conaant feer 'resoonaigh'. T'eh loayrt mychione reddyn goll rish 'raad ta loayrtee dy liooar' as 'choud's t'eh jantagh er aght resoonaigh' dy lhiggey da sleih goaill ymmyd jeh'n chengey dooghyssagh.

Ayns 1994, choard yn Ard-whaiyl Oarpagh Kiarail Killilea, va guee reeshtagh er reiltyssyn dyn jannoo reddyn olk bentyn rish myn-chengaghyn. Agh ny-yei shen as ooilley, as ga dy vel y Conaant cho faase as resoonaigh, s'goan y reiltys ta er chur yn ennym er yn Chonaant dy chur bree da. Mastey ny reiltyssyn ta foast gobbal shen 'yannoo ta'n reiltys Frangagh, reiltys yn Reeriaght Unnaneyssit as (nearey orroo) reiltys Nerin. T'eh jeeaghyn dy vel ny Sostnee as ny Yernee boirit mychione ceau argid er myn-chengaghyn (Yernish ayns Nerin!) as dy vel ny Frangee noi chengaghyn erbee er-lhimme jeh Frangish.

Syn Unnaneyss Oarpagh ec y traa t'ayn, she ny Frangee as ny Greagee ny drogh ghuiyll ayns cooishyn-chengey. Cha jean ad goaill rish dy vel myn-chengaghyn erbee ayns ny steatyn oc! Dy dooghyssagh, cha nel ny myn-chengaghyn ayns ny steatyn shen geddyn staydys oikoil erbee. Agh er aght ennagh, cha nel ny Frangee cho scammyltagh as v'ad. Ga nagh vel monney ymmyd jeant jeh myn-chengaghyn ayns offishyn-reiltys sy Rank, ta ny chengaghyn shen cheet stiagh ayns scoillyn, ny veggan as ny veggan. Ayns Corsica, t'ad loayrt mychione daa hengey oikoil nish.

Sy Vritaan as ayns Alsace, ta ny reiltyssyn ynnydagh ayns foayr jeh ny chengaghyn oc hene. Agh ta Paris kinjagh noi red erbee ta cooney lesh ny chengaghyn dooghyssagh as t'eh doillee agglagh dy 'endeil ad.

Fy yerrey hoal wass, ta Paris er lhiggey da ny Britaanee cur seose fograghyn ennagh ta daa-hengagh. Ayns towse-barel, va sleih gra ny v'ad coontey jeh fograghyn-raad ayns Britaanish as Frangish. Va'n sambyl jeant jeh 1,000 dy 'leih, 400 jeu cummal ayns Finistère as 600 jeu nyn durrysee. Cha row agh 4.5% dy 'leih noi ny fograghyn. Va ny smoo na tree as kiare ayns foayr jeu. Shegin dooin cur bwooise son paart dy speideilys.

Gimraa chengey elley sy Rank, shen Occitanish. Ta'n chengey shen ec daa villioon dy 'leih as cha nel ymmyd erbee jeant jee ec y reiltys! Ealish ayns Cheer ny Yindyssyn, dy jarroo.

Ayns cheeraghyn elley syn Unnaneyss Oarpagh ta reddyn goll foddey ny share. Myr sampley, sy Spaainey, ayns Catalunya. Agh foddee nagh vel eh cho doillee dy chur yn chengey dooghyssagh er y hoshiaght ayns shen. Va'n chengey niartal dy liooar hannah, as cha nel baarney voar eddyr ee as Spaainish.

Ta reddyn goll mie dy liooar ayns Bretin neesht, ga dy vel sleih jannoo arganys mychione yn earroo dy loayrtee aegey ayns shen. Haink Slattys Vretnish dy ve leighoil as ta Boayrd Vretnish jannoo obbyr vie. Ta'n Slattys Vretnish cur er offishyn-reiltys dy aarlaghey daue hene dy yannoo dy chooilley nhee trooid Bretnish chammah as Baarle. Ta raad mooar liauyr ain dy hooyl er ayns Mannin!

Orree Crennell

Worthy aims are set out in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, but many governments have yet to sign the Charter.

KELAOUENN

Brief news from Brittany, in Breton and French, as well as information about festivals, festoù-noz (céilidh's), courses (music, dance, language), addresses of associations, Skol Uhel ar Vro/Cultural

Institute, new books, etc. can be obtained on minitel 3615 KELA, on the phone 99.87.69.12 or by fax 99.63.82.28.

Tynwald Ceremony

In September many Manx organisations took the opportunity to submit their views regarding the annual Tynwald Day Ceremony. Below we print in part papers submitted by Mec Vannin and the Manx Branch of the Celtic League, both complementary to each other.

Mec Vannin in its submission gives an excellent overview of what the Tynwald Ceremony was and what it is now. It reads:

"Although popularly considered to be the invention of the Vikings, study increasingly shows that open air parliamentary assemblies were a feature of Celtic society well before the Vikings appeared on the scene. These assemblies fulfilled an extremely important function. The principle of promulgation meant that no-one should be ignorant of a law. Grievances could be heard and pronounced upon according to judgement by the representatives of the people. In Celtic (as opposed to Viking) society, the chieftains also had to demonstrate and re-affirm their compliance with the laws of the society. A leader who broke the rules could be deposed by law rather than by force.

Even during the dark era of the Stanleys, when the Manx people were nothing more than the property of the Lords of Mann and Tynwald had become self-electing, certain fundamentals still had to be observed: Tynwalds had to be held within a certain time span (eighteen months, we believe), no law could be enforced until promulgated and grievances could be heard.

During this period, St. Johns became the established site for the Manx Tynwald, and the old mid-summer day the accepted time. It was a legal requirement for Manx citizens to attend the ceremony and consequently a market fair established. These conditions led it to be our National Day.

In the past hundred years, several things have combined to make Tynwald Day a very different event, even if loosely based upon the original concept.

Victorian pomp and ceremony led to a flashy, brassy military presence to remind the natives that they were a colony of the British Empire. In 1914, the important principle of Promulgation was compromised when, in a quite unnecessary and thoroughly objectionable act of grovelling on the part of the Tynwald to the UK government, emergency legislation was enacted to allow conscription to the UK armed services to be implemented without having to wait for Tynwald Day. This atrocious act of boot-licking on the part of those who were safe from dispatch to the trenches has never been rectified.

The intervention of the Second World War appears to have caused serious damage to the ceremony as a National gathering: Before the war, thousands of people

gathered to attend the fair and watch the ceremony. This appears to have ceased during the war and the custom of centuries, once broken, was never properly re-established.

The fair became revitalised during the 1960s but was not quite the same event as previously, however people who may not have seen each other from one year to the next still made the annual pilgrimage to socialise as much as anything. Along the passage of time, the compunction to attend the Tynwald had also lapsed and the event became geared more for tourists than the Manx people.

Wanton vandalism was exercised by the organising committee in 1979 when the fair was relegated to a position of obscurity behind the seating stands erected for tourists. This was in the year that was supposed to celebrate 1000 years of Tynwald.

And so to today. The contradiction in terms of elements of the ceremony is often commented upon by visitors and Manx people alike: A celebration of ancient independence compromised by an irrational prostration before a foreign and frequently hostile force in the shape of the UK.

There are two separate events: The fair and ceremony on the hill. Those who attend the fair may very likely not see anything of the other and vice versa.

Although supposedly our National Day, the event is more popular with tourists than with Manx people.

The fair has degenerated into a rather shoddy affair, with professional stallholders selling tacky imported goods whilst long established Manx organisations who have patronised the fair for years have been ousted.

An intimidating and unnecessary UK security presence reinforces the colonial atmosphere.

A fly-past by RAF jets leads us to wonder which particular totalitarian regime the organisers have used as a role model: Communist Russia or Nazi Germany? Should we simply be glad that we haven't had a parade of armoured cavalry ripping the fairfield to shreds...yet?

When the Tynwald finally deems it fit to emerge from the church, the scene must be most perplexing to those who have never witnessed it before: This thousand year old ceremony is celebrated in Victorian costume!

These observations and a frustration with the realisation that the Tynwald ceremony is increasingly becoming a pathetic act of self-glorification for the members of Tynwald led to numerous recommendations."

At this stage we can turn to the Celtic League's (Manx Branch) submission which supports and gives a much briefer version of Mec Vannin's recommendations (too

lengthy to carry here). The recommendations are as follows:

1. Tynwald Day (July 5th) should be a recognised National holiday. The practice of defaulting to the 6th when the 5th falls on a Sunday should continue.

2. There should be no British military presence at the event, either working or ceremonial.

The Tynwald is a symbol of continued Manx independence and the presence of the British, or indeed any foreign military is a shameful compromise of the integrity of the event and, indeed, the Manx nation.

3. In keeping with the intent of the above, there is no place for the playing of the UK national anthem at the event.

4. The Tynwald should be presided over by the President of Tynwald.

Having the Lieutenant Governor or any other deputy of the Lord of Mann, presiding over the event is an objectionable act of symbolising the colonial subjugation of a nation.

5. The fair should be reinstated to its rightful position on the Fairfield.

The siting of the fair behind the viewing stands has resulted in the whole atmosphere and integrity of the event being severely eroded.

6. Manx cultural/political/charitable organisations should be given preferential allocation of stalls.

7. The Right of Petition should be formally embodied in statute. Furthermore, any petitions that are accepted must be progressed within a reasonable space of time.

We understand that the "Right of Petition" does not exist as such. This important element of the ceremony and Manx "democracy" must be protected. The fact that petitions are left to await a member of Tynwald's grace and favour means that it is not, in fact, a grievance procedure at all but simply a sham.

8. The requirement to Promulgate laws before becoming statute should be reinstated.

Mark Kermode

Mec Vannin's full submission can be obtained from Yn Screendeyr, 6 Glenfaba Road, Peel, Mannin IM5 1BU, British Isles.

The Future of the Manx Language

The Department of Education invited submissions from the public regarding the future development of the Manx language. A committee, led by Dr. Brian Stowell, Manx Language Officer, will investigate and compile a report on the matter in due course.

Some sixty submissions from groups and individuals in support of maintaining the impetus of the Manx language programmes were received with only two against. The Island's main nationalist groups banded together in a bid to restore Manx as a living language; these co-ordinated submissions are probably the most significant call for radical action this century.

On behalf of the Celtic League's General Council, Bernard Moffatt drew the Committee's attention to the broader aspects of the rights of minority languages on the international scene.

In the submission, he writes:

"I should commence by saying that the Manx government and the Department undertook a bold initiative when the decision was taken to provide facilities for Manx language education in the Island's schools.

The Celtic League's case for seeking an enhanced commitment, particularly at primary level (or even pre-school) is based on the provisions for the rights of minority language users under International law.

The Isle of Man government, via commitments entered into on its behalf is duty bound to honour those obligations. A whole raft of these underpin the guarantee to freedom from linguistic discrimination. *The Universal Declaration on Human Rights & Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* and the *European Convention on Human Rights* are the basic building blocks which underpin the rights of linguistic minorities. In this decade alone two important provisions were introduced, i.e. the *Convention for the Protection of Minorities* and the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*.

The important point in highlighting these provisions is that even in the dark days of the decline in the fortunes of the Manx language, before the 'bold initiative' mentioned earlier, the Manx government was internationally obliged to support and promote the language.

The Department and Manx Government in considering at what level to support or promote the Manx language should be mindful of solemn International Covenants entered into and sustain these via substantial commitment."

The Assistant General Secretary, Mark Kermod, submitted a lengthy document on behalf of the Manx Branch of the Celtic League which included the following seven proposals for consideration:

- * To transfer the provision of Manx language education from policy to statute;
- * To implement the report of the 1986 Celtic Forum on the future of the Manx language;
- * To recognise and address the Department of Education's failure to adhere to its existing policy regarding the language, i.e. to provide lessons to all children who wish to learn it;
- * To actively encourage government employees to learn and use Manx;
- * To recognise the viability of re-establishing Manx as a community language;
- * To recognise the potential economic benefits to be accrued from the study and teaching of the language;
- * To create a standing committee of government with responsibility for Manx to ensure the progression of these recommendations.

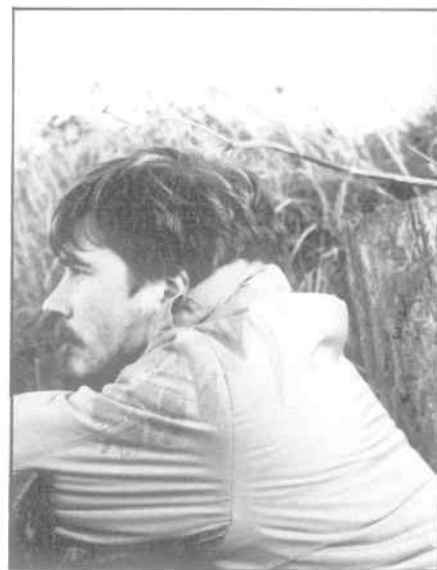
Phil Gawne, Mec Vannin's Cultural Officer, focused the Committee's attention on the practical ways in which Manx should be promoted both in Mann and abroad. Mec Vannin, he states, would like to see —

- * A unit set up to teach children Manx from reception class through to the end of their primary education.
- * The department encourage pre-school Manx play groups.
- * A Manx A-level course to be provided after the department has established its planned GCSE exam course in the language.
- * Funding for research into Manx made available. In the long term, it calls for a Celtic studies department to be established which would include courses in Manx.
- * A post should be created for a Manx language coordinator to liaise with the language groups, Celtic governments and the Manx public.
- * More time should be made available on Manx Radio for Manx language broadcasting.
- * The Manx Heritage Foundation should be reorganised so that it is more in touch with the people it is supposed to be helping.

The submission concludes: "The proposals listed in this submission would of course require a considerable increase in the current amount spent on Manx Gaelic were they to be implemented.

Tynwald has recognised the importance of the Manx language to the Manx nation. Tynwald now needs to put its money where its mouth is."

In light of all the submissions in favour of promoting Manx one would hope that the Committee will recommend further improvements to enhance the status of the language.



Phil Gawne

At the Celtic League's AGM this year the following resolution was adopted:

"Following Tynwald's recent request that the Department of Education should look into the future of the Manx language, this AGM calls upon the Department of Education to recognise the considerable role which successive Manx governments have played in the decline of Manx. Recognition of the Government's neglect of and, at times, open hostility to Manx should be combined with a plan of compensation towards Manx in which the language is actively promoted and supported".

This Tynwald would be wise to address the damage successive governments and official bodies have inflicted on the Manx Language.

Footnote

In a response to a request from parents to cater for the growing number of Manx speaking children in Manx schools, the Department of Education offered a Saturday morning school at a cost of £15 per term per child, if the Department could find a teacher. The class would be open to non-Manx speaking children!

The parents said no.

The Celtic Den

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CELTICA

New Visions for the Future

Some 200 delegates attended The Second Green Dialogue Conference organised by the Jamahir Society for Culture and Philosophy in Tripoli, Libya over the weekend 3-5th November. The delegates came from all over the world and included representatives from the Progressive Nationalists, Marxists, Socialists and Green/Environmentalist movements.

The Celtic League's General Secretary attended the conference to present a paper (text below) in the section *New Visions for the Future*.

In addition the General Secretary was asked to act as *rapporteur* for the penultimate session (Panel 5) which considered the threat posed by global nuclear weapons and also the impact of the mass media and the threat posed when external cultural values are imposed via that medium on indigenous societies and ethnic minorities. The General Secretary was also a platform member for the concluding session which called for world peace, recognition of the differing cultural aspirations and global security free from weapons of mass destruction.

As indicated above the conference represented a wide and diverse range of people from different cultures and religions. **That is was able to reach a positive consensus and aspiration for a better world society was no mean achievement.**

PROMOTING NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION

The basis of any effective International Organisation

The following builds on a previous paper presented by Bernard Moffatt at a Conference in Rumania just over a year ago. See "National Self-Determination to counter the Euro-American political economic bloc" *Carn* 85.

OLD versus NEW NATIONALISM

Throughout history, the potential for the extreme has always manifested itself

and certainly through nationalism. This year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War 2, an anniversary that reminds us of the cruellest and most abhorrent manipulation of nationalist sentiment. The continuing existence and support (no matter how minimal) of fascist groups and political parties across Europe are themselves potent warnings of the potential for disaster still.

Other events illustrate the terrible consequences of blind patriotic fervour. The Bosnian tragedy presents a harrowing example of the capacity for terror. There are hundreds of examples of territorial disputes aligned with the various cultural differences of groups involved. I think instantly of N. Ireland, where each side uses religion, language, music, dance, to mark themselves apart.

Less dramatically, I look at the less openly divisive and violent nationalism of, say, Britain and America which presents a stagnant jingoism which is used to justify actions and stifle opposition or debate. This is perpetually used by many governments to justify policy or ideology – nationalism as an empty tool to pacify and fool. On a smaller scale I look at those who deny nationalism a political dimension at all. In my own country, I have encountered many who believe encouraging cultural nationalism alone will guard against that which I have just described. These purists are making a big mistake.

Nationalism, in whatever form, always consists of a tension between the cultural and political. If the gut instinct of nationalism is a feeling of belonging to a community, then culture is crucial in defining who belongs.

Without the political, these individuals will only gel (come together) as a cultural entity and remain unrepresented. The tension comes when the definition of who 'belongs' is called into question – when instead of culture representing, it begins to dictate. Simply speaking, we have always seen the dangers of nationalism when it becomes inflexible, and as the political and cultural dimensions reflect and react to each other the consequences are potentially disastrous. Cultural nationalists can never become complacent – burying your head in the sand and ignoring the politics of nationalism is no answer. It is apathy – and

that is as dangerous as the most virulent Fascism. It allows fascism to flourish and manipulate.

So there needs to be a political dimension, but again there needs to be a balance. Essentially most political action by nationalists is negatively driven. It is always critical without presenting its own alternative. Irish nationalism has suffered from this, for example, I am reminded how republicans pre-1916 procrastinated endlessly about the alien system of Britain, and the 'foreign' structures unsuited to Ireland. When taking power in newly independent Ireland, they essentially adopted these structures, having spent no time devising new ones.

In essence, there was no social message. Nationalists constantly make the mistake of assuming that because they want to run a country, it will automatically be better run! Nationalism has to offer more – we have to present a real feeling of ownership of one's country.

'New' progressive nationalism must proceed on two fronts – the cultural and the political.

Culturally we have to accept that nationalism must seek to become inclusive not exclusive. Who 'belongs' cannot be defined by race, religion, hair colour or other increasingly ludicrous criteria. It's not realistic or human. I live on a small island (Mann), relatively unknown in the wider world but with enough of a population influx to 'upset' traditional ideas on what makes a person authentically 'Manx'. It basically comes down to acceptance. Do we accept different cultural influences and viewpoints as enriching to our existing culture or do we reject and seek to isolate ourselves? I know a little of the development of my own Celtic culture to see the influences from Europe and further East still. Mixing, diversifying made my culture and will continue to do so. I despise purists – they cannot accept progress, and the political translation of the cultural piety reaches its zenith in acts of 'ethnic cleansing'.

A multi-cultural approach is needed because most societies are multi-cultural. Culture must not become the single defining aspect of a country. To allow that to happen would be to celebrate uniformity and isolation, and set dangerous

precedents. Diversity in culture is possible, and much needed, within any nation-state.

The potential for national unity comes through the political expression of this tolerance and open-mindedness. I always quote the Irish revolutionary James Connolly because no one expresses this idea better:

"True patriotism seeks the welfare of each in the happiness of all"

The socioeconomic dimension presents the best opportunity to pursue unity. A nation that pursues its inhabitants welfare on equal terms can be the only true incarnation of nationalism. Nationalism without an intertwined socialist ethic is useless. It is the love of a piece of land, not the pursuit of individual and collective well-being. It reinforces a sense of powerlessness, of detachment and alienation, instead of replacing that with mutual involvement, responsibility and dependence. Briefly, and somewhat idealistically I admit 'new' nationalism re-introduces a little humanity into ideology.

To achieve this I believe we have to roll back the engulfing political and economic power blocs that continue to develop. They represent a depressing internationalism and an illusory one.

CURRENT INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

Presently we have two main types of international blocs. The first is the economic-dominated power bloc, best represented by the European Union, which pursues seemingly common interests of the main European countries. The other is the mainly political United Nations which has more honourable intentions of promoting dialogue and co-operation between nations on a worldwide basis.

The EU first. Its position is both strong and flimsy. The current scale of involvement necessitates strong commitment from all member states. But there has been much resistance from member states on the question of sovereignty. Many countries, including the United Kingdom and Denmark, are worried that what they initially saw as an economic alliance is gradually gaining an unhealthy influence over purely 'state' affairs. I sympathise strongly with this view – however little I like the English government, I recognise its sovereignty over its own people. I also dislike the idea of a bureaucracy hundreds of miles away, making decisions that affect lives and situations without any real accountability or consultation. The potential for disaster is enormous. The faceless organisation of Orwell's 1984 springs to mind, or perhaps more appropriately that of Kafka's 'The Castle'. **Could the EU possibly be compared to a rigid/inflexible/unstoppable/self-serving power bloc?**

The point is that economic interest is not the key to real co-operation. It can be broken down as easily as markets rise and fall. Witness the roller-coaster relations of EU countries as testimony to that.

The UN serves as an example of the other extreme. It is again an example of bureaucracy gone wrong, but this time without the motivation of economic interest – it in fact suffers because of lack of motivation and real direction. As the EU acts, regardless of diversity, the UN splutters impotently, inconsistently and half heartedly. For instance, it thrusts straight into Somalia, but prevaricates over what to do in Bosnia. It establishes a war crimes commission as a way of doing something, anything, over Bosnia, but ignores Cambodia. Worse still it seems as the world becomes more volatile with the ending of the Cold War the agency set up to seek peace seems incapable of change. As one former UN Commander in Bosnia, Major General Lewis Mackenzie asserts, from his own experience

"after five decades, the UN's bureaucracy is firmly entrenched and stubbornly resistant to change..."

It is in effect another power bloc that detaches and diffuses efforts to produce change.

So what is the solution?

Well we have to start somewhere, we have to start by changing the structure of our own nations, and the way they think and co-operate.

Again I quote M.G. Lewis Mackenzie

"When we look closely at the UN we really see ourselves. For the UN is merely the sum of all its parts"

With the changing of the structure of our own individual 'part', we can begin to look again at the whole. We need to integrate our approaches to world trade and defence. How else can we keep a grip on the sort of nationalism that produces Bosnia, N. Ireland,.....?

Huge power blocs are not the answer to our problems. We should know by now that any attempt to stifle or repress individual or collective identity is a huge mistake and is always counterproductive. Instead small state government can form the basis for mutually productive relationships. By promoting economic, cultural and global concerns beyond our borders we can perhaps learn to reconcile nationalism with internationalism, and make the two essential to the well-being of each.

So I propose, as I did in Rumania, a counter attack by nationalists. Narrow self-interest will never succeed - as we owe the diverse cultures within our borders respect, intelligence and representation, so too we owe all those beyond.

Same but different – we must operate on that principle.

J.B. Moffatt



B. Moffatt outside the National Archive, Tripoli



Manx Parliamentary Delegation visits Ireland

A parliamentary delegation from the Isle of Man visited Ireland in the first week of November as guest of the Cathaoirleach (Speaker) of the Dáil, Seán Treacy.

The delegation consisting of Minister of Education, Hazel Hannan, MHKs S. Roden and B. Braidwood with Pam O'Connor as secretary, met various Irish Ministers of State and visited a number of facilities including Scoil Lorcáin an Irish medium school in south Dublin which made a strong impression on the delegation. A lunch was hosted by P. McKiernan Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs in Iveagh House in mid week. Amongst the Irish invitees was Cathal Ó Luain, Chairman of the Celtic League. He was glad to hear expressions of support for the Manx Language from newly elected MHKs Roden and Braidwood and took the opportunity to reiterate the Celtic League submission on the Manx Language to Minister Hannan. (see page 21)



Appeal

Jakez Kerjean, secretary of Ti ar Brezhoneg, Paris, wants to establish, ahead of the Expolangues exhibition held annually in February in the French capital, a list of all the universities in the world in which Breton can be studied. May I appeal to the readers of CARN who know about such courses to send me this information for transmission, see address p. 24. Additional details (number of hours/week, diplomas/degrees, etc...) will be welcome.

Alan Heusaff

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There is a very lively 4-page interview with several 15 to 20 year-old students from the Lannuon Lycée in the Sept.-Oct. issue. They testify to a widespread renewal of interest in Breton traditional music and dances. They expressed preference for festoù-noz instead of the rock concerts: they allow a closer contact between people they foster a sense of community, the sound is not deafening, there is no gesticulation, a change from the individualism of modern society.

CELTIC HISTORY REVIEW

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

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AL LIAMM, literary magazine in Breton, 5 issues/year, subscription 180F (Brittany and France), 200F/250F airmail (other countries) to P. ar Bihan, 16 rue Fours à Chaux, 35400 Saint-Malo.

In the Sept.-Oct. issue, the most substantial and original pieces are from Y. Guehennec, reminding of the social conditions which led to the widespread double revolt of 1675 in Brittany, and from Reun ar C'Halan exemplifying the use which could be made of mimicry to enrich our literature. F. Favereau contributes recollections of the recently deceased writer P.J. Helias, and G. Kervella gives an account of Ar Vro Bagan's tour in Ireland.

C.L. data given to Irish Department of the Marine

At the request of the Irish delegate to the Irish Maritime Organisation, Mr Guilfoyle, the Celtic League, General Secretary, Bernard Moffatt supplied a full dossier on dumping of munitions in the Beaufort Dyke and sea areas. The information identified five categories of dumped materials:

- 1 Munitions – vast quantities which the British Government admit has been dumped at approx. 20 sites around Britain and Ireland.
- 2 Chemical weapons – now admitted to have been dumped at sites around Ireland and off Scotland. The most potentially hazardous of these are the nerve gas deposits off Kerry and Donegal and the substantial quantities of mustard gas in the North Channel.
- 3 AEA disposals again admitted for the Biscay site south of Kerry and also north of Donegal. Also the suspected dumping of 2500 tonnes in the Beaufort trench. A question mark also surrounds the disposal of contaminated material from the 1957 Windscale incident.
- 4 Commercial disposals included explosives and chemicals. Large quantities of cyanide contaminated spoil was dumped in the Beaufort Dyke.
- 5 Finally details were enclosed relating to the C.L.'s attempts to elicit information on the de-commissioning and disposal of chemical and biological agents manufactured at the British chemical weapons plant (now closed) at Nancekuke in Cornwall.

The Irish Department of the Marine was requested to continue pressure for a full disclosure of the British Sea dumping programme.

Membership and Subscriptions

All those who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership fee (including *Carn*) and subscription rates are IR£10; Stg£10; 90FF or US\$20.00 (US funds, cheques drawn on a US bank). Europe Stg.£10 and airmail outside Europe Stg. £13.00

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

ALBA Mairi Denovan, Old Mission House, Nth. Erradale, Ross-shire IV21 2DS.

BREIZH Subscriptions: Youenn Craff, 145 Straed Talbodek, 29300 BEI/BAYE, Brittany.

CYMRU Jina Gwyrfai, 3 Croes Y Waen, Waenfawr, Caernarfon, Gwynedd.

ÉIRE c/o 33 Bóthar Bancroft, Tamhlacht, BÁC 24.

KERNOW Martyn Miller, 10 Trewartha Court, Pound Street, Liskeard.

MANNIN Cristl Jerry, 6 Glenfaba Road, Peel.

LONDON BRANCH Robat ap Tomos, "Dyffryn", Gretton Fields, Gretton, Cheltenham, Glos. GL54 5HH, England.

USA Stephen Paul de Villo, 313 East 201 Street, Bronx, New York 10458.

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CEAP BREATAINN Frangag Nic Eachainn, Box 179, Mabou, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Canada BOE 2WO.

The General Secretary and P.R.O. of the Celtic League is **Bernard Moffatt**, 11 Hilltop View, Farmhill, Braddan, Mannin.

The Editor is **Ms P. Bridson**, 33 Bóthar Bancroft, Tamhlacht, BÁC 24, Éire.

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