

# COXFN

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

Nr. 42

60p

SUMMER 1983

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THE QUARTERLY PERIODICAL  
OF THE CELTIC LEAGUE  
IN ENGLISH & CELTIC LANGUAGES

## SUPPORT WANTED

I am in receipt of a letter from Kuzul Skoazel in Rennes asking for our support for Youn Chaillou, Yannig Le Bechenec, Bernez Boulc'h and Jean Francois Bideault, all of whom have been imprisoned for refusing to join the French army, Jean Bideault as recently as June 24th. They are being held in Jacques Cartier prison in Rennes and the first three have begun a hunger strike in support of their demand for official status as political prisoners. Kuzul Skoazel ask that letters of support be sent to them at 22 Rue St. Michel, 35000 Rennes.

## festivals

As a member of the Ros Keltiek dance team, I shall be visiting three Celtic festivals this summer: Yn Cruinnaght, the Celtic Congress and Festival Interceltique Lorient. This aspect of inter-celtic life is certainly flourishing and I shall doubtless refer to all three somewhere in the next issue. Should anyone wish to submit their impressions of these (or any other) festivals for the next issue, I may consider a mini-feature on the subject.

## electoral politics

Following elections in most of the six nations this spring, it has become obvious that there is little co-ordination amongst the various parties; not only are results quite different but the respective campaigns seem totally unconnected. The Celtic League has always supported national political movements and favours closer links between them. Given the comments by Ifan Lloyd about the Blaid in this issue of CARN, is it not time for each nation's major parties to get together and attempt to hammer out a 'Celtic Manifesto' that will inspire the people of each country to more positive behaviour at the polls.

At a time when the cultural and linguistic aspects of Celtic identity are increasingly being supported by a formerly apathetic public, it is ironic that the political movement languishes between peak and trough, unsure, even, of the direction in which it is going. Indeed the only similarity between the various political movements/parties is that none of them seem to be moving (with the possible exception of Sinn Féin). As one of the many unsuccessful candidates, I certainly feel that a 'meeting of minds' would do more to further our individual and collective aims than any amount of policy revision, trimming or purging. Let's hope someone takes up the challenge!

## carn noweth?

Those of you with long memories will remember that in CARN 39 I suggested a change in the format of this august periodical. While the idea is dormant, it is by no means dead. Thus, I shall be producing a special issue for the AGM (a dozen or so copies) to demonstrate my ideas. My hope is that, if adopted, the new format for CARN will make it more appealing to the general public, without in any way lowering the tone or quality of the contents. Bearing in mind the shortage of time at the AGM, it would be a good idea for Branches to think about what they want from CARN so that the discussion of it can be as useful as possible.



## CELTIC LEAGUE

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 1983

As already announced, this year's AGM will be held at Trelowarren House, St. Mawgan in Meneage, near Helston, Kernow, from Friday 2nd to Sunday 4th September. Apart from reviewing the work of our organisation during the past year (reports will be given by our General and Branch Officers), the agenda will include discussion of constitutional matters and of an invitation to co-operate with the federalist **Europe 2000** in setting up a group of Branches in the Celtic countries.

We have received from the Cornish Branch the following draft Agenda:

## Friday 2nd, evening:

- social gathering;
- General Council meeting;
- Possible discussion of CARN.

## Saturday 3rd, morning:

- Officers' reports;
- Branch reports;
- Election of Officers.

## afternoon &amp; evening:

- Leave at 12.30 for Wadebridge and the Gorsedh.

## Sunday 4th, morning:

- Discussion of resolutions.

## afternoon:

- Discussion of resolutions;
- Discussion of CARN (if not already done on Friday evening).

Branches are invited to send in resolutions for discussion, prioritised in the normal way. In order to cover the maximum business, 2 resolutions only from each Branch will be discussed and there will be a time limit on such discussion. Resolutions should be submitted to the General Secretary (with a copy to the Cornish Branch if possible) by August 20th (unless otherwise instructed by the General Secretary).

## SUMMER SCHOOL

The Summer School will take place at Trelowarren House from Monday 5th to Friday 9th September. Accommodation details were given in CARN 41 and are also set out on the registration form. **Please note that the registration form needs to be submitted for either the AGM, the Summer School or both.**

Although a detailed programme of the Summer School was promised with this CARN, the uptake has been so poor so far (only 4 at the time of going to press) that it has proved impossible to produce. **Registration forms are available from Branch Secretaries or direct from the Cornish Branch. They are available in Cornish/English and Breton/French and should be returned to Jenefer Lowe, Boundy's House, Lelant, St. Ives, Kernow as soon as possible.**

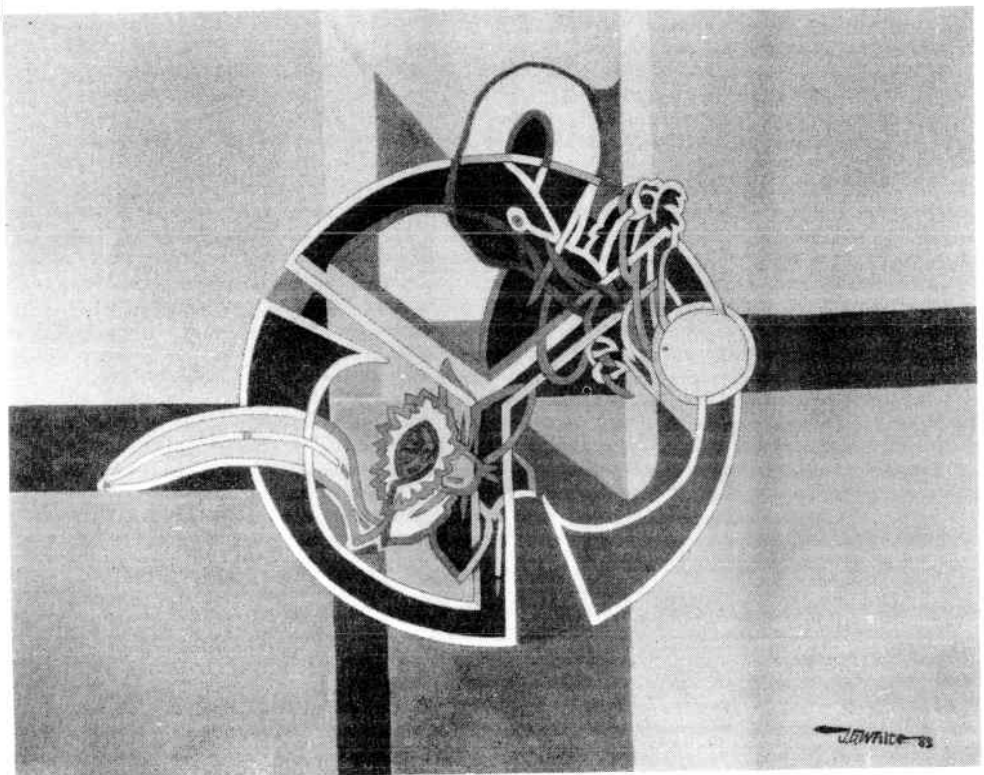
**The deadline for CARN 43 is September 9th [The last day of the Summer School] for publication on October 8th.**

## CELTIC SPIRITS:

24" x 36", acrylic on canvas, 1983.

*The brooch-like format should recall a neo-celtic formulation in the art-nouveau (art deco) genre.*

(C) John G. White.



# On the Gaelic front

le  
Frang Mac Thomais

After nearly one hundred years in existence, An Comann Gaidhealach have decided that a major look at the constitution and function of the organisation is needed. Conscious of the changing pattern of demand in relation to the development of Gaelic language and culture, an immediate examination of the workings of the Association is to be undertaken. Members have been canvassed to submit their ideas and it will be interesting to see just how many of An Comann's members are sufficiently interested to swamp the Executive with a flood of useful ideas.

What is still needed, and has been stated in this column many times now, is an overall executive facility for Gaelic, through which all the varied and various efforts of Gaelic-based bodies can be channelled to achieve the greatest effect for Gaelic. Whether An Comann can perform this work remains doubtful, at least

while it acts as an agency with a Branch structure. It would be interesting to know whether its membership is based on Branches or on individuals.

At An Comunn's AGM in May, an interesting Resolution was passed, to the effect that all meetings of the Association should be conducted in Gaelic. That this has not been the case till this year may come as a surprise to the language-based bodies in other Celtic countries. The main reason for the situation has been that for many years the Association has been heavily dependent on the efforts, sympathies and interests of either learners of Gaelic or even, in some cases, non-Gaelic speakers.

Indeed, it can be said that the enhanced status and regard for Gaelic today has been achieved by the efforts of those who were not native speakers, but who were sufficiently concerned at the parlous state of Gaelic that they joined 'the Cause.' Now that the Resolution has been passed, it makes one wonder whether An Comunn can replace the

expertise and enthusiasm of the non-Gaelic-speaking element on its various Committees with native speakers with the same degree of commitment. After all, these have been lacking in the past. Perhaps an all-Gaelic An Comunn might now spur native speakers to fresh interest.

The question may be asked: why restructure the total use of Gaelic to An Comunn's Committees? Should not the same principle be extended to An Comunn's major annual showcase - the National Mod, where English is spoken to such an extent that it horrifies our Welsh and Irish friends. Modern electronic means for simultaneous translation can be used these days. Surely one near-future Mod can be used as the base for an experiment, so that at least An Comunn can prove it can be done. Native speakers will be delighted, and non-Gaelic speakers will not be excluded by the language barrier.

An Comunn are now committed to holding the 1985 Mod in Nova Scotia. Rough estimates of the cash needed to mount the event (travelling expenses for competitors, accommodation, food and the like) make the total not short of £500,000. An Comunn hope to raise the necessary funding from the business sector of Scotland. One cannot be restrained from asking whether this large sum of money should be devoted to a National Mod, when An Comunn itself runs on an annual deficit. How much could be done for the language were that sum of money used to develop the language and its culture in Scotland?

An interesting appointment was made recently to the College Sabhal Mor Ostaig, as principal. He is Sean O Driscoll, a native of Galway and previously employed as a training executive with Udaras na Gaeltachta. Sabhal Mor is now well on the way to establishing itself in the educational field, with a significant Gaelic-based element in its Courses.

A final note of interest. The Law Society of Scotland have rejected a proposal to recognise Gaelic as a preferred language of a substantial number of people in Scotland. Though the support for Gaelic was greater than was anticipated, the motion fell by 34 votes. Maybe next time!



S.N.P. picket at Dept. of Employment, London, June 1983

## EXCHANGE PUBLICITY

**BREIZH.** Magazine de la culture Bretonne. 11 issues, 80Fr/annum to Breizh, Le Pradi Tredion 56250 Elven. CCP 2135-53 V Rennes.

**THE IRISH DEMOCRAT,** monthly paper published in London. For the unification of Ireland as an independent democratic republic STL£5/annum to the Manager, 177 Lavender Hill, London, SW11 5TE, or to Janice Williams, 22, Belgrave Road, Dublin 6. To be read for keen analysis of the politics of the Irish State. The February issue, dealing with the campaign to vilify the Fianna Fáil leader Ch. Haughey, argued strongly that it was designed to facilitate moves to bring Ireland into N.A.T.O. The March issue, commenting on the "European" Assembly resolution in support of an enquiry into the 6-Counties which has infuriated Mrs. Thatcher, sees its value as being a further step towards the internationalisation of the Irish/English question.

**DALC'HOMP SONJ.** Revue Historique Bretonne. Illustrated, quarterly, mainly in French. Articles devoted to popularisation of a knowledge of Breton history which official teaching ignores. Some contributions from other Celtic countries. The editor is the secretary of the Breton branch of the Celtic League, J.Y. Le Touze, 3 Place P. Bert, Lorient 56100. Subscription 30FR/annum.

**AN BANER KERNEWEK/CORNISH BANNER,** C.N.P.'s quarterly magazine, 60p/copy. Subscriptions £3.50 (£6.00 overseas airmail) to CNP Publications, Trelispen, Gorran, St. Austell, Cornwall.

**ARMOR.** Monthly, 72 pp, in French. News/articles on all aspects of life in Brittany. 93F.60 to Armor, 7 Pont St Jacques, 22400 Lambal. CCP 2691 -70 Y Rennes.

## Festivals

**THE INTERNATIONAL CELTIC CONGRESS** will be held in Aberystwyth from July 25th to 30th. Full board for the period, £60., at the Pantycelyn Hall; cheaper accommodation may be available for students and other young people. Book early! Write to Delwyn Phillips, 20 Stryd Newydd, Aberystwyth, SY23 2AT, Wales, for further details.

The **EISTEDDFOD**, Welsh national language festival, 1st-7th August, Llangefni, Mon/Anglesea. **MOD NA ALBAN**, Scottish national language festival, 8th-14th October, Motherwell near Glasgow. The **OIREACHTAS**, Irish language festival, 21st-30th October in An Cheathrú Rua (25 miles west of Galway - music and singing competitions, plays, numerous other events.)

# E skeud an itron Thatcher

Niverenn 41 CARN a oa mouler a-raok an dilennadeg vras kaset da benn er 'Rouantelezh Unanet' d'an 9 a Vezheven. Gant an dale hegasus a vez atav o tasparzhañ ar pakadoù hag ar skouerennoù e tegouezho gant al lennerien pellik goude dezho bezañ lennet er c'helaouennoù pemdeziek gant piv eo aet ar maout. Daoust da se ne vo ket fall emichañs teurel ur sell diwar-giz war disc'h ar c'hrogad rak e-pad bloavezhioù da zont e vo levezonet gantañ buhez an darn vrasañ eus ar Gelted.

Un trec'h bras e voe evit ar Virourien ha dreist-holl evit o rener, Margaret Thatcher. 397 eus o re a voe dilennet tra ma ne dape Strollad al Labour nemet 209 hag ar C'Hevredad SDP-Liberal netra nemet 23 sez. En holl o deus ar Virourien 146 sez muioù h eget ar re all a-gevret.

Ar genreizhad-dilenn vreizhveuriat eo a ro tu d'ur strollad da gaout kement a lañs war e gevezerien. Ne vez nemet ur c'hannad e pep tolead-dilenn, hag an hini a bak ar muiañ a vouezhioù a ya e-barzh. Ne vez ket a wech all. Direizh eo e-keñver strolladoù'zo. Ne vez niver ar sezioù tamm ebet e kenfeur gant hini ar mouezhioù roet. Peadra zo da zispourbellañ pa weler n'en deus ar C'Hevredad nemet 4% eus ar sezioù goude dezho kaout 26% eus ar mouezhioù. Ha daoust d'o muianiver marzhus e Ti ar Gumun n'o deus ket ar Virourien abeg da ganañ Rapronobich rak n'o deus-int nemet 43% eus an dud a-du ganto, 2% nebeutoc'h eget ar wech diwezhañ. Met petra'vern! Gant ar bern kannaded - se diouzh he zu he devo an Itron Houarn tu da ren hep bezañ chalet da vout troc'hliet. Ur gouarnamant kreñv! Gouest da seveniñ traoù dispiljus d'ar bobl. Ha peo-gwir ez eo dezhi e rank an trec'h-se bezañ kretaet, e c'hall dibab mavdierned (ministred) sentus. Lakaet he deus dija un toullad kenseurted er-maez, Whitelaw bountet Kamb ar Aotrounez, Pym taolet a-gostez, peogwir ne oant ket prest d'ober diouzh he youl hep abegiñ, moarvat. M'he deus gounezet kement, daoust d'ar c'hresk spontus e niver an dud dilabour e-pad ar pevar bloaz tremenet, e c'hall trugarekaat ar c'helaouennoù bras, ar skingomz hag ar skinwel. Gouest int da lakaat e meur a benn goulo ar menozioù a garont dre forzh o adlavarout a mirout ouzh menozioù kontrol vezañ klevet. Piv zo e penn ar 'media'? Piv eo perc'hennet ar c'helaouennoù

bras? Ar re-se o deus galloud da ober ha da zispenn gouarnamantoù dre o levezon. Evel-se emañ gant an demokratiezh. Ne dal ket ar boan d'ar C'Hevredad SDP-Liberal klemm ma c'hoari ar reolennoù aozet gant daou strollad all a-enep dezho: int a harzfe ouzh kemm ivez ma vefent war c'horre. Ne dal ket ar boan da b-Plaid Cymru pe da 'n SNP klemm pa ne roer ket tu dezho da ziskleriañ o menozioù er Skinwel (nemet un hantereurvezh d'ar muiañ e-pad an emerc'had-dilen?): ar genreizhad zo framm e doare da badout ha d'en em zifenn. (Talvout a ra klemm evit broudañ o fobliou.).

Aesaet e voe an hent evel just d'ar Virourien gant an dizunvaniezh a ren a Strollad al Labour, mennadoù spis hag ur rener helavar oc'h ober diouer dezhañ. Pennabeg an trec'h evelkent eo personelezh an itron Thatcher. Hi a oar petra fell dezhi, hag a ziskouez an hent d'ar re a zo chalet gant dizurzhoù ar gevredigezh, ar 'monc'hwez', gwander Breizh-Veur. Harpet eo bet gant an dud o deus un dra bennak war o anv ha moarvat gant miliadoù ha miliadoù eus ar werin aes da entañ bepred pa welont unan o wintañ uhel an Union Jack. Heuliet e vez an hini a oar ren... ha pa ve aberzhioù da ober, keit ha ma teu e daol da vat. He zaol da vat! Taoul an Inizi Malouat en deus graet ur mell pezh toull e yalc'h ar Rouanez met ne ra ket re a zroug c'hoazh. Ar Saozon, hag hor C'Hengelted arallakaet siwazh, a driad atav o zammig kalon da galz anezho gant ar soñj e c'hellfent c'hoazh bezañ ur galloud bras er bed. Lakaat a ra ar re-se o fiziñs en unan ha a lavar bezañ prest da bouezañ war an nozelenn nukleel (a-zevri-bev pe evit abafin) kentoc'h eget er re a gavfe furc'h dizarmañ hep gortoz ar re all d'hen ober. Kinnig dizarmañ ez untuel evel ma ra Strollad al Labour n'eo ket bet degemeret ken mat-se gant ar werin.

N'on ket o vont d'ober diougennoù met abegoù zo da soñjal e troio ar stur pelloc'h war zehou bremañ: Ne vo ket azhomm da ren dre zavedoù: aes a'walc'h e vo lakaat lezennoù da dremen e Ti ar Gumun. Lavarout a reer e vo kabestret ar sindikadoù ma c'hoariont o fennou-fall; e vo roet aotre d'ar bolis da vont groñs ouzh kabaduilherien e-seurt gant ar re o doa graet reuz e Toxteth n'eus ket keit-all. Bez'ez eus kannadad a c'houlenn degas ar setañs a vary en-dro. Thatcher hec'h unan zo a-du gant krougañ

torfedourien. Setu: urzh da gentañ, reizhder goude, m'az eus amzer, arc'hant, c'hoant da bledañ dezhañ. En he leviadurezh-diavaez n'eus ket da gaout aon e klasko an itron penvestif ar c'hroazour Reagan: hi zo ken gredus hag eñ. (Unanet-mat e seblant kezeg blein Kornog Europa bezañ, a-du gant mennadoù hennezh war da-chenn an armadurioù). Ma fell da dud ar Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament ober diskeladegoù re dregasus en-dro d'an diazevvaou bannañ-fuzeennoù e vint harzet hag ar bannadelloù a voenstallet evel divizet. N'o deus ket daleet ar Rusianed da embann ne zeuio netra bremañ diwar gendivizioù Genev: marteze emaint-i en entremar hag e soñj plegañ tamm pe damm da c'houlennnoù ar ; C'Hornog' met n'eo ket anat.

Kement-se zo a-bouez evit holl bobloù ar bed. Tostoc'h deomp, ar seurt Europa a vo patromet gant Thatcher, Kohl, Mitterand ha kompagnonezh ne vo ket gwall emsavus d'ar broiou bihañ, emren pe ziemren: dav vo dezho kaout youl start, anez se vo graet dezho chom fur ha mont da heul ar re vras. Renerezh kreñv e London koulz hag e Paris a vir ouzh emskiantekaat hor pobloù sujet. Deut eo ar pobloù kelt (nemet Iwerzhon) diwezhat da emskiantañ ouzh o broadelezh abalamour ma oant e-barzh stadoù impalaerour a rae berzh. Brav eo bezañ kevrennek gant ar re drec'h, ha pa ver mevel ganto.

Petra c'hoarvezo e Norzh-Iwerzhon da heul an dilennadeg-mañ hag a ziskouez ez eo war bellant emañ ar Vroadelourien hag al Lealourien o vont, an eil re niverusoc'h-niverusañ prest da harpañ an emgann, ar re all kinviet en o c'hasoni ouzh kement hini a brezeg eus unanif ar vro? N'eo ket warc'hoazh e tistroy ar peoc'h.

AH

Unusual terms: monc'hwez - inflation, arallakaet - alienated, deved - decree, diskeladeg - demonstration.

**The results of the Juns General Election in the 'United Kingdom' are briefly examined, together with the factors which led to Margaret Thatcher's triumph and the likely consequences for her home and foreign policy.**

## Oaled Diwan

The Breton language centre OALED DIWAN, which occupies a disused and now renovated large school building in Treglonou, 20 km North of Brest on the coast, will hold this summer two courses for the training of Diwan teachers, a Welsh-Breton and a Breton-Welsh beginners course (18 to 27 July) and a sailing course for Breton speakers (1-13 August). It will be open from 15 to 27 August to Breton speaking families while from the 4th to the 10th of September it will organise a course of familiarisation in the dialect of the area. Anyone wishing to take part will get further details from OALED DIWAN, Treglonou, 29214 Lanniliz, Brittany.

Their aim is to become a centre of social life through the medium of Breton. They have difficulties in finding enough voluntary

contributions to help repaying loans. Anyone wishing to help this very worthwhile undertaking is invited to buy 100 Ff shares.

## Diaspad

A group of members of the Breton Goursez, the "Confraternity of the Druids, Bards and Ovates of Brittany" corresponding to the Welsh Gorsedd and the Cornish Gorseth, have formed an association "Kelc'h Maksen Wledig" which publishes a quarterly called DIASPAD. They were dissatisfied with shortcomings (in particular the shallowness of thinking) in the Goursez. Having failed to get it to adopt their proposals for reform, they are going out on their own, carrying out their discussions and investigations in Breton, but publishing DIASPAD in French for the purpose of wider information. Few people in

the Breton movement have taken the Goursez seriously, particularly since one of our best writers, Jakez Riou, satirized it in his comedy "Gorsedd Digor" in the thirties; to most it seemed that there was nothing but theater the public ceremonies conducted by people wearing dresses of another age. Kelc'h Maksen Wledig wants to go deeper, as suggested by headlines in Diaspad Nr 2 such as "Coutume et Tradition," "Qu'est un druide?" "Communisme et enracinement" and particularly "Doctrinales" by Ph. Jouet who holds that to build an authentic Celtic community we must adopt a view of the world in perfect agreement with our tradition. (This leads him to examine what the Celtic religion is, its general characteristics - what the *sid* means - what brought about the adoption of Christianity). DIASPAD is thus not concerned with folklore but with continuing a living tradition. Subscription 50FF/annum to *Diaspad*, 15 rue de la Gaîté, 75014 Paris.

# 40 years in the service of Breton music

This year the Breton pipers Association BODADEG AR SONERIEN celebrates its 40th anniversary. Concerts, parades, competitions are taking place in several towns to mark this occasion.

On the eve of World War II Breton music had lost its popular appeal as a consequence of the officially supported drive to suppress the Breton culture. The few old musicians who still played our national instruments, the bombard and the biniou, had adopted more and more of the French popular airs but this did not prevent them losing ground to accordeonists, violinists, clarinetists, etc. at dances and festivals. They appeared only at some "pardons" and at the Breton dances fostered by "Celtic circles," folkloric groups which existed then only in a few cities. There were attempts to introduce the Scottish bag-pipe as a more glamorous form of the biniou as far back as 1895 but the first serious move to save the Breton music was made by Kenvreuriez ar Viniaouerien in 1932 in Paris, where a similar attempt to rehabilitate the Breton traditional dances was made fifteen years later.

However, in 1942 the Breton cultural and political movement reached a peak of activity unknown until then and it was on the occasion of a festival in Roazhon/Rennes, organised by the Celtic Institute, that *Bodadeg ar Sonerien* made its first public appearance. Among its founders was Polig Monjarret who was appointed its general secretary, a post he held for 20 years, after which he became its president. B.A.S. escaped the repression which destroyed all pre-war and war-time Breton associations and developed in spite of the hatred of the "Liberators" for every manifestation of the Breton spirit. Being strictly apolitical, it was able to run summer courses and to organise itself in groups known as *bagadoù*. By 1958 there were more than 100 of these, not only in Brittany but in many towns where Bretons had emigrated. Its "patrons" included people who were anything but Breton nationalists but at least they protected it against the attacks to which several of its members were subjected.

In order to control the anarchy which tended to result from its rapid growth B.A.S. established a "technical commission" to vet the Breton character and the standard of the music played by the *bagadoù*. It published in 1947 and 1953 collections of airs, and textbooks on how to play the instruments. In 1949 it started the publication of a printed periodical, AR SONER, which has now reached its 300th issue. In 1956 it founded a Competition of Bombard and Biniou Players thanks to which the old bag pipe, found too sharp by many listeners, was rehabilitated. For the past 25 years, B.A.S. has been invited to play and parade at festivals all over Brittany. Its concerts draw capacity audiences - several thousands on the first Saturday of the Lorient Interceltic Festival, for instance. B.A.S. did not confine itself to the performance of music. It took part in the foundation of KENDALC'H, the federation of Breton Folkloric Associations in 1951. It established links with musicians in other Celtic countries, among which it includes Galicia. Some 12 years ago it set up the Secours

Populaire Interceltique which has since brought about 100 children annually on holidays from Belfast and Derry to Brittany, away from the tensions and dangers of their cities. It launched *Devezh ar Brezhoneg*, a collection to help Breton language activities. Brittany's participation in the Killarney Pan-Celtic Festival is organised through its agency: in 1972 it launched the successful *Kan ar Bobl*, consisting of competitions in several types of Breton singing to determine who will represent Brittany in Killarney. Its president and the Kendalc'h president played a decisive role in obtaining in 1977 the Breton Cultural Charter, thanks to which the "Conservatoire Régional de Musique, Danse et Sports Traditionnels de Bretagne" could be built, just outside an Oriant/Lorient (since last year, hundreds of students attend weekly courses there, given by about 15 full - or part-time teachers, most of them ex-B.A.S. members.)

B.A.S. has thus played a seminal role in the development of the Breton consciousness since the war. Many of its members went on to become well-known musicians and to hold positions of responsibility in various spheres of life in Brittany. It can claim to have saved our

music and, contrary to the other Breton organisations, to have thus achieved its aim.

B.A.S. should not rest on its laurels however. It is disappointing that it has not tried to do more to help the restoration of Breton. Its leaders must realise that all the aspects of our culture are interlinked and that the position of our music will be durably strengthened only if our language regains a central role in our public life. As BREMAN points out, they have failed to project an integral vision of what the Breton culture should be. Their preoccupation was essentially folkloric, i.e. conservative. Among the steps which we, like the BREMAN correspondent, would urge BAS to take are the following: a) using Breton, on a par with French, in its external relations; b) put bilingualism into practice in the "Conservatoire" and in the Lorient Festival; c) give every encouragement to its young musicians to learn and speak Breton; d) provide music courses in Breton. That would prove beyond doubt that BAS was committed to the language. Will the new president, M. Pezenneg, take up the challenge?

A. Hensaff

## Breton farmers facing ruin

The Breton farmers took a prominent part in the demonstrations which occurred throughout the Spring in various parts of the French State territory against the import of agricultural products. These demonstrations... hi-jacking of lorries, burning of meat, soaking of vegetables and fruit in Diesel, stopping of trains, etc... - were triggered off by the farmers' inability to compete, even within their State borders, with the foreign producers. Years ago, the French government agreed to the system of M.C.A.'s (monetary compensation amounts) designed to help farmers in high currency EEC countries. This worked to the advantage of the export of certain French industrial products such as arms and cars but it allowed other governments, in effect, to subsidize their agriculture much too generously. According to the monthly ARMOR, the Germans compensate their cattle farmers at the rate of 1405 Fr per 350 kg carcass and the Dutch do the same for their calf producers at a much higher rate. Numerous arrangements enable the Americans, the Chinese, the Turks to bring meat into France via other EEC countries. As far as Brittany is concerned, the MCA system has contributed heavily to a situation where tens of thousands of farmers are on the brink of bankruptcy. How seriously they are affected can be judged from the fact that they who produce about one half of the total French pig meat spend 10.50 or 11 Fr per kg before they can put it on the market whereas thanks to the MCAs the Germans and the Dutch can export theirs at 7.50 Fr/kg. Beef, dairy products, eggs are similarly penalised.

No wonder that tempers ran high in the demonstrations which took place in April and May in Kemper, Kastellin, Banaleg,

Landivizio, St-Brieg, Roazhon, Paris, etc.

Violence in Kemper and Kastellin (attacks on government buildings and on a prison) followed the arrest of two young farmers who had seized official documents proving abuse in the importation of Dutch meat. Their main demand was the suppression of the MCAs.

But in Douar-Breizh/Republique Bretonne, the Strolled Pobl Vreizh (SPV) monthly, a Breton farmer states that this alone would not solve their problems. There are other conflicting interests than those which exist between the FNSEA (French National Farmers' Association) and the importers of foreign products. In the French territory it is almost only the Breton farmers who have specialised in animal production (cattle, pigs, chickens, eggs). They would need to pay for their feeding stuff only three quarters of the EEC prices, which were fixed under the pressure of the French cereal producers, if the latter were not protected by surcharges on the import of grain from such countries as the USA. But EEC intervention does not apply to meat, which is sold at "world" price, on the free market. However well the Breton farmers have organised themselves, finding new outlets and assessing the demand, the fact is that they have had to sell for most of the past seven years below production costs, which include the servicing of debts incurred in order to construct buildings and buy equipment.

The UDB monthly "Peuple Breton" (June) recognises the part played by the MCAs in depriving them of their livelihood but as socialists they refrain from joining in attacks on the Mitterand government and denounce the

## BRETON FARMERS FACING RUIN

exploitation of grievances by rightist French parties which, when they were in power, did nothing for the Breton economy, and as far as the farmers were concerned had no other solution than eliminating the small holdings. Le Peuple Breton suggests also that the demonstrations were organised primarily by a lobby of well-to-do conservative farmers with shares in the food industry. Why did they not protest during the years from 1974 to 1981, when incomes were worse than in 1982?

However, Le Peuple Breton publishes a speech given by Maryse Gautier at the St-Brieg meeting on April 18, accusing the successive French governments since 1969 of having betrayed the Breton farmers to their counterparts in the hard currency countries: "By accepting the MCA system they signed the death warrant of animal production in France and therefore that of the whole of Brittany since its agriculture is based on that type of production. IF WE BRETONS DON'T DO THINGS OURSELVES NOTHING WILL BE DONE FOR US."

Yes, but our farmers' organisations have yet to draw the conclusion that only a Breton government could take their interests at heart and represent them effectively in international negotiations. They still expect solidarity from the FNSEA, a centralistic-minded organisation for which, as for all the French parties, their difficulties are local, regional, subordinate to wider issues. No matter how much they fight, they may obtain some ad hoc measures but no long term solution. Unless, as L'Avenir de la Bretagne (organ or POBL) points out, they throw their weight on the side of those who are advocating political freedom for Brittany, there will be no future for them or their children (except to convert to uranium mining, as cynically proposed by an M.P. belonging to one of the government parties.)

Instead of facing the experimental evidence that the French Left, no more than the French Right, cares for Brittany, the UDB continues to hark on the necessity of backing the present government so as to prevent the return of the Chiracs and Giscard to power in Paris. This is playing short term French politics, of doubtful value for the advancement of socialism when one sees Mitterand co-operating with the "entrepreneurs" as well as for educating the Breton people to the reality of the fundamental divergence between their interests and the aims of the French State.

Strollad Pobl Breizh, standing for a sovereign Brittany, does not shun stating the uncomfortable truth that the plight of the Breton economy is due to its being tied to the French currency. A Breton currency could be supported by our strong agricultural potential and the dynamism of organisations which have shown themselves capable of creating markets independently of the French circuits. This of course would imply a Breton government. "To prevent any development in that direction, the French State curtails the expansion of the Breton food industry, nationalises the Banque de Bretagne with its entirely Breton capital, guarantees the price of wheat while leaving the meat prices to the mechanism of the free market. The first demand of our farmers should be that the French wheat be sold at world price." (DB-RB Nr. 14). A.H.

## Government directive on the teaching of regional languages

The Association of Breton Language Teachers, Unvaniezh ar Gelennerien Vrezhoneg, published a statement in January 1983 in which it examined the contents of the government directive relative to the teaching of "regional languages and cultures" issued in June 1982; it denounced the gap which continues to exist between official promises and the reality and put forward proposals to reduce it.

The main criticism bears on the scandalous shortfall in the government measures, the disparities between its own proposals and the means allocated for enacting them. The Bureau Regional d'Etudes et d'Information Socialiste which groups in Brittany the socialist M.P.s had asked that of the 17,000 jobs created recently in the National Education system at least 200 be given to Breton language teachers. This would still be only one tenth of the number needed since 50,000 schoolgoers have already expressed the wish to learn the language. But only four of the new posts were attributed to such teachers, for the 5 Breton departments.

The Unvaniezh finds it extraordinary that far more money is allocated to educating migrant workers in their own languages than to education in Breton not that it opposes their right but it wonders why French citizens don't benefit from the same concern?

The government directive refers to a three years' plan to ensure the teaching of the said regional subjects, "where the demand might (!) exists:" at the present rhythm that objective will never be reached... unless it is intended to discourage the demand. No attempt is made to define the means for its implementation. (This will seem extremely familiar to Irish speakers whose demands have resulted in the adoption by the Dublin government of a new plan by Bord na Gaeilge setting out many desirable goals, without anything definite being said regarding the necessary funds.)

There seems to be an extremely stiff opposition to the appointment of those - numbering 32 - who last year graduated in Breton: their degree was deemed adequate however for the appointment of a teacher of... Spanish! Loire-Atlantique, instead of seeing an improvement, has even less Breton language classes in its secondary schools than in recent years: in Naoned/Nantes, all lycées provided such classes but now only two do so.

The directive, issued by the minister of education, is to be criticised on several accounts:

**General policy:** When it says that "the teaching of the regional languages and cultures should not be copped in by excessive specialisation," it is the contrary of what is needed: a true cultural policy giving to the regions concerned the power to decide and the financial means to implement the required measures.

**Nursery and primary schools:** the government has decided to give only an experimental character to Breton teaching in these schools. The primary teachers will need to ask for parents' permission. There is no such obstacle or condition to the teaching of other subjects. The directive expresses concern because Breton

is used predominantly or exclusively in the Diwan schools: "the respective times given to French and Breton should ensure that one language does not dominate the other." As if the Breton language was in a position to threaten French! To survive, Breton must at least achieve equality with French. To-day's children are living in a society which is practically monolingually French-speaking. Diwan is only trying to restore some balance! Of course it must done wisely.

**Primary Teachers Training Colleges (Ecoles Normales):** they should provide at least a beginners course to the trainees for the year '82-'83. said the circular. In fact, the Vannes/Gwened where the trainees had 63 hours of Breton the previous year, in the last they had NOTHING!

It was further suggested that the E.N.s should avail if necessary of teachers from neighbouring secondary schools. This is not done for any other subject. And so many secondary school are themselves without Breton teachers! Seriously, how can a language be taught in such conditions?

**Secondary schools:** the minister proposes one hour of optional teaching of the language AND culture at the rate of one hour a week from the first to the fourth class. Before it was 2 hours for the language alone, the culture taught in French was in addition. Before only 10 students were required for a class: now it is 15.

CARN readers know about the CAPES qualification required to become a fully qualified permanent teacher in any subject: but the demand for a CAPES in Breton is still being refused. So it is only teachers of other subjects who can teach Breton... on a part time basis. The directive refers to some sort of test but does not define it nor link it with anything. In short, the government does not want Breton teaching to have the same status as the other subjects.

**Third level education:** The Unvaniezh points out that the Celtic department in Rennes/Roazhon has only 3 full time professor/lecturers for 336 students in third year whereas there are 12 teachers for 18 third year students of Classics! In Nantes, there is department of Celtic studies: why?

The statement issued by the Unvaniezh gives many details which for lack of space we cannot reproduce here.\* It is obvious that in the absence of a clearly stated policy and clearly defined means, the Mitterand government offers little more and in some respects even less than its predecessors to the Bretons towards repairing the damage done to their "personnalité collective" (Giscard dixit).

Herri Leperlier

If interested in obtaining a copy of the "Dossier," in French, write to the Unvaniezh, "An Douarenn," 21 rue des Tribunaux, 56000 Gwened, Brittany, enclosing contribution towards the cost.

# The 1983 General Election in Wales

Four years ago after the last general election I wrote in CARN 26 that in the next one the Conservative and Labour parties would lose a lot of their supporters and "at least 12% of Welsh voters will be looking for another party to support;" either the Liberal Party or Plaid Cymru would benefit. I mention this, partly to point out that CARN is sometimes well worth reading for the accuracy of its forecasts on Celtic affairs, and partly to show that sociology, often unfairly attacked as a pseudo-science, is a useful tool when correctly used, as in this case, to produce an accurate forecast. The table below, which gives the results of the general election of 9 June 1983 compared with those of 3 May 1979, shows that 12.3% of the Welsh electorate abandoned the Conservative and Labour parties to support the Alliance (the old Liberal Party allied with the Social Democratic Party, which split from the Labour Party in 1981.)

The decline in the vote for other candidates is entirely accounted for by the retirement of George Thomas, the Speaker, elected with 29,032 votes in Gorllewin Caerdydd (Cardiff W.) in 1979 by a combination of all the English parties. Thus nearly all his votes must be regarded as additional votes lost by Labour and the Conservatives.

Some things cannot be forecast by sociology: the Falkland War, which saved the Conservatives from losing as many votes as I expected; the split in the Labour Party, which ensured that it lost a good many more. But four years ago I was able to prophesy that "it is unlikely to be Plaid with its present policies" which would pick up the 12% stray voters. Indeed it managed to achieve a net loss to the Alliance nearly as large as that of the Conservatives, proportional to the number of their votes.

### Plaid Cymru's Successes and Failures

The first thing a nationalist will notice in the table above is that both Plaid M.P.s were re-elected. Dafydd Wigley in Caernarfon got 52.7% of the poll and beat his nearest rival by over 11,000 votes. The second thing to be noticed is that Plaid's total vote declined for the fourth successive general election in a row. This slow decline conceals, however, what is happening: in Welsh-speaking Wales (about 9 of the 38 constituencies) Plaid is holding its ground and even gaining. In two constituencies it was unlucky not to win this time: Ynys Môn (Anglesey), where Ieuan Wyn Jones pushed the vote up from 20.3% to 33.3% - since the victorious Tory only had 37.5% this seat should fall to Plaid in 1987/8; and Caerfyrddin (Carmarthen), where Gwynfor Evans got 27.1% - he came third but the Labour winner only had 31.6% of the vote. Elsewhere, the architect-cum-pop-singer Dafydd Iwan got 10.4% in Conwy, and Hywel Teifi Edwards, the most amusing lecturer I have ever heard in a life filled with lectures, got 12.2% in Llanelli.

Meanwhile in English-speaking Wales the collapse of Plaid, forecast in CARN 40 at the time of the Gŵyr (Gower) by-election, took place. In Gŵyr itself, incidentally, Plaid, which got 7% at the last general election and 9% in the by-election, dropped to 3.2% this time (the constituency boundaries have been changed, as in the case of most Welsh constituencies at this

election, but not in Gŵyr by enough to affect this evidence - elsewhere in this article I only compare results this time with last time in the few cases where electoral boundaries are unchanged). Only in five seats in the central valleys of Morgannwg did Plaid get more than 5% of the poll, from 7.2% at Castell Nedd (Neath) in the west upto 13.6% at Caerfili, and old stronghold of the party, in the east. However, even in this area every candidate came firmly in fourth place except for Geraint Davies in the Rhondda, who beat the Conservative and, alone in all of English-speaking Wales, pushed up the Plaid vote from 8.4% to 10.2%. Not far away in Merthyr Tudful and Rhymni the Plaid vote shrank to 4.8%, though as recently as 1979 a Plaid town-council was ruling Merthyr Tudful.

That 24 English-speaking seats out of the 38 Welsh constituencies gave Plaid Cymru the 38 Welsh constituencies gave Plaid Cymru less than 5% of their polls not only signifies that in a large part of the country the party has ceased to be politically significant. It may also cause it great financial difficulties at future elections because proposals are now afoot to increase the deposit forfeited by candidates who don't obtain a reasonable share of the vote. The deposit is at present £150 and the share to be obtained 12.5%, so this election cost Plaid £4,950. The suggested level for the deposit is £1,000, while the share is to be between 5% and 7.5%. If this proposal goes through, Plaid Cymru will lose in and election like this one £24,000 to £26,000. But it can scarcely withdraw from contesting at least the great majority of Welsh seats, or it will forfeit its right to political broadcasts on radio and television. This election it received a more generous allowance than ever before because the English parties fell out among themselves about how time should be allocated, so the BBC and independent television authorities had to decide for themselves on the basis of fairness. Their idea of fairness may not always be our idea of fairness, but for the first time in history the Welsh and Scottish nationalists were allowed an hour on U.K. radio and television, in addition to time on the "regional" stations, which they have previously had, but which so many in Wales never tune into. Admittedly this hour in which they could present their views to the whole of the U.K. was at 9 a.m., when no-one with a job could see it; however, considering how many people in Wales don't have one, that was less of a disadvantage than you might expect.

Seven women stood as Plaid candidates this time (there have never been more than one or two in previous elections.) Frankly this was a

### Gouel ar Brezhoneg

Un broblem sy'n wynebu unrhyw un yng Nghymru sydd wedi mynd ati i geisio dysgu tipyn o Lydaweg yw'r diffyg cyfle a geir i glywed unrhyw un yn siared yr iaith. Felly pan glywsom fod Gouel ar Brezhoneg i'w chynnal yn Pondi ym mis Mai, a ninnau'n digwydd bod yn Llydaw ar gyfer achlysur arall yr wythnos gynt, penderfynasom aros ymlaen yn y wlad honno yn arbennig i fynd i'r Wyl ac i gael, i'n tyb ni, wythnos gyfan o ddim byd ond Llydaweg. Ond cael ein siomi a gawsom - nid yn safon y perfformiadau oherwydd roedd y canu a'r gerddoriaeth a'r ffilmiau yn wirioneddol wych - ond yn y diffyg parch at yr iaith Lydaweg.

Fel rhan o'r Wyl, er enghraifft, cafwyd wythnos a ffilmiau yn y sinema leol yn ymwneud â bywyd cefn gwlad a'r môr, ond o'r dwsin o'r ffilmiau a ddangoswyd, un yn unig a oedd yn Llydaweg, a chartwn oedd honno.

Draw â ni felly i dafarn Amzer Zo mewn pentref cyfagos lle hysbyswyd bod y grŵp 'Kornog' yn mynd i chwarae, eto fel rhan o'r Wyl. Gallech ddychmygu ein syndod pan glywsom gan ar ôl can yn cael eu canu yn Saesneg! Ie, Saesneg! Yn ystod yr egwyl cefais air gyda'r canwr, i ddarganfod mai Sgotyn ydoedd a oedd wedi priodi a Llydaweg. Edlurodd nad oedd neb o aelodau eraill y grŵp ychwaith yn gallu canu na hyd yn oed siarad Llydaweg, felly yn Saesneg y canent bob tro. Ac i wneud pethau'n waeth roedd y bobl ifanc yn y dafarn i gyd yn siarad Ffrangeg a'i gilydd.

Hyd yn oed ym mhrif sesiynau'r Wyl a gynhaliwyd mewn neuadd fawr fodern yn hrhef Pondi, clywid mwy o Ffrangeg nag o Lydaweg. Un o'r prif artistiaid oedd Gilles Servat. Canodd ef saith can yn Llydaweg, pedair yn Ffrangeg ac un yn Saesneg. Ffrangeg oedd yr iaith a ddefnyddiodd i gyhoeddi ei ganeuon. Hyd yn oed yn achos y grwpiau a ganodd bob un o'r caneuon yn Llydaweg y duedd oedd iddynt gyhoeddi ac egluro eu caneuon yn Ffrangeg yn gyntaf. A record pop Saesneg a chwaraewyd dros y system sain yn ystod yr egwyl.

Un llanc yn unig a ymddangosodd yn ddigon dewr i brotestio. Herve Kerrain, dyn ifanc a oedd wedi bod yn y carchar dros hawliau ei gyd-Lydawyr. Aeth ef i'r llwyfan i wneud ei brotest gan dynnu sylw at y ffaith mai Gouel ar Brezhoneg ydoedd ac yn erbyn ar y grwpiau i gyhoeddi eu caneuon yn Lydaweg. Ychydig iawn o'r gynulleidfa a gurodd eu dwylo i'w gefnogi. Yna dechreuodd arweinydd y grŵp gyhoeddi yn Ffrangeg unwaith eto, a'r rhan fwyaf o'r dyrfa yn ei gymeradwyo am wneud.

Wrth gwrs, roedd holl gynrychiolwyr y mudiadau Llydaweg a oedd wedi dod a'u stondinau i'r Wyl yn dangos parch i'r iaith ar eu posteri a'u cynnyrch, ac yn Llydaweg y siaradent a'i gilydd, ond teimlaf nad allemeu heshusodi yn gyfan gwbl o'u cyfrifoldeb yn gadael i'r sefyllfa warthus hyn fodoli. Rhaid iddynt fod ar eu gwyliadwraeth rhag i'r Wyl gyflym droi'n Gouel ar Brezhoneg mewn enw yn unig.

Z B

	Labour	Conservative	Alliance	Plaid Cymru	Others
1983 Votes cast	603,858	499,310	373,312	125,309	7,151
% of total vote	37.5	31.0	23.2	7.8	0.4
M.P.s elected	20	14	2	2	0
1979 Votes cast	768,458	526,254	173,725	132,544	35,807
% of total vote	46.9	32.2	10.6	8.1	2.2
M.P.s elected	21	11	1	2	1
Shift in vote 1979-83	-9.4%	-1.2%	+12.6%	-0.3%	-1.8%

## THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1983 IN WALES

publicity stunt: most of them were selected at the last possible moment; six of them in the 24 hopeless seats, where Plaid was obviously having some difficulty finding any respectable candidate at all. However, I have been complaining so long in CARN and elsewhere that the party had yet to notice half the Welsh nation, and therefore should not grumble. If Plaid would take as much notice of women in its ordinary decision making, its future would be rosier. The female sex is not likely to disappear, while many of the groups which Plaid regards as characteristic of the Welsh nation are disappearing without the party noticing the fact and modifying its policy accordingly. For instance, in 1925, the year of its foundation, four out of six Welshmen who had a job worked in the coal or iron and steel industries or service (such as transport) ancillary to them. In 1975 only one Welshman in six depended on these industries, and the decline continues; soon it will be one Welshman in twelve. Yet in issue after issue of *Welsh Nation*, Plaid's English-language monthly, I read about coal miners and steel works; about the newer industries, in which eleven out of twelve Welshmen will be working, if they are ever to have work at all, hardly a word. Plaid Cymru obviously thinks we are still living in 1925, so it is not surprising that Welsh voters paid little attention to it. What they did instead is highly significant for the future.

### *Collapse of Labour - Rise of Alliance*

In Wales as in the rest of Great Britain the election of 1983 will be memorable for the defeat of the Labour Party. From the general election of 1922 until that of 1979 never once did it get less than 40% of the Welsh vote. Now, with only 37.5%, Labour can merely console itself that it did worse in 1918. In terms of parliamentary seats, thanks to the division of the opposing voters, they just keep an overall majority of the Welsh constituencies, which Labour has had ever since the election of 1935. Though government parties sometimes lose over one in five of their votes at a general election, it is hard to find any case in history of the official opposition being as soundly trounced as the Labour Party this time.

The reason for this disaster was the adoption by the Labour Party of more radical and socialist policies than it has ever supported before. The cast doubt on the claim of Plaid supporters, when they adopted as an aim "a democratic Welsh socialist state" a couple of years ago, that Wales has a "radical socialist tradition" (a radical tradition is a bit of a paradox anyhow!); since the combined vote of socialist candidates in Wales (Labour, Plaid Cymru, Communist, Worker Revolutionaries, etc.) only amounted to 45.5% of the poll against 54.2% for the non-socialist Conservative and Alliance parties. (The remaining 0.3% voted for the Ecologists or other candidates of whose position on the question of socialism I am uncertain.) What was still true in this election is that the Labour Party got a share of the total vote which was 10% more in Wales than in Great Britain. Even this is falling, since in elections in the 1950s and 1960s this figure was 13%; however, to the extent that it exists, it is what people call a "radical socialist tradition." It would be much more scientific to call it a 10% greater tendency to vote for Labour candidates. If Plaid Cymru looked at it this way, it might realise that the way to maximise its vote is not to adopt

extreme leftist policies, but to adopt ones which are 10% left of centre. To a large extent this is what the Alliance have done; as a result the shift in votes to their camp was even larger in Wales than in Great Britain as a whole (12.6% as against 11.6%).

Another way to look at the Welsh "radical socialist tradition" is to note that only in a solid block of nine constituencies stretching from Dwyrain Abertawe (Swansea E.), Castell Nedd and Aberafan eastwards through the upper valleys of Morgannwg to Blaenau Gwent (Michael Foot's seat) and Islwyn (Neil Kinnock's seat) do Labour M.P.s now get more than 50% of the votes. If one ignores all the votes cast in this Labour stronghold, one finds that in the rest of Wales there is no socialist tendency: at least since 1974 the combined Conservative and Liberal vote has easily surpassed the Labour vote. In other words the tradition really exists, but only in a Labour stronghold consisting of less than a quarter of the Welsh seats, less than a third of the urban and industrial seats. It happens that this stronghold includes all except one (Caerffili) of the five English-speaking seats mentioned above, in which Plaid does tolerably well. There it fights a grim battle to try and gain the support of Labour's loyalist followers, the coal-miners, who are, as I have already pointed out, a rapidly disappearing group. Not surprisingly perhaps, it gets the notion that a socialist tradition exists. Meanwhile the Alliance goes for easier parts of the fence and collects hundreds of thousands of votes. That was what Plaid Cymru did in 1966-70.

Despite the difference in policies between the parties, much suggests that socially the Alliance and Plaid Cymru voter are close. For instance, Alliance only lost 11 deposits in the whole of Great Britain. Despite the old Liberal tradition of Welsh-speaking Wales, three of these were in Ynys Môn, Caernarfon and Caerfyrddin, where the Alliance voters saw more hope backing the Plaid candidate. Only in Meirionnydd Nant Conwy, where the Plaid M.P. Dafydd Elis Thomas has made himself notorious for his left-wing views, did they fail to back Plaid where they thought it could win. Conversely, it is clear that Plaid sympathisers voted for Geraint Howells in Ceredigion a Gogledd Penfro (N. Pembroke) and why not, since he has supported the Welsh language and autonomy energetically since entering the House in 1974, and it would help nobody to replace him with a Conservative. The Plaid vote in Trefaldwyn (Montgomery) dropped from 8.5% last time to 5.3%, (a most unusual fall in a Welsh-speaking area but just enough to help the Alliance eject Delwyn Williams, the most odious anti-Welsh Tory M.P. to disgrace the House of Commons for many years. In Derorllewin Clwyd (Clwyd S.W.) Plaid's vote was again rather low (8.6%), but not enough had switched their votes to save Tom Ellis, another good friend of the Welsh language in the Alliance ranks (an article in Welsh about him is in CARN 33.) He lost his seat to a Conservative carpet-bagger "educated Eton and Christ Church" by 3.6% of the votes.

### *Where next Wales?*

Michael Foot has resigned the leadership of the Labour Party following its defeat and it looks at the time of writing as if Neil Kinnock will be his successor, the third in a row from a Welsh constituency, but the first in the history of the Labour Party to be a Welshman. He has a genuine Welsh accent too, but that should deceive no-one: he is a bitter opponent of Wales, as he showed during the devolution

debate, and his attitude towards the Welsh language is paranoid. His loyalty is entirely to the Labour Party and we must give him credit for his farsightedness over devolution. If it had gone through and Wales and Scotland were now on the way to independence or to a federal solution to the British problem, the Labour Party would have lost all hope of ever ruling England again. Things are bad enough for them, but think how much worse it would be if the 61 Labour M.P. from Scotland and Wales were not guaranteed to stay there (nearly 30% of their 209 M.P.s, Scotland and Wales containing less than 15% of the population of Britain.)

If Labour promises nothing to nationalists, the Conservatives promise less. Wisely, considering all the trouble that promise of a Welsh television channel got them into, their manifesto this time did indeed promise Wales virtually nil; and for this splendid imaginative policy they were rewarded, though their vote declined a bit, with a record harvest of Welsh seats: 14, which is more than they have won since the Second Electoral Reform Act (1867).

Since I made some forecasts after the last general election and they did not turn out too badly, I will now make a few prophecies about what will happen in Wales in the next four or five years as a result of 9 June. A large part of what is left of the Welsh railway system will be closed. They require subsidies and Alfred Sherman, now Sir Alfred, is much against subsidies from the poor taxpayers. So will his pupil, Margaret Thatcher, be by about 1985/86 when the money from Scotland's oil begins to diminish. It also requires no great skill to prophesy that the M25, London's new ring road, will be completed. That also requires subsidies from the taxpayers, sufficient to pay the losses on the Welsh railways for a century. There will be no exemption for Welsh taxpayers though they will not benefit from the M.25 and are, on average, a lot poorer than the London suburbanites who will. More coal mines will close. New ones will be opened - but in England.

Opposition could be rallied on such issues as these, either, more effectively, on a nationalist platform or, less effectively, on a socialist one. Plaid Cymru will probably campaign on a socialist basis. The practical disadvantage of this will be that its propaganda will such as to gain votes, not for itself, but for the Labour Party. This was very clear in much of its propaganda over the last four years, in which Plaid repeatedly attacked Mrs. Thatcher and something called Thatcherism. She was presented as a wicked fiend with an evil plan for the destruction of Wales and the Welsh working class (the logical implication to the intelligent voter was that he should vote Labour, not Plaid, and be rid of the Fiend.) In actual fact the lady has just bumbled along in much the same style as every other English government for the last twenty years. If there were any clever devious plan in her mind, the prospects for England would be less hopeless. Consider the achievements of her government:

1. She came to office promising to get the bureaucrats under control and reduce public spending. Public spending has risen from 38% of GNP to a new all-time record of 41%.
2. She came to office promising that she would revive British industry, which was dying under the dead hand of socialism. This year, 1983, looks like being the first year since the Industrial Revolution when



Britain will import more machinery than it exports.

3. She came to office promising that policies 1 and 2 would improve job prospects. It is hard to find out what the level of unemployment is, because of systematic faking of the figures, but it seems to be about 4 million (15%), a level close to the worst level reached in the Slump 50 years ago.

Nothing but extraordinary good-luck saved her from being booted out this 9 June: the Falkland War, Scottish Oil and the extraordinary behaviour of the main opposition party. She will not have all these points in her favour in 1987/88. After the last general election I wrote that she would help Plaid forward if she were able to "reduce the air of economic crisis and imminent disaster which besets British politics... a feeling of fateful decision between parties offering rival philosophies of life." Mrs. Thatcher has certainly not done anything to help in that way. Sympathisers with Plaid Cymru had better pray for an overwhelming victory for the Alliance at the next general election (which is, at least, a lot more probable than an overwhelming victory of either of the other parties.) The advantage of this to the nationalists would be that, until it wins such a great victory, the Alliance is unlikely to vanish but will hang around, promising great hopes for the future and diverting votes from all the nationalist parties. When it triumphs, it will start to shed disillusioned voters and, as I have pointed out above, in Wales at least Alliance voters are probably the most willing to transfer to Plaid Cymru.

Why is one reduced to prayer? Because Plaid has lost almost all serious nationalist ideology, and institutions which haven't got any ideology of their own, in the words of R.H. Tawney, adopt whatever ideology happens to be fashionable - even if it happens to be disadvantageous. Back in the 1960s we had an ideology of our own contained in such books as J.R. Jones *Prydeindod* - which has, not surprisingly, been out of print for years. The last serious nationalist work I have seen is nearly ten years old: R. Tudur Jones *The Desire of Nations* (1974). I am not suggesting that we went from door to door talking to the electors in Aberfan or Dowlais about Herder and Palacky, but at least we kept it in mind what we meant by a separate nation of Wales and why we wanted it. Micheál O Laoire, our London secretary, had to travel through large parts of Wales during the recent election campaign, including seats which Plaid won and others where it did very badly indeed. He was surprised that he never once saw a Plaid poster condemning government by England. Even to a very moderate and civilised Irish nationalist like Micheál it was startling that a nationalist party was not shouting this loud and clear. What is the point of having a nationalist party if it doesn't? I have grown so used to Plaid's prudish way of fighting elections (I remember when I was agent to six Plaid candidates in the local elections in Caerdydd in 1976 and proposed timidly that the election leaflet should contain some arguments for nationalism, they unanimously insisted that they be struck out.) that Micheál's surprise startled me. Plaid will have to answer this question some day.

Ifan Lloyd

## English castles

It is not without significance that the issue of 'SARHAD '83' should have arisen last year, the seven hundredth after the death of Llewelyn II, our last sovereign. SARHAD '83 (Insult '83) is what we call this "Gwyl y Cest-yll" (Festival of Castles) sponsored by the Welsh Tourist Board, because it focuses attention on the castles built 700 years ago following Edward I's conquest of our land as the foundations of the English occupation and later political and economic exploitation. While we Welsh patriots will be celebrating the 1600th anniversary of the birth of our nation, traitors and quislings will be celebrating its subjugation!

Are we too sensitive? We answer: it is not just a matter of one isolated insult. Our history is deeply marked with insults, not least the repeated slurs on our national character. To the English medieval propagandist we were 'Trojan debris,' the Cymry being referred to as the lowest order of humanity: filthy, depraved, cheats and liars, robbers and rapists, drunks and dimwits! These notions were used most notably in the 15th, 17th and 19th centuries, whenever England felt the need to force upon the Cymric people new, harsh laws and to enforce the rigid colonial system to bind us ever closer under Imperial rule. Unsophisticated as this propaganda was, it was an integral part of a deliberate plan of colonisation, making the native population feel inferior to the master race and more ready to submit to its physical demands.

To establish imperial rule also required the replacement of our native institutions and traditions by alien ones. These were propped up by English castles, the Edwardian strongholds being the most significant as centres of military oppression. Today they are more or less ruined and so form a tourist attraction, but to patriots they are reminders of the heroic struggles of the past and symbols of our defeat. This is not exactly how the W.T.B. presents them when it says "Wales is a country worth defending - that is why we have so many castles." Any activity which seeks to enoble and raise up these symbols of conquest while seeking to hide the truth and reality is insulting to say the least. Thus, this "Festival of Castles '83" on the 700th anniversary of our conquest

must be opposed by patriots with the same vigour and commitment as the investiture in 1969.

No matter how much Lord Parry waffles about it being only a simple celebration of old castles, the historical reality is that these castles were built in the blood and on the bones of our own people. Let us remind ourselves that chief of all the castles that the quislings want to celebrate is the one at Caernarfon. This stands forth as our Bastille. Edward I chose its site and its very design with a view to make it a moment its very design with a view to make it a monument of his conquest. We are not surprised that the Welsh Tourist Board in its promotion work constantly refers to Caernarfon, to its English connection, to the English prince of Wales and to the Imperial tradition. Their purpose is to promote a version of our history identified with British/English history. In this respect, the present Pretender, "Carlo," is promoted as the natural continuator of our historical tradition and national heritage. What a distortion of our history in order to lend credibility to the English claim to our land!

We must therefore expose "Cestyll '83" as designed to weaken the national consciousness of our people by falsifying and misusing our history, with the aim of making them more pliable and ready to accept the demands of imperialism. The castles are indeed symbols, but symbols of conquest and of a regime in which the likes of the WTB play an integral role - to keep us subservient. *By challenging this F.O.C., this SARHAD '83, we assert the spirit of freedom.* We are not doing it out of petty-mindedness, bearing a grudge, harking back to past woes and ignoring the realities of the present. In 1283 our people were exploited politically and economically. Our patriots were harassed and imprisoned. 700 years later, the picture is little different - as we patriots well know! In the years following 1282-83 there were revolt. Today in 1983 the same struggle for national freedom continues. The castles represent 700 years of foreign colonial rule. We want to have them seen for what they are, not as they are depicted by the WTB - a 20th century castle, an institution which assists English rule by seeking to make our struggles of the past and today irrelevant. We cannot let their insults pass without resisting.

COFIWN

### SECOND HOME BURNINGS CONTINUE

Over 70 holiday homes are now believed to have been burnt in Wales since the beginning of the arson campaign in December 1979. A news black-out has been imposed on reports of such attacks since last year. This suits the police because they haven't caught any of the culprits since arresting Eurig ap Gwilym and his group in 1980. It also suits the owners of holiday homes as, when there were press reports of the burnings, prices dropped to the reasonable level which the local Welsh population could afford to pay. Now they are sky-high again, as more English businessmen, civil servants and the like, deciding the Welsh are firmly subdued, flood into buy. In spite of the news black-out, which to a large extent defeats the purpose of the campaign, it appears that a dozen or so second homes were burnt during the winter campaign 1982/3.

### SARHAD '83

Celtic League members coming to Cymru for the National Eisteddfod at Llangefnï, Ynys Môn (July 30-Aug 6), are asked to join members of the Welsh branch on the quayside below Caernarfon Castle on Saturday, July 30th for a protest rally (starting at 2 o'clock) to oppose the insulting Festival of Castles (Cestyll '83) being organised this year by the Welsh Tourist Board to mark the 700th anniversary of Edward I's castle-building programme in Wales. This festival is tantamount to a celebration of the defeat of the Welsh people. Please come and support us bringing banners, bagpipes, drums etc. for the procession through the town. The rally is being organised by COFIWN. Several other Welsh organisations will also be represented. S.B.

# 'Living Welsh' - Killing Welsh

"*Y tafodieithgydd a 'Chymraeg Cyfoes'*" (*The dialectologist and 'Contemporary Welsh'*) in *Llên Cymru Cyf. 13 Rhifyn 1 a 2* by Ceinwen H. Thomas.

From time to time articles and books appear in Welsh which should greatly interest other Celts, including English-speaking Welshmen, who will never be able to read them, since they are unlikely ever to be translated. One example was the article by Eluned Bush summarised in "Welsh schools in English-speaking counties" (CARN 40.) As some people were interested in what I told about her article, I have decided to summarise and comment on some other important works published in Welsh during the last ten years for the benefit of readers of CARN.

Ceinwen Thomas, a dialectologist at University College, Caerdydd, wrote the 40-page article "*Y tafodieithgydd a 'Chymraeg Cyfoes'*" in response to the publication of a textbook, *Cymraeg Cyfoes* (Contemporary Welsh,) in 1975 by the Uned Iaith Genedlaethol Cymru (Welsh National Language Unit.) That such a book is now being used to teach children, including children from Welsh-speaking homes, a version of Welsh appals her, and her article is the most effective and learned denunciation of so-called *Cymraeg Byw* (Living Welsh) that I have yet read.

The "*Cymraeg Byw*" movement was started by Sir Ifor Williams, learned etymologist and editor of many mediaeval Welsh texts, who unfortunately got a bee in his bonnet that literary Welsh, which he pejoratively called "*Cymraeg Marw*" (Dead Welsh), was not sufficiently like the spoken dialects of Welsh, which he called "*Cymraeg Byw*" (Living Welsh). (This was rather as if you, dear reader, objected to my writing this article in standard English, "Dead English," and insisted that I write it in Cockney, "Living English" - "aft a mo while I ave a butcher's at my dicshonry" - regardless of the fact that I never speak it!) The learned knight, whose knowledge was profound rather than broad, does not seem to have realised that all developed modern languages have a printed literary form, often far removed in grammar and phonetics from the spoken dialects of the people who use the literary language. This is particularly obvious with one language Sir Ifor himself knew: English, as spoken by Geordies and Jamaicans, Australians and Yorkshiremen, Cocknies and Californians. If any of these dialects were written down and then used as a standard literary language, we would not have an improved form of English, as Sir Ifor seemed to think; we would simply have a new independent language. The Scottish dialect of English nearly achieved this in the 16th century. The Afrikaans dialect of Dutch did achieve it in the 1870s.

The folly of this knight, assaulting windmills far away from his own manor, was compounded by the arrival of a horde of Sancho Panzas, mainly Welsh school-teachers, who can usually recognise a good meal-ticket when they see one. *Cymraeg Byw Rhifyn 1*, the first issue of a journal to make the practical modifications of Welsh necessary in Sir Ifor's opinion, appeared in 1964. At first the modifications suggested were quite modest, but such a limited programme would not have provided people with gainful employment for

long in the Uned Iaith Genedlaethol Cymru. So the changes proposed became ever more drastic and after eleven years *Cymraeg Cyfoes* was the result.

To list all the criticisms Ceinwen Thomas makes of this book would be impossible. Those which matter are those which cast doubt on the whole "*Cymraeg Byw*" enterprise and, therefore, on efforts on similar lines to tamper with other Celtic languages. These can be grouped under six heads:

1. The whole approach is that of untrained amateurs. Here are people inventing a new language for a nation of nearly three millions (presumably they hope the nation will learn it) and they know next to nothing about linguistics. Thus the famous Welsh "ll" is described as "an aspirated l," which is untrue and doesn't help anyone to pronounce it correctly. The Uned Iaith Genedlaethol has no trained phoneticist!

2. The tendency is to apologise for the language. "*Unfortunately* there is no logical reason why some nouns are masculine and other feminine," says the Uned Iaith Genedlaethol, and "*Unfortunately* there is no uniform method of forming plurals in Welsh" (very unfortunately there isn't one in English either; any reader who thinks there is should tell me the uniform method, orthographic and phonetic, to form the plurals of: foot, hoof, roof, knife, salmon, rush, house, mouse, postman.) Such an attitude is just one clue of many to the contempt which the inventors of "*Cymraeg Byw*" have come to regard the language they have mauled and mutilated.

3. The desire is to get rid of all difficulties. This merely means making Welsh as similar to English as possible, because difficult has no absolute value in this context. The authors, schoolteachers interested mainly in making life in the classroom as easy as possible and who seem to think in English, regard "difficult" as meaning "unlike English." Some of the changes made in this spirit would in fact make Welsh more difficult for a Breton to learn.

4. Dialect forms are always preferred to the literary form, even when the literary form is used in some dialects. The result of this is that Welsh-speaking children educated in bilingual schools with "*Cymraeg Byw*" textbooks refuse to read Welsh books because they are "too difficult." One of the greatest strengths of Welsh in its resistance to the English language, which explains why it has held its ground much better than Cornish or the Gaelic languages, as the availability of the Welsh classics - the novels of Daniel Owen, *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, *Gwledigaethau'r Bardd Cwsg*, *Cannwyll y Cymry* and Bishop Morgan's Bible - in comparatively large editions, sufficient anyway to maintain a tradition of literacy and give to the speakers of Welsh the feeling that theirs was a noble language (even those who never read one of these books - just as Shakespeare improves the morale of all English-speakers, though perhaps less than 10% of them have ever read one of his works.) Now that shield is being thrown away. A generation is being brought up that may be Welsh-speaking, but which will read Daniel Owen, if they read him at all, in English translation.

5. The authors' ignorance of the dialects they plunder to construct "*Cymraeg Byw*" is

astonishing. They state that the periphrastic forms of verbs (similar to English progressive tenses) are used more frequently than the simple conjugated forms. Wrong! In the dialects so far scientifically studied it turns out that between 52% and 64% of the time it is the simple forms which are used. They state that the equative, feminine and plural forms of adjectives are no longer used in the spoken language. Wrong again! But you can see why a bunch of lazy schoolmasters might like to think it was true. A host of mutations, relative particles and the whole system of ordinal numbers are thrown out of the language on the grounds that nobody uses them anymore. Totally false! And as for what the "*Cymraeg Byw*" fanatics have done to the Welsh numeral system, Ceinwen Thomas doubts that anyone whose native language was Welsh could be responsible for such forms. That suspicion is reinforced when we come to the treatment of pronouns. In the English sentence "He put the hat on his head" there is an ambiguity: did he put it on his own or on someone else's head? In Welsh, as in other Celtic languages, much of the ambiguity of English is avoided; there are two different sentences for these two meanings. However, the authors of *Cymraeg Cyfoes* don't appear to realise this fact; or perhaps they do but are so certain that English is the superior language that they castrate Welsh of any feature which might cast doubt on that conclusion. All of which makes one think that the Uned Iaith Genedlaethol is a very odd institution. Has it been infiltrated by a very cunning group of Englishmen, who have learnt Welsh and got jobs there in order to sabotage the language; or is it simply that, because it is situated in Trefforest between Caerdydd and Pontypridd in a very English part of Wales, originally Welsh-speaking employees have quite forgotten their language?

6. The argument used to promote "*Cymraeg Byw*" is that those who learn it will be able to go out of the classroom and talk in dialect to people throughout Wales; also that "*Cymraeg Byw*" would serve as a lingua franca between the speakers of the various dialects. But Wales already has a lingua franca: when a man from Caernarfon meets someone from Llanelli, they talk to each other in the nearest approximation to literary Welsh they can manage, just as, when a Glaswegian, a New Yorker and someone from Adelaide, Australia, meet, they will probably make themselves understood in a fair imitation of literary English. Nobody has suggested that they would do better if a gang of schoolteachers were to divise a witches' brew of Bronx dialect, Broad Scots and Strine. All three of them would then be lost. This, however, is the idea behind "*Cymraeg Byw*." Bits and pieces are taken at random from different dialects. In spite of the desire to get rid of difficulties, the resulting illogicality of the language may make it harder to learn. For example:

"i fi" (S. Welsh dialect) replaces "i mi" (literary form) meaning "to me" BUT "fel minnau" (literary form) not "fel finnau" (S. Welsh) is used for "like ME."

Ceinwen Thomas is appalled by the damage being done to the Welsh language: "What a dialectologist would disagree about with Sir Ifor Williams and certainly with the "*Cymraeg Byw/Cymraeg Cyfoes*" clique is the idea that it is appropriate to interfere with the

language. We already have a standard spoken language in existence... We are as a people very lucky to have it. Without it Welsh will decay into a set of unconnected dialects and that will hasten its death."

Anybody who has tried to learn Irish will know what she is talking about. I have tried four different Irish courses: Teach Yourself, *Anois is Aris*, Linguaphone and Michéal Ó Siadhail *Learning Irish*; and these seemed to contain three different languages (*Anois is Aris* and Linguaphone showed some agreement about the nature of Irish.) If Welsh gets into such a state, nobody will ever trouble to learn it. Yet incited by "Cymraeg Byw," many books are being published, not just in that mish-mash dialect, but in the most diverse of other dialects. Until 1964 there was only one form of Welsh to be learnt and then you could read any book in Welsh and talk to any literate Welsh person. Any idea that the Welsh-speaking population needed a new version of their language, because they couldn't understand the literary language they already had, is shown to be untrue, since by far the best-selling book of the last ten years has not been any publication in "Cymraeg Byw" but the new translation of the Bible, *Y Testament Newydd* (1975), made into standard literary Welsh, doubtless because the translators wanted to reach the largest possible audience.

Even the Uned Iaith Genedlaethol has realised that its policy has not been in all respects sensible. In 1978 it published *Cyflwyno'r Iaith Lenyddol* in order to teach literary Welsh to those who have learnt "Cymraeg Byw," and now want to be able to read Welsh books. "Upto now" it says in the forward "these students have had to jump from the world of 'Cymraeg Byw' into the literary world without any preparation and that has been responsible for changing the medium of the lessons to English in many schools and sometimes a reason for studying an English translation of the Welsh text." Let us hope that

it will take its repentance a stage further and let "Living Welsh" die.

Celtic languages, when in difficulties, seem to suffer to an unusual extent from language faddists, who usually do much harm. Thus Breton has three different systems of spelling, Cornish two, Irish suffered a fairly drastic reform of its orthography in 1947, and something of the sort is in preparation for Scots Gaelic. Welsh has been spared spelling reformers so far this century, perhaps because it has twice been violently assaulted by its own intellectuals: by William Salesbury (c. 1520-c. 1584) who, living in the Renaissance, thought Welsh should be more like Latin and so produced an unreadable translation of the New Testament with all those ugly Celtic mutations suppressed; and then there was William Owen Pughe (1759-1835) who, living in the Romantic high-tide, produced a Welsh dictionary on Romantic principles, filled with words invented out of manuscript misreadings or, just as often, out of thin air, and embodying, of course, a "reformed" spelling.

These two men did much damage to Welsh at critical moments of its history, but neither did anything like the mortal harm "Cymraeg Byw" threatens. If our languages are to be revived, it will only be done by a mass-movement such as revived Hebrew in the first half of this century. There will be at least a generation during which large parts of the population will speak with abominable pronunciation, atrocious idioms and awful syntax. For those of us who love the Welsh language such a situation will only be tolerable if there is an undisputed rock-like literary language, for the re-establishment of which in the nation, all are working - as was indeed the case with Hebrew once Elieser Ben-Iehuda had laid down the standard. Otherwise more and more English words, grammar and idiom will be accepted into the successively modified forms of "Cymraeg Byw" from the many semi-English dialects which will inevitably develop

(albeit only temporarily under an Elieser Ben-Iehuda system) during such a mass movement. The end result would be a Wenglish patios, unrecognisable to any modern speaker of Welsh, whose speakers, finding themselves without literature or culture, would rapidly go back to speaking sensible English.

No risk of such a mass exists for as long as the "Cymraeg Byw" idiocy continues. The reason for this is the very insecurity which an uncertain literary language induces in the Welsh-speaker. It is important to be finicky and insist on correct usage from the learner - though Welsh-speakers are not as intolerant as Irish-speakers seem to be, but then these have much more reason to be, since their literary language seems to have been in almost constant flux for a hundred years. It is said that some Welsh-speakers are extremely rude to learners (though I have never seen an example of it) and that George Thomas, Secretary of State for Wales and later Speaker, gave up trying to learn the language because people laughed at his efforts. Contrast that with what happens to people learning English, a language which, we can say, is pretty successful in its recruitment policy. I live in a road where 20% of the inhabitants come from Gujerat, Poland, Hong Kong and suchlike places and therefore talk interesting varieties of English. Nobody would dream of correcting their grammar or pronunciation. The difference is that no risk exists that these immigrants might "corrupt the well of English undefiled," which is preserved in grammars and dictionaries, little changed in the last 250 years. So everyone talks to them in English and therefore they learn English. When the begetters of "Cymraeg Byw" (Living Welsh) can be persuaded to hide this monstrous abortion in the grave to which it belongs, there will be a far better chance of Welsh living.

Ifan Lloyd

## éire

# An Ghàidhlig sa nGàidhealachd agus sa chóras oideachais in Albain

Is dócha gurb é an easba dul chun cinn-nó fíu amháin an cúlú - in athbheoch na Gaeilge an teip is follasaí ar Stáit seo na 26 Chontae, mar a chítear do mhuintir na dtíortha gCeilteacha eile é, agus an léirfú is fearr dóibh nach leor féinrialtas lena leithéid de chuspóir ionmholta a bhaint amach. Ach cá bhfuil an teip i ndáiríre? Thar tréimhse leathchéad bliain go dtí 1971 d'éirigh linn anseo tríd an gcóras oideachais agus trín Ghaeilge éigeantach a bhfuil an oiread sin srocmheas air más fíor, eolas measartha ar an nGaeilge a thabhairt do bhreis is 25% den phobal sa taobh seo tíre (de réir daonáirimh 1971 mheas 28.3% de phobal na 26 Chontae go raibh líofacht sa Ghaeilge nó eolas réasúnta maith acu uirthi). Tharla seo in aineoin módhanna múinte a bhí thar a bheith lochtach, easba téacsleabhair agus áiseanna teagaisc i gcoitinne, gan trácht ar na polasaithe easnamhacha rialtais le linn an tréimhse chéanna; sa chomhthéacs seo ní féidir a rá go mba teip iomlán a bhí ann. An áit ina raibh an teip - agus ina bhfuil sí go fóill - ná an titim tubaisteach a tháinig ar líon na gcainteoirí dúchais sa nGaeiltacht. Ba gnáthach an titim seo a chur síos do chúibhsí eacnamalochta. Sa deich mbliain idir 1961 agus

1971 tháinig laghdú 7.4% ar líon na gcainteoirí Gaeilge sa nGaeiltacht, agus tharla seo sa tréimhse is mó a dtáinig fás agus borradh i gcúrsaí eacnamalochta na tíre. Má chuirimid an staid seo i gcomparáid leis an staid sa tír Cheilteach is gaire dúinn ó thaobh teangan, staire agus comhdhéanamh phobail de, is léir gur slaifíúla Gàidhealachd na hAlban inniu ná an Ghaeltacht in Éirinn ó thaobh líon na gcainteoirí dúchais de cibé ar bith. Agus cuimhnigh gur ar éigean a bhfuair Gaidhealtachd na hAlban tacaíocht ar bith ón Stáit ná ón gcóras oideachais sa tréimhse céanna. Fíricí agus figiúirí gur fíu machnamh orthu! Cibé scéal a inslónn na figiúirí ar éigin go maíodh éinne go bhfeadfadh aon teanga teacht slán sa lá inniu gan chóras oideachais bheith taobh thiar dí. Agus is le blianta beaga anuas a thosaigh na hHlbanagh, gi speisialta an Comunn Gaidhealach agus Comunn Foghlum na Gàidhlig ag iarraidh tairbhe a bhaint as an gcóras oideachais; ní sampla na hÉireann atá thar a leanúint ach sampla mhuintir Cymru. Dar ndóigh sé an córas céanna nach mór atá sa dá thír i córas dlíruithe ina mbraitheann tacaíocht do theagasc na teangan dúchais ar na Comhairlí réigiúnda nó áitiúla. Thar na blianta bhain na

Breatnaigh tairbhe iomlán as an gcóras chun teagasc na Breatnaise a chur chun cinn i scoileanna ar fud Cymru agus scoileanna lán Breatnaise a bhunú ins na ceantair is mó a labhraítear an teanga iontu. In Albain ní raibh an Ghàidhlig a teagasc ach ins na hardsgoiltean (meánscoileanna) sa nGaidhealtachd, agus go hiondúil í mar rogha ábhair ar an bhFraincis, ar aon dul a bheag nó a mhór leis an staid ins na 6 Chontae mar atá faoi láthair. (In olcas atá cúrsaí imithe ins na 6 Chontae sa mhéid is go mbíodh an Ghaeilge ina phríomh ábhar in éineacht le Béarla, Matamaitic, Stair is rl. i gcuid mhór de na scoileanna Caitliceacha anois níl sí ach mar rogha ábhair ar an bhFraincis nó teanga iasachtach eile.) Táthar ag iarraidh deireadh a chur leis an riall seafoideach seo i scoileanna na Gaidhealtachd, ar a laghad nach mbeadh ar na páistí an rogha a dhéanamh sa chéad bhliain. Maidir leis na ceantair lasmuigh den Ghaidhealtachd, tá Comunn Foghlum na Gàidhlig ag déanamh tréan iarrachta brú a chur ar na Comhairlí Réigiúnda an Ghaidhlig a chur ar chlár na scoileanna. San iomlán níl na Comhairlí sásta teagasc na Gàidhlig a cheadú muna mblonn éileamh ó na tuismitheoirí ins na réigiúin áirithe

sin. Sí cuid mhaith d'obair an Chomunn an téileamh a chotú agus suirbhéanna a dhéanamh imeasc na dtuismitheoirí. Ní go ró mhaith atá ag éirí leo i ngach ceantar. Tharla ar na mallaibh gur dhiúltaigh coiste oideachais an Chomhairle Réigiúnda Lárnáigh (i gceantar Stirling) d'iartras an gComunn suirbhé a dhéanamh ar thuismitheoirí an réigiúin sin; bhí an coiste sásta a shuirbhé féin a dhéanamh in ardscoil amháin, agus ba léir go raibh ionadh orthu faoi chomh láidir is a bhí an téileamh ó thuismitheoirí na scoile sin, cúis an doichill b'fhéidir! Aisteach go leor sa réigiúin taobh leis i Perth is Kinross, áit a bhfuil an Chomhairle Réigiúnda faoi smacht ag na Toraitheam tá an Gháidhlig a teagasc i seacht gcinn déag de scoileanna ab réigiúin, roinnt bunscoileanna ina measc. Is eisceacht é seo mar is léir go bhfuil na Toraithe ag cúlú óna geallúintí a thugadar níos mó airgid a chur ar fáil d'oiliúint mhúinteoirí Ghaidhlig agus do theagasc na Gaidhlig. Is cinnte gurb í an easba mhúinteoirí oilte an laige is mó sa chóras faoi láthair; nach bhfuil an easba chéanna orainn an seo!

### Scéim na dtionscnaimh dhátheangacha ar Oiléan Sgiathanach

Sí an scéim thuasluaite is mó a bhfuil dóches aisti faoi láthair le páistí a spreagadh chun dul ar aghaidh le staidéar na Gaidhlig ins na meánscoileanna. Comhairle nan Oileán i gcomhar le Coláiste Oideachais Obar Dheadhain atá i mbun na scéime, agus is scéim bhunscoile í - fiú sa nGáidhealtachd níl an Gháidhlig a teagasc go forleathan ins na bunscoileanna. Tá múinteoirí speisialta oilte fostaithe faoin scéim agus téann siad thart ó scoil go scoil le dul i mbun tionscnaimh dhátheangacha leis na páistí. Is cumba céard é ábhar an tionscnaimh, cé go mbíonn ábhair stairiúla i gceist go minic, tugtar treoir agus cuirtear gach áis ar fáil len iad a dhéanamh; áiseanna ar nós videóanna, téapanna agus rí...Cuir i gcás rinne páistí ó scoil amháin scannán videó ar na "barantas-seolaidh". sé sin díothu an phobail ins na Garbha Chriocha (na clearances) agus rinne scoil eile scannán ar scéal an Phrionsa Séarlais Stiobhairt. Aon scoil déag as ocht gcinn déag de bhunscoileanna an Oileán atá páirteach sa scéim. Ba mhian leo go mbeadh chuile scoil ag glacadh páirt ach gan ach beirt mhúinteoirí ina bun ba dhoiligh sin a dhéanamh faoi láthair. I nGaidhlig is mó a deántar na tionscnaimh ach usáidtear Béarla más gá. Meastar go bhfuil buntáistí ar leith ag an módh foghlama seo seachas ag an gnáth teagasc foirmiúil. Sa chéad áit má bhíonn ganntanas mhúinteoirí oilte sa teanga is féidir an tairbhe is fearr a bhaint as fhoireann bheag; baineann na páistí taitheamh as agus meastar go bhfoghlamaíonn siad cuid mhór laistigh de thréimhse gearr; baintear an fheidhm is mó as na háiseanna foghlama nua-aoiseacha; agus an príomh buntáiste spreagtar na páistí chun leanúint le foghlaim na teangan. Cuir i gcás i mblíana, ar an 37 dalta a bhéas ag dul isteach san Ardscoil i Port a'Ríogh, glacfaidh 30 acu an Gháidhlig in áit na Fraincise.

Déarfainn gur scéim í a d'fhéadfadh aithris a dhéanamh uirthi sa tír seo. Ins na 6 Chontae, áit ar éigean a bhfuil an Ghaeilge a teagasc ag an bun-léibh-éal agus i gcuid de scoileanna na 26 Chontae ins na ceantair mhíbhuntáisteacha mar a mheastar an Ghaeilge bheith ina mhíbhuntáiste breise do na páistí agus cigirí na Roinne ag moladh do na múinteoirí gan bacadh leif. Níl ann ach go bhfuil Comunn Foghlum na Gaidhlig tosnaíthe ag smaoinneamh ar scoileanna lán Ghaidhlig a bhunú.

## Plean Bhord na Gaeilge - a

The long-awaited ACTION PLAN FOR IRISH/PLEAN GNÍOMHAÍOGHTA DON GHAEILGE 1983-1986, published recently by Bord na Gaeilge, received a guarded welcome from the Irish language movement. In setting target dates for a series of short-term objectives under the headings of Gaeltacht, Community, Education and The State, to be monitored on an annual basis, it provides a limited framework within which substantial advances could be made in the provision of essential services in Irish over the next four years.

The questions of its pedigree and eventual implementation, however, have yet to be tackled. Is it an official Government Plan? There was no indication in the accompanying press release that such was the case; the impression given was rather one of a vague telegram of goodwill from a distant relative. This view is amply borne out when one considers the fact that no public monies have yet been allocated to the Plan, an omission which effectively renders it impotent.

That being said, however, the Plan appears to recognise the truth of much of what the language movement has been saying over the past two years - that we have reached what may well be the final crisis in the language struggle, and that if action is not taken immediately, the position will be eroded to almost nothing within the next 20 years. The most crucial factor in this regard is the Gaeltacht, the area and strength of which are diminishing annually. In many districts where the home language a generation ago would unquestionably have been Irish, families nowadays find it necessary to make a conscious decision to retain Irish as their first language. The State couldn't care less. For many years now, this has been amply proven by the deluge of Anglo-American T.V. culture (95% English language) pumped out by R.T.É. The Gaeltacht has also been plagued by unsuitable industrial development; by the insistence of Government agencies on conducting their business through English; by the teaching of school subjects through English; and perhaps worst of all, by what the Plan terms "... the undermining of Irish as the community language of the Gaeltacht by the gradual influx of English-speaking residents."

This last matter requires a radical solution which would involve the taking into consideration of the Gaeltacht as a basic community, with its own rights of veto, if necessary, when planning applications are being processed. The Bord na Gaeilge Plan would appear to consider any serious recommendations on this topic to be beyond its brief. It does, however, request a "... re-

Tá bóthar fada le siúl acu go fóill, ach b'fhéidir go bhfuil siad ar an mbóthar ceart ón tús agus d'fhéadfadh toradh eile bheith ar na hiarrachtaí seo seachas an ceann a bhfuil táithí againne in Éirinn air.

Brid Heusaff

The above refers to the erosion of the Gaeltacht in Ireland as the main failure in the State's efforts to revive Irish, and compares it with the situation in Scotland where the Gaidhealtachd is still relatively strong. It also considers some of the methods being tried in Scotland to widen the basis of the teaching of Gaidhlig in the schools there.

organization of Local Government in Gaeltacht areas, so that each County Council whose area includes part of the Gaeltacht be required to establish a Gaeltacht Committee, with advisory and such other County Council functions as would be delegated to them... Generally the aim would be that each Committee would have its own office and staff within the Gaeltacht, act as an executive agent for the County Council and conduct its business through Irish at all levels." The target date set for this is the beginning of 1984. While it may appear laudable, and would be broadly in accord with the Irish language movement's position, as an interim measure, it does not provide for the granting of effective and wide-ranging power to Údaras na Gaeltachta, the Gaeltacht Authority. The urgent need to revise the official boundaries of the Gaeltacht has also gone unacknowledged.

Proposals for the Community show a novel insight into the problems of urban living through Irish in the 1980's, although the detailed mechanics of co-ordination have not yet been investigated. The Plan recommends the establishment of major, large and smaller urban centres in various city and rural locations throughout the country, as a means of providing a wide range of facilities through Irish, e.g. state services, all-Irish schools and shops, leisure-time facilities, some residential accommodation, etc. There are already sizeable networks of Irish speakers in the vicinity of many of the recently-founded Irish-medium schools, e.g. Tallaght, Dundrum in south Co. Dublin alone, and the smaller centres would depend largely on such groups. Conradh na Gaeilge has an ongoing feasibility study on this subject, and it is to be hoped that its experience and expertise will be drawn upon when the project finally gets underway. (Target date for commencement, after further feasibility study: 1985; for completion of a reasonably large-scale urban centre: 1986; for a major urban centre: 1990-1995).

One of the more disappointing aspects of this section of the Plan is the failure of the Bord to give direct recognition to the draft Bill of Rights for the Irish Language (Bille Cearta don Ghaeilge) drawn up by Conradh na Gaeilge in 1976, which is designed to give legal effect to the status accorded to the Irish language in the Constitution. It would provide for, among other things, the establishment of the Office of Commissioner of the Irish Language, which would be empowered to keep the legislation under review, and to act on any complaints from members of the public in relation to its operation. It would ensure that business with the State could be conducted as quickly and efficiently through the medium of Irish as through English. The Plan proposes that a permanent committee of legal experts be set up from 1983, "to review and bring forward proposals about the situation of Irish and of the Gaeltacht under the law;" the expertise of the language movement in this area over many years is patently ignored, since this committee will be made up of members of the Bord and of the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland. It is not yet clear how "appointments" will be made; it does not seem likely, however, that the language movement will be invited to nominate lawyers to represent its own point of view.

The most urgent challenge facing the language movement as of now is the forthcoming legislation on local radio, which is

# review

in preparation and is to be debated in the Dáil in October. The attitude of both the coalition Government and official opposition to this matter has been one of abject surrender to the Anglo-American mafia; the opposition has, if possible, been ever more philistine in its approach, promising what amounts to guaranteed licences for all pirate stations if they "do the decent thing" and shut down for the next three months or so. It is imperative that the language movement ascertain that there will be a statutory obligation on all applicants for broadcasting licences, to provide for a specific proportion of broadcasting time annually for programmes in the Irish language, which should be reasonably similar to the proportion of the population of the State reported to be able to speak and understand the Irish language; the current estimate is 28.3%, a figure based on the 1971 Census returns. The Bill of Rights demands this much, at least; the Plan merely states that the Bord will "consult with experts in the field of broadcasting and prepare recommendations to ensure that any legislation on local broadcasting will contain provisions to ensure an adequate level of Irish language programming." This "adequate" level is not defined, however.

One of the more radical demands on broadcasting, since 1980, has been that for an all-Irish Television Service, not solely for the Gaeltacht but for the country as a whole. It was a welcome surprise to many to find this demand reiterated in the Plan, as it had not been publicly acknowledged as a practical proposal before this. However, preliminary planning must begin immediately if it is to be on the air in two years' time. The language movement intends to start its preparations now; there is no sense in waiting, especially since there seems to be no definite commitment in the Plan's recommendation that "... the Government should commence planning for the establishment of an all-Irish television station/channel... undertaken in consultation with Bord na Gaeilge and ... completed by 1985. (Target date: 1987)."

The recommendations of the R.T.E. Advisory Committee on Irish language programmes (1979) have been largely ignored by R.T.E. From time to time, a new programme in Irish is announced, but no policy has emerged. The basic minimum requirements of the report, (a) one substantial programme for adults, and (b) for young people, on television and radio daily, go unmet, although the Plan "strongly recommends" that this be rectified by the end of 1983. The summer period has been notoriously fallow where Irish language and home-produced programmes are concerned; whatever national consciousness there was becomes comatose as R.T.E. plugs in to the giant Anglo-American culture dispenser. The Autumn Schedule is usually invoked in answer to the many complaints from various sectors of the community about this poor showing. Everything, it seems, will be remedied when the magical document becomes available. Alas, such has not been our experience to date. There have been no moves yet to provide the broad spectrum of programmes recommended in the report; to provide News in Irish at peak viewing times; or to broadcast a comprehensive, structured Irish language learning course.

The future of the Irish weekly newspaper,

INNIU, is also in grave danger. Its grant has not been increased for the past six years, and it is now run by a skeleton staff. There had been talk, during the last Government, of amalgamating it with AMÁRACH, the Gaeltacht weekly, but this would be most unsuitable, as each caters for its own readership. The Plan is not in the least reassuring, and ignores the very existence of INNIU when it states that "there is an urgent need for a weekly Irish language newspaper suitable of the general public."

The Plan's proposals on Education are prefaced by a disclaimer which effectively cancels what follows. It reads: "The Dept. of Education undertakes to enter into consultation with the relevant educational bodies with a view to implementation as far as feasible and to the extent that falls within its competence, and subject to available resources, the following recommendations..." It turns out to be a mutilated version of the White Paper on Educational Development (1980). Unfortunately, it is clear that the teaching of Irish is dependant, to a large extent, on the goodwill of individual teachers. This haphazard approach on a national scale denies linguistic rights to a large section of the population, and has led to a drastic decline in the standard of Irish in schools and among teachers. There is urgent need for effective language teaching at all levels, with greater emphasis on the spoken language, and for Irish-medium education in the Gaeltacht. A special section within the Dept. of Education is now needed to develop all-Irish education.

There has been a sharp decline in positive language policy in recent years; the Plan recognises the State's responsibility for the Irish language in the houses of the Oireachtas, the Civil Service, the Health Boards, etc., and seeks "some exemplification of the bilingualism to which the community aspires," especially from the houses of the Oireachtas. The language movement would accept the bilingual approach until a Bill of Rights is enacted. There is no time left for platitudes. It has become increasingly apparent that the constitutional status of Irish is being undermined. The Supreme Court has stated that citizens have no right to expect their cases to be dealt with in Irish in the courts, even in Gaeltacht areas. Service through Irish is often refused in many of the State's public offices, or is slower, less effective or not as comprehensive as that provided to English speakers. This is no wonder, of course, since Irish is no longer a requirement for the Public Service.

It is regrettable that there was no consultation with the language movement when the Plan was being drawn up. One of the many questions still unsolved in its wake is that of the function of Bord na Gaeilge. Founded as a statutory body in 1975, it lacks the teeth to ensure even a meagre level of support for the language in Government departments. It has been reduced to the level of a consultative body without powers. So far it has failed to win the confidence of the Irish-speaking community.

The Bord's plan can be seen as a step in the right direction; it must be implemented as a minimal programme to ensure the language's survival.

Sorcha NíBhriain.

# Ireland in English literature

A very interesting talk on this subject was given under the aegis of the Irish Sovereignty Movement on June 3 in Trinity College, Dublin by Desmond Greaves. Born of Irish parents in Liverpool and living in England, he was devoted himself for the past 35 years to the cause of Irish freedom by producing a steady stream of articles and pamphlets on Irish affairs and Anglo-Irish relations. He is the editor of the monthly Irish Democrat, published by the Connolly Association at 177 Lavender Hill, London SW 11 - (try a year's subscription £5.00 or a 6-month one at half that rate for reviews of developments in those two fields from an Irish socialist standpoint.) He is also the author of *The Life and Time of James Connolly* (1961) generally acclaimed as the standard work on its subject and of another study in depth, a sequel to that first work, covering and period from 1916 to 1922: *Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution* (Lawrence and Wishart, London 1971). A collection of his poetry "FOUR Letter Verses and The Mountbatten Award" has just been published by Martin Brian and O'Keeffe, 78, Coleraine Rd, London SE 3, price £4 and £5, 74pp.

In his talk, Desmond Greaves showed that up to the times of the Norman invasion, Ireland was on friendly terms with its neighbour, being recognised as a main contributor to English culture by the Ven. Beke and Alfred the Great alike. From 1169 onwards, the need to justify conquest led Girardus Cambrensis - no Welshman but a Norman - to depict the Irish as possessed of all the vices. This propagandist approach continued until, with the opening of the cross-Atlantic trade routes, Ireland became strategically important and the assimilation of her people was undertaken as a cornerstone of English policy. This imperialist approach led Edmond Spencer to advocate the extermination of the natives. Shakespeare on the contrary expressed a liberal attitude: in his plays he is a proponent of a federation of the "British" peoples. In that connection, the speaker contrasted Shakespeare's portrayal of Macbeth and Duncan, the former being falsely presented as one of those terrorists... To prop up the policy of dispossessing the Irish of their land, Milton, secretary to O. Cromwell, adopted a sectarian approach to the Irish which is still found to be useful. But many English writers from the 18th century onwards were well disposed or even pro-Irish, so William Blake, and P.B. Shelley ("I saw murder on the way, It wore the mask of Castlereagh.")\* An internationalist attitude became common among them by the beginning of this century. Kipling was an exception, when he wrote sympathetically of the Loyalists' gun running at Larne. On the contrary William Morris and particularly George Bernard Shaw were prepared to voice their support for Irish freedom.

A.H.

Read further on this subject: "Ireland's British Champions" in the June issue of *The Irish Democrat*.

# The election in the North

As outlined in the last issue of CARN, the success of Provisional Sinn Féin in securing five seats in the Northern Assembly elections last October gave rise to grave concern within the Social & Democratic Party (SDLP) who hitherto had a virtually clear run for the nationalist vote in elections in the North. The Dublin Government shared their concern and the New Ireland Forum was hastened into being. The same forum held its inaugural meeting a few weeks prior to the British General Election with the expressed aim of reaching a consensus amongst the constitutional political parties represented (Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael, the Labour Party and the SDLP) on a common approach to a Northern policy which would then be pursued with the British. Despite the outright disagreements, the inaugural speeches clearly showed a major difference in emphasis between Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael. Dr Fitzgerald stressed the need for an internal solution in the North; Mr Haughey, on the other hand, laid emphasis on any solution being basically an Anglo-Irish agreement between the two sovereign governments. Whatever the differences in the Forum, however, or their chance of reaching consensus, there is little doubt that they all viewed with dismay the outcome of the British General Election in the Northern constituencies.

The figures show that the Unionists won 15 seats, the SDLP 1 and Sinn Féin 1 but do not reveal the full facts. On the Unionist side, an electoral pact prevailed in some constituencies with only one Unionist candidate standing against two from the nationalist side. In Fermanagh - South Tyrone this ensured that the Official Unionist Party won the seat with 28,630 votes against Sinn Féin's 20,954 and the SDLP's 9,923. Divided nationalist support cost Sinn Féin the Mid-Ulster seat where their Danny Morrison lost to the Democratic Unionist (Paisley's) Party by only 78 votes. For the same reasons, the SDLP failed to win seats in Newry - Armagh and South Down. Before the election, the Party held hopes of

winning four seats but only the Party leader, John Hume, was successful, in Derry. The SDLP polled 137,000 votes, still leaving them the largest party on the nationalist side; but although their vote was up on that achieved in the Assembly elections, their percentage share of the nationalist vote dropped from 65% to 57.4%.

Provisional Sinn Féin's seat was won by their Vice-President, Gerry Adams, in West. Their success was not confined to this, however. They polled 103,000 votes, exceeding their target of 90,000 (they got about 60,000 in the Assembly elections) and giving them 43% of the nationalist vote. Their percentage of the total vote increased from 10.1% to 13.4%. By all accounts, their political campaign was well run, efficiently organised and suffered no shortage of manpower. Their electoral success amongst the nationalist population was achieved despite the urgings of both the British and Irish governments for a complete rejection of them, and in the face of outright condemnation by Catholic Church leaders for their support of the Provisional IRA campaign. They have mounted their strongest challenge yet to the SDLP in what is their ultimate aim of displacing that party as the real voice of the nationalist population.

It may be worth noting that the election results also confounded the results of a pre-election opinion poll, carried out by the Market Research Bureau of Ireland for the North's only nationalist daily, the Irish News, (which newspaper also condemned Provisional Sinn Féin and urged its readers not to support them). That poll had predicted that both the SDLP and Sinn Féin would suffer a decrease in votes as against the Assembly elections and that the SDLP would capture double the votes of Sinn Féin. So much for opinion polls! From reports of the election coverage, however, the same poll may be accurate in its analysis that SDLP support is highest amongst those over 25 whereas Sinn Féin's support is strongest amongst the 18 to 24 age group.

Sinn Féin would seem to have succeeded in

recent years in building up the basis of a strong, well-organised political party. It would appear confident of further successes in the North's next major electoral outing, the local elections of 1985. It might suit some in the SDLP, and elsewhere, to draw comparisons with the late '50's, when the then Sinn Féin party won 2 seats (out of 12) in the North and, indeed, 4 seats in the Dáil. Those successes, like the largely southern-dominated cross-border guerrilla campaign which fuelled them, proved to be ephemeral - and so, their opponents would hope, will be the gains of latter-day Sinn Féin. To nurture such hopes would be to ignore the history of the last 14 years in the North, the solid base of Provisional support there and the genuine roots which the party has succeeded in implanting throughout the nationalist population. One reason for recent success has been the recognition, within the Provisional movement, of the need for political as well as military action and of the need for a strong political organisation. Tensions between those responsible for pushing through that line and the more military minded continue and actions of the latter are more likely to erode popular support than any factors elsewhere.

Another reason for Sinn Féin's electoral gains was undoubtedly the effect of the Hunger Strikes of 1981. They polarised opinion amongst nationalists, discredited the SDLP and enhanced the growing disillusionment with prospects of an 'internal' settlement. The campaign of the time provided Sinn Féin with its base for expansion. In Britain, Margaret Thatcher's stand against the hunger strikers may have been seen as a resounding victory for her. It is indeed ironic that her decision at that time helped to fuel a more politically aware Provisional movement which could be an even more dangerous, long-term threat to her and to England's rule in the North.

JO'F

# The economic screw tightens

The Coalition, on gaining office in the Republic, stated that its main objective would be to reduce the current budget deficit which since the mid 70s had grown to unsustainable levels. In the lead-up to the 1983 Budget there were differences between the Coalition Partners, Fine Gael and Labour, over the planned deficit with Labour favouring a greater deficit to reduce the expenditure cuts and taxes necessary. In the event the Minister for Finance, Mr. Dukes, planned his budget for a deficit of £879 instead of the £750 million he originally favoured. This was seen as the main Labour contribution to what was regarded as the harshest budget in decades, with a wide range of income tax and VAT increases and major cuts in every area of Government expenditure.

The increases were granted in tax-allowances meaning a further erosion of wages this year. A "temporary" 1% levy on all incomes (gross) was introduced on top of the 1% Youth Levy already in existence. The Pay Related Social Insurance allowance was reduced and the contribution limit for it raised from £9,500 to £13,000. Tax relief on all new personal loans

was abolished and mortgage relief reduced. A new 5% VATE rate was introduced on all fuels except electricity. Road tax was increased meaning an extra £40 p.a. for family cars. Telephone rental charges are to rise by £17 a year from 1st April. Excise duty on fuel oil, L.P.G., colour TVs and videos were increased. The only elements affecting companies were the payment of Advanced Corporation Tax on Company taxes and an increase in the Banks Levy to £25m.

Old-age pensions went up by 12% and short term benefits by 10% but pay related benefits were reduced from 40% to 25% of former salaries and were to be withheld from those on short time working.

In addition it was proposed that new local authority charges would raise £65 million this year. This means in effect "rates (which were abolished in 1977) by the back door" with payment for domestic water in urban areas, refuse collection and other services.

No provision was made in the Budget for pay increases in the public services this year and it was hinted that a later mini-budget would be necessary to cover these.

Mr. Dukes' Budget, as might be expected, was attacked by many sectors, not least by the motor trade. Petrol increased by 14p a gallon making the Republic one of the most expensive countries in Europe for motorists with a gallon of petrol at about £2.80 for top grades.

The Economic and Social Research Institute and some independent economic analysts suggested in their reviews of the Budget that Mr. Dukes had overprovided for some £150 million extra in revenue. They differed from the Minister on the basis of the "underlying macro-economic projections" likely for 1983. Was this economic sleight-of-hand on the Minister's part to eventually achieve, despite his Coalition partners, the deficit of £750 million he originally favoured? The effect of the Budget on the 'average' family was reckoned to be a fall in purchasing power of between 9% and 11% having allowed for post-budget inflation of 12% and projected pay rises of 11% in the private sector and only about 5% in the public sector.

In education one of the first effects of the expenditure cuts was the introduction of charges on the hitherto totally free school

## THE ECONOMIC SCREW TIGHTENS

transport system. When it came to the crunch however and inspectors appeared on the school buses the imposition of a blanket charge (particularly in relation to junior cycle pupils) raised such opposition that the Government was forced to yield and introduce a modified scheme whereby children who would face particular hardship by paying up would be excluded from the charges.

The Budget measures announced in early February had come under increasing attack from the Trade Unions by early March with calls being made for a national protest campaign to be co-ordinated by the Irish.

Congress of Trade Unions. The publication of the latest unemployment figures showing a new high of 188,355 (approximately 14.7% of the labour force) added fuel to the flames.

The first rumblings of dissent in the Coalition came in the form of severe criticism by some Labour deputies of the provisions in the Government's Social Welfare Bill cutting short term Social Welfare benefits and restricting their application in relation to those on short time working.

One Labour deputy resigned from the party and voted against the Bill but the Government still had a comfortable majority of 5. Matters were not improved by the forced devaluation of the Irish punt in the European Monetary System. This, while benefiting farmers and exports added hundreds of millions to foreign debts and £17 million to the cost of interest

payments on them this year. The Minister of Finance hinted that this extra money might have to be recouped through more taxation as the Government was determined that any increase in debt servicing costs this year would not be allowed to affect overall budgetary arithmetic.

By the end of March as workers began to count the additional deductions to be made from their pay packets in April the PAYE and PRSI rebellion seemed to be taking off. Workers in many companies announced their intentions to follow the lead of Waterford Glass in refusing to make PAYE and PRSI deductions. To this the Government issued stern warnings that such actions would be illegal and that firms would be prosecuted if payments were withheld by their workers.

It also warned that deliberate non-remittance of social insurance contributions jeopardised the entitlement of a worker and his family to Social Welfare benefits.

At the time of writing it is not clear whether these threats will undermine this element of the protest campaign or not. However it would seem that as the screw begins to tighten protests will mount but it is unlikely that any concessions will be made by the Government to the PAYE sector. Nor indeed is it likely that 5% pay guide-lines laid down for the public sector will be improved on in the forthcoming negotiations.

P.O'R.

## The Nicky Kelly case

Nicky Kelly and two others were found guilty in the Special Criminal Court of the famous mail train robbery of 1976 and sentenced to 12 years. The only evidence against them were statements they had made following virtually continuous interrogation for over 40 hours and the use of various disorientation techniques. Kelly jumped bail and fled to the U.S. before the trial. His co-defendants stayed, appealed the sentence to the Court of Criminal Appeal, and were freed. That verdict related largely to the manner in which their statements had been obtained. Nicky Kelly then returned to Ireland, was imprisoned and also appealed to the higher court. His appeal, despite only minor differences between the exact treatment meted out to him and the others, was rejected. His further appeal to the Supreme Court was also turned down.

Kelly has steadfastly maintained his innocence since his return and commenced a hunger strike at the end of April. Despite many appeals, support across a wide spectrum for clemency, a petition from over 130 solicitors and grave public disquiet about his case, the Minister for Justice refused to exercise his powers to have him released. Kelly ended his hunger strike after 38 days on June 8th. He intends to go to the European Court of Human Rights. His case will continue to command attention and demand action to right what many feel was a grave miscarriage of justice.

## kernow

## Kescusulyans Kernow

A major conference on Cornwall and Cornish identity was held at Perranporth on the 21st and 22nd of May. It was attended by over 80 Cornish people, from all walks of life, and by representatives of the principal Cornish organisations [except MK and the CNP, both of whom were busy with the General Election - Ed]. Each person was present primarily because of his or her love of, and concern for, Cornwall; party politics were put to one side. The aims of the gathering were to examine aspects of Cornish identity and to establish and strengthen links between persons and organisations working to preserve, protect and advance that identity.

This was an opportunity for a fundamental reappraisal of the situation in Cornwall, a chance to pool experience and information and the possibility of a new beginning. The principal contributors were: Rosalie Armstrong, whose idea the conference was in the first place; Harry Tregilgas, of the the Cornish Family History Society, who spoke on 'The 19th century exodus'; John Banks, who gave a talk based on his study of 'The viability of small regions'; Bernard Deacon, who posed the question 'Is Cornwall an internal colony?'; Philip Payton, who made us examine the validity of certain contemporary developments of Cornish cultural life in his talk 'A question of identity'; and David Shaw, from the College of St. Mark & St. John in Plymouth, England, who gave an illuminating exposition of migration patterns in West Cornwall.

Other speakers included Joe Pengelly, who provided a little light relief with a tape-recording of an old-style Cornish Methodist preacher; Tim

Saunders, who spoke about the Cornish language; John Menhennick, who reported on the possibility of obtaining funds from the European Bureau of Lesser-Used Languages for nursery school projects following the publication of the Arfe Report and the granting of sums for this purpose by the European Parliament; and Harry Callender, Chairman of the Cornish Assembly. George Ansell, the organiser of 'Dalleth', presented papers on the state of the Cornish language on behalf of Wella Brown, of Kesva an Tavas Kernewek, and Hugh Miners, Barth Mur, who could not attend.

On the Saturday evening, a thoroughly enjoyable Noswyth Lowen was held, with star turns from John Bolitho and Neil Plummer, Cam Kernewek and a most charming group of lady dancers from Morwenstow.

The conference reached its climax at the closing session on the Sunday afternoon. After powerful speeches from Paul Laity and Brian Hambly on the need for unity and combined effort in promoting the interests of Cornwall, the conference agreed the following communiqué:-

This Conference affirms the distinctive character of the Cornish people and draws attention to various factors - its customs, traditions, history, language, culture, Celtic nature, economy, and other aspects - as clear and irrefutable evidence of this distinctiveness. It also affirms the traditional and age-old eastern boundary of Cornwall as being the River Tamar, and resolves that this shall remain inviolate. This Conference further proposes the establishment of an

organisational committee to forge links between existing Cornish organisations in order to discuss matters of mutual concern.'

The purpose of such a committee would not be to replace existing organisations, nor that it should become another institution in its own right. The idea is that it should remain reasonably flexible and should aim to draw together people ardently involved in Cornish affairs. This would enable them to develop links between the various Cornish organisations and to find practical ways and means of strengthening those very institutions. The role of the Cornish Assembly in all this is an important one and close consideration will have to be given to this factor.

Plans are already afoot to organise the first meeting of the organisational committee in the autumn. There have been several offers of help and anyone else interested should contact the Conference Secretary, John Fleet, 47 Lawrence Weston Road, Bristol 11, Avon, England.

Map Trevethan

On account of Jenefer Lowe having moved to a job in Cymru, the post of Cornish branch secretary is being filled till further notice by Bernard Deacon, see address on back cover.

## Forum son Nherin noa - agh cui bond?

This article looks at the setting-up of a Forum for a New Ireland and examines its viability and who's to benefit from it.

Er-y-gherrid dooyrt yn Taoiseach, Yn Dr. Gearóid Mac Gearailt dy row eh ayns coardailys rish cur er bun forum ry hoi resooney magh boiraghyn twoaie Nherin as cummey plan yinnagh adsyn nee goaill aynr jeh coontey feeu dy chur roish ny Sostnee son dy chosney shee ayns Twoaie Nherin.

Veih John Hume, leeideilagh yn SDLP, haink yn eie shoh hoshiaght mysh blein er dy henney, as va ram resoonaaghtyn fo raad eddyr yn SDLP as Fianna Fáil ayns Pablaght Nherin feiy ny laghyn shen. Cruinnaghey stiagh ny ashoooneyryn ooilley ayns Nherin ayns yn forum shoh va bun yn eie v'ec John Hume, as va Cathal Ó hEochaidh, leeideilagh Fianna Fáil, dy bollagh ayns coardailys rish, tra dooyrt eh ec Ard-fheis (Ard-haglym) Fhianna Fáil er-y-gherrid dy jinnagh yn cheshaght echey cur slane cooney da'n forum. Tra haink Mac Gearailt dy ve ny Haoiseach lurg yn ard-reihys v'eh hoshiaght beggan feayr rish soie seose yn forum. Agh ec y jerrey choard eh rish soie seose eh, agh ren eh lhanaghey eh dy ghoail stiagh ny Unnanysee sy Twoaie, son dy beagh red erbee resoonit magh, 'eh smooingaghtyn yns firriny - my dy darragh red erbee ass - veagh eh bentyn roo dy mooar. Agh ren Mac Gearailt un chonaant, nagh goghe yn forum stiagh peiagh ny sheshaght erbee va ayns foayr jeh gymmydey raghtalys. As myr shen dy yeigh eh magh dy jeeragh Sinn Féin.

Yn red amlagh, foddee, mysh shoh, hug Mac Gearailt cuirrey da sheshaghtyn unnaneagh ta goaill boggey dy foshlit er yn agh oc hene jeh dunveryssyn poblaghteyryn jeant ec yn RUC syn gunneraght noa oc er ny shiaghteyryn chaie (eer va leighalagh marrooit oc syn agh cheddin cheu-mooie yn Olooschoill ayns Beal Feirshtey mean Mee Vart). As myr shen nagh nee kyndagh rish credjal Sinn Féin ayns falsoonys (philosophy) raghlid dy chur jerrey er tranlaase Hostyn ayns

Nherin yn bun-oyr, ta sleih dy liooar coontey, daag Mac Gearailt magh ad.

Rish paart dy veeghyn nish, er-lheh neayr's ny stholkyn accrys ayns Camp yn Kesh Foddee, ta Sinn Féin er ve gaase ny stroshey as ny stroshey ayns ny reihysyn dys chosn ad queig soiagyn sy reihys dy hoie seose Cruinnaght Stormont (ga nagh ghow ad seose ad). Eer ec jerrey Mee ny Mannan mleeaney ayns fo-reihys cooinseilagh syn Omaigh (Co. Thir Eoin) va shirreyder Sinn Féin speeideilagh, as shoh yn chied cheayrt rish lieh-cheead dy vleeantyn va'n varriaght ec Sinn Féin ayns reihys y lheid shen. Kyndagh rish ny speeideilysyn shoh ta'n SDLP er n'aase feer voirit mysh coayl ram sleih (va cliaghtit rish votal daue) hug Sinn Féin, son t'ad-shoh credjal, t'eh jeeaghyn, nagh vel yn SDLP effectoil dy liooar cur tessyn barel ny ashoooneyryn sy Twoaie rish ny Sostnee.

T'eh symmoil dy liooar fakyn, kiart myr ta niart Sinn Féin bishaghey, dy vel poar yn SDLP leodaghey mastey ny ashoooneyryn, as dy re veih'n SDLP haink yn eie dy bunneydaght son forum Nherin. Ta ny sheshaghtyn sy Phoblaght, er-lheh Fine Gael, er n'aase cho boirit mysh mooadaghey niart Sinn Féin sy Twoaie nish dy vel ad arryltagh, ny eignit, dy chooney lesh yn SDLP as dy hauail eh veih goll-mow as jarroodaght dy lickly ayns cur er bun yn forum shoh.

Ta Mac Gearailt er reih dyn lhiggey stiagh Sinn Féin, as myr shen dy vel eh er reih dyn eaishaght roosyn ta gymmyrkey yn chooid trimmey as yn chooid smessey jeh raghtalys ny Sostnee nyn oi, as neaishaght rish yn ynrican sleih ayns Nherin ta jannoo red erbee dy gheddyn rey roo. Gollrish Cruinnaght Stormont ta sleih aynshoh credjal nagh nee agh boayl ry hoi coloayrtys vees ayn, boayl fegooish pooar, fegooish cummaght, fegooish arrym. Ta fys ec dy chooilley pheiaigh, er-lhimmej jeh John Hume foddee, ny Yernee, ny Sostnee, eer Charlie as Garrett hene - dy jinnagh eh fajeil ec y jerrey.

Shorys y Creayrie

## kernow

### Ywerdhon - towl rak cres

Lemmy'n bos du an Dewysyans Kenethlek, hag yma esel a Sinn Féin a yl kemeres y eseth y'n Chy an Kemyn, gwren-ny gwaytya y fyn-e gy henna. Y fyth mur a dus yn Breten na vyn gweles an den-ma yn Sen Stefan mes y coth dhodho dos ha bos res chons y'n Seneth dhe assaya cafos gorthyp dhe'n cudennow usy yn Ywerdhon. Anes y fyth dhodho y honen gul hemma mes ny vyth chons gwel dres an bledhennow a dhe. Yth eder drehedhes an prys lemmy'n ma nag us gwaytyans a dheweth dhe'n stryf yn Ywerdhon, hag ytho res porres yu y whrusa an un den-ma neppyth a les.

Mes fatel yl-e y wul? Pup den gans myns an lyha a skyans yn y ben a vyn gweles an soudoryon gasa dh'Ywerdhon. Nefra ny vyth cres hedra vons-y ena. Mes nyns yu hemma an forth dhe dhaltheh. Y fe an tybans-ma profyes lyes gwyth kens ha bos tewlys dhe-ves avel neppyth a es. Y'm brys-vy, an un dra a yl-e gul y honen yu dhe dhynya an Seneth assentya formyans a bolgor kesgwasek hepdenvyth a Vreten po Ywerdhon ynno, dhe barusy deryvadow yn un dhespletya

ystor an cudennow a.n dalleth fest, ha'y ry dhe'n Seneth ha'n Seneth yn y dro, hep treghy travythy mes anodho, y dhylllo, may hyl tus a Vreten hag Ywerdhon dysky an gwryoneth prag yma cas, dyal - hag own - y'n vro-na. Ha pan vo an gwryoneth dyskys, ena tus a Vreten a wra trelya (an re-na a vyn) aga brysow ha scodhya towlow skyansek dhe wul cres yn Ywerdhon. Whath, my a wor na vyn an Seneth y wul drefen an gwryoneth dhe wolya - ha hep ger a dhowt - dhe vrewy aga bys a ympalareth dhall. Mes res yu dhe'n den-ma assaya hag yndelma y fyth chons dres eghen dhe hedhy an envy dyskysans a vew.

Rod Lyon

**The Sinn Féin member of Parliament must take up his seat at Westminster and press for an independent international committee to produce an unbiased report on the current problem in Ireland, enabling a realistic solution to be formulated.**

## Tranlaase culturoil liorish reiltyssyn dooghyssagh

The experience of Ireland and Mann shows that measures of self-government do not necessarily protect and foster the native cultures.

My ta shin, ny Manninee, jeeaghyn er cheeraghyn Celtiagh elley, dy mennick ta troo ain orroo. Ta shin credjal ny kearytyn dy vel troshid er lheh ayns ny cheeraghyn shen nagh vel ry gheddyn ayns Mannin. Foddee ta shoh kiart, er y fa dy vel Mannin cheet dy ve ny smoo Sostnagh gagh laa. Agh shegin dooin cooinaghtyn dy vel y red cheddin taghyrt ayns ny cheeraghyn elley neesht (er lhimmey jeh'n Vritaan - t'ish cheet dy ve ny smoo Frangagh!). Agh ny yei shen as ooilley, cha lhisagh shin cur seose. Fodmayd foast cur er nyn gultooryn y vishaghey ny veggan as ny veggan.

Tra va Saorstat ny hErin currit er bun mysh tree feed blein er dy henney, smooinee ram sleih dy row y chengey Yernagh slane sauchey. Va reiltyss dooghyssagh reil y chooid smoo jeh'n cheer as va Yernish goll er ynsaghey ayns ny scoillyn. Veagh dy chooilley nhee mie dy liooar, as lurg sheeloge veagh ny Yernee loayrt nyn jengey dooghyssagh reesht. Atreih, boghtnid v'ayn. V'eh slane aggairagh dy smooingaghtyn dy row y reiltyss Yernagh goll dy aavioghey yn chengey liorish ny scoillyn. Oddagh oo gra nagh row cree y reiltyss shen rieu sy chaggey dy aavioghey Yernish. Ren thousanenyn dy 'ir-ynsee as dy vraane-ynsee streu gyn-fea shen y jannoo, agh va'n obbyr ro vooar daue nyn lomarcan. Va'n cheer ayns feme jeh co-obbyr eddyr y reiltyss, ny scoillyn, ny paitchyn, as nyn ayraghyn as moiraghyn. Paart dy 'ir-ynsee, ren ad credjal dy noddagh ad bwoalley Yernish stiagh ayns ny paitchyn. Shimmey skeeal mychione ny Braaraghyn Creestiagh ta ry chlashtyn sy chooish shoh. Kyndagh rish saaseyn-ynsee barbaragh, va ymmodde Yernee cheet magh ass ny scoillyn as adsyn cur feoh da'n chengey. Loayrt dy barbaragh, va niart mooar ec ny Sostnee as, kyndagh rish shen, v'ad abyl bwoalley Baarl stiagh ayns king ny Yernee. Sy cheead shoh, cha nel niart modar er ve ec y chultoor Gaelagh. Myr shen, cha dod ny Yernee 'cur y clag ergooyl' lesh y laue lajer.

As nish, ta oikyn y steat Yernagh abyl gra dy ren yn aavioghey failleil, son y chooid smoo. As ta shin fakyn gombeenyn goll rish y briw shid ayns Doon na Goal [Donegal] ta gobbal Yernish y chlashtyn sy choort echey, ga dy vel eh sy Ghaeltaght! Ta aigney y sleab dy kinjagh noi yn chengey.

As ayns Mannin neesht, shione dooin nagh vel reiltyss dooghyssagh (ny red ennagh goll rish shen) er chooney lesh yn chengey. Er lhiam pene dy nhegin da possanyn er lheh jannoo caggey son ny changaghyn dooghyssagh cheumooie jeh oikyn y steat (sy toshiaght). Dy jarroo, my ta'n ghleashaght ro faase, nee y steat plooghey eh as eh lhiggey er dy vel eh cooney lesh. Lhisagh 'shin hene' ve y sleih gerryim (slogan) sy toshiaght. Ayns Mannin, shegin da gleashaght ny Gaelg gaarlagey stoo-ynsee son ny scoillyn, cur scoillyn-oikan er bun, jannoo scannaneyn Gaelgagh as myr shen. Lurg shen, foddee dy bee reiltyss Vannin aarlooy dy chooney. Dy jarroo, shegin dooin goaill dy chooilley nhee ta reiltyss Vannin son cur dooin. Agh ec y tra cheddin, lhisagh shin toiuggal dy vel shin dy firrinagh nyn lomarcan as shinyn geearee 'poble Gaelgagh' y chroc.

Brian Mac Stoyll



# Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey

The inside story of the making of the first ever film in Manx Gaelic

It was during the course of *Yn Chruinnaght* 1982 (held 17th - 24th July) that the basic idea of making a film entirely in Manx first came to me. One of the attractions of that action-packed week was the showing of the film *Poitin* made by Bob Quinn entirely in Irish. It was not this film that gave me the idea, but the showing of two 10-15 min. films about the Snaefell Mountain Railway that preceded the second showing of *Poitin*.

These two short films were made and shown by Peter Maggs of Gretch Vooar, Laxey. Peter works on the Snaefell railway, but his spare time is devoted almost entirely to amateur film making. Since selling his disco he has been able to purchase additional equipment that has enabled him, as he says, to make films to a greater degree of sophistication.

After I had seen these two films, which to my mind seemed to have been well made, I saw the possibilities of making a film completely in Manx centred around one of the traditional Manx songs. The idea was that the film would tell the story of the song in greater detail with shots of the relevant places, and the narrative (in Manx) would be punctuated by the singing of the song and the playing of versions of the time. It was anticipated that the film would run for about 15 min.

In August of that same year I wrote to Peter about my scheme, and he replied expressing great interest in the project, particularly as he also has in mind making film centre around a (pop) song, and that he was very willing to co-operate in the venture. We exchanged correspondence during which it was agreed that I would prepare the script and the participants, while he would shoot the actual film and look after contacting local people whose premises or live-stock might feature in the film, etc. In the course of the correspondence we arranged to meet at the New Year, when I would be next in Man, to discuss arrangements for shooting the film. The cost of the actual film was to be borne by myself, and Peter offered to put the film together gratis to keep down costs; also as this

venture was something new for him he would learn a fair bit from it, as he said.

Shortly after our initial correspondence I asked my longstanding friend Brian Mac Stoyll if he would be interested in singing the song. He agreed wholeheartedly to do it. Doolish y Karagher also agreed to read the narration (which would be heard over the pictures). At this stage no decision had been reached as to who was to play the music for the film. But by mid-November it had been decided that the Mines Tavern pub in Laxey would be a suitable venue in which the song could be sung because of the unspoilt Manxness of its character. Peter offered to liaise with the landlord Sonny Cannon, if he would agree to the use of his premises for this purpose. Mr. Cannon agreed and was quite enthusiastic about the whole matter.

Peter and I met, as arranged, on Monday 3rd Jan. 1983 at the Creek Inn, Peel, to discuss arrangements for shooting the film. Brian was also present. It was agreed that the filming would take place just before Easter, on Thurs., Fri., and Sat. March 31st - April 2nd weather permitting. As there were some snow scenes required, and in view of the probability of there being some snow before I returned to Man for Easter, Peter agreed to take some shots of snow, should there be any. There was. It was also agreed that I would supply Peter with information relating to the story of the song. We continued with our correspondence after my return to Dublin.

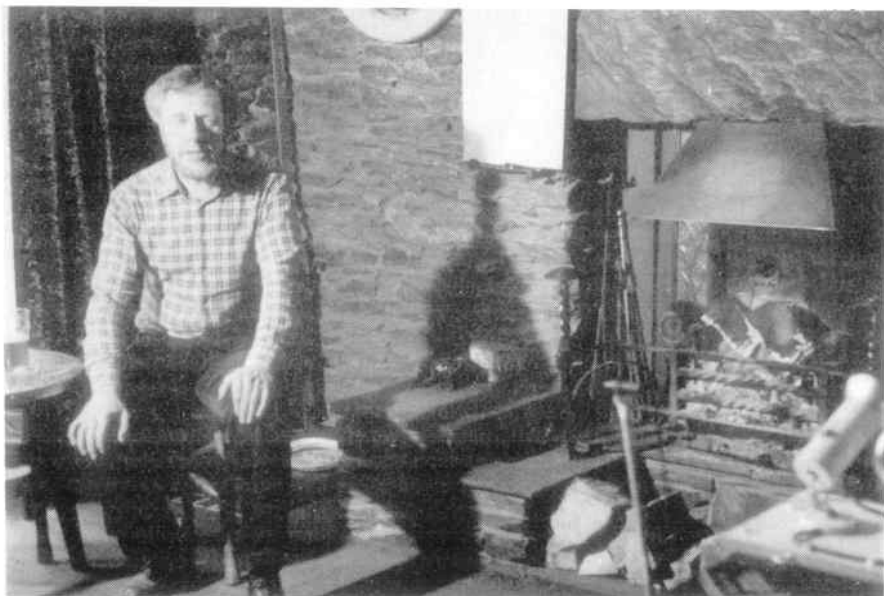
In that interim I had come to some decision about what variants of the tune were to be played and on what instruments. A harp, uillinn pipes, tin whistle, and flute were required. Cristl inney Kleiser and her husband Collyn y Jerree agreed to play a variant of the tune on the harp and pipes respectively, as Robard Carsalagh did the whistle and flute. It turned out, however, that Robard was off the Island for Easter and so could not assist, but we were fortunate to obtain the help of Dai Mac y Eeasteyragh Pedir Mac Obbree. During this period it was suggested that the filming at the

Mines Tavern might take place on the Good Friday, when it would be quiet, but Brian intimated to me that he would not be able to travel to Man till that day. The session was then provisionally made for the Saturday afternoon. Between the New Year and Easter I sent some detailed information on the song to Peter. He took it to Mr. Elwood Parsons who farms at Baljean on the western side of Laxey Glen. The farms of Raby and Granane (on Baljean lands,) as well as Baljean, were once the property of Illiam y Qualteragh in the late 17th century, and it is almost certainly about the loss of his sheep that the song was made. As some of the filming needed to be done in this area Mr. Parsons' co-operation was necessary. Peter knows Mr. Parsons quite well, and he said he was willing to assist in any way he could with the project. The script was put together at the beginning of March and a copy sent to Doolish to acquaint him with the text. We were now all set to go.

I arrived in Man on Wed. 30th March, the Wed. before Easter, and that evening the narrative was recorded, as well as the tune played by Cristl and Collyn, after (and before) which we adjourned to the Mines Tavern to meet the landlord Mr. Cannon. Peter and I arranged there with Mr. Cannon that Saturday afternoon would be suitable for the filming session in the pub. It was afterwards in the Mines that night that Peter was mooting what name he should go under for his film making. He had initially thought of "Seagull Films," but that name was already in use. He casually asked Dougie what 'seagull' was in Manx, and was told *foillan*. It was from this chance remark that the title *Foillan Films* was decided on as the trade-name.

Thursday morning I met Peter up at his house. The day was slightly overcast as we began shooting from Agneash. The first shots taken were the zoom-shot of the Mines Tavern, and those from Raby to Snaefell which would go at the very end of the film. After lunch we then went over Baljean to meet Mr. Parsons, and after a chat we filmed at the ruins of Raby and Granane, then at Coan ny Kishtey adjacent to Granane. This latter place is situated below the tramtrack amid thick briar and bramble. As the place was also muddy we had some trouble getting to and from it. After the filming was done Elwood informed us that the would be moving sheep to the mountain the following morning at around 10.30 a.m. if we were interested. We said we'd be there.

Good Friday morning was fine and sunny, and we arrived at Baljean just after 10.30 a.m. We took shots of Elwood and his helpers moving sheep through his fields towards Mullagh Ouyr, then some shots around Baljean farm itself. We finished there at the back of 11.00 a.m. before moving off to Tholt-y-Will (where we took shots of Sulby Glen and Snaefell) and the Mountain Road for shots of Glen Auldyn (Glion Vooar Skyllay Chreest), including one of an emaciated sheep. The stench was fairly overpowering. After lunch at Peter's we went up to Laggan Varool in Cornaa Glen, places mentioned in various mss. of the sons where grazed his sheep (Qualteragh), and took a



Brian Stowell being filmed singing in the Mines Tavern, Laxey.

## NY KIRREE FO NIAGHTEY:

number of shots there, where according to the song, some of the sheep were lost, Around 3.00 p.m. it started clouding over, and we thought we'd call it a day and went to the Mooragh Park for a cup of tea. At about 4.00 p.m. and sun came out again, and we decided to continue filming, rather than leave any over till the Monday. We left the car at the Black Hut and walked over Clagh Ouyr for shots of Barrule and Cornaa Glen, then over to Slieau Lhean for pictures of Pairk Dan and upper Laxey Glen (the latter in silhouette). That evening we recorded Daic on the tin whistle and flute. Saturday morning was also sunny and clear. Met Peter in Douglas thence to Douglas Head for shots of Douglas and a zoom-in on the Manx Museum, then to the Museum for further shots outside, and inside of the ms. MD. 900. We had lunch at the Mines Tavern, but the place was too crowded with Easter tourists to do any filming that afternoon. We then arranged with Sonny Cannon that we'd do the scene the following afternoon when the place would be shut, and when it would be quieter. Brian, Colin and I spent the afternoon of Saturday playing tunes outside the pub. We returned on Sunday afternoon to the Mines Tavern as arranged, and after something to eat (and drink) there we got set up, and as soon as the pub was closed we began filming. The job took about an hour. The shooting was done in three sections. Verses 1, 2, 3 (+ chorus) were recorded first, then for technical reasons verses 7 & 8, then verses 4, 5, 6. The song is to feature three times during the course of the film, and each section would involve shots from different angles. For audience we had the pleasure of Sonny Cannon and his family and staff, as well as my sister Enid, with Dee Moore and Bernard Moffatt, the Secretary of the Mannin Branch of the Celtic League. Dee took some photographs of the proceedings for the League magazine *Carn*.

The job was now almost complete. All that needed to be done was to record Pedir Mac Obree playing on the tin whistle and on his low whistle. This was done during the last weekend of April. Once his pieces had been chosen, and a list of credits sent to Peter, my part in the operation was over. It was now left to Peter to put the film together. I returned to Man at the end of May and was extremely satisfied with the job he had done. The premier

## Some notes on the development of Mann

### Political

Mann is constitutionally a Crown dependency, with its own Parliament, Tynwald. Tynwald has an 'upper house' - The Legislative Council', which is elected by 'The Keys' - the 'lower house,' elected by popular vote. All acts passed by Tynwald, can be vetoed by the U.K. government through the Governor in Mann. This situation has tended to negate any apparent advance in 'self government.' Over the past twenty years, this has led to controversy between the U.K. and Tynwald, and several enquiries have been held. The situation is still unresolved and 1983 finds Mann and the U.K. in apparent deadlock again, over the 'Continental Shelf Agreement', (whereby Mann considers it is being sold-short over oil revenues) and also over an extension of the Manks Fishing limit from 3 to 12 miles, which the U.K. and its Common Market partners will not grant. (N.B. The Island is not a member of the E.E.C. but has associate

of the film is to take place during the 1983 *Yn Chruinnaght* in Ramsey. It is anticipated that the film will last for some 25 mins., longer than initially envisaged.

It is hoped that this film will be the first in a series of such films in Manx. This production is regarded as a pilot scheme in this sphere.

SHORYS Y CREAYRIE

### FOOTNOTE

A preview of the film was given in early June the finished item was very impressive. In addition to its shaving at *Yn Chruinnaght* there are plans to enter it in the Film competition section of the L'Orient festival. More films in Manx are planned.

(J.B.M.)



Outside the Mines Tavern after filming - Peter Maggs on right.

status). Most vigorous opponent of the U.K. in the Manks parliament (Tynwald) is the Speaker of the House, Charles Kerruish - an Independent Nationalist. He has described 'Constitutional devolution' as a myth.

There are two Nationalist Parties in Mann. Mec Vannin (founded 1963) and the Manx Nationalist Party, M.N.P. (founded 1976). Neither have elected representatives in the Keys. Political activity along party lines, is at a low ebb, at this time. This phenomena, which seems to occur from time to time, is also affecting other Celtic areas.

The other political organizations, are the Manx Labour Party, which favours strong links with the U.K. (3 members in Keys and 2 in Legislative Council) and the P.S.V. (Pobblaght Soshiallagh Vannin) a clandestine Republican Socialist group, which has produced leaflets calling for economic and social independence for Mann.

### Cultural

Traditional cultural values, which were steadily eroded throughout the twentieth century, have experienced a small revival in the late sixties, seventies and into the eighties. The Manx Language Society, has published numerous books, cassettes and other learning aids, similarly Dance and Music groups are doing the same. Manx traditional dancers and musicians, travel to inter-celtic events throughout the Celtic world. (notably, L'Orient Festival and Pan-Celtic Killarney.) An inter-celtic Festival - *Yn Chruinnaght* - has been revived in Mann and enjoys growing success. Advances in this field however, are still far too small to justify any complacency, and it will require continued effort on the part of its supporters.

(Information on Manks Cultural Organization can be obtained from the Secretary Celtic League, Mann)

### Socio-economic

Mann, like other areas of Western Europe, is struggling to combat the continuing economic depression. Traditional industries such as tourism, agriculture and fisheries are in decline; their role as main income source for the Manks exchequer, being replaced by the Finance Industry (Banking, Insurance etc.) which is attracted by the Island's Tax Haven status. This is an undesirable state of affairs, but with continuing recession and increased unemployment, the status quo will have to be maintained in the foreseeable future. Mann has an extremely high (one of the highest in Europe) cost of living. This being aggravated by its unsatisfactory relationship with the E.E.C. and also transport charges for goods from the U.K. Social factors however, could contribute to awareness of the advantages of sovereign independence.

J.N. MOFFATT.  
Sec: Celtric League, Mann.

(A Factsheet on Mann containing Geographic, Political, Historical and Cultural information, is available from Celtic League, Mann)

# Moylley as soylley diu B.A.S.

Hooar mee qoilley yn fys shoh ass yn earish-lioar Ar Soner E. 273 aynjee ta Bodadeg Ar Sonerien (Cocruinnaght ny Fir-kiaullee Britaanagh) jeeaghyn nyn gooyl er daeed vlein g'obbragh da nyn jeer as g'iaull.

Ec toshiaght yn Caggey 1939, va'n cultoor Britaanagh ayns foaynoo debejagh. Va Kionnooyrtys y Rank geiyrt er roonaght tranlaasagh dy golley magh dy bollagh red-erbee Britaanagh. Va'd jannoo faghid jeh'n chengey ayns ny schoillyn, liorish croghey braag-vaiddagh mygeayrt mwannal jeh paitchey erbee va loayrt assjee, as craidjey mysh adsyn va ceau eaddeeyn dooiagh. Myr shen va'n sleih shaghney nyn gliaghtaghyn, chengey, eaddeeyn, as dy-chooilley nhee bentyn da eiraght nyn ashoonaghys. Ta ny Britaanee gra, gollrooin-hene, Hep Brezhoneg, Breizh ebet. (Gyn chengey gyn cheer). Marish yn chengey va palchey dy arraneyn skellal ersooyl, dy-jarroo ta chengey undin jeh kiaull as persoonaght ashoonagh.

Voish yn tra haink yn bun-lught Britaanagh voish Kernow, Nerin as Bretyn thosane ny bleaney er-dy-henney derrey'n Irree Magh Frangagh, cha row monney caghlaaghyn cultooragh currit stiagh voish cheeraghyn elley. Va ny baljyn-beggey Frangagh cheu-sthie nyn boallaghyn dyn cur scansh da'n sleih cheu-moioe. Eer tra va ny ammyryn reuyrit cha row agh eiyrtyss feer veg haink er'n cultoor. Cha row eh derrey yn lhing Louis Philippe haink caghlaaghyn scanshoil. Ec y tra shen ghow ny Britaanee toshiaght er cur geill da oayshyn Frangagh. Va ny rinkaghyn theayagh Sostnagh snaue stiagh ayns bunnys dagh cooyrt fei-ny-h'Europey, as fei-ny-cruinneey baarlagh. Honnick ny Britaanee ny rinkaghyn shoh goll y jannoo ec yn sleih ooasle, as va'd smooingaghtyn dy row ad nyn aynr jeh'n vea berchagh.

Maghey shen va greinyn-kiaullee neu-ghooghsagh snaue stiagh neesht as cur ass ynnid yn bombarde as biniou. Myr shen haink yn clarinaid as yn vioyal stiagh, as ny s'anmey yn saccasfane as banjoe geiyrt orroo. Va oayshyn ny rinkey cheet stiagh neesht, yn tangoe, waltz, charleston as fox-trot as trushtey noa-emshiragh elley.

Tra haink yn raad yiarn jannoo eh eer ny s'aasey cosney rish Paris, va ny caghlaaghyn foddey ny s'bieau. Va ny fir-oik jeh'n kionnooytys ynnidaght cheet voish yn ard-valley gymmykey nyn oayshyn jeianagh maroo, as v'ad g'earree kiaull elley ayns ny hallaghyn cuirrey-kiaull. Ec-y-traa cheddin va fir-chiaullee dooie cur greim er carryn noa, ga dy row ad caghlaait dys ny modyn bynney lhiue, v'ad nyn garryn joarree ny-yei. Ec jerrey'n lhing va sleih goll mygeayrt chymsaghey arraneyn, agh v'ad ny smoo aggingdagh dy hymysaghey ny fockleyn ny ny carryn. Tra v'ad screeeu sheese ny carryn hug ad stiagh marrinyn gyn ys daue.

V'ad cloie er'n Phioh Mhor Albinagh hoshiaght mysh y vlein 1895. Tra vrish yn Caggey Moar magh honnick ad tooilley goll y chloie ec ny sidooryn voish Alba. Foddey dy row shen yn chied cheayrt va ny Britaanee smooingaghtyn er'n Vagadou. Ren yn Caggey Moar jeill agglagh aghterbee. Eddy 1912 as 1922 hug seose 90% jeh nyn eaddeeyn dooiagh. Eddy ny daa caggaghyn haink yn gramafone rish, jannoo eer ny smoo jeill. Va ny shenn Kiaulleyderyn skellal ersooyl dyn g'ynsaghey nyn g'iaull rish peiagh erbee, cha row sym ec ter erbee. Va nyn schlei bunnys caillt. V'ad feddyn obbyr ennagh ec ny feaillaghyn cheeragh, cloie cour rinkeyderyn as

cloie son ny skibbyltee-boghtey 'syn tourey.

Cha row dy-chooilley nhee olk. Va gleeashaght chengagh ayn. Haink earish-lioar yn magh, va draamey ry-akin as va errys ashoonagh g'aase ny stroshey. Va Breiz-Atao currit er bun ayns 1920 mastey cheshaghtyn elley. Ayns 1932 haink Kenvreuriey ar Viniouerien rish (braarys ny cloiederyn viniou) ayns Paris. V'ad cur Cercles Celtiques er bun neesht ayns Paris. Ayns 1937 hug ad cheb er aa-vioghey ny kiaull ayns Britaan Beg hene agh haink yn caggey cur lhietrymys er'n chooish. S'quaagh dy-lioar dy row lhietrymysyn yn caggey greinnaghey yn cooish cultooragh. Va ny Frangee eer ny s'dewuley ny ny Germaanee tra v'ad cur cultoor fo smaght yn agh va paart dy Vritaanee greinnit dy co-obbragh maroo. Er agh elley va cheshaghtyn follit cheet rish. 'Syn earish shoh va Bodadeg Ar Sonerien currit er bun ayns Jerrey Fouyr 1942.

Va dooilleidyn dy-lioar oc. Cha dod ad geddyn stoo kiart dy hroggal piobyn as y lhiad, va gennidyn ayn kindagh rish yn chaggey. Cha row agh mysh three feed kiaulleyderyn foast er-mayrn, as cha row agh three jeig jeh dod foast cloie. Cha row ad ooilley arryltagh dy cloie tra va sleih screeeu sheese nyn garryn. Ec-y-jerrey cha row agh shey jeh va booiagh dy chloie son Polig Monjarret, myr v'eh g'earree chymsaghey carryn voish ny fir-kiaullee elley shegin da v'eh jeant dy-follit. Ec yn un cheayrt v'eh keiltyn eh-hene voish ny moeir-shee shickyragh. Roish my dooar yn fer-kiaullee s'jerree baase (Tanguy, Melrand ec 93 bleaney d'eash) va 2,000 ny carryn ec Polig.

Ec jerrey yn caggey va ny cheshaghtyn t'er co-obbragh marish ny Germaanee fo baggyr. Ga nagh row B.A.S. g'obbragh maroo v'ad fo ourys kyndagh rish nyn smooingaghtyn ashoonagh. Va dy-chooilley red Britaanagh soursal er-yn-aght cheddin. Va guilley goit ec ny moeir-shee er-yn-oyr dy row eh gymmyrkey bombarde, lhing ad y raad da ny verragh eh g'ialdyn daue dyn cloie er.

Dyn y woose da'n smaght v'ad currit fo, ny foddey kindagh rish - fod smaght croo sthaaghey - ren B.A.S. goaill toshiaght er cur ny Bagadou (Possaryn lesh piobyn moorey, bombardyn as dollany) er bun, treiltys v'oc ayns 1943. Ayns 1947 va possan Albinagh ayn ec chaglym yn tourney ec Sarzeau, va'n chield Bagad Ynnidaght currit er bun ec Carhaix ayns 1948. Ayns 1953 haink rish yn Bagad Lann-Bihoue, bagad oikoil jeh sidooryn ny marrey ashoonagh.

Ec-y-toshiaght khuid ad yn schlei dy-jeeragh voish ny Albinee agh cloie ny carryn voish ny sonneurs au couple tradishoonagh. Fy-jerrey va'n schlei jeant cheddin liorish yn Commission Technique des Bagadou.

Reih B.A.S. ayns 1949 ymmyd y jannoo jeh'n **Gwen Ha Du** (Bane as Doo, yn brattag Vritaanagh) ec co-hirraghtyn, yn tourey. V'ad bennalt ny brattagyn Yernagh, Nalbin, Bretyn, Frangagh as yn Gwen Ha Du. V'ad cur sarey da Polig dy hayrn sheese yn brattag. "Cre'n fer? Yn 'er shen?" dreggyr eh, jeeaghyn lesh e vair er yn brattag Frangagh. Tra honnick ny moeir-shee dy row sleih voish cheeraghyn Celtiagh elley ayn, fir ny phabbyryn-niaghtey, as chamraign oc, ren ad shaghney boirrey as maghey shen va'n Gwen Ha Du bennalt ec dy-chooilley haglym.

Va Sonit'ta Sonierion (lioar er-lheh dauesyn va g'earree cloie er y vombarde as y piob mhor) currit magh ayns 1947 as ny lurg, lioar yn ynsaght schlei, as reaghysyn son y Bagadou. Va B.A.S. er chooyrt magh screeunyn-niaghtey nearys 1943, ayns 1949 haink rish Ar Soner ayns Ynnid jeh.

Er aggle dy beagh yn schlei caillt oc, hug B.A.S. er bun co-hirraghtyn son Sonneurs au Couple (cloideryn jeh'n vombarde as biniou cloie cooidjagh) cloie carryn rinkeydagh. Hug shoh arrym as greinnaghey dys yn agh-kiaull tradishoonagh.

Magh as yn tra va'n Bagadou currit er undin ayns 1948 va'n chooid smoo jeh'n chiaull v'oc ry-hoi yn cho-hooyl. V'adsyn va stiurrey ny Feaillaghyn smooingaghtyn nagh row kiaull erbee elley va cooie daue. Myr shen hug ad orroo dy cho-hooyl trooid y valley agh cha dug ad obbyr erbee elley daue. Va B.A.S. smooingaghtyn dy row shoh chooyrt lhietrymys er stoyr nyn garryn as, er-yn-oyr dy row paart jeh prowal carryn rinkeydagh as carryn moaley neesht, hug ad er bun cuirrey-kiaull seyr ec Rostrenen ayns 1965. Va stiurreydyr yn Feaillaghyn elley tappee dy-lioar dy geiyrt er yn sampleyr shen as hug ad taishbynyssyn jeh kiaull seyr roish yn theihl. Va ny kiaulleyderyn ayns ny bagadouaghyn greinnit dy phrowal carryn smoo neu-chadjin.

Ta B.A.S. er ve smoo miandagh er bishaghey yn kiaull, agh cha nel ad er shaghney cooishyn elley, chengey, rinkaghyn, tarmayns, ny caarjys eddyr-celtiagh. Myrgeddin v'ad cooyl y chooish va chaglym cheshaghtyn elley cooidjagh ayns Kendalc'k. T'ad er ghreinnaghey stiurreydyr yn Feaillaghyn, va currit er bun ayns 1923, dy lhiassaghey nyn ghlaareyn. Hug ad er bing stiurrey ny Feaillay ec in Orient dy ghoail ayns laue reih yn arrane son yn Co-hirrey Celtivision ec Keill Airney, liorish cur er bun Kan ar Bobl ayns 1973. V'ad cronnal as scanshoil ayns y streppey dy chosney Screeuyn ny Gair Cultooragh ayns 1977.

Hooar B.A.S. g'ialdyn voish Screeudyry ny Steat son Aegid as Gammanyn dy chur 40 million centimes dy beagh yn red cheddin cosnit oc, ry-hoi troggal schoill ynsaght yn biniou ayns 1963. Ayns 1970 va **Amzer Nevez** (Emshir Noa) currit er bun as yn treiltys oc dy hroggal Schoill Cultooragh Britaanagh. Lurg cheb ny jees doshil ad eh faggys da'n Orient ayns 1981.

Nish ta B.A.S. daeed vlein d'eash as foddey ad jeeaghyn nyn gooyl lesh moyrn agh cha nel ad goaill fea foast. T'ad er jannoo foays moor da'n Errys Ashoonagh Britaanagh. Voish Eilan Vannin lhisagh shin gra roosyn, "Moylley as soylley diu! Dy beagh y lhiad ainy." Cha row agh shey jeh ec-y-toshiaght, Dorig Le Voyer, Robert Marie, Polig Monjarret, Efflam Kuyen, Iffig Hamon as Rene Tanguy.

Rene Tanguy. Jeeagh er yn obbyr t'er ve jeant oc! Ayns 1942 cha row agh shey fir-kiaullee foast er-mayrn, nish ta mysh 20,000 jeh. C'wheesh dy kiaulleyderyn ta ayns Eilan Vannin yn laa t'ayn jiu? Vees tooilley jeh ayn daeed vlein maghey shoh? Vel dooilleidyn ain lhiad as v'ec ny deiney bunnidaght shen? Irree seose Vannin! As chloie dty chiaull-hene.

Collyn y Jerree

The above is a summarised translation of the article appearing in "Ar Soner" No 273 which charts the splendid work that has been done by Bodadeg Ar Sonerien rescuing and furthering the native music of Brittany during the past 40 years. This effort was sustained under pressures and difficulties hard for us to imagine ought to inspire us all and encourage us to increase our own efforts.

# Three lectures from Cill Airne '83

It seems a pity that this festival should remain unreported on its academic side, especially as ideas are being developed to have premises as a centre of Celtic studies in Killarney.

It may be possible to have articles published in CARN which are stimulated by this report.

The writer of the report does not command shorthand and it is possible that in writing the material up after a lapse of time there may be a few details which are not exactly as the speakers intended.

## Poetry in Scottish Gaelic

by Brian Wilson of  
the West Highland Free Press

After the death of McDairmuid, Sorlay MacLean is Scotland's greatest poet. He was born in Raasay in 1909 into a family on both sides distinguished in Gaelic culture. He was educated as a teacher of English at Edinburgh University in the 'thirties. In the war he was at El Alamein. After the war he did not write poetry for twenty years. In 1956 he became headmaster of Plocton High School. In 1953 his only collection of poetry was published and it exists in English translation by Ian Creighton-Smith, Sorlay's elegy for a brother is in the book *Four Points of a Saltire*, which is about Scottish poetry, three poets writing in Gaelic and one in English.

Sorlay's poetry expresses a nobility of mind derived from a bardic aristocratic stream but accepted by urban populations. Its emotional directness is astonishing, straight to the point, even head-on as in its political reference. Many of his love and philosophical poems have a romantic emotional directness in spite of their intricacy. At one time he wrote about a feeling of obligation to fight in Spain.

In Sorlay's poetry sound is paramount and, therefore, knowing the poem in its original Gaelic is mandatory. The metre is regular. He depends very much on inspiration and some of the poems are almost automatic in their creation. Thus he got up from sleep to write *Dogs and Wolves* and it compares his poems with these animals. In his love of Gaelic song, he is influenced by William Rose, a love poet of the eighteenth century and by William Butler Yeats. After a late visit he wrote about Ireland in *At Yeats's Grave*.

He is concerned with the fate of peoples and his outlook is very far left but less so than in the 'thirties and without commitment to party. In only a few poems he is a great war poet. Amongst poems of social conscience are *Calvary* (he was struck by the Edinburgh slums in the 'thirties), *A Highland Woman* (who spent her life working throughout), *Death Valley* (a Nazi boy saw no joy in the manner of his death), *Heros* (even in a heroic death, the hero caused the death of others, and *The National Museum of Ireland* (the shirt of Connolly who

cleaned the streets of Edinburgh and was executed with others in Dublin after helping to lead the Easter Rising of 1916.

He said love almost destroyed him as a poet. Then he wrote *The Woods of Raasay*. It has a strong incantatory quality, has an explicitness directly out of nature, and is perhaps his greatest poem.

## Lament, Panegyric, Love and Humour

by Dolina McLennan

Laments exist in various moods and as pipe tunes. The Lament of the McGregors of Glenlyon is a lullaby to the child of a couple where the husband had been murdered because he was unacceptable to the family. A lament can be quite cheerful, a work song in function, modern as well as ancient, many things. One work song dates from c. 1601 about a battle between the MacLeods and MacDonaldis in a version learnt by the speaker from her aunt. There is a lament as an elegy for his brother by the great contemporary poet, Sorlay MacLean. The MacGregor and the MacLeod laments were sung.

Hundreds of panegyrics exist. The clearances of humble folk from the glens by landlords resulted in praise of remembered territories composed in distant countries such as Canada. It should be remembered that people in Cape Breton Island speak like the part of Scotland their ancestors came from even in the fourth generation. The panegyric is particularly represented in Lewis (Guter Hebrides). Incidentally to her reference to Cape Breton Island the speaker pointed out that fewer children speak Gaelic in the playground because of T.V. but more are learning it and parallel with this play groups speaking Gaelic have started in the Isles and in Glasgow. A hopeful poem called *An Island Funeral* (!) by Hugh McDairmuid was read. A seaman's song was sung.

Love songs are also in many moods. One contains the simile of a new brush after the bristles have fallen off. Another one was sung.

The humour in Gaelic song is untranslatable and some of it would be obscure in English. Untranslatability in general may have helped keep Gaelic alive. In one song, a nurse retired from Glasgow found all the older women overweight. A nonsense song of love and humour was sung about a girl who found the drinking man more interesting than the peat digger.

## Tradition

by Peadar 6' Riada, B. Mus.

Tradition is an indeterminate influence in festivals and understanding it helps those working towards competitions. It is "a subject about as tangible as tomorrow's twilight." The speaker's intention was to concentrate on the musical aspects of tradition especially of his own area of Ireland.

The speaker referred to the oral transmission of appeasements of natural forces to avoid catastrophe. There are world-wide myths such as those about the sunrise. There are myths about bisexuality and self-fertilisation, as the crocodile creating harmony by beating its tail on its belly. Social



## mannin

Towards the end of 1982, an umbrella organisation called "Sleih Gyn Thie" was formed to present National music, song and dance to the general public. The principal aim was to create more awareness and wider support for the National cultural movement and secondly to give publicity to 'Yn Chruinnaght.' A six month season of informal concerts with audience

participation was completed at six different venues around the Island. Money raised has been added to the fund for publishing a book of instruction of Manks dances, near completion. It is to be hoped that musicians will co-operate in recording a tape of the tunes to go alongside the text, as demand will surely follow this publication.

## Celtic Uncle Tomism

Since Tudor times there has been a process in operation by which the English have been assimilating the Celtic periphery. The process was explained by one of its proponents, Sir John Davies, in a book published in 1612 "A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely Subdued." Sir John was active in the plantation of Ulster and as his name implies one of his fairly close ancestors was an assimilated Welshman. So as not to make the process too obvious an imposition the neutral

or un-English terms 'Britain' and 'Britons' were introduced.

Ironically enough the expansion of England, as distinct from the conquest of Cornwall and Wales commenced under the Tudors of Welsh origin. With the advent to the English throne of James VI of Scotland the way was opened for assimilation of the Scots.

A Devil's Advocate could validly argue that bigger economic, social and political units allow more scope for exceptionally gifted individuals. The corollary to this is that the drain of energy and talent to the metropolitan centre inevitably impoverishes the smaller community. In default of Tudor or Stuart sovereigns scope is afforded to a perverted form of Welsh or Scottish patriotism by the political eminence of such as Lloyd George, Nye Bevan, Balfour or Douglas Home.

The recent general election indicates further manifestations of this phenomenon. Clearly, it is only a matter of time before Michael Foot is replaced as leader of the Westminster Labour Party. No Celt need shed any tears at his departure, but Niall Kinnoch seems to be a strong favourite as his successor. That would help the process of Welsh assimilation, while helping to convey the impression of a Welsh takeover of "Britain."

At time of writing there is speculation as to who will be "Northern Ireland" Secretary under the new government. Prior was said to have made an off-the-cuff remark similar to that of Harold Wilson, who had described the Unionists as Scroungers. Accordingly, it was indicated that Teddy Taylor would be much more acceptable as secretary. First reaction to this suggestion would be to support it as being guaranteed to produce a sustained Nationalist reaction on both sides of the border. Unfortunately, Taylor happens to be a Scot, if only of the geographical variety, so that such an appointment would be an excellent instance of the Divide-and-rule principle.

development led to the rise of philosophies. Aristotle recognised the repetition of ancient standards which could not be judged without knowledge of the Maker and he postulated the different drones of heavenly bodies in perfect harmony. The classical world, medieval and Renaissance Europe, and India have assimilated archaic attitudes which the consumer needs to know about in order fully to understand. It is impossible to imagine the role of ancient memory in the music heard.

Indian culture bears the pattern of the successive invasions of India, in the face of which the older tradition was pushed south. There the Vedda tradition survives, especially in priestly families with as much as twenty generations of tradition basic to life and available to be made anew.

The movement of Celts, their speech a part of the Aryan family of languages, led to two invasions of Ireland, five centuries apart. They integrated with the small dark Picts they found there.

The pockets of belts remaining today have been subject to diverse influences. Thus in Wales the choral tradition is important and Brittany received the influence of medieval Europe, Geography has introduced a differential factor into Celt culture. The great pre-historic monument - of Ireland at New Grange is as impressive as the Pyramids of Egypt.

The attributes of ancient belts, such as drinking and alcohol, are not important, their attitude to the world is. They dwell on things of the mind, water as the sea of all thought, death as important as life. The deep movement of the subconscious part of the mind strives to reach the world, as in the centuries old image of the unattainable loved girl who is Ireland. It was a highly structured society with plenty of slaves. They would kill by guile after having first fed one. As in India, the raconteur and the fiddler have extensive roles. In Ireland many dances were brought back from abroad and put into tradition. The old Irish communities were extraordinarily sophisticated.

The attitude of belts of music is in contrast with the moderns. There are no repeats, re-creation is not left to others, there is no isolation of the performer as there is even in pop music. In Celtic music, creation weaves upon a given base, moves into the unreal, stirs tribal memories. A Celtic competition would be different in that each singer would re-create tradition in an original way. It was the rendering, not the age of the music, which was important, with out the modern stability of tones and semi-tones. The piper is not lonely but reflective. The survival of a Celtic tradition in music is under great psychological pressure in Cornwall and Man.

Competition in music is old in Celtic tradition and we have to find what is tradition in the performance. We have the situation of adjudication verses the acclaim of audiences. It is a question not of the singer and the technique but of the memory remaining in the heart. Each competition had a style of its own, the less successful dropped out; it was to enjoy the moment of performance and not to have a performance, to express oneself as a Celtic person belonging to a tribe, to find something expressed which cannot come through in words, and to notice the approach to the act of performance.

Royston Green

### The spread of the Celtic gospel

The Frank Dolan column of the "Irish Post" pre-election edition of 4/6/1983 advised the Irish in Britain\*\* to vote selectively for candidates whose record or stated intention towards Ireland seemed to merit a vote. His Welsh and Scottish advice was somewhat different and is worth quoting:

"There is something else I haven't referred to in previous submissions on the election. Readers in Wales and Scotland who subscribe to the concept of an independent Ireland can't, without contradicting themselves, but vote Plaid Cymru and Scottish National Party. An exception needs to be made in Falkirk West where the defending Labour MP is Denis Canavan. He is one of the very best and has a parliamentary record to prove it.

Plaid Cymru and ourselves are in total Celtic brotherhood."

\* The "Irish Post" is a weekly paper aimed at the Irish population in "Great Britain."

\*\* For perhaps a year or so it might have been noticed that the biggest of these European Offshore Islands has been referred to as "The Mainland." This Orwellian, if pre-1984 terminology seems to aim at establishing that Occupied Ireland is "Offshore Britain."

## letters

Kevrenn Vreizh Europa Daou Vil  
(Europe 2000 - Breton Section)  
B.P. 77  
Ar Groazig 44490  
(Breizh/Brittany)

To the Celtic League:

Dear friends,

I'd want to tell you today about "Europa 2000." It is a League which wants to group in Europe the federalists, the nationalists (in the stateless nations), the regionalists (in the regions of the bigger nations).

Europa 2000 militates for the revival of all the cultures of Europe, for the independence of the cultures of Europe, for the independence of our continent from the two blocks, for the political, economical and cultural sovereignty of all the European nations. The League doesn't depend of the too famous political manicheism (Right/Left.)

Our League is now developed in countries which have French, German, or Italian as official or native language (so, there are 3 big sections).

We have created a Breton section and we'd want to see sections in the other Celtic Countries, too. In fact, we'd want to create a celtic big Section (as there is a Germanic one, ...).

We publish some papers: "Nouvelle Voix

Européenne," "Europe 2000," "Cahiers d'Etudes Historiques Européennes" etc...

Gwenael Emelianoff

Box 15  
488 Great Western Road,  
Glasgow,  
Alba, Scotland.

A Charaid,

On May 13th 1983, David Dinsmore, a 20-year-old Scottish Republican, was detained under the notorious Prevention of Terrorism legislation.

For three days David was held in total isolation, denied access to friends, family and legal assistance.

Eventually, David was charged with sending a letter bomb to Lord Mansfield, the Scottish Office Minister, and was remanded in custody where he remains.

So far, no evidence has been produced to show that he was involved in any way, and, despite days of round-the-clock interrogation, David Dinsmore has always maintained his innocence of the very serious charge made against him.

There is a growing realisation that David Dinsmore is being used as a scapegoat. The authorities, unable to catch the perpetrators of

the increasing number of 'terrorist' acts attributed to groups such as Army of the Gael and the Scottish National Liberation Army, have simply picked on one man in order to make an example of him.

As a result of this situation, a committee has been formed to defend David Dinsmore. We appeal to you to support this worthy cause. Donations and expressions of support are welcome. All correspondence should be addressed to:

The David Dinsmore Defence Committee,  
Box 15,  
488 Great Western Road,  
Glasgow.  
Alba, Scotland.

Those who wish to write directly to David in order to express support and solidarity may do so by writing to:

D. Dinsmore  
(Political Prisoner)  
Longriggend Remand Unit,  
Greengairs,  
Nr. Airdrie,  
Lanarkshire,  
Scotland.

Every gesture of support will be greatly appreciated,

Yours fraternally,

Stephen Wilson.

Secretary,  
The David Dinsmore Defence Committee.

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Roazhon (Brittany), 2nd May 1983

Dear Editor,

I would like to draw your attention on the bad consequences the xenophobic policy of the French socialist-communist government will have for interceltic relations.

As you probably heard from the mass-media, the amount of currency a French (and a Breton) tourist can bring with himself when going abroad has been recently limited: just 1000FF for each trip (+ 2000FF in foreign currency once a year, with the strict control of a "Carnet de change"); furthermore it is strictly forbidden to use credit cards abroad and send money to foreigners. But when using the services of a travel agency, limitations are far less severe: so that we can practically no longer go for a personal trip to Ireland or Scotland nor send money for a reservation nor pay a subscription to a foreign publication whereas we could go on a cruise all around the world, or to a safari in Africa, were we rich enough to afford it! That seems fairly curious for a so-called egalitarian government!

Is indeed the French republic, under the lead of its leftist government, on the way to become one more "democratic" republic on the pattern of the many communist ones in Eastern Europe? Do not the successive recent blows at some elementary individual freedoms (as the right to choose your children's school, to travel abroad, to send money abroad...) seem to indicate that the process has already begun, on the Polish model?

With my best wishes for your publication, a real and precious link between all Celts.

N. Cadoret

P.S. Concerning S. Stephen's letter (as published in w. 40 of Carn, p. 21), it seems "Pobl Vreizh," the Breton magazine of "Unvaniezh Demokratel Breizh" disappeared about one year ago.

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73A Boileau Road,  
London W.5,  
England.

21 June 1983.

Dear Sir,

Before I object to the content of Mr. F. O'Sullivan's letter in CARN 41, I had better summarise its contents for the benefit of those who don't understand French. He says: France is the natural ally of the insular Celts; the French language is threatened like the Celtic tongues by the increased use of English; the insular Celts should encourage the learning of French in their countries and use it as a means of inter-Celtic communication; the French would then be so grateful that they would stop persecuting the Breton language.

The total impracticality of this notion was the first thought which struck me. At present the education system in none of the insular Celtic countries is good enough to teach more than two languages competently (and usually doesn't even manage that). We in the Celtic League know that one of those two should be the native Celtic tongue. The other is inevitably for the time being going to be English, since at present four-fifths or more of the population in each of the five insular Celtic nations uses that language for daily life. In that situation we cannot afford to encourage another international language, which will replace not English but the Celtic language. We are used to this in Wales, where pupils are still faced with the choice in many counties: "Do you want to learn French or Welsh?"

My second thought was that the O'Sullivan policy has already been tried. For the first twenty years of Plaid Cymru's history its leaders and other Welsh intellectuals enthusiastically promoted French culture as superior to English: Saunders Lewis, R.T. Jenkins, Ambrose Bebb whose son at one time talked French and Welsh but not a word of English. And what was the quality of that French gratitude on which Mr. O'Sullivan would have us rely? Immediately after France had been liberated by armies in which thousands of insular Celts (including Irishmen from the Free State) fought and died, the French shot 400 Breton nationalists. From which event any notion of the superior quality of French civilisation has not recovered among Welsh nationalists. The English are not always as kind as we would like to those trying to maintain Celtic language and culture (from my own experience I know that an enthusiasm for Welsh history can bring a visit by the Special Branch); but nobody has been dragged away and murdered simply for talking Irish or having a few Scots Gaelic books around the house during this century or a long time before that. That is just what the French did to people who talked and read Breton less than forty years ago.

As for France being the natural ally of the insular Celts, it would have been a good idea, had the French ever realised this and taken some practical steps to help establish independent Celtic nations. They were delighted to take advantage of Celtic

discontent, but were extraordinarily unreliable and never pursued a systematic policy, though it would have permanently weakened their English enemies. From the 15th century, and even earlier, upto the 18th century they were repeatedly trying to use Ireland as a backdoor, through which they would be able to impose a king or régime on England. The establishment of an independent Ireland never interested them. The "Auld Alliance" with an independent Scotland was of interest to them, but their policy almost invariably favoured an English-speaking, not a Celtic, Scotland.

What Mr. O'Sullivan does not seem to realise is that during the past nine centuries, while the cultural imperialism of the English has been intermittently barbaric, that of the French has been persistent and pitiless in its savagery. One thing for which we should always be grateful to the English is that they did not adopt the French language, which seemed probable in the 13th century. If they had, our languages would now be in a hopeless plight. At that time French was spoken by sizable colonies scattered all the way from County Mayo through southern Italy and Greece to Galilee. At that time the prevalence of French as an international language was threatened by nobody. Did this make the French tolerant or grateful to anybody as Mr. O'Sullivan suggests? No! They went out and slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Occitans in order to impose their language in what is now, thanks to this genocide, southern France. As late as the mid-18th century it seemed that French would be the language of all North America and might be adopted in Germany, where the aristocracy spoke nothing else, and even further east in the European continent. Did this persuade the French to tolerate Breton or Basque or what was left of Occitan? Not a bit of it!

In the last ten years or so some signs of a change of heart have begun to appear among French intellectuals; some liberalisation towards the Bretons too. Why? Because at last they realise that, if there ever is a universal language of all mankind (and I am glad that I shall not be alive to see that day of universal tyranny), it may be English, or Russian, or Chinese, or even Esperanto, but it will not be French. Now the French begin to realise the problems of a minority language and write articles in *Education Nationale* about it. No doubt, rather late in the day, they wish they had done something to help the Celtic languages in their struggle against English. It is still in their interests to prop up the insular Celtic languages; but it is not our business to prop up French without meagre resources, especially while the French continue to destroy Breton. "Que messieurs les assassins commencent" (I know our editor says he will print no more French, but he will find that phrase in every good *English* dictionary of quotations). When the French treat Breton with at least that inadequate respect which the English now give to Welsh; and I can watch a few hours a day of television in Breton in Kemper, and talk to the gendarmes in Breton after a road accident, and write to Pen-ar-Bez departmental administration about the drains in Breton and get a polite answer in the same language; then something could be said in favour of Mr. O'Sullivan's ideas. We might even need a French-speaking editor for an octo-lingual CARN!

Yours faithfully,

Ifan Lloyd

# The smaller languages in a de-centralised world

Part 2, continued from CARN 41

9. Why are large numbers of languages spoken in many cases by far more people than Faeroese in imminent danger of destruction, e.g.

Maori

(New Zealand) with 100,000 speakers

Cree

(Ontario) with 62,000 speakers

Scottish

Gaelic with 90,000 speakers in Scotland

Navaho

(Arizona) with 120,000 speakers

and even

Breton 1,000,000 speakers

Latvian with 2,000,000 speakers

Irish with 750,000 speakers

in the Irish Republic?

These languages are not being destroyed because they are impractical for the 20th century, but because bureaucracies love to flatten out any variation among the people they rule, because they have been deprived of the basic conditions of any language's survival: the people are no longer able to earn their living by using these languages; another language has in each and every case been imposed on the area where these languages are spoken and it is more necessary to use that language, if one wishes to survive, than to use the native language.

10. A draft of the basic conditions for the survival of the smaller languages was proposed to the First Assembly of the Fourth World - by the Celtic League and accepted. It runs as follows:-

a. It is futile to demand decentralisation, the reduction of aggressive competition among humans, the maintenance of variety among animal species, and a restrained ecological exploitation of nature, while at the same time pursuing policies leading to cultural centralisation, and to the destruction of all variety among the human species by oppression and unrestrained aggressiveness - especially when this is directed against peoples which have attempted to practise a restrained exploitation of nature.

b. Most cultural variation in the world depends upon the existence of separate languages. Occasionally widely differing cultures have been developed by nations speaking the same language, but this only occurs by coercion as in the case of East and West Germany, or because they are separated by great distance as with English and the United States. Despite efforts by English Canadians to maintain cultural variation between themselves and the other American Anglo-Saxons, such that exists seems more formal than real. Ireland, in spite of its political separation from British for the last 60 years, is coming more and more to resemble England with the decline of its native language: the same papers and magazines are read on both sides of the Irish Sea, the same television programmes are watched, so minds inevitably come to think the same thoughts.

c. If separate languages are to exist, each must have a territory in which its use is a necessary condition for existence and where those who speak it can live their lives without, except on very extraordinary occasions, having to use any other language. If they are frequently

obliged to break into some other language in order to, for instance, perform their jobs, buy stamps in the post office and otherwise deal with government officials, or answer the questions of ignorant tourists; they will soon lose the vocabulary necessary to discuss a wide range of experience in their own language, start talking it with syntax borrowed from the other language, and conclude that the other language is far superior to their own. All of this is very evident in Wales, especially south-west Wales, today. What is necessary if smaller languages (defined above as those spoken by fewer than two million) are to survive is that they can remain undisturbed as the language of:

i. The Home - not as is so often the case being overwhelmed by a flood of foreign radio and television programmes.

ii. Education - at least that received by the majority; it may not matter much if an élite receives its university education in some other language.

iii. Work - usually only the most menial despised work is available at present.

iv. Recreation.

v. Administration - in so far as government interferes in the lives of the people; it does not seem to matter much what happens at a higher level, as is shown by the way much honorific use of Irish, for instance as the language used in the Dáil debates and for the text of the Constitution, did little to arrest its collapse, since the language of local administration and minor courts has continued to be English - even sometimes in Irish-speaking areas.

It will be noticed that until the 18th century, when a passion for grandeur and uniformity (exactly those passions against which the Fourth World should fight) began to grip European governments, not even the most tyrannical of rulers sought to interfere with the small nations which formed the basis of European civilisation by removing their languages from these five fields. A Louis XIV might cause great loss of life by his wars and centralise his monarchy with grave long-term consequences, but he never tried to stop half his subjects in what is now called France from talking Basque, Breton, Catalan, Flemish, German or Occitan all their lives. Though a Henry VIII might enact that "henceforth no person... that use the Welsh speech or language shall have or enjoy any manner office or fees within this realm of England, Wales or other the King's dominion," the civil service was small in those days, and his daughter ensured that the mass of the people should receive in Welsh that mixture of education, recreation and administration which the Church provided, by providing a prayer book and Bible in that language. Satisfactory work was equally available for the speaker of a smaller language in an age when most employment was in small-scale artisan industry and on the land, not in the service of government or monster corporations, which are inevitably alien. From this point of view a return to the human scale could do the smaller languages nothing but good.

d. Bilingual arrangements such as those which exist in, for example, Latvia and Wales, which it is customary for many self-styled liberals and progressives to praise, are fraudulent and only serve as a temporary palliative, allowing the language of the conquered people to die out more peacefully. They are, it is true, allowed some education,

some radio and television, and may, with difficulty, transact some official business in their own language, while the government provides generous, and well publicised, subsidies for culture in their native language. However, the rights of the master-race, whether Russian or English, are maintained intact: they may go where they like and take their language with them, in which they demand a civil answer in the post office, education for their children, and so forth. Of course, no question arises of giving the same privileges to the Latvian in Siberia, or the Welshman in London. That would be quite impractical, wouldn't it? It is not difficult to see that such unequal arrangements allow a process of "brassage" to go forward until the master-race has swallowed the conquered people whole. The only kind of bilingual arrangement which is not a mockery is the kind existing in, for example, Switzerland, where communities in which it is necessary to speak French exist side-by-side and in perfect equality with those in which one has to speak German; anyone may move across the language border either way, but, whichever way they go, they will find it necessary to know the other language.

e. The number of speakers of smaller languages ought to be increased relative to the number of speakers of major languages (meaning for the purposes of this proposal those with more than 40 million speakers.) In particular, if this Assembly's commitment in favour of decentralisation, the small scale and human values is to be taken seriously, it should state that any of its supporters who choose to establish themselves, whether as individuals or as communities, in the traditional territories of the speakers of the smaller (or even medium) languages must adopt the language of that people and, as far as is reasonable, conform to its culture, rather than act as agents of colonial conquest - as is too often the habit today of some partisans of ecology and other causes dear to the heart of this Assembly.

f. Decentralisation must be based on existing cultural diversity if it is to be successful, or even, if none now exists, on past extinguished cultural diversity, of which the more desirable features might be revived as, for instance, the Cornish have started to revive their language. (Last year I met some children whose mother tongue is Cornish - after a gap in the production of such children of 250 years.) Only on such foundations can any new decentralised institutions sufficient to resist the tug of centralising habits be built. As long as the United States consisted mainly of states with a variety of colonial histories as genuinely separate communities (with, in some cases, a history of using differing languages), it remained a genuine federation. Once it came to consist mainly of meaningless rectangles ruled out on the prairies, the seeds had been sown for an ever more centralised nation-state run by a Washington bureaucracy...

11. I think that these resolutions are well worth bearing in mind for those working to revive Celtic languages, and might even be quoted usefully in some circumstances as "having been passed in an international conference" - though those of us who were present at the First Assembly of the Fourth World (described in CARN 37) might be less impressed by that than those who were absent.

Ifan Lloyd

**CELTIC LEAGUE MILITARY MONITORING  
INFORMATION SHEET**
**ANGLO - IRISH MILITARY  
CO-OPERATION**

In early May, both United Kingdom and Irish media, reported in detail, on the search and subsequent successful rescue of the Donegal M.F.V. 'Ard Carna.' The news of discovery of this vessel, drifting helplessly in the Atlantic, varied according to which (news) source one received. B.B.C. Radio news at six in the evening, on the day of the vessel's sighting 'plumped' for an R.A.F. rescue. An R.A.F. Nimrod aircraft had, it said, located the 'Ard Carna,' and summoned further assistance. R.T.E. radio however, half an hour later, put the vessel's deliverance down to 'an (Irish) Air Corps plane.' The true picture emerged the following day, clarifying the situation. The Irish Air Corps plane had in fact, picked up a week radio signal from the 'Ard Carna,' but as it was returning to base to re-fuel, an R.A.F. Nimrod, moved in and made contact. An example, if one were needed, of the value of Anglo-Irish co-operation in a humanitarian task!

The success of this Search and Rescue (S.A.R.) operation however, raises vital questions about the type of equipment, used by the 26 counties rescue services. Lack of equipment and inadequate communications, between U.K. and the 26 counties rescue centres, undoubtedly, contributed to the failed rescue effort in respect of the Breton trawler 'Cite D'Aleth.' The Breton trawler, sank with the loss of her whole complement, just twelve miles from the Wexford coast.

The Irish Air Corps currently possess two unsuitable Maritime Patrol Aircraft (Beechcraft King Air 200's), and a number of Alouette 111 Helicopters. Both planes and helicopters, have only limited operational capability over water. The Air Corps, did have, on lease, a first class S.A.R. helicopter, (French built Aerospatiale Puma), but the lease was terminated, before expiry, by the Fitzgerald government. On it's delivery, the Puma 'was hailed as an important piece of military hardware, and the end of Ireland going cap in hand to the United Kingdom for help on maritime aerial operations' (quote from 'Aero' Irish aviation publication). The Puma on

expiry of the lease, had flown over 800 hours, on mercy missions, over land and sea.

Now, even this small attempt at self-sufficiency, in S.A.R. operations, has been with-drawn. With the 26 counties facing an economic crisis, and little available for extra funding, the average man in the street, would be excused for thinking "well what else could the government do? Well! What has the 26 county government done over the past decade, with it's defence funding? The answer is that, unbelievably, the Irish government is sharing the cost of maintaining the British presence in Northern Ireland. Ireland has a total coastline of 1,970 miles (3,169 Km's) and a claimed 100,000 square miles of sea territory (which in future may be considerably extended). The 26 counties government spends most of it's available military funding, not on defending or policing this national asset, but on so-called security operations, in support of the British forces, in the occupied six counties. Instead of modern patrol aircraft/helicopters for S.A.R./& Fishery protection, the Irish Air Corps, is equipped with counter-insurgency aircraft and light transport/observation helicopters. In 1982, out of a total of 44 aircraft/helicopters, only three were assigned permanently to maritime duties whilst 25+ were assigned to support of operations connected with the occupied six counties. The 26 counties government's embarrassment at the situation, is well known. The publication Military/Air (82) states in it's section on 'Eire' that 'most acquisitions (of equipment) since then (early '70's), came from various other sources, mainly to spare the government the embarrassment of having to use British made equipment made equipment in the suppression of anti-British guerilla activity along the border with Ulster.

How long the Irish people will tolerate this situation is a variable factor. Had the 'Ard Carna' not been successfully rescued, and the usual 'flip' to Anglo-Irish relations in this sphere, not accrued, - what would Irish public opinion have thought? Would the public be demanding to know, why Irish fishermen, face the Atlantic with inadequate rescue cover, whilst Dublin spends money helping to maintain the British presence in the North?

J.B. MOFFATT.  
p.p. Celtic League Military Monitoring Programme.

**A tribute to Alan Heusaff**

In recent years a feeling was growing amongst his colleagues and co-workers in the League that some honour should be paid at this stage to our General Secretary, Alan Heusaff, who has now devoted over 20 years to that office. This was felt particularly as his sacrifice in time and effort was at no small cost to his family life and leisure time. After some discussion it was felt that the most appropriate way would be to publish a book of essays dedicated to him

These essays would deal with a range of topics of interest to all those in the Celtic countries and, indeed, all abroad with an interest in Celtic affairs. It is hoped that the book will stand as a tribute to Alan and be a further stone on the Ca(i)rn of dedicated work he has done over the years to aid inter-Celtic co-operation

Sub-editors have been at work in each country and a good deal of what should be interesting material is already with the Editor or nearing completion. Any member or supporter of the League who feels that they have an essay or

article, of particular interest or good quality, which they would like to have included in this collection should feel free to send it on - but immediately, please. Publication cannot, of course, be guaranteed but any article of merit could possibly be published later in CARN. Contributions should not exceed 4,000 words. While an ample amount of written material is available, the same cannot be said for good quality photographs or artwork; submissions of these would be welcomed - again, as soon as possible.

Contributions should be sent direct to the Editor, Cathat Ó Luan, 33 Bóthar Bancroft, Tamhlacht, Co. Átha Cliath, Éire.

Funding for this book will be independent of Celtic League revenues. A good deal of money has been raised already, notably in Éire and Breizh, and a word of thanks is due to those whose early contributions enabled us to make a definite commitment to the project. Much more is needed, however. Members in the various branches may like to help. All donations are welcome and should be sent via the Branch Secretary in each country.


**CELTIC  
LEAGUE**
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**BREIZH: KEVRE KELTIEK**
**CYMRU: UNDEB CELTAIDD**
**ÉIRE: CONRADH CEILTEACH**
**KERNOW: KESUNYANS KELTEK**
**MANNIN: COMMEEYS CELTIAGH**

All those who agree with the Constitution and Aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership fee (including CARN) and the subscription rates are: IRE£5 (Ireland), St£4 (Britain, 50FF (Continental Europe) and \$12 (North America; non-European countries - air mail.

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