

COXON

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

No. 76

Winter 1991/92

£2.00

12 Page
Supplement

30th Anniversary Special Edition
1992, The Single Market and the Celts
1916 - The Ripples in the Celtic Tide

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Opposition to EC

Playing Places

CELTIC LEAGUE



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



Editorial

The Celts in the Nineties

At the end of its thirtieth year the Celtic League is now more necessary than ever. Despite the growth of an interceltic awareness and a recognition of the benefits of interceltic cooperation much remains to be done to go any significant way to achieving any formal association between the Celtic nations. The work of the League has had of necessity to concentrate on combating the variety of threats to our countries, their cultures and languages. Much of our effort has been put into making our national struggles known to each other and internationally. In the course of this work the League has achieved recognition as a viable, progressive interceltic organisation. The challenge for the League in this decade is to try to achieve its aims in a world and European climate much different to that at the time of its founding. While encouragement may be drawn from events in Eastern Europe and the re-emergence of long suppressed small nations the continuing drive towards a centralised EC economy and political structure hardly bodes well. As an organisation it behoves us to see what advantage, if any, can be

gained for our nations and our long term aim from these changing circumstances. It was with this in mind that it was decided that an appropriate way to mark the League's 30th anniversary would be the publication of a substantial supplement in *Carn* examining the prospects for the Celtic nations in the EC. The supplement is included in this issue. It does not paint a very promising future for the Celtic nations in the EC as constituted at present and in light of developments planned. It is clear that major changes must take place in the basis and structure of the EC in the context of a wider Europe if the Celtic nations (and indeed other small nations) are to be given a chance to flourish.

There have been of course additional expenses in producing this enlarged issue of *Carn* which also includes articles on the effect of the 1916 Rising in Ireland on other Celtic Countries. We would ask our members and subscribers to renew promptly therefore this coming year and also to please send an extra donation to help towards the cost of production of this special 30th anniversary issue.

Celtic League AGM and Resolutions

The 1991 AGM was held in Liskeard, Kernow on the 12th October. Delegates from most national branches and from London attended. Branch reports indicated an increased level of activity that membership remained steady. A report from the Military Monitoring Group showed the League taking a leading rôle in this area with considerable success.

Election of Officers: Convenor - Cathal Ó Luain; General Secretary/Director of Information - Bernard Moffatt; Assistant General Secretary - Tomás Scott; *Carn* Editor - Patricia Bridson; Treasurer - Royston Green.

The following Resolutions were passed:

1. This AGM:

Expresses full support for the efforts of the CUAB to bring about the reunification of Loire-Atlantique with the rest of Brittany, urges the General Council of Loire-Atlantique and other elected representatives to take action aimed at securing this unity which

would place the department and Brittany as a whole in a stronger position, from the point of view of population and superfluity, to compete with the other parts of the European Community.

Congratulates the vice-president of the Loire-Atlantique General Council, Mr. E. Landrain, MP of Ancenis, for stressing on the historically and culturally Breton character of Loire-Atlantique.

2. The Celtic League notes that immigration to the Welsh speaking districts is the greatest threat to the survival of the Welsh nation. Although the British Government could be blamed for the fact that the immigrants are allowed to go there to live without any obligation to learn our language every individual is responsible for his or her own actions. The immigrants who come here to live refusing to learn the Welsh language and trying to undermine the place of the Welsh language in our society do so of their own choice.

3. Bearing in mind that the continued presence of nuclear submarines in the Irish sea area presents a great menace to human life and the environment. This AGM re-iterates its whole-hearted support of the Celtic League Military Monitoring Campaign and calls on all branches to actively support it.

4. The Celtic League views the current discussions on regionalisation in the British state as an excellent opportunity for Westminster to recognise the national rights of Kernow.

The Celtic League therefore calls for a national assembly for Cornwall with real powers over economic development and the environment. Only this can recognise Cornwall's historic and cultural case for autonomy and protect Cornish interests.

5. This Annual General Meeting having due regard for the 1990 AGM decision which reaffirmed our opposition to Sellafield and being mindful of the recent decision to site the world's first deep underground waste storage facility at Sellafield. The Celtic League calls for the establishment with other concerned bodies of a 'standing conference on nuclear and radiation hazards in the North Irish sea' with particular reference to the Sellafield re-processing plant.

6. It should be seen to that there is a version available in each one of the Celtic languages of the Constitution of the Celtic League and other basic documents, e.g. standing orders of the General Council, the enrolment form and the renewal form. It will be the responsibility of each national Branch in the first place to provide these in its own language. Let it be noted that this work is not to take precedence over campaign work and the administration of the branches.

7. This Annual General Meeting:

(a) condemns unreservedly the apparent decision of the U.K. government to adopt a 'Maginot mentality' in its approach to the problems in the North of Ireland. This 'Maginot mentality' is epitomised by Mr Peter Brookes decision to commit additional resources to re-construct and extend fortifications on the border.

(b) deplores the continuing harassment by the security forces of the civil population in those areas.

8. This AGM:

* welcomes the lead taken by the Finistère General Council in promoting the Breton language.

* expresses the hope that it will obtain the cooperation of the General Councils of Côtes-d'Armor and Morbihan as well as the other two Bretons departments and the Rennes-Regional Council for the adoption of a common

policy to encourage the teaching and widespread use of Breton.

* congratulates in particular the vice-president of the Finistère General Council, Mr J.Y. Cozan, for his efforts in that direction.

9. This AGM demands that the Irish government adopts a firm stance in relation to the unity and independence of Ireland as laid down in Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution and gives its full support to the Irish citizenship of the people of the 6 counties of Northern Ireland.

10. The Celtic League believes that the fate of the Cornish Language is something that in the final analysis can only be decided collectively by the Cornish people. We therefore urge members in the other countries to respect the Cornish right to self-determination in this matter and to respect the views of all language groups involved.

11. This AGM urges all the member-States of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe

(1) to recognise that full respect for the right of all national minorities and ethnic groups to safeguard their languages and cultures is necessary for lasting peace in Europe to be established;

(2) to adopt a common policy which will ensure that they have at their disposal the means to exercise that right;

(3) to commit more resources to help the economies of the underdeveloped countries (which include our own) so as to stem mass migrations.

12. This Annual General Meeting:

(a) expresses concern at the Irish governments failure to re-open the enquiry into the loss of Aer Lingus flight EI 712 over the Aberporth missile testing range in 1968 (61 people died). Despite calls from many quarters for such re-enquiry.

(b) requests the Irish and Welsh branches to mark March 24th 1992 as 'Aberporth Tragedy Day' by mounting simultaneous protests in Dublin and at Aberporth.

13. This Annual General Meeting:

(a) deplores the continued cover up being perpetrated by the U.K., France and the United States of deaths by drowning of fishermen lost in mysterious sinkings in designated submarine exercise areas and transit routes, over the past ten years.

(b) calls upon the I.M.O. to use its good offices to facilitate an enquiry into the following specific incidents.

- a) MFV. CELERITY (1981)
- b) MFV. LE COURSE (1982)
- c) MFV. GALV AR MOR (1982)
- d) MFV. CITE D ALETH (1983)



Robat ap Tomas, London Branch Sec., Tomás Scott, New Asst. Gen. Sec., Alan Heusaff, International Sec. and Vivian Uibh Eachach, Irish Branch delegate at the AGM in Liskeard.

- e) MFV. SOUTH STACK (1984)
- f) MFV. MHARI L. (1985)
- g) MFV. LA JONQUE (1987)
- h) MFV. BOY SHAUN (1987)
- i) MFV. ALERT II (1988)
- j) MFV. INSPIRE (1988)
- k) MFV. GIRL FIONA (1989)
- l) MFV. PESCADO (1991)

14. This AGM asks Mr F. Mitterrand, President of the Republic of France, to nominate a mediator entrusted with the task of drafting, together with the U.G.B. (Union of Breton Teachers) a convention fixing the basis of a plan to develop the teaching of Breton in

accordance with the right of the Breton people to their own language.

15. This AGM deplores the continued stance of the British Government in withholding the grant to Glór na nGael in Belfast. We urge all branches of the League to continue their campaign to reverse this decision.

16. This AGM urges branches to undertake a selective canvas of candidates in the forthcoming U.K. election and in the forthcoming regional election in Brittany, to declare their support and campaign for official status for the Celtic languages in their areas.

1992 Celtic Film and Television Festival

The 1992 Celtic Film and Television Festival will be held in Caerfyrddin/Carmarthen, Wales (in Trinity College) from April 6 to 10.

There will be discussions on steps to be taken to increase cooperation in this field by people who are prominent in the TV services in the Celtic countries; new productions; how to use TV for learning languages; examples from other countries. Further information from David H. Williams, Festival Office, Plas Dinefwr, Llandeilo, Dyfed, Wales. Tel. 0558 823843.

NINNAU, the North American Welsh Newspaper, monthly 24 pp full of information about the social and cultural happenings in the Welsh world of the U.S.A. and Canada. Supports the Welsh language. Subscription \$10 (in U.S./Canada) or Stg £7.50 /ann. to 11 Post Terrace, Basking Ridge, N.J. 07920, U.S.A.

Musique Bretonne, monthly, in French, will keep you informed about the Breton musical scene, competition results, the activities of the collectors' association DASTUM. Subscription 130F/170F airmail, to Dastum, 16 Str. Penhoet, PB 2518, 35025 Rennes Cedex.

ALBA

Feallsanachd an Ear 's an Iar ann an Talla Bhaile

le Peadar Morgan

Na cuir do chùl tuilleadh ris an fheallsanachd Cheilteach: tha e cheart cho airidh air sgrùdadh 's a tha na beachdan spioradail a th'air tighinn às an àird an ear. Agus gu dearbh, tha dàimh eatorra.

'Se sin an teachdaireachd a chuir Niall Gunn, Catach a tha nis air a mheas gu math cudthromach ann an litreachas na h-Alba, air beulaibh an t-sluaigh ann am meadhan na linne seo.

'Se teachdaireachd a tha dealbh-chluiche ùr air a bhith dùsgadh 's a' daingneachadh airson muinntir na Gaidhealtachd bho chionn ghoirid, ceud bliadhna an dèidh breith Nèill chòir.

Air a sgrìobhadh anns a' Bheurla, le blasad Gàidhlig a' nochdadh siud 's seo son cur sa chuimhne gu bheil sinn fhathast mar phàirt dhen t-saoghal Cheilteach, tha "Atoms of Delight" air dol air chuairt ann an tòrr dhe na tallaichean beaga air feadh na Gaidhealtachd.

'Se seo a' chiad dealbh-chluiche fhada aig a' bhàrd Aonghas MacNeacail, a tha e fhèin a stèidheachadh mar-thà mar neach mòr nar litreachas 's e air nòs ùr a threabhadh do bhàrdachd Ghàidhlig.

Mas ann an tùs na bàrdachd ùire tha Aonghas, bhiodh e fhèin toilichte a dh'aideachadh nach e cùis iongantais tuilleadh dealbh-chluiche, cuirm chùil no tachartas ealain eile fhacainn air chuairt air a' Ghaidhealtachd - bho chionn grunn bhliadhnaichean a-nis thòisich oidhirp mhòr gus a leithid a ghnòthaichean a sgaoileadh às a' mheadhan ann an Inbhir Nis, agus roimhe sin à Glaschu 's à Dùn Eideann.

Thathas an dòchas gun tèid dealbhan-chluiche mar seo a sgaoileadh gu deas gus cothrom a thoirt dhaibhsan anns na bailtean mòra compairt a ghabhail nar n-ealain agus an teachdaireachd aig a' Ghunnach a dh'fhacainn anns a' chruth ùr seo!

A rèir Aonghais fhèin, chan eil "Dadaim Aoibhnis" air a suidheachadh air làrach àite ach ann an àite ama, mar gum biodh.

Agus ceart gu leòr, tha sgeadachadh singilte sìmplidh an àrd-ùrlair a' mùthadh san inntinn tro chaochladh sheallaidhean bho uisgeachan glumag bradain gu bàta luasganach air a ghlacadh ann an gailleann sa Chuan Shiar 's an luchd-coimhid air an stiùireadh le briathran 's gluasad 's ceòl 's rithim tuairisgeulach.

Air an aon dòigh tha an inntinn fhosgailte a' sruthadh gun mhothachadh tro thim, a' fàgail 's a' ruigheachd àm goirid an dèidh do Niall Gunn a chruinneachadh fèin-eachdraidheil "The Atoms of Delight" fhoillseachadh, leabhar a choisinn, coltach ri cuid mhath dhe obair, nàimhdeas no neo-thuigsinn luchd-sgrùdaidh a latha.

Gun chinnt às a' chultar nàiseanta aca fhèin agus an còmhnaidh a' toirt sùil thar na guailne air claonbheith 's sgìrealachd Shasainn, thug iadsan slaic air Gunn an nàiseantach 's an sòisealach son a bhith air chall ann an ceò Gaidhealach; son a bhith air a dhalladh leis a' chamhanaich Cheiltich. Ach air an làimh eile dh'fhaodadh iad feart 's fiach feallsanachd na h-àird an ear a mholadh.

Tha an dealbh-chluiche ag ath-ghairm dìon na feallsanachd Ceiltich a rinn an Gunnach agus aig an aon àm tha i cur an cèill mar a bha Gunn fhèin ga tuigsinn - 'se sin, ann an dòigh glè fhaisg air Budachd Zen. Chan eil an dealbh na beath-eachdraidh ach air seòl gu math fuasgailte, 's seallaidhean bho bheatha fhèin air am measgachadh le beatha nan caractairean aige gus dealbh 'inntinn a dhèanamh.

Tha dreuchd dùbailte aig na trì cluicheadairean 's iad a' riochdachadh chan e mhàin an caochladh caractairean às na sgeulachdan ach cuideachd an trìùir bhunaiteach dhen t-seann Ghunnach, an Gunnach òg 's an "dàrna fèin", ris an canadh Niall òg am mac-meanmna agus an uair sin Ban-dia na Ceòlraidh.

'Se an ceangal cudthromach a tha ruith tro na criomagan às na sgeulachdan - agus thèid a chur an cuimhne an luchd-coimhid gur iad sgeulachdan tha mineachadh cò

th'annainn - nach bu chòir dhuinn a bhith sireadh òige dh'fhalbh ach a bhith lorg 's ag àrach spiorad a' phàiste tha fhathast annainn uile.

A bhith ag amais air a' chothrom eadar òige 's sine mar a rinn na caractairean Art Og 's Seann Eachann; a bhith tarraing bhon "Tobar Dìbhe" nach bi tioram gu bràth a dh'aideoin coltas; a bhith cluinntinn mar cheòl binn fuaim na tha tachairt, mar a mhol Fionn mac Cumhail; a bhith sealg bradan gliocais nan Ceilteach chan ann son poit no sporan ach air sgàth a shireadh.

Chan eil anns a' chath làmhruisgte seo ris a' bhradan, a thèid na dhannsa bàis brèagha eadar am balach Coinneach 's an t-iasg glacte, agus ann an coinneachadh nan òganach ri caileagan tarraingeach, ach eisimpleirean, tha an luchd-coimhid ag ionnsachadh, de strì air an taobh a-staigh anns am bi buaidh aig an neach fhoighidneach.

Chan eil eòlas air an dà chuid Budachd Zen no obair Nèill Ghunn a dh'fhàg gus tlachd a ghabhail ann an "Dadaim Aoibhnis", ged a bhiodh buaidh an dràma na bu mhotha orrasan as aithne fear seach fear, tha fhios.

Ach tha copan teatha 's beagan crac san eadar-ùine ann am meadhan na deilbh-chluiche a' cuideachadh ann a bhith toirt feallsanachd Cheilteach a-nuas gu saoghal talla bhaile!

Bhiodh an teachdaireachd aig Niall Gunn air chall nam biodh an dealbh-chluiche seo 's na sgeulachdan aige fhèin air am faicinn mar gu bheil iad airson luchd na h-inntinn 's luchd nan ealain a-mhàin. Tha i ag iarraidh oirnn uile bhith leantainn fhacail dheireannach na deilbh-chluiche: "Dh'fhosgail sùilean a' ghille le iongantas..."

A new play in English, by the leading Gaelic new wave poet Aonghas MacNeacail, has been doing the rounds of village halls in the Highlands as part of the centenary celebrations for one of the leading figures of 20th Century Scottish literature, Neil Gunn from Sutherland. "Atoms of Delight" revives and reviews Gunn's defence of Celtic mysticism against critics thirled to English prejudices and parochialism, and portrays his interpretation of a philosophy which he saw as being similar to Zen Buddhism.

Somhairle Mac Lean - His 80th Birthday

Mairi Denovan

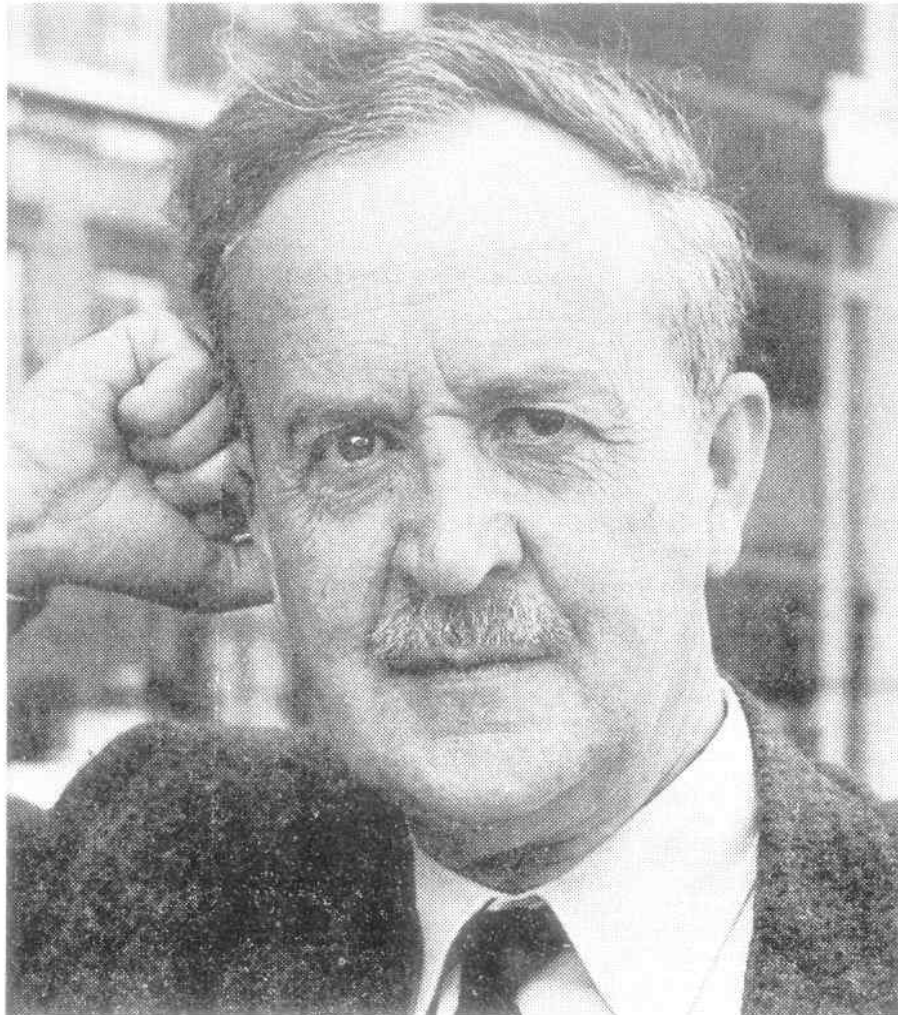
October, 1991 saw the 80th birthday of Somhairle Mac Gill 'Eathain - Sorley Mac Lean and fortunate is the country that still has with it someone of his stature, to be an inspiration and receive much well deserved acclaim. He has kindly given permission to print in this commemorative issue of "Carn" his poem "An Ard-Mhusaeum na h-Éireann". This was written in the forties but sadly the situation is much the same to-day as he saw it then. Would that politicians had a fraction of the imaginative apprehension of some poets. In a Channel 4 programme broadcast on Thursday 24th October. "Packup the Troubles" (in the series "Critical Eye") - the results of Mori polls taken on the Northern Ireland situation were given. These showed the people of Britain (including those who had lost relatives) expressing more informed and rational opinions than the politicians. The majority wished a withdrawal of the troops though on differing time scales. As for the politicians - a series of them - former Secretaries of State for Northern Ireland - Tory and Labour regaled with the

most awful comments - "couldn't pass judgement on the steps taken in the past which had led to the present situation" - "couldn't comment on what had happened before I was born" - "we are concerned with the future not the past" etc., etc. Move over Henry Ford.

Sorley's poem was first published in "Four Points of a Saltire" which is probably now out of print. However it is in "Reothairt is Contraigh" (published Canongate 1977) and "O Choille gu Bearradh" - Carcanet 1989. These are his own collections so there is no sign that he has changed his views. In 1985, Acair (Stornway) published "Ris a' Bhruthaich", his criticism and prose writing, edited by William Gillies and this month the same publishers are bringing out "Somhairle" a new book to celebrate the poet's birthday. This will be edited by Angus Peter Campbell (currently writer in residence at Sabhal Mor Ostaig) and will contain as well as his own work that of many other writers and four of Scotland's leading photographers.

To put poets and politicians in the balance again. During the T.V. programme referred to one of the latter was interviewed saying "these people (the families of young soldiers killed in Northern Ireland) should not be asking "media motivated" questions but should be proud that their relatives had given their lives for their country."

The poet we are celebrating wrote out of his experiences in North Africa during the last war a poem "Glac a' Bhàis" (Death Valley). It was first published in "Poetry Scotland" No. 1 - 1943 and for many was the first introduction to his poetry. The note under the title read - Some Nazi or other has said that the Führer had restored to German manhood the "right and joy of dying in battle". The poem is a lament for the majority of lost youth, led - "to the trial and mad delirium of every war for the sake of rulers -". This poem is in most of the anthologies and should be read regularly. No more fitting anti-dote to the shibboleths of politicians - the one referred to above - no Tory imperialist... just a common or garden English, Labour M.P.

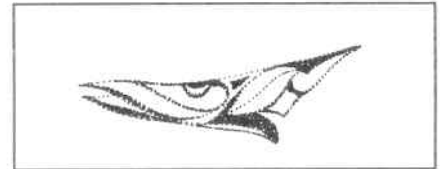


Ard Mhusaeum na h-Éireann

Annas na laithean dona seo
is seann leòn Uladh 'na ghaoid
lionnrachaidh 'n cridhe na h-Eòrpa
agus an cridhe gach Gàidheil,
dh'an aithne gur h-e th'ann an
Gàidheal,
cha d'rinn mise ach gum facas
ann an Ard Mhusaeum na h-Éireann
spot mheirgeach ruadh na fala
's i caran salach air an léinidh
a bha aon uair air a churaidh
as docha liomsa dhuibh uile
a sheas ri peileir no ri béigneid
no ri tancan no ri eachraidh
no ri spreaghadh nam bom éitigh;
an léine bha air O Conghaile
ann an Ard Phost-Oifis Éirinn
's e 'ullachadh na h-ìobairt
a chuir suas e fhéin air séithir
as naoimhe na 'n Lia Fàil
th'air Cnoc na Teamhrach an Éirinn.

Tha an curaidh mór fhathast
'na shuidhe air an t-séithir,
ag cur a' chatha 'san Phost-Oifis
's ag glanadh shràidean an Dun-
Eideann.

The Scottish Economy Towards the Year 2000



An extract from a speech by the leader of the Scottish National Party, Mr Alex Salmond MP, who spoke on 1st August 1991 in Edinburgh to leading members of Scotland's financial and business community, at a seminar organised by the Scottish Centre for Economic and Social Research.

"Let me start by making my position quite clear. I have never blamed the English or anyone else for the economic and political state of Scotland. The solutions lie where they have always lain - in our own hand to be met through our own efforts.

Let us also be quite clear about the current position. There was no general economic recovery - miraculous or otherwise - in Scotland in the 1980's.

The current position is no better. We are now in the second biggest recession since the war, the first and biggest was in the early eighties. Before they are through, these recessions will have cost the equivalent of an average £1000 per person in lost output.

The Scottish Economy can and must do much better than recent experience or the likely immediate future.

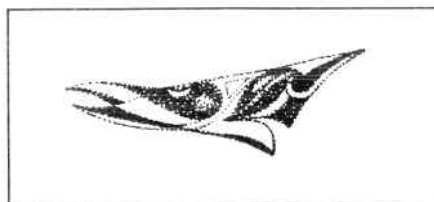
Constitutional change is necessary to move onto that higher plane of economic growth.

The argument rests on three propositions.

Firstly, that any Scottish Government managing the Scottish economy will make a better job of it than a government managing an economy with different economic problems.

Secondly, that the focus of Scottish economic policy must move away from any attempt at demand management, onto resource management and the enhancement of Scotland's competitive position within the European community.

Thirdly, that Scotland is not and has never been the recipient of substantial Treasury largess. Rather economic policy and huge fiscal transfers are channelled into what is effectively a regional policy for the South of England.



A Scottish Economy

The First Proposition is almost self evident. However there are quite a few English and not an inconsiderable number of Scots who believe that the Scots are inherently incapable of dealing with important matters such as macro economic policy.

Nevertheless, in an independent Scotland any Scottish Chancellor would have a major advantage over the present UK incumbent. He or she will attempt a programme to meet Scottish economic conditions, not one designed to meet the requirements of the South East of England.

This has never been better illustrated than by Scotland being pulled into the current recession by a policy of sky high interest rates designed to cool down a boom which had largely passed Scotland by. It is bad enough to suffer penal rates of interest when the economy is overheating. It adds considerable insult to substantial injury to be force fed the medicine without ever having the condition.

It is true, of course, that within ten years European integration might well rescue Scotland from further Treasury mismanagement of monetary policy. It is also true that a lot of damage could be done over that period and that substantial areas of discretion will remain open to national governments beyond that time.

It is then reasonable to suppose that a Scottish Chancellor facing Scotland's economic circumstances will at least pursue a policy which is relevant, even if it does not guarantee success.

In contrast, a British Chancellor pursuing an inappropriate policy can almost guarantee failure.

Resource Based Management

The Second Proposition is that Scotland must move away from demand management to resource management and to "supply side" measures.

The Scottish economy is much more "open" than the UK, and any attempt to control it through domestic demand would be futile. Government responsibilities would lie in other areas.

We have considerable strengths and comparative advantages to play with. Scotland has 80 per cent of the Community's oil and gas production and reserves; good skills in quality engineering and textiles, and what is still one of the best educated workforces. From this position it is possible to identify six clear Government responsibilities.

The Government's job is to use our resources to give Scottish industry the cheapest energy base in Europe. That could be done for the next half century by a combination of cheap gas, hydro power and low sulphur coal. Instead, through the £150 million subsidy to take gas to Teeside, we stand in danger of being the first country in history to pay international oil companies to take away our most valuable natural resource.

The Government's job is to prevent the abuse of monopoly power, so that no company has arbitrary authority over assets which are needed by the community, to be released to alternative investors. Instead, British Steel are allowed to destroy the Scottish steel industry which has the largest steel market in Europe on its doorstep.

The Government's job is to secure for Scotland the 15,000 oil industry jobs which Scottish Enterprise believes would follow over time from the concentration of political decision making in the oil producing province. Instead, London hangs on to civil service jobs controlling Scotland's oil and gas development.

The Government's job is to give Scotland's food industry the marketing resources to compete with the Germans, the French and the Danes. Instead, Scottish Food Promotions foundered on lack of resources and opposition from MAFF in London.

The Government's job is to lobby for the EuroFed to be based in Edinburgh, by some measures, the second financial city of the Community. Instead, the UK political heavyweights, once they decide they are for the European Central Bank, will weigh in for London while their Scottish toadies settle for second or third best and get nothing. As a result, tiny Luxembourg stands favourite to scoop the pool.

The Government's job is to give our economy on the North West corner of the Community the best physical and human infrastructure in Europe. Instead, billions are poured by the former Scottish Secretary into London Transport while 86 per cent of Scottish businessmen believe that transport links are inadequate to meet the challenge of the single market.

These areas represent a real Scottish economic policy. Getting every drop of economic benefit from natural resources, sticking to what we are best at and giving Scottish companies a playing field which is at least level and, at best, sloping in their favour.

Scotching The Myth

The myth of the subsidised Scot has been substantially scotched thanks to the efforts of the paper "Scotland on Sunday" and the journalist George Rosie. Although it continues to be peddled by the Tories, it was rejected by a significant majority of businessmen in the recent Business View Survey, also for "Scotland on Sunday".

In fact, when all revenue and taxation flows are taken into account Scotland has been a net contributor to the UK Exchequer throughout the 1980's. In fiscal 1989, the SNP estimated the surplus at some £2,000 million or £8 per week for every man, woman and child in Scotland.

The economic case for Scottish independence does not lie in the fiscal position at any one point. Of infinitely more importance is the likely impact of constitutional change on the rate of growth. However, at the very least, it can be said with authority that scaremongering unionists' claims are the last twitches from a political corpse which has lost the argument.

Conclusion

It is on these three proposals rather than specific spending commitments which the Independence in Europe position rests. Any policy is subject to change but the logic of these three arguments will endure.

1. Any Scottish chancellor is likely to make a better job of running the economy because the policy mix will at least be relevant, whether right or wrong.
2. Scotland's economic policy should shift from demand management to resource management and supply side provision of the infrastructure.
3. Scotland is not in any sense a dependent country economically but is well able to finance the appropriate economic programmes to build a successful economy.

Scottish business should wake from its true blue slumber and start to consider the future. The majority of the Scottish people want constitutional change and the largest minority support independence. Business should join in the search for the best constitutional future for Scotland and our people."

Illustrations by

P. C. Huisman

The Importance of the Celtic Heritage for the European Culture

We publish here an extraction from an article written by an Austrian friend and CL member.

The Celts do not fully appreciate the fact that their ancestors created the first big European culture and of the enormous importance this culture had in the development of the European civilisation. In their own self-awareness the European peoples tend to identify their nations with the foundation of the medieval states, which were mostly built by Germanic conquerors (Franks, Anglo-Saxons, Bavarians, etc.) on the infrastructure of the Roman administration. It was a very unlucky moment in history that hardly had the Romans subdued most of the Celtic peoples that the primitive Germanic tribes began to move south and Westwards, driving them from their fertile lands. (Having devoted three and a half pages to describe the high standard of the culture of the Celts in Antiquity, the destruction of its centres by Romans and Germans, the propaganda used by their conquerors ever since to instil a sense of inferiority, e.g. by denying the valuable contribution which they continued to make to European culture throughout the Middle Ages and in modern times and having also reminded us of the many vestiges of the Celtic presence in Austria, Dr Fuchs concludes).

The new nations at the beginning of the Middle Ages were built on a combination of the systems of the two dominating peoples, the strict impersonal administrative system of the Romans and the Germanic principle of the absolute obedience to the chief or king ("Fuhrerprinzip"), both very unceltic attitudes towards leadership. They left out the Celtic view of life and system of values, which emphasized personal responsibility, tolerance, individuality and pluralism and still can be found in the old writings. The old Celtic law-systems for example, like the Brehon-laws of Ireland and the laws of Hywel Dda in Wales, attest a high degree of individuality and a remarkable standard of the rights of women, a justice-system which is based on compensation and not on vindication, a more tolerant attitude in the sphere of everyday life (like sex), a great respect, love and appreciation of nature and the land, the idea that the king or chief had to serve the people and the land and not the other way round (how many of today's politicians would need taking that to heart!) - in summary, all principles which are grievously missing nowadays in our world of total organisation. And this is in my opinion the reason for so many crises in the

modern world - the environmental pollution, the disrespect for nature and human needs, the irresponsible governments and other hierarchies and so on. But these principles, these ways of thinking and feeling are not completely lost. They still can be found in what survives of the Celtic heritage, the vestiges of the great Celtic Cultures, which are kept by today's representatives of the Celtic peoples. And a great deal of it can also be found in the modern Celtic languages - because the language of a people preserves its ideals, its intellectual and philosophic achievements. It is not very obvious and many may be sceptical, but the structure of a language, the phrases and proverbs, the way in which the old sagas are told, but also the mode of everyday language transmit a certain way of thinking or philosophy which influences the minds of those, who learn and speak it. Therefore it seems to me very important that every effort be made to maintain those languages.



Bronze mask which was attached to a wooden jug from Duerrnberg near Hallein 400-350 BC (now in Keltenmuseum, Hallein, Austria).

So the last Celtic peoples - even if despised and treated quite badly by the others for milleniums - have enough reason to be proud of their ancestors, who never completely succumbed to the foreign invasions. The general feeling of depression and inferiority is understandable given their history, but they should be more self-assertive and more aware of the importance of preserving their Celtic culture, because in spite of their poor position they have a great responsibility towards the world. They are the last keepers of a treasure of knowledge and an attitude towards life, which can - if properly asserted and made widely available to other peoples - be of the utmost importance in the crisis of our modern life and probably save the world!

(Dr) Signe Anita Fuchs

BREIZH

Gwareziñ ar pobloù diemren

Kentelius-bras em eus kavet an derivad, embannet er Peuple Breton e miz Gwengolo, eus un emvod dalc'het gant mailhed (!) war gudenn ar pobloù diemren europat etre ar 1^{añ} hag an 19. Gouere e Geneva (pe Jeneva mar kavit gwell). Dileuriet e oa an dud ouiziek-se gant gouarnamantoù a gemer perzh er C'hendalc'h evit Surentez ha Kenlabour en Europa (KSKE).

E-kerzh ar bloavezhioù tremenet ez eo bet tennet hon evezh e kornog ar rannved-mañ war arc'hadoù pobloù er reter hag er gevred hag a oa chomet sioul keit ha ma oa kreñv ar renadoù komunourien. Kerkent ha distennet ar c'habestr war o choug o deus savet o mouezh ha kroget da gemer o frankiz pe da zispac'hañ. Tremet a ra an ideologiezhioù hogen ar pobloù a bad. Ne vo ket peoc'h keit ha ne vo ket asantet d'o youl a frankiz. N'o deus ket a-walc'h gant frankiz hiniennel, frankiz kevredel o deus ezhomm ivez. Europa unanet n'hall ket bezañ ur "pod-kendeuziñ", evel ma kreder ober eus ar Stadoù Unanet, gwall eunik marteze. Ret d'ar bolitikerien talañ ouzh ar gudenn. Met daoust hag ez eont dezhi a-zevri?

N'eo ket er reter hepken ez eus pobloù diemren, bihanniverioù broadel, er c'hornog ez eus lod ivez ha darn zo o tispac'hañ da vat abaoe pell'zo. Daoust hag e vo nac'het outo ar pezh a gaver reizh reiñ d'ar Valted pe d'ar Slovened? Dre ar Gumuniezh Europat e venner lakaat reolennoù ha lezennoù boutin da dalvoud a-hed hag a-dreuz en holl vroioù-ezel. Perak ne dalvfe ket evit diskoulmañ ar gudenn er c'hornog? Ha klask a reer goursezañ ken na vez bet skuilhet kalz gwad? E seller ouzh an dra-se evel ar brouenn ez eus buhez ha nerzh en ur bobl? Iskisat ebestel a beoc'h...!

Daou seurt lunedoù a oa gant ar vailhed-hont e Geneva. Goulenn a rae lod e ve anavezet o deus ar "bihanniverioù broadel" gwirioù kevredel, da lavarout eo na c'hallont gwareziñ o broadelezh nemet a-stroll ha dre obererezh-stroll. Se a dleje

bezañ emvezadus, selbstverstaendlich. Met ne oa nemet ur bihanniver eus ar vailhed o welout an traoù evel-se : re an Alamagn, Aostria, Italia, Hungaria, ar Vatikan, ha Kanada betek ur pent. Hervez Aostria e tlefe ar Stadoù ren ur c'henbrezeg trebad gant dileuridi o bihanniverioù broadel e sell da warantiñ gwarez d'o lazoù armerzhel koulz ha sevenadurel.

Ar vailhed all ne welent er gwirioù-bihanniver, e penn ar gont, netra nemet ur gudenn a wirioù hiniennel, gwirioù denel eta. Er rumm-se emañ Bro-C'hall ha Turki evel just, hag ivez ar Rouantelezh Unanet, ar Stadoù - Unanet, Bro-Suis, Republik Iwerzhon (awenet er c'heñver-se a gredan gant kelennadur Th. Wolf Tone hag en doa desket ton ar jakobinelezh moarvat pa oa e Bro-C'hall), h.a. An darn vrasañ. O doare-gwelout eo a zo bet degemeret en erbedoù an emvod. Ma! prest e oant holl da gedanaout o deus ar bihanniverioù broadel a bep seurt gwirioù, da skouer da gaout skolioù da gelenn ar vugale dre hanterouriezh o yezh. Padal, a bep seurt kaeoù a dleer lakaat d'ar gwirioù-se. Dreist pep tra emañ anterinder tiriegezh ar Stad da vezañ miret : da heul termenadur ar "bihanniver broadel" e lavarer e rank e izili chom lead e-keñver ar Stad! Houmañ n'eo ket dav dezhi kenbrezeg gant tud o komz en anv hennezh. N'he deus ket ezhomm da aozañ lezennoù dibar o warantiñ e wirioù : a-walc'h diskleriañ e vo douget bri dezho. Ne vo ket karget bodad pe ensavadur ebet da wiriekaat hag eñ e vezont lakaet da dalvoud er pleustr. Pep stad a chom ganti he frankiz da ober pezh a gavo mat.

Emeur oc'h aozañ ur C'hendiviz Europat, un emglev, pa lavarint mat, da wareziñ ar bihanniverioù, hag ur Garta Europat evit ar Yezhoù Rannvroel. Ma reer diouzh erbedoù ar "vailhed" ne vo ket diaes da Vro-C'hall ha d'an Turki sinañ seurt emglevioù, seul vui ma c'hallont divezhaer azlavarout ned eus ket a vihanniverioù broadel en diabarzh d'o harzoù hag o deus holl o c'heodedourien an hevelep gwirioù. Neuze omp pedet ivez da zoujañ d'ar muianiver eus poblañs ar Stad : arabat deomp o feukañ gant arc'hadoù re daer pe terriñ o lezennoù gant taolioù feuls. Ken

buan all e vo tamallet deomp klask ober gwallziforc'h ouzh ar muianiver o c'houlenn diarbennoù dibar evit hor yezhoù. Na reomp ket trouz gant aon da ziskar ar c'hastell a lakont kement a boan da sevell!

Kannaded da Guzul Europa a oa bodet e miz Here 1990 evit komz eus gwirioù ar bihanniverioù ivez. Hervez o derivad e oa ganto an hevelep ton hag ar "vailhed" a-us. Diwall mat a rejont a bledin gant degouezhioù dibar o komz a-zivout ar vro-mañ - 'r vro, rak nebeut amzer a-raok e oa bet un tamm tabut e bodadeg ar C'hendalc'h evit Surentez ha Kenlabour en Europa (traoù'zo a voe kinniget na blijent ket d'ar C'hallaoued). Setu ma ne voe kinniget nemet sturiennoù hollek hag erbedoù. Prest a-walc'h e oa darn koulskoude da amparañ ur bodad-evezhiañ en anv ar C'huzul, e garg gwelout ha lakaet e oa ar mennadoù degemeret er pleustr. Dek kannad bennak, en o fenn un Ao. Steiner, a ginnigas ur roll a 23 erbed a vije brav o gwelout er pleustr, met ne seblantont ket bezañ bet degemeret, na breutaet zo gwashoc'h! Unan a c'houlenne evit izili ar bihanniverioù ar gwir da skoulmañ darempredoù distrob gant keodedourien eus Stadoù all a hevelep orin kenelel ganto, pe lodek ganto en hevelep hêrezh sevenadurel. Pezh a reomp er C'hevre Keltiek, na petra'ta!

Diskouez a ra Y.J. e Peuple Breton miz Here e rankomp diwall a vezañ touellet gant divizoù ar bodadegoù etrevroadel. Kemmoù war well zo deut a-dra-suz en disklê riadurioù abaoe 1975 met nac'h a ra dreist-holl Stadoù kornog Europa ober ar c'hammed a zo pouezus evidomp : kedanaout gwirioù kevredel o bihanniverioù broadel. Estreget se a vo ezhomm, rak anzav un dra war baper n'eo ket c'hoazh e lakaat er pleustr. Ezhomm a vo da vihanañ da gargañ ur bodad bennak da wiriekaat hag eñ e vez graet. A-raok pep tra, ret eo d'ur bobl diemren diskouez sklaer he youl da zerc'hel d'he hevelebiezh, da vout anavezet evel ur bobl a-ziforc'h. En termenadur eus ar ger "minority" aprouet gant ar Broadoù Unanet hag adarre a-unvouezh gant Kuzul Europa d'an 28-9-90 (diell 6294) e lavarer ez eo "ur strollad tud diforc'het diouzh ar

Breton Television Required

The director of FR TRI, the section responsible for the programmes in Breton on FR3 Bretagne-Pays de Loire, was verbally notified in September last that his contract, which was for 2 years, would henceforth be renewable every three months and that he would be nominated only as a delegate-producer. He was given to understand that he would have to forgo his freedom of management, e.g. his ability to decide on broadcast projects and to provide producers with the technical facilities they required. *This would make it impossible to produce creative cultural programmes through the medium of Breton and confine him to news bulletins.*

The pretext used for these restrictions to a service of only *one hour and twenty five minutes of Breton a week* was that the FR3 Channel had to get rid of 280 posts, of

which 31 in Rennes. The Breton programmes cost too much money and occupied two valuable peak viewing times. Meagre though the time allocated hitherto was, some 120 to 130,000 viewers had a regular access to Breton which conferred on it a kind of official status and boosted Breton identity even among those who did not watch the programmes.

This could not have been welcome to the French centralists who, 6 years ago put the decentralisation decreed in the yearly '80s into reverse and decided that the role of the regional television stations was to cement national unity (see detailed article about this in *Le Peuple Breton*, October 1991). In Rennes they have now decided to reinforce their control by dealing directly with the producers of Breton programmes and incorporating the 2.8 million francs allocated to them in the station's general budget. No to autonomy!

Following vigorous protests from personnel and numerous associations and the intervention of elected representatives, they had to backtrack a bit but the control measures remain in force.

For a Breton Radio - and Television Service

Having rejected the job of "delegate producer" and knowing from direct experience the incessant struggle needed if only to maintain the starvation ration of Breton on FR3, the director of FR TRI, Alain Bienvenu, has decided to devote his efforts to a campaign to set up a genuine Breton channel. At a press conference on

September 23 he presented a project which included a detailed estimation of the number of staff and the financial amounts needed for the original investment and the running costs in order to provide 14 hours a day of radio broadcasts (in Breton, French and Gallo) and 10 hours a day on television (of which 6 in Breton). He referred to the comprehensive TV services available in their languages to the Welsh, the Catalans, the Basques and soon to the Scottish-Gaelic viewers, hopefully also to the Irish. His figures could be modified after completion of a feasibility study. To make the project financially viable he suggested a partnership involving regional and department councils, press groups, private associations, and drawing from the proceeds of the regional TV licence and commercial publicity. Success depended on the active support of Breton associations. (from articles in *Bremañ* and *Le Peuple Breton*.)

Appeal

The secretary of the International Branch of the Celtic League appeals to the readers of CARN to write to "M. le Directeur de FR3 Bretagne", 9 Ave. Janvier, 35 000 Rennes-Cedex, asking him to revoke his decision, taken in September, to abolish the post of director of the Breton language programmes and deprive the section in charge of these programmes the freedom to use the technical facilities of the station in the manner required for the production of creative cultural programmes through the medium of Breton. The International Branch secretary would also welcome expressions of support for A. Bienvenu's campaign for a comprehensive television service in Breton (Letters will be forwarded.)

Gwarezin cont.

peurrest eus ur boblañs dre hengounioù dezho o-unan diazezet a-werso, kenelel, relijiel pe yezhel, had a fell dezho mirout".

Emichañs ec'h akedo ar strolladoù breizhat da c'helver pobl Vreizh da ziskouez ez eus anezhi un hevelep strollad tud en ur reiñ d'o listenn voutin mouezhioù niverus en dilennadeg-rannvro a vo a-benn miz Meurzh. Ma teont a-benn da anataat an dra-se e vo diaes da zileuridi ar Stad C'hall derc'hel d'ar vojenn a nac'h ez eus pobloù a-ziforc'h enni hag e c'hallio Breizh tennañ splet eus an emglevioù a vo graet da wareziñ gwiroù ar bihanniverioù war un diazez holleuropat.

A. Heusaff.

Gerioù nebeut anavezet

derivad: report; arc'had: claim; bihanniver: minority (ha gwelloc'h e vefe: margenel: "mar" o talvoud "bihan"?); trebad: permanent; amparañ: to constitute; kenelel: ethnical.

Summary

The protection of European national minorities is the subject of proposals made recently at a series of international conferences (CSCE, Council of Europe, etc.). So far the prevailing official attitude is that minority rights are basically individual rights and they are to be hedged by various conditions to reassure the upholders of sovereignty. Some Central European States however grant that they are group rights the exercise of which should not be left to the control of the States concerned alone. An overall European solution should apply also to the non-self-governing peoples of Western Europe.



Alain Bienvenu presenting his project for a Breton television channel

Contemporary Breton Literature

Littérature et écrivains bretonnants depuis 1945 by Francis Favereau. Collection Skol Vreizh, Nr 20. 55 Fr.

It is really difficult to give a brief account of such a compact work. It is a continuation of and the indispensable complement to Istor al Lennegezh Vrezhonek an Amzer-Vremañ (History of Contemporary Breton literature), published in 1957 and so far not superseded.

Favereau has, like Abeozen, chosen to give us, instead of a selective presentation of the best - and true - writers of the post-war years, a kind of catalogue of all those who write in Breton or even in some way or other are involved in the language struggle. There is a notice for each of them but longer articles are devoted to the most important authors.

Following the national and cultural renaissance of the inter-war period which saw the emergence of a pleiad of writers around the magazine GWALARN (a word meaning North-West), the repression launched in 1944 was avowedly aimed at annihilating and smothering for ever every expression of specifically Breton life.

However, although any political action was from then on made difficult and even impossible, young people born in the twenties picked up the torch and founded the symbolically named magazine AL LIAMM (The Bond) as a prolongation of Gwalarn. They got cooperation from some of the greatest among the pre-war writers, a few of whom reached their maturity and produced during the past 45 years the best part of their work: Roparz Hemon himself, Abeozen, Youenn Drezen, Langleiz, Maodez Glandour, Roperzh ar Mason. While the culture borne by the Breton-speaking rural people crumbled and the Church abandoned the language, going over to French, lock, stock and barrel, while the country became urbanised and the people became alien to themselves, there emerged, beside a group of writers who retained a nostalgia for this suddenly sunken past, a new-Breton literature of which the syntax tended to be dangerously impregnated by French, which also relied perhaps excessively on neologisms for effective expression. New writers of talent, not all young, appeared on the scene. Brittany regains its vigour in the sixties, violent action is repeatedly resorted to, engagé poets and singers rediscover the tradition of the ancient bards who inspired their peoples in their struggles.

As we approach the end of the century, we note a certain weakening and "crumbling" (in the sense of fragmentation) of our literature. This is obviously due in

part to the fact, as regards the young writers, to their insufficient acquaintance with a language they were *not* immersed in from birth and which they must reconquer with great effort in an unfavourable environment. I would also add the absence of a "literary capital", a point around which writers would gather and concert. There is above all the lack of a subjacent national dynamism such as the Breton movement had been able to generate between the two wars. To-day, one "joins in" the Breton literature as one might enter a religious order; it is not enough to have talent; to prevail over an inimical environment and escape the hold of the omnipresent French civilisation a considerable amount of endeavour and abnegation, of tenacity and courage is needed as well as a very strong motivation.

It is difficult to give a judgement on the values of the times in which we live.

His judgement on Roparz Hemon, however careful in its nuances, is not quite fair. Would he reproach, say, Joseph Conrad, a Pole who chose to express himself in a language that was not his from childhood, for a rhythm he inherited presumably from his original country and which is noticeable to any native English-speaker, and even for an occasional awkwardness of style? This did not prevent him rising in his adoptive language to the highest levels.

Yann Bouessel du Bourg

AL LIAMM

Literary magazine in Breton, 80 pp., 5 issues a year. Subscription 150 Fr but outside State 160/200 Fr, to P. Le Bihan, 16 r. des Fours à Chaux, 35400 St-Malo. In the September-October issue I enjoyed two humorous short stories but was sorry to learn of the death of a Celtic League member of long-standing, university lecturer Per Penneg whose role in the Breton language movement is related in the issue. I look forward to reading R. an Hir's reflexions on the Palestinian problem and F. Favereau's review of the Passion play production mentioned in *Carn* 75. There are abundant notes about current cultural developments in Brittany as usual.

Cúchulainn's Story

Le Chien du Forgeron. Cúchulainn's story, presented by Alain Deniel, published by Jean Picollec, 380 pp, 150 Fr.

It could well be a risky bet to present to a French language public sterilized by three and a half centuries of cartesianism a translation of Táin Bó Cuailnge (The Cattle Raid of Cooley). The great Gaelic epoque will take them into a world as different as the moon from their own. Every translation worthy of that name is in itself a rebirth, a reincarnation in another language since it reflects the soul of the translator and necessarily bears his imprint. It is to some extent his creation.

This is doubly true when a choice has to be made between the various threads of a rich tradition, the sometimes contradictory versions of the one story, so as to retain only what is best and most coherent. Alain Deniel's work, which is half-way between erudition and literature, bears the mark of eminent scholarship and intimate knowledge of the Celtic society of ancient Ireland that was similar, with a time lag, to the society that existed in Armorica, as elsewhere in Gaul, prior to the Roman conquest. He has succeeded in tastefully conjuring up all the enchantment of the old tale. The readers will be deeply moved by the marvellous adventures and the exploits of Cúchulainn, the hero and central figure of an epic cycle which takes us back to Pagan Ireland.

The text is divided in chapters which are followed by abundant notes. There is a long absorbing introduction to help the wayfarer in his quest for the world of our distant ancestors, a world in which nature was still close enough to its pristine condition, where human relations were characterised by a good deal of primitive brutality and savagery but also by golden virtues of courage, honour and fealty.

Christian Guyonvarc'h teaches us that "old myths remain eternally young and effective provided they are transmitted accurately".

How inaccessible this world appears to us to-day and yet we still inhabit it in our dreams! It seems to me that these beautiful tales enable us to rediscover, deep in ourselves, a long forgotten past.

Yann Bouessel de Bourg

Brittany Ferries Success Story

In an interview published in the September issue of *Le Peuple Breton* the president of Brittany Ferries, Alexis Gourvennec, who took a leading part in the Breton farmers' struggle in the sixties, explains how in 1965 he and other prominent figures in the N. Finistère economy produced a plan which called for the modernisation of the area's infrastructure (roads, harbours, telecommunications) so as to enable the Breton vegetable growers to export their products rapidly to Britain. This plan was put into effect with the setting up of Brittany Ferries. The company, backed by farmers' cooperatives, had to buy its own freighters.

It was ready to go into operation as soon as Britain joined the EEC, first establishing the Roscoff-Plymouth line and later another from St-Malo to Southampton. The ships were also transporting cars and passengers. In 1974 they carried 9,500 trucks and 83,000 passengers. By 1977 a line from Roscoff to Cork and one from Santander to Plymouth were established. 300,000 passengers were using the BF services, with tourist transit having become financially more important than the transportation of goods.

Today the company also operates between the Normandy harbours of Cherbourg and Caen and Portsmouth harbour. In all it runs 13 ships, the latest being the prestigious "Bretagne". Two others are being built in Finland (construction in the St-Nazaire Atlantique yards would have been delayed due to other orders). It is now a "mixed economy" company, the **Sabemen**, which owns the ships, has the financial backing of the Brittany-Region Council and of the Breton departements as regards its operations from Roscoff and St-Malo. In 1990 Brittany Ferries carried 2.6 million passengers and 152,000 cars or trucks. Increasing profits amounted to 52m Francs. It employs 1,700 staff on board and 760 on the shore. Its personnel have formed a society which, as shareholders, contributed 3.4m Francs to the company's capital in 1989. It spends annually 2.5m Francs to train its employees so as to guarantee the best service.

Brittany Ferries offers reduced fares to members of the Breizh-Cymru association and also to groups involved in visits between twinned Irish and Breton towns or townlands. It contributes considerably to the increase in relations between the Celtic peoples.



*Alexis Gourvennec,
President of Brittany Ferries
(Courtesy Le Peuple Breton)*



Common Election Platform Agreed

The Union Democratique Bretonne, Emgann, Pobl and Frankiz Breizh, four parties which advocate autonomy or self-government for Brittany decided at meetings held last summer to present a common list of candidates in the regional elections due to take place in March 1992. An outline of their programme includes:

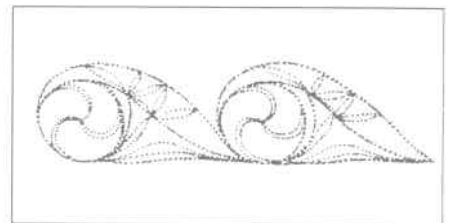
1. the recognition of the fact that the Bretons constitute a people ("un peuple") within the limits of the five departements of historic Brittany;
2. direct representation of the Breton people in the international institutions;
3. active support for the Breton culture, also in its (Upper Brittany) Gallo aspects; recognition of Breton in all aspects of public life;
4. adoption of a policy of economic development taking strict account of the need to preserve the ecological balance;
5. Brittany to have control over its own financial resources;
6. working out a plan at Breton level to eliminate all forms of social exclusion arising from unemployment and the increasing precariousness of jobs.
7. solidarity with other peoples whose existence and right of self-determination is not recognised.

These parties hope to see other groups joining them. The Breton section of the Greens are supposed to be for internal

French federalism but have put unacceptable conditions to their cooperation. Local representatives of the French parties, even Le Pen, are as usual at the approach of elections, voicing support for (renewed) decentralisation measures and recognition of our cultural interests. They reckon that the people have forgotten similar previous promises which went unfulfilled.

The Celtic League congratulates the Breton organisations on their decision to campaign together. They need support (money!), campaign workers, publicity. Any donation sent to this writer for that purpose will be forwarded, being equally divided between the four groups unless otherwise requested.

Alan Heusaff



L'Avenir de la Bretagne

monthly organ of the party POBL for a free Brittany in a Europe of the Peoples. Subscription 150 Fr but 160 Fr outside Fr. State, to P.B. 103, 22001 St-Breig-Cedex.

CYMRU

Pigion Celtaidd

Cyfrifiad 1991

Mae canlyniadau cynfat Cyfrifiad 1991 wedi dangos y canlyniadau canlynol:-

	1981	1991
Cymru	2,790,500	2,798,500
Yr Alban	5,131,000	4,957,000
Gogledd Iwerddon	1,533,000	1,583,000
Ynys Manaw	64,000	62,000

Iwerddon

Llyfr ardderchog am ddatblygiad y Ghaeltacht ddinesig ym mBéal Feirste yn y Gogledd yw **Our Own Language: An Irish Initiative**. Yr awdur yw Gabrielle Maguire a'r cyhoeddwr **Multilingual Matters Ltd.**, Clevedon, Lloegr.

Yr Alban

Bank of Criminals and Conmen International. Yn anffodus mae cwmp B.C.C.I. wedi tynnu sylw'r at broblem Comhairle nan Eilean, cyngor aml-bwrpas yr Ynys Hir, gorllewin yr Alban. Collodd y Cyngor £24 miliwn - y buddsoddiad mwyaf gan unrhyw gyngor yn y banc. Mae'r swm yn debyg i hanner y cyllideb blynyddol net. Ar ôl derbyn adroddiad gan athro ym Mhrifysgol Strathclyde mae'r cyngor wedi symud ei Brif Weithredwr a'i Gyfarwyddwr Cyllid o'u swyddi ac ymddiswyddodd arweinydd y Cyngor. Etholwyd Donald MacLeod fel arweinydd newydd y Cyngor, Beth fydd effaith y colled ar yr iaith Aeleg - iaith 80% poblogaeth yr ynysydd?

Etholiadau Heol. Roedd Plaid Genedlaethol yr Alban (S.N.P.) wedi sefyll yn yr isetholiadau lleol canlynol:-

Dinas Glasgow, Ward North Kelvin. Cadwyd gan v Blaid Lafur, 22.9% o flaen yr S.N.P.

Dumfries and Galloway, Ward Stranraer. Enillwyd gan Lafur oddi wrth yr S.N.P. gyda mwyafrif o 6.4%.

Glasgow City, Ward Shawlands.

Enillwyd gan yr S.N.P. oddi wrth Lafur gyda mwyafrif o 1.8%.

Wigtown, Ward Cairmpart. Enillwyd gan yr S.N.P. oddi wrth Lafur gyda mwyafrif o 2.8%.

Markslands, Wardiau MarksInds. Enillwyd gan yr S.N.P. oddi wrth Lafur gyda mwyafrif o 23.9%.

Dirywiad yn statws yr Aeleg. Tryw benderfynu nad oedd rhaid i weinidog Eglwys yr Alban yn Bracadale, Ynys Skye, fedru'r Aeleg, 'does dim un plwyf ar ôl y tu allan i'r Ynys Hir lle mae'r Eglwys Genedlaethol yn mynnu bod y gweinidog yn medru'r Aeleg.

Ysgolion Gaeleg. Agorwyd uned Gaeleg eleni ym mhentref Am Plac yn Lochalsh. Mae'n debygol y bydd uned arall yn East Kilbride, i'r de o Glasgow yn y flwyddyn nesaf. Hefyd o 1992 ymlaen bydd Ysgol Uwchradd Portree, Ynys Skye ac Ysgol Millburn, Inbhir Nis, yn dysgu plant uwchradd trwy gyfrwng yr Aeleg. Yn y dechreuad y pynciau trwy'r Aeleg fydd hanes, gwyddoniaeth, economeg y cartref a'r Aeleg.

Penodiadau. Gyda John Angus MacKay wedi cael ei benodi fel cyfarwyddwr Cronfa Teledu'r Aeleg mae Allan Campbell, rheolwr BBC Radio Highlands wedi cael ei benodi'n Gyfarwyddwr Comunn na Gaidhlig, awdurdod datblygu'r Aeleg.

Clive James

Yr Athrawon Manaweg

Yn dilyn un o'r pethau gorau a ddigwyddodd ym Manaw yn y ganrif hon, sef penodiad y Dr Brian y Stoyll fel Swyddog yr Iaith Fanaweg, ymddangosodd hysbyseb yn *Isle of Man Courier* 27 Medi 1991 gan Adran Addysg Manaw yn galw am ddau athro cymwys, ganddyn nhw brofiad mewn addysg gynradd neu uwchradd a rhyw allu yn yr iaith ("some competence in the language," a ddwedir). Anelir at benodi dau athro crwydrol i ddysgu Manweg. Ond pam nad oes galw am bobl sy'n rhugl a llwyr lythrennog ym Manaweg am y ddwy swydd? Ydy'r adnoddau mor brin â hynny? Ni chredaf fod hynny'n wir. Beth bynnag, o'r diwedd y mae'r awdurdodau ym Manaw yn dechrau deall bod iaith genedlaethol yn y wlad honno.

Gyda brwdfrydedd Brian y Stoyll dros ei iaith ni fydd ef yn boddhau ar ddau athro'n unig o dano fe. Rhagwelfaf gynnydd cyflym yn ngweithgor yr athrawson Manaweg.

Mae'r datblygiad uchod yn ychwanegiad gwerthfawr at waith di-flino siaradwyr Manaweg Thie ny Gaelgey ac Yn Chesaght Ghailckagh. Y mae, o'r diwedd, rhyw faint o gydnabyddiaeth swyddogol bod gan y Fanaweg ddyfodol. Adeilader ar y sail honno gan anelu at y pen draw, ysgolion cynradd ac uwchradd Manaweg heb ormod o oedi. Y Fanaweg yw genedigaeth-fraint pob Manaw a Manawes. Dylid ei chyflwyno yn ei llawnder gwych yn ysgolion y wlad nid yn unig fel pwnc ond fel cyfrwng dysgu'r pynciau eraill. Mae achos gobaith mawr ym Manaw.

With the appointment of a Manx language officer and two peripatetic Manx teachers, one can perceive the beginnings of a process which will lead eventually to the setting up of Manx schools instead of English schools in Mann.

Merfyn Phillips

The Single Market and the Celts

Orree Crennell

The ideal vision for the Celts in the Europe of the future would be that:

1. their languages and cultures stopped declining and began to prosper
2. the Celts were in control of their own affairs
3. the economies of the Celtic countries flourished and emigration of their peoples halted.

Even the most optimistic forecasts of the effects of the creation of the European Single Market and the possible associated developments (more political union, single currency, etc) do not envisage such a utopian future for the Celtic nations in the new Europe. The most the optimists seem to be expecting is that they can get something for minority languages and cultures out of a future 'Europe of the Communities'. The pessimists' case was well put by Tomás Mac Siomóin in CARN 69 in which he predicted dire consequences for Ireland and all the peripheral regions of Europe.

It is interesting that this year has seen the staging of a large prestigious exhibition on the Celts in Venice which is concerned with the origins of Europe. The organizers say that the exhibition 'was conceived with a mind to the great impending process that pointed eloquently to the truly unique aspect of Celtic civilization, namely its being the first historically documented civilization on a European scale'. The exhibition is seen as 'a call back to our common roots'. What is stressed is the imagined modern parallel of moves towards European unity. Strange how all those history books went on about Celtic Europe falling to the Romans because the Celts were no good at political unity.

Starting with some points about the six Celtic countries, Ireland is the only one at present with statehood (albeit with partition) which is a full member of the European Community. It is some interest to note that, for the first time in an EC document, the 'island of Ireland' was treated as a single entity in the recent creation of the European Economic Area linking the EC and EFTA. Scotland, Wales, Cornwall and six counties of Ireland are at the moment in the United Kingdom, which is, of course, the present most troublesome member of the EC. Scotland and Wales have some recognition as separate countries/units, while, to the annoyance of the Cornish, Cornwall is treated as part of England. However, there is some awareness on the European mainland now that Cornwall

has its own identity. The Isle of Man is neither in the United Kingdom nor in the EC (though linked to the latter through Protocol 3 of the UK Treaty of Accession 1973). Mann has its own government and a fair degree of autonomy, but the UK claims (de facto) to act on behalf of Mann over international affairs and to have a watching brief on the 'good government' of Mann. Brittany is at present firmly embedded in the French state (a founder member of the EC), but its geographical position and active role in many pan-European organizations and groups has ensured that many people outside Brittany know of its separate identity.

"...the word 'market' has become more than sullied..."

Turning to the imminent arrival of the Single Market in 1992, for many of us who have lived under Thatcherism and rule by eccentric right-wing think-tanks, the word 'market' has become more than sullied. It is important here to watch events in England very closely because they affect directly what happens in Wales, Scotland, Cornwall, part of Ireland, and Mann. All Celts except Ireland are still dominated by the ex-imperial powers of France and England/Britain/UK (what do you call the place?), so what happens in France is crucial to Brittany.

Carn Supplement 1

1992



Celtic League



England is at present drifting without much direction. Over many hundreds of years her policy was to neutralise and assimilate her Celtic neighbours, cause dissension among her Continental rivals, and build up a maritime empire. The Empire has long gone but the cliché is still true: England has not found a new rôle. Public opinion polls seem to show that the English public is more sympathetic to the European Community than the elective dictatorship which passes for democratic government in the UK. However, the lack of real interest in the EC in England is very marked. The hostility of the present London government to anything connected with those funny foreigners on the Continent merely reflects common English attitudes. And many of these attitudes of English xenophobia have rubbed off on to the insular Celts. However, there are encouraging signs that more Celts are making direct contacts with the Continent rather than putting up with that distorting filter in London.

“...Triumphant celebrations of the victory of capitalism ignore some awkward questions...”

The global issues which dominate world economics are overpopulation, environmental questions and the virtual war between the rich and poor countries. Triumphant celebrations of the victory of capitalism ignore some awkward questions: unrestricted capitalism demands continuous growth and consumption - but the world's resources are finite. There is no real sign that any powerful country is addressing these questions. So, given the situation we are in, we have to ask what effect the operation of a large single capitalist market will have on the Celts. A crucial point here is how rigorous are the capitalists running us going to be? A particular form of free market ideology has been inflicted on the UK for the past twelve years or so by the Thatcherites. These zealots have been so pure ideologically that they regard the EC as a dangerous left-wing organization because of its interest in charters to protect workers' rights, etc. Even the German government has been looked on with suspicion following its tendency to favour governmental interventionism in industry! The legacy of Thatcher is a country where the infrastructure is falling apart, the economy is stagnant, and the education and health services are in a state of confusion because of the

“...Many thousands of people have been made unemployed in the name of ideology...”

whirlwind of ideologically backed changes being forced on them. Many thousands of people have been made unemployed in the name of ideology. Manufacturing industry has declined dramatically, investment in the future is usually laughable, while the City of London is eagerly chattering about the next takeover bid (Continental industry is chided for having irritating bars to such predatory bids). Expertise in science and engineering is not regarded as of any importance by the present London

“...It is not surprising that some Celts see Brussels as the lesser of the two evils...”

government, which is belatedly ditching its previous policy of total reliance on service industries. It is not surprising that some Celts see Brussels as the lesser of the two evils. Although Thatcherism in its most dotty form is finished, many insular Celts feel that Brussels free-marketry could not be as bad as the Thatcher experiment (they could be wrong over this).

It seems certain then that England (and hence the UK, if present arrangements are not altered) will remain as a peripheral country in the EC. Ties of language and culture mean that many in England always prefer to look to the USA rather than to the European mainland. This attitude became a fetish under Thatcher, with the result that there is often strong official approval for anything American in England, while anything from other European countries

“...it is probable that Scotland, Wales and Cornwall will have increasingly severe problems as peripherals of a peripheral...”

is quietly (or noisily) rubbished. Some in the English Conservative Party are now openly saying that the UK should pull out of the EC. At the present time such a move is unlikely.

Given that England is being increasingly marginalised, it follows that it is probable that Scotland, Wales and Cornwall will have increasingly severe problems as peripherals of a peripheral, unless there is drastic constitutional reform in the UK and these countries get their own (effective) parliaments. This

“...by the year 2000 France will be a vassal of Germany, Japan and the USA...”

would not bring the millennium but could only be an improvement on the present totally undemocratic arrangements. It is likely that EC developments will effectively end Irish partition in some ways, but, without a major political initiative, there cannot be solid progress.

Looking at that other ex-imperial power, France, a writer in a Breton journal complains of the damage done to Brittany by policies adopted by Paris. He observes that by the year 2000 France will be a vassal of Germany, Japan and the USA. This will probably be correct, except that the list of vassals will be much longer than France and will

“...Germany will increasingly go her own way...”

include England, etc. In spite of financial scandals and worries over their economy the Japanese look set for world supremacy in economic terms. They have done this not by half-baked ideas about 'free-market forces' but by government interventionism in key industries on a large scale, huge investment in the future, and massive spending on scientific and engineering developments. Like most others Japanese industry has not regarded environmental issues as having any importance. Possibly because of their culture their record on basic research and real



innovation remains shaky. France, along with other European countries, is worried about the British government's enthusiasm (desperation?) in inviting Japanese concerns to set up shop in the UK. Will this be the EC's Trojan Horse? Again, France is concerned even more than most that, with the incredible changes in Eastern Europe and the collapse of Stalinism, Germany will increasingly go her own way. It is virtually certain that Germany, in many ways the EC paymaster, will become more assertive, with her enthusiasm for EC ideals falling off.

Finally, the third country mentioned by the Breton writer, the United States of America. Although the USA is now apparently by far the most powerful country on Earth (and the French are rightly worried about Disneyland near Paris), there are signs that the States are in decline. The America economy (like the British one) is declared as coming

“...the Celts might effectively be economic vassals of the Japanese and Germans and cultural vassals of the Americans...”

out of recession every other week, with no real signs that this is in fact happening. American graduate schools now contain practically no native-born Americans who are registered for higher degrees in those areas which underpin high-tech industry (numerate sciences and engineering). As in England, nearly all young Americans want to be lawyers or business ‘managers’. Apart from signs of economic decline, the USA is losing more of its Anglo-Saxon character each year with Asians and Hispanics gaining increasing linguistic and cultural power. So, in the long run, the Celts might effectively be economic vassals of the Japanese and Germans and cultural vassals of the Americans: not a happy prospect.

There is no doubt that unfettered market forces will destroy the Celtic languages and their associated cultures. The point has been well made by Pratts: “policies designed to develop the marginal regions based on the strategy of increased exposure to modern market forces misunderstand that the existing marginality itself is a result of exposure to modern market forces. Furthermore such policies will serve only to increase the relative marginality of the economically backward regions. In other

words, development policy is useless unless it is designed to alter the structure of relationships between the marginal region and the modern sector”. It is necessary to create an economic

“...the ultimate problem: you foster economic activity but get rid of the culture....”

mechanism whereby there is investment which will benefit the people of the area. There are many instances in the Celtic countries where attempts to improve the economy of an area, and hence halt the decline in language and culture, have actually done the opposite by bringing in specialists from outside with little or no sympathy for the native language and culture. This is the ultimate problem: you foster economic activity but get rid of the culture. The path to follow must be the difficult one of having your local experts already or starting up enterprises such as co-operatives which cultivate local commercial leadership and local confidence (a crucial factor).

The Celtic countries have many features in common apart from their common ancient heritage, but it is nevertheless worthwhile listing the countries to highlight some of their special features and problems. This treatment leads to an imbalance because of the unevenness of the available material, but I trust it is of some use.

Alba

“...Self-determination for Scotland is once again seen as high on the political agenda...”

Self-determination for Scotland is once again seen as high on the political agenda and indeed the Scottish National Party has declared its main aim as being to achieve independence (not just devolution) for Scotland within a short period of time. Its slogan is “Independence in Europe” but as articles

such as “Europe of 50 - Scotland on the Threshold” (CARN 75) by leading spokesman Rob Gibson, indicate it holds a much broader perspective of Europe than the present EC. The British Labour Party is making sympathetic noises about constitutional reform but some doubt whether they really mean it. As with the other Celtic countries inside the UK, as much autonomy as possible is desirable for Scotland.

In common with others throughout Europe, some Scots fear a huge European superstate is in prospect. The views of the Scottish Sovereignty Movement (SSM) are representative of the most pessimistic predictions on this very important issue. Parallels are drawn between the 1707 sell-out to London rule of Scotland, the blocking of Scottish democracy and the reduction of Scotland to the status of a colony. The SSM sees the Tory and Labour parties, along with the SNP and the Liberal Democrats, as all submitting to the ‘hijack’ of Scotland by Brussels. EC integration with a single currency is seen as putting economic control in the hands of a European central bank, with foreign bankers ruling Scotland. The creation of a European superstate will mean the “end of democracy in Europe”.

“...but the lack of concentration on the Gaelic language has been noticeable....”

To an outsider a marked feature of Scottish national feeling in recent years has been its strong emphasis on political and economic issues with apparently little weight being given to cultural affairs. All these things, of course, are interconnected, but the lack of concentration on the Gaelic language has been noticeable. It has therefore been a welcome development that language issues seem to be more prominent these days. However, the status of Gaelic in Scotland remains unclear. A local authority in one place may be in favour of the language, while another authority is against it. The Scottish Education Department has declared itself ‘neutral’ towards Gaelic! Presumably officialdom is acting out the myth that Gaelic was and is of fringe concern. While we cannot be too optimistic, moves towards a European Charter for Regional or



Minority Languages may be helpful to Gaelic (and to the other Celtic languages). If even the minimum provisions of such a charter were implemented, it would be an

“...At present the amount of public UK money spent on each Gaelic speaker is only one quarter of that spent on each Welsh speaker...”

improvement on the situation which Gaelic finds itself in. At present the amount of public UK money spent on each Gaelic speaker is only one quarter of that spent on each Welsh speaker. The Thatcherite response to such data is, of course, to reduce the amount spent per Welsh speaker to that for Gaelic. There are some grounds for believing that EC involvement could at least hinder such a response and might well benefit Gaelic.

Scotland, like all the other Celtic countries apart from Ireland, does not have direct access to EC offices (though Strathclyde Council, as with Cardiff, does have an office in Brussels). Even though Scotland has its own education system, the Scottish Education Department has to communicate with the EC via the Dept. of Education and Science in London. This, of course, is totally unsatisfactory.

In common with many other western countries Scotland has suffered heavily from the decline of the traditional heavy industries such as mining, shipbuilding and steel. There has been much talk of ‘silicon glens’ in Scotland, but it does not look as though EC developments will significantly boost high-tech industry in Scotland, certainly while the loony right still wields power in London.

Breizh

“...The French state does not even recognise the existence of Brittany in any administrative sense....”

Of all the Celtic countries, Brittany is perhaps the most disadvantaged as regards recognition as an entity. The French state does not even recognise the

existence of Brittany in any administrative sense. However, Paris has at least modified its open hostility to the Breton language and replaced this by obstructionism. That’s progress.

Given Brittany’s geographical position and its incorporation in a founder state of the EC, it is to be expected that discussion and analysis of EC affairs figure prominently in Breton publications. As many Celts do, Bretons obviously have hopes that a ‘Europe of the Communities’ will materialise in future, with Brittany playing a full part.

“...A five-department Brittany would be one of the largest regions in Europe...”

It is pointed out that a reunified Brittany (reincorporating Loire-Atlantique) would be a true European ‘region’. A five-department Brittany would be one of the largest regions in Europe, having about 3,652,000 inhabitants and a land area of ca. 34,000 square kilometres (compare the figure for Wales: 2,700,000 inhabitants and an area of 20,700 sq. km.).

Brittany lays claim to being a ‘region’ in at least three areas: agriculture, fishing and tourism. Brittany is the foremost agricultural region of the French state, producing more pigs and cattle than Belgium and rivalling Great Britain in poultry. In fishing Brittany leads Ireland and Belgium. And it is well known that Brittany offers varied tourist facilities of high quality.

In England there is practically no analysis of what the term ‘federalism’ can mean in a European context. This is evidently not the case in Brittany. For instance, a Breton publication draws attention to a speech made by Jacques Delors in Bavaria, the most important German Land. Delors spoke of the EC as “a community of peoples, nations and regions”. European union must be “fully inspired by federalism”. It was necessary to put into practice the “principe de subsidiarité”. Delors said that this principle had largely been realized in Germany, greater powers having been given to the Länder. Spain, Belgium and (to a lesser extent) Italy had also acted. In April 1990 the Bundesrat had demanded that the ‘principe de subsidiarité’ be incorporated in EC

“...Resentment by the Bretons towards Paris is clearly seen...”

treaties. The Bretons note that it is essential for Brittany, Corsica, etc, to get the same powers as Bavaria, Catalonia, etc. The same obviously applies to Wales, Scotland and Cornwall.

It is apparent that the two EC states which have most impact on the destiny of the Celts at present, the UK and France, are lukewarm towards relinquishing anything like true autonomy to ‘their regions’.

Resentment by the Bretons towards Paris is clearly seen, not least over fishing. The good years for Breton fishing were from 1960-1980, which were years of investment and technical innovation. But from 1980, following effects of overfishing, unpopular limitations were introduced, limiting fishing zones and power of boats. Tonnage landed fell from 780,000 in 1980 to 572,000 in 1989. As seen from Brittany, lack of political backing from Paris has meant the rapid decline of Breton fishing. For example, in 1989, 595 fishing boats were modernized with EC aid, only 23 of these being from France. There was backing for eight fishing projects each for Spain and Italy but none for France. Paris is therefore regarded as sacrificing Breton fishing, one of the mainstays of the economy.

“...twenty five years of the CAP have seen an unprecedented drop in agricultural workers and activity, the impoverishment of many rural areas, and the destruction of large parts of the environment...”

Bretons are also worried by the contradictions in the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The original aims of the CAP were very worthy and included preservation of social and economic situations, coping with inevitable changes in agriculture and protection of the environment. But it hardly needed a professional review by



G. Stevenson to make the obvious points: twenty five years of the CAP have seen an unprecedented drop in agricultural workers and activity, the impoverishment of many rural areas, and the destruction of large parts of the environment. Social tensions have increased, partly because of the CAP. Support of agricultural prices with no consideration of levels of production and the quota system has accelerated production and cost taxpayers dearly. The problems of surpluses have not been solved.

Reform of the CAP has been proposed by Ray MacSharry, the EC Agriculture Commissioner. Any changes implemented in it will have repercussions right across Europe and most certainly will have a big impact on Brittany. A distinct break with the old CAP is proposed, with six principal objectives in view: control of production, the maintenance of a significant number of agricultural workers, recognition of the producer as a guardian of the environment at the same time, encouragement of para-agricultural activities, respect for the environment, and support for producers by targeted aid rather than guaranteed prices. It remains to be seen what changes in the CAP actually materialise.

Breton groups are clearly active in many pan-European organizations and congresses, such as the Congress of Federalist Union of European Ethnic Communities, the Youth of Ethnic European Communities, etc.

Cymru

“...language plays a much more prominent rôle in the struggle for national expression in Wales...”

Although the Welsh language is in an embattled state, it is much stronger than the other celtic languages. It therefore follows that the language plays a much more prominent rôle in the struggle for national expression in Wales. To the surprise of most, the present London government has taken a far more supportive stance over Welsh than might have been expected. However, as with the Scots, the Welsh Education Dept. has to communicate with the EC through the DES in London. It has to be repeated, again that the Celts *must* develop more direct links with Brussels and other continental centres whatever views people have about the EC and whether

London approves or not. The EC has not earmarked much money to help minority languages directly, but the European Social Fund may be a more helpful source of funds in this respect.

“...The traditional industries in Wales have been decimated...”

The fear is that the Welsh speaking communities will be lost and that the Welsh speakers will become merely a group of consenting adults using a private language, as has happened in some other Celtic countries. It is possible that the present Conservative support for the language is a means to divert the activists from political and economic reform which would threaten the power of the London establishment. It seems that the Labour Party has still not grasped the importance of the language as compared with wearing leeks and singing *Myfanwy*. Too little too late seems to be the order of the day.

Demand for a Welsh assembly has increased again in recent months, but the setting up of even a token body seems to be some way off still. The sincerity of the British Labour Party over constitutional reform is still suspect, even though such reform must come eventually.

The traditional industries in Wales have been decimated with very little or nothing put in their place (as has happened in many peripheral areas of Europe). In industrial circles there has been publicity given to the activities of Peter Walker (another Thatcher casualty banished to the Celtic fringe) in going against Thatcherites in Wales and ‘intervening’ to try and foster economic activity. But, like the rest of the UK, Wales remains in a weak state near the onset of the brave new world of 1992.

Éire

Ireland is unique among the Celtic countries in being a full member of the EC. Cynics would say that this has not helped her much. Ireland has got the reputation in certain circles as being full of ‘good Europeans’. But at present the country is not in a good state. Unemployment is over 20% and about half the young people have to emigrate in

many areas. In some rural districts there are practically no young people left and the very old often have to fend for themselves. Bishops regularly chide the government for doing nothing about the catastrophic emigration rate.

It looks as though the days of the Gaeltachtaí (Irish speaking areas) may well be numbered, particularly because it

“...The Irish Government is accused more and more of tokenism over its attitude towards the language...”

is generally those very areas which are being decimated yet again by emigration. The Irish Government is accused more and more of tokenism over its attitude towards the language. There seem to be quite a lot more people in the Irish Republic now who equate being English with being internationalist. But this is likely the effect of the English media, and it is true that on the other hand some progress has been made in demonstrating Irish identity internationally. One bright feature is the increase in demand from the public for Irish media schools, a demand which the Irish Government is very reluctant to do anything much about. There has been a huge increase in demand for Irish in Northern Ireland and the British Government has been obliged to make provision (very limited) for this.

Concerning economic issues it is relevant to quote at length from a booklet by Tony Moriarty and Mike Morrissey: *The Economies of Ireland* which is concerned with economic ties between the two parts of Ireland.

“The implications for both economies of developments within the EC are equally crucial. In 1982 the European Parliament commissioned a report on the Community’s economy. The conclusion was that growth had slowed down primarily because the process of European integration had not proceeded. The result was the Single European Act, which comes into operation in 1992 and which is designed to complete the internal market through harmonization and the removal of any remaining restrictions. The theory is that the production of commodities will go to those countries with the resources and technology most suited to it and this, in turn, will enhance technological innovation and cost reduction [...]. Thus



the entire Community will benefit from productivity growth and reduced prices.

"The problem is that most studies suggest that in the process there will be a further centralisation of capital investment and greater inequalities between the periphery and the centre of the Community. This has been explicitly recognised because there is a commitment to double the structural funds (Regional and Social Funds). However, there may well be many problems with that solution: first the Common Agricultural Policy continues to claim the lion's share of the Community budget, and efforts to restructure this have proved difficult; in any case the Irish Republic might not receive a significantly higher amount of resources if it lost out on CAP receipts. Finally, the distribution of the structural funds may benefit more the Southern rather than the Northern periphery, since poverty is increasingly concentrated in the former. For all of these reasons the operation of the Single European Act might have profoundly negative consequences for both the Irish states".

"...The real nightmare began when the 'foreign' sector began to decline as well...."

The booklet points out that it was logical for the Irish Government to join the EEC (as it was then) in 1973 because that government had effectively conceded that it could not solve its own economic problems, having increasingly abandoned Ireland to the dictates of foreign capital. It was hoped that EEC membership would solve all problems. However, this led to a dual economy with a modern foreign sector and a traditional 'Irish' sector. The modern sector was high-tech and capital intensive, being made up of engineering, electronics, pharmaceuticals, etc. The products were exported - as were the profits. The domestic sector was made up of clothing, food processing, building materials and small engineering plants. There was little investment in research and development, the sector was labour intensive and the market domestic. Hence, the traditional sector was undermined by its modern counterpart.

Free trade devastated the domestic sector because there were not the resources to compete. The real nightmare began when the 'foreign' sector began to decline as well. Foreign investment slowed down to a very low level in the 1980s. Cheap labour countries like

Spain, Portugal and Greece joined the EC and competed with Ireland for foreign investment. The Pacific rim became more attractive than the European periphery for certain industries. From 1980 to 1985 80% of the job losses in the Republic were in Irish owned industry. From 1981 net job losses were recorded in foreign firms (mostly British). From 1985 American owned firms started shedding large numbers of jobs.

Moriarty and Morrissey go on to state that there are fewer people at work in the Republic today than in 1958 when the population was smaller. Unemployment is worse than it was then and emigration is just as bad. However, the Republic has one of Europe's most modern industrial bases, the most modern telecommunications system in Europe, a sophisticated finance sector, and one of the best educated workforces in the world. Ireland's Third World features amidst those of the First World have arisen from her dependency which she did not (?or could not) discard after hundred's of years of colonial subjugation. The policy of the Irish Government is to reduce the Republic's debts: this involves massive cuts in public spending. Education, health services and social welfare are on the rack. It is all too likely that the Single Market will increase economic problems in Ireland, both north and south.

As seen by many in Ireland, MacSharry's proposed reform of the CAP is not reform at all, but a cut in production with compensation. Poorer farmers complain that nothing is promised to remedy the anomaly of 80%

"...the danger to Ireland's neutrality remains...."

of the support going to 20%.

Another big issue facing Ireland is the question of her neutrality. Although the threat of world war between the USA and the USSR has vanished, the danger to Ireland's neutrality remains. Presumably there can be no shirking of one's military duty inside the brave new European superstate. The Irish EC Agriculture Minister, Ray MacSharry, recently said that abandonment of Irish neutrality sooner rather than later as "inevitable", on condition that the EC moves towards union on monetary, political and security/defence matters

reached a conclusion. MacSharry said there was going to be less and less concern among EC member states about keeping unanimity on foreign policy. Irish neutrality tended to be 'an emotional issue'. He could see its abandonment in the shorter term due to the speed of developments over European union. Ruairí Quinn, deputy leader of the Irish Labour Party, said that until the Irish people decided to abandon neutrality, it remained a cornerstone of Irish foreign policy.

Kernow

"...The language features quite prominently..."

Like Mann, Cornwall has no native speakers of its language. However, great efforts have been made to revive Cornish, with some success. The language features quite prominently, if one skims through the press cuttings from Cornwall over the past few years, looking for material with an EC connection. For instance, it was reported in 1989 that the EC Bureau for Lesser used Languages had produced a map of Europe showing the areas where these languages were spoken. Not only was Cornwall shown as a Celtic country, but also as the only country in the Community where there was a revived language. More recently, it was reported that Cornwall County Council was taking steps to establish closer trade links with Finistère. Again, there were reports this year that Celtic regions, led by Cornwall, had banded together to boost tourism along the 'Atlantic Arc'.

In general, newspaper reports from Cornwall give the impression at least that there is more interest there in the possible regionalisation of Europe than in other parts of the UK. There seems to be non-negligible optimism in Cornwall that some benefit will come to Cornwall from the cultural organs of the EC as well as from the structural funds.

Mannin

Mann has many similarities with the other Celtic countries: a threatened identity and culture, decline in traditional occupations. But there are also quite a few differences: Mann has its own



government (in reality a colonial administration under London), a rising population (?levelling out now) and relatively low unemployment. It is worth repeating that Mann is not (and never has been) part of the UK; Mann is not in the EC, but, as mentioned earlier, is linked to the EC via Protocol 3 of the 1973 UK Treaty of Accession.

To most people in the UK Mann is still a 'holiday island'. They will be surprised to hear that the Manx Government has for a long time received more revenue from manufacturing industry than from tourism. One third of all government revenue now comes from the all-important finance sector (if you are Manx, you get tired and irritated over your homeland being called a 'tax haven' all the time). The success (as seen by the Manx Government) of the finance sector has led to a big percentage increase in the population (1991 Official Census records: 34,608 Manx born; 26,541 (England), 2291 (Scotland), 795 (Wales), 1611 (Northern Ireland), 1667 (Republic of Ireland), 2275 (EC & elsewhere); total 69,788), making it certain, as the figures show, that the traditional Manx are now a minority in their own country, though many in addition will have been born outside the Island.

In response to a critical letter from Mec Vannin (the Manx National Party) about growth, immigration and the finance sector, some interesting points were made by the then Treasury Minister David Cannan. Although this correspondence took place two years ago, there is no reason to believe that government views have changed much since.

Mr Cannan stated that it was Treasury policy (among other things) to ensure sustained growth in the Manx economy in order to maintain full employment, to fulfil the Manx people's expectations of a higher standard of living and a higher wage economy, to maintain the initiative and remain competitive while keeping a balance between the finance and manufacturing industries.

“...let us clear away the myth of sustainable independence...”

It was particularly interesting that in a speech in Tynwald in 1989 Mr Cannan said that “this Island is not immune from the outside world, and indeed I will go so far as to suggest we have only marginal independence. In the real world of 1990 leading on to the year 2000 let us clear away the myth of sustainable

independence - the people of the Isle of Man must realise we are a regional economy of the United Kingdom - we have no Central Bank, no control over money supply, interest rates or inflation, these are matters determined by the Bank of England, in brief, our fortune or misfortune is directly influenced by the state of the British economy. Beyond 1992 - just two years away - it may be that agreement is reached for a European

“...whereby we have all the privileges including fiscal independence...without the commitment of full membership...”

Central Bank and a European currency, and this will mean that the United Kingdom will become a regional economy of the European Community with money supply, interest rates and inflation determined in Brussels. In turn this will mean the Isle of Man becoming a sub-regional economy of Europe. Let us therefore fully appreciate the advantages and opportunities we have by the safeguard of Protocol 3 of the United Kingdom Treaty of Accession to the Treaty of Rome whereby we have all the privileges including fiscal independence of the Special Relationship to the European Community without the commitment of full membership”.

It looks as though the Manx Government will sit tight in the hope that its relationship with Brussels will not be changed. Not so long ago there was much public agonising about the pressing need for Mann to make a clear-cut decision about the EC: would Mann go in (which it cannot do unless fully integrated with another member) or would she stay half out? For reasons

“...the Manx are in severe danger of being marginalised in their own country...”

which are not apparent this debate evaporated and it's business as before. Recently the Chief Minister Miles Walker welcomed the creation of the European Economic Area linking the EC and EFTA.

Although the Manx have an economy which might be envied by other Celts, the Manx are in severe danger of being marginalised in their own country. The economy is now too dependent on the finance sector. House prices have been forced up to such an extent that many

Manx people find great difficulty in buying houses. Rents are high, resulting in the development of homelessness in Mann. Some would see this as an inevitable result of economic 'success'.

Concerning cultural affairs there are some encouraging developments. The Manx Heritage Foundation is providing the initial funding for the appointment of a Manx Language Officer along with two peripatetic teachers of Manx, specially seconded for the task, to develop the teaching of Manx in schools on a voluntary basis. In general, it would be helpful to associate efforts to develop Manx with EC bodies.

CONCLUSION

It is, of course, not possible to draw any firm conclusions about the precise nature of the effects of the single market and associated moves towards European union on the Celts. What can be said is that it is hard to see how the creation of a huge free trade area can benefit the Celtic countries. Conceivably it can lead to disaster. It seems that in most Celtic countries ordinary people will be given little choice in the matter, so what we have to do is to strive for all the forms of democracy we can get while doing our best to benefit from the cultural, and other, agencies of the EC.

A Europe driven by a different dynamic than that of the EC is needed. A truly European Community with enlarged participation, democratic instead of bureaucratic forms and with the suppressed small nations of Western Europe as well as those of the East being given new voice is required.

The Celtic League has since its inception held that there should be closer cooperation between the Celts. There is an even greater imperative for this now. Common ground forged on the language and cultural fronts should be built upon and extended into the political realm. Opportunities should be taken in changed circumstances to build alliances and to ensure that the English and French policies of neutralising and assimilating their Celtic neighbours are not replaced by a Pan European economic centralism which would surely wreak as much havoc.

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Illustrations – P.C. Huisman

**POBLACHT NA H EIREANN
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF THE
IRISH REPUBLIC
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.**

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

1916

The Ripples in the Celtic tide

Introduction

The year 1991 marks the 75th anniversary of the Easter Rising of 1916. This event led in the fullness of time to complete independence from England of what is today the Republic of Ireland. The Rising and its aftermath made clear to other Celtic countries what was possible, and to a greater or lesser extent gave hope and aspiration to movements in Scotland, Brittany, Wales, and the Isle of Man in their struggle for greater political independence from the former imperial powers of England and France. In the series of articles that follow we hope to show the extent the events of 1916 in Ireland played in shaping nationalist aspirations in four other Celtic countries.

They are published in response to a request from Fondúireacht an Phiarsaigh (The Pearse Foundation) to its member organisations to assist in commemorating the 75th anniversary of the Rising. In publishing these we take this opportunity to remind ourselves of the ideals of the leaders of 1916, as all too frequently the acquisition of an independent administration is accompanied in the process of time with the shedding of some of the original ideals. In recent years successive governments in Ireland, for example, in concentrating on economic aspects of their task have overlooked, or have allowed their attention to be diverted from the cultural component, which includes the Irish language, of their brief. Failure to attend properly to matters such as adequate provision for Irish can only be regarded as gross neglect in an important sphere of the national life. Administrations in Ireland need to be reminded that, were it not for 1916 and thereafter, they would still be operating in a colonial capacity, with all its attendant indignities.

SyC.



There were of course Irish revolutionary and support groups among the Irish diaspora in Scotland and the ferries from the west brought many a missive and many a smuggled-back leader. Liam Mellows, for example, the key figure in the plans for the West of Ireland in 1916 was "sprung" on the eve of the rising by his brother Barney and Nora Connolly - James's eldest daughter - rigged out in clerical garb and brought over on the Glasgow ferry to Belfast whence he made his way via Dublin to the West in time to take charge.

There was, as there had been, a network which could be used and relied upon. But that was mostly among the Irish themselves.

Scots also looked to Ireland, and Ireland west and an obvious link and influence was Edinburgh born James Connolly - honoured a few years back in the city's museum with a fine exhibition

(an edition of which on panels is available for borrowing from Huntly House) which survived threats by the Rangers' supporters (at least the neo-Fascist element among them). The same crowd defaced a photograph of him in "the People's Story" in Cowgate - but that damage has been repaired. Ireland and Scotland remain an unresolved symbiosis.

John Maclean is the obvious link and parallel as Sydney Goodsir Smith in his "Ballant o John Maclean" says:

Muir and Wallace his prison mates
Lenin and Connolly
None ither ever was his maik -
But ithers there will be.

And it was perhaps the fact that Maclean was in jail when the Rising took place that the reaction to it, and to the execution of Connolly in particular was not all the sharper. In time the echoes would come on the left, with Erskine and with the burgeoning nationalist groupings and they would look in hope to their own Irish residents, as in Hamish Henderson's song "The John Maclean March":

Hullo, Pat Malone, sure I knew ye'd be here so:

The red and the green, lad, we'll wear side by side

(The rôle of the Irish migrants and their descendants in the independent Alba of the future is a topic seldom addressed but one which was treated of by H.J. Paton in *The Claim of Scotland* in 1968.)

James Larkin had organised the Glasgow ports for the National Union of Dock Labourers and Maclean in turn was with him in Belfast writing about his experience in *Justice* "if soldiers were

needed in Belfast then their services should have been given gratis to the workers who were being starved into surrender or incited to revolt by the employment of constables and blacklegs. When Larkin, Grayson and myself were walking along Royal Avenue on the Tuesday preceding the murder (soldiers had killed strikers) Larkin pointed out to us two lorries with three or four policemen in each (Maclean did not advert to the difference between 'police' and 'constabulary')."

Connolly had of course been an activist in Edinburgh and Loith especially writing sometimes as "Rascal" in the **Labour Chronicle** and trying by times to live as a cobbler as one advertisement of 1895 shows "Socialists support one another, Connolly, 73, Buccleuch St. repairs the worn out understandings of the brethren at standard rates. Ladies boots 1/6, gents 2/6".

But socialists did not support one another or make common cause when the Great War broke out in 1914 and the much hoped for demarche of the international community of labour making such a war impossible proved but a chimera; in Scotland Maclean stood out against war with Bell, MacManus and Gallacher - Connolly writing in **Forward** for them "until the censorships rendered this impossible", as Desmond Greaves put it in his **Life and Times of James Connolly**.

Censorship in Ireland saw Irish revolutionary journals closed down in December 1914 after which **The Irish Worker** was printed for a time on the SLP press in Glasgow until the police 'twigged' to the source and took the entire print run off the steamer on 20 February 1915.

Connolly was obviously a 'hero' for Maclean. In 1918 one man recalls him at a meeting, saying "his impassioned accounts of poor Jim Connolly impressed the crowd... His account of Connolly, Sandy Ross and 'my friend McDougall' made all of us even more ardent socialists". Because of his line on socialism Maclean refused Erskine of Marr's invitation to sign a petition organised by the Scottish HRA asking that Scotland be granted representation at the Peace Conference at the war's end.

Countess Markievicz addressed the May Day rally in Glasgow in 1919 and Maclean went to Dublin at Delia Larkin's request in July "to establish an entente between the Celts of Scotland and the Celts of Ireland, and to further my efforts to prevent Scottish boys being used by England to murder Irish boys. In 1920 he published his forceful pamphlet **The Irish Tragedy: Scotland's Disgrace** finishing up with an appeal for the withdrawal of British troops and the establishment of an Irish republic" (John Broom, **John Maclean**, p. 130). This was a recurring theme of his - an M.P. tried to have him charged with referring to Scots as "bloody tools of the

English against our brother Celts of Erin" in one leaflet in 1921.

A few months before he died in 1923 he visited Dublin again and wrote to his daughters about it: "when we landed on the River Liffey at the North Wall we made tracks for the headquarters of the Irish Transport Workers' Union called Liberty Hall, a hall that was blown down by cannon shot at Easter 1916 when a friend of mine, James Connolly, started a revolution to keep Ireland out of the war... After the war Irishmen, calling themselves Sinn Féiners, made an effort to start a Republic in Ireland, independent of John Bull". In his Gorbals election address that year he returned to his perennial themes:

"Had the Labour men stayed in Glasgow and started a Scottish Parliament as did the genuine Irish in Dublin in 1918, England would have sat up and made concessions to Scotland just to keep her ramshackle Empire intact to bluff other countries... Ireland will only get her Republic when Scotland gets hers."

Speed the day!

Pádraig Ó Snodaigh

Breizh

The 1916 Rising had a profound influence on the Breton national movement in the inter-war years. It was only in 1911 that the first Breton national party was launched and it had no time to get off the ground before the first World War dispersed its members. Historians such as La Borderie had however established a solid basis for Brittany's claim to nationhood. Many in the country were keen on developing links with the other Celtic countries and watched what was happening in Ireland. The writer Taldir-Jaffrennou came together with F. Vallee and L. ar Berr to Ireland in the summer of 1901 and met with people from other Celtic countries in the house of Lord Castletown of Ossory in Dún ar Aill (Co. Cork). The latter had founded a Celtic Association and a monthly periodical **CELTIA** which sought to secure Home Rule for the 6 Celtic countries. His nearest Irish associates were Edmund Fournier d'Albe and Count Joseph Plunkett who was later to be one of the signatories of the 1916 Proclamation. Celtia lasted a few years but was dogged by disunity. Taldir says that more radical Irish nationalists accused it of being controlled by the gentry and devoid of popular support. Probably the other Celts were not prepared either to give up their allegiance to the U.K. or France, yet Taldir and his friends were being accused of "treachery" for associating with people considered by the ignorant as being just "des Angliches"

like the rest. Relations between France and England were anything but cordial in the first years of this century. The only immediate reaction in Brittany to 1916, as far as I am aware, was that of François Debauvais, then aged only 15, who on hearing of that blow for freedom in a sister Celtic country was fired with enthusiasm and wrote on the walls of Rennes: "Vive l'Irlande!". Fransez Vallée, the pioneer of the Breton linguistic revival and editor of "Kroaz ar Vretoned", was certainly sympathetic to the Irish rebels, one would however need also to check whether he felt able to express his feelings in that non-political periodical at a time when the great war was at its bloodiest and the rising must have been seen by the French as a stab in the back of their ally: any expression of support for it might border on treason...

The struggle for Irish independence inspired the Breton nationalists who gathered around their periodical "Breiz Atao" and joined the B.A.P. (Breton Autonomist Party) in the twenties. The editor of Breiz Atao, O. Mordrel, and Roparz Hemon who had just launched the pioneering literary magazine **GWALARN**, visited De Valera during the Celtic Congress in Dublin in 1925. An Irish delegation attended the first congress of the B.A.P. in Rospenden in 1927. It was under the auspices of Breiz Atao that Louis-Napoleon Le Roux's voluminous and well researched biography of Patrick Pearse as well as Ernst Joynt's vibrant *Histoire de l'Irlande* were published in the early thirties. As the clandestine organisation **GWENN HA DU** (named after the Breton colours) launched a series of bomb attacks, one of its members, the writer Fant Meavenn was sent to Ireland ostensibly to teach French in Tipperary but in the hope that she might be able to establish contact with the I.R.A. The latter had suspended its activities at that time (around 1933) and the only result of that stay, from a Breton point of view, was Meavenn's short story "Ar Follez Yaouank" (The Young Mad Woman) which was later used as the basis of a film.

As events in Europe hotted up, the Breton national movement developed a more radical tendency and preparations were made for the kind of armed struggle that had been carried out by the Sinn Féiners in 1919-21 (but also 150 years earlier by the Breton Chouans in revolt against the French centralist revolutionaries). On the 20th anniversary of the Easter Rising, a special issue of Breiz Atao was devoted to the Irish struggle (it greatly impressed this writer). N. Henaff, who escaped detection as the leading **GWENN HA DU** man, organised from 1936 onwards clandestine gatherings (Kadervennoù) for the purpose of training young people for operations in the event of war being declared. Dan Breen's "My Fight for Irish Freedom" was translated into

French and published with a foreword in Breton, so as to acquaint those willing to take part in a military campaign with a struggle from which many lessons could be drawn. Henaff and others made a trip to Ireland in 1938 but also failed in the two or three days of their visit to contact the I.R.A. Mordrel in his periodical "Stur" published his "Poèmes Gallos" of which I remember a moving one referring to Roger Casement, "le grand félon", and the fate which awaited him after landing on Banna Strand on the eve of the Easter Rising. More than anyone else it was Casement and his action to secure a shipment of arms from Germany which inspired the two Breton leaders, Debauvais and Henaff, in seeking external support to loosen the French stranglehold on Brittany. (It should however be noted that we had precedents in our own history, in 1488, 1675 and 1719). Henaff was able to obtain also from Germany a shipload of 2.5 tons* of arms and explosives which were brought safely to land on the eve of the war in 1939. The outbreak of war occurred however before preparations for a Breton rebellion could be completed. Events afterwards took a quite different course from what had been expected by those who were then prepared to fight to rid Brittany of the French presence. The situation particularly in regard to the attitude of the Breton population in general was anyway quite different from that of the Irish, even in 1916. Those who engaged in an armed struggle for a Breton Brittany towards the end of the war went ahead in spite of the absence of popular support for their action, for which they have been criticised. There is no question however that the Irish example in 1916 and the willingness to sacrifice their lives to win self-government played a very important part in their decision to fight those whose aim was to reestablish French power in Brittany.

*According to O. Mordrel's book "Breiz Atao" (1973)

A. Heusaff

Cymru

Although there was no direct ideological or organisational link between the 1916 insurrection in Ireland and the Welsh nationalist movement, it would be accurate to say that the fact there was an insurrection, occurring at the time it did, in 1916, resulting in an independent Irish State, had an inspirational influence on Welsh Nationalist politics and, indeed continues to do so.

Those who condemn the leaders of the 1916 rising on the grounds that it caused bloodshed, overlook the massive bloodshed going on in Continental Europe, that of

World War 1. 1916, we must remember, was the year of the battle of the Somme. James Connolly had seen the outbreak of the war as an opportunity to strike a blow for Irish independence, an opportunity where "Ireland may yet set the torch to a European conflagration..." in which "...the working class of Europe, rather than slaughter each other for the benefit of kings and financiers," would unite in an international anti-war movement. For Connolly, therefore, the act of participation in 1916, was the culmination of the anti-war campaign.

Due to the efforts of Connolly, the labour movement in Ireland was almost unanimous in its total opposition to the war and demanded the retention of foodstuffs in Ireland. In this Ireland was unique in Western Europe. Elsewhere and particularly in Britain it succumbed to the jingoistic recruiting campaign. There was, however, an anti-war minority among the radical left. In Wales, there was no link between this radical left and the Welsh nationalist movement, which was undergoing a low period. However, the Welsh communist, Arthur Horner, crossed the Irish sea to fight for Connolly's Irish Citizen Army, and was imprisoned on his return home. But Horner, although he empathised with Connolly's syndicalism and his anti-imperialism, did not make the analogy between Wales and Ireland to the extent of embracing a Welsh separatist movement. On the contrary, although he continued in a distinguished career as a trade union leader, he campaigned in the depressed years of the late 1920's for the abolition of the Welsh Miners' Federation in favour of one central British union. Later, at the end of WW2, he opposed the communist Party Congress's call for support for the Welsh language and some form of devolution for Wales and Scotland. Thus it could be said that the one personal direct link with 1916 failed to sow any nationalist seeds on Welsh soil. Its effect was to be felt some ten years later.

Before Plaid Cymru was founded in 1925, there had been an earlier national movement, "Cymru Fydd" in the late nineteenth century. It began as a grouping within the majority party of Wales at the time, the Liberal Party. (David Lloyd George was a member.) Its founders, particularly Tom Ellis, had been impressed by the works of Thomas Davis of Young Ireland and Mazzini of Young Italy. "Cymru Fydd" was the "Young Wales" movement.

Cymru Fydd laid the foundation of the society in which the founders of Plaid Cymru were born and reared. They grew up in self-confident Welsh-speaking homes, in communities where this would be considered the norm among middle-class intellectuals. By the time they were adults, however, they had seen the culture of the

Wales they knew become severely eroded by anglicisation. By the end of World War 1 the numbers of Welsh-speakers had dropped to 40% from 75% in the 1880s and '90s the trend was obviously going to continue.

The result was that six people got together on an afternoon during the National Eisteddfod in Pwllheli in 1925 and founded Plaid Cymru. Two of the six, the Revd. Lewis Valentine and Saunders Lewis had fought in the War and had arrived at a nationalist position as a result of it. For Valentine, in particular, the realisation that the Irish had been able to pull out of this terrible war, by striking for independence during 1916, had had a profound effect. There is no doubt that the fact that a separate Irish government was now in place in spite of all the odds gave Welsh nationalism the boost that it would not otherwise had had.

However the Blaid tended to consist of a very small minority of intellectuals from the Welsh-speaking rural Liberal nonconformist heartland, during the next decades. It failed to interest the industrial south. In fact, the culture gap between that area (where, of course, most Welsh people lived and still live) and the founders of Plaid Cymru was so wide that they might as well have inhabited two different planets. There was an elitist attitude prevalent which was inclined to dismiss them all as "Saeson", despite efforts on the part of some members such as Drs. D.J. and Noelle Davies of the Folk High School movement who felt more should be done to woo them. (Senior members of the Celtic League will remember Dr. Noelle Davies as one of the founders of the CL). Even in the almost totally Welsh-speaking rural heartland of Wales, the heavily academic, literary inclination of the Blaid meant that it continued to make very little impact. By 1932 it was contesting Westminster elections, with no success apart from one



Saunders Lewis

local election gain in Meirionydd in 1934. Then in 1936 something happened which gave a boost to the party's fortunes.

Three of the Blaid's founder members, the scholar and dramatist Saunders Lewis, the Revd. Lewis Valentine and the writer D.J. Williams set fire to a bombing-school which was undergoing construction at Pen-y-Berth in the Llyn Peninsula, then gave themselves up to the authorities. The Tory government at Westminster insisted on transferring the case from a Welsh court to the Old Bailey, on the grounds that a Welsh jury would be biased in their favour. This treatment aroused the anger of many even among those who were hostile to Plaid Cymru. The three, who refused to be tried in English at the Old Bailey, were sentenced to nine months imprisonment in Wormwood Scrubs. Saunders Lewis was dismissed from his post as lecturer in the Welsh department at Swansea University.

Their martyrdom and their brutal treatment at the hand of the British authorities stimulated a new generation to join Plain Cymru. Membership rose from a few hundred to two thousand. Among the new members was Gwynfor Evans. He was responsible for drafting a resolution, which was passed at the party's annual congress in 1938, committing it to non-violent nationalism. The influence of his generation regenerated the Blaid once more.

Gwynfor Evans was its President for thirty years and sat twice in Westminster as Plaid Cymru MP. He was also the first President of the Celtic League. His threat to go on hunger-strike till death in the late seventies was what finally brought about the Welsh S4C TV Channel after a long hard campaign on the part of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, in a campaign modelled on the tactics of Pen-y-Berth - acts of minor sabotage of civil disobedience, followed by surrender to the appropriate authorities.

In the same way as the cultural climate of the 1890s nurtured the generation which founded Plaid Cymru, so this climate of the thirties and early forties gave birth to the generation which founded Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg in 1962, opening up another epoch in Welsh Nationalism. This new active generation, the Dafydd Iwan generation, is the generation responsible for Meithrin, the Welsh-language schools, S4C, and official status for Welsh.

1916 therefore did not affect the Welsh government in a direct organisational way. Nor, did it have any great ideological influence. There was no Welsh James Connolly to give Welsh nationalism a base in the organised Labour movement. Connolly's torch did not bring about the European conflagration he had hoped it would among small nations.

However, a spark from its flame inspired to the World War I generation in

Wales which founded Plaid Cymru. Their generation were responsible for Pen-y-Berth. Pen-y-Berth not only inspired the thirties generation, it went on to influence their children in the sixties and seventies. Had there been no 1916, therefore, the course of history would have been very different not only for Ireland but for Wales as well.

(This is an extract from a longer article by the author on the development of the Welsh nationalist movement during the past hundred years. A further article on this subject will appear in a future edition of CARN).

Janice Williams

Mannin

Moves to promote greater awareness of Manx traditions and culture to reinforce national identity and to act as a bulwark against what was then seen as the slow encroachment of anglicisation were already underway in Man before 1916. In 1913 Sophia Morrison (1859/60-1917) and Mona Douglas (1898-1987), stalwarts of the Manx Language Society (founded 1899), set up the youth movement *Ny Manninee Aegey* 'the young Manx' along the lines of *Fianna Éireann* established in Ireland in 1909; the former founded in 1919 after Sophia Morrison's death (Feb. 1917) and Mona's departure for a while from the Manx scene.

The political message of 1916 and thereafter, namely that it was possible for a Celtic country to break away from England's grip, inspired no mass movement for something similar in Man, but nevertheless evidently awakened a small number within the cultural movement to the notion that something in that direction could and should be undertaken by whatever means. One of those so awakened was Mona Douglas who in 1916 published a poem in three stanzas entitled *The Manx Call to Arms - and the Answer*. It is carefully worded, yet the message is clear:

*Honour calls! and can we falter?
We, the sons of Gorry's band
Who, in many an ancient battle
Firmly took their stand
Where the war-rose reddest bloomed
Where the sword-cloud thickest loomed;
Glory-winning, or death-doomed!*

*Ellan Vannin calls! Though England
Rule us, we are yet half-free
Holding scathless through the ages
Laws and liberty
Gorry's Tynwald! Still it stands -
Guarded now by alien hands
Yet held steadfast 'mid the lands*

*Freedom calls! and we are ready
Each his summons to obey
Mann sends forth her sons with
gladness
To the watch and fray
Ere our freedom can be won
There is fighting to be done -
And wherever rings the wacry we arise
and follow on!*

It is difficult to assess the impact of this poem (produced in a double broad-sheet) on the Manx public at that time, but it was evidently not Mona Douglas's last excursion into the political area. Mona Douglas spent some time in Ireland during the War of Independence under the auspices of one of those prominent in Irish language revival circles and in the Celtic Congress, Úna Ní Fhaircheallaigh. She apparently came across some of the political figures of the period. She herself related a story of those times to her close friend of the post second world war decades, Eibhlín Ní Chathailriabhaigh. While staying in the Shelbourne Hotel one time it was raided by a party of Black and Tans searching for the President of the proclaimed Irish Republic, Éamon de Valera. They failed to find him as was apparently safely hidden away in a wardrobe in Mona's room!

The main focus of cultural activity in Man at that time, particularly in the 1920s/30s, was the Celtic Congress, in the Manx Branch of which Mona Douglas played a central rôle. Although a non-political organization, according to its constitution, it nevertheless served as an umbrella for political activity, functioning in that respect somewhat similarly as the Celtic League does today.

In August 1931, following a Celtic Congress, *Aeglagh Vannin* 'Youth of Man' was set up, with Mona Douglas as president, Ms. E Maude Quayle as secretary, and G F Clucas CBE, Speaker of the House of Keys, as patron. James Arthur Cain, later Second Deemster (1954/55) and father of the present Attorney-General, was the editor of its journal *Yn Lioar Aeglagh Vannin (sic)* (YLAV), only one issue of which appeared (October 1932). The objects of *Aeglagh Vannin* (as outlined on p. 2 of the journal) were:

1. To promote the study of the Manx Language, and to foster in the youth of the Island a love and knowledge of their Country, and a realisation of their kinship with other Celtic Nations.
2. To encourage the creation of a modern Manx Music, Art, Literature, and Drama.

In her prologue (p.5/6) Mona Douglas saw the aims of *Aeglagh Vannin* as a furtherance of the nationalist idea. Though

she conceived the movement as cultural, politics in theory could find expression within it:

The movement is cultural, not political, because we believe that nationalism is higher than politics, though it may conceivably have to concern itself time and again with political affairs (YLAV 1932: 5).

Ms. Douglas ends her introduction with a call "for volunteers for active service", albeit a service for peace. The whole tenor of this is in tune with the language of that period, but there is a distinct Irish flavour to it; the title itself *Aeglagh Vannin*, in Irish *Oglach Mhanainn*, brings to mind the phrase *Oglaigh na hÉireann* - i.e. the IRA, or perhaps we should interpret *Oglaigh* as in Patrick Pearse's *Dórd Fiann*, where (in a Manx context) the youthful warriors act (in a spirit of peace) in defence of the nation? *Aeglagh Vannin* as a youth organization lasted under Mona's guidance till it petered out ca. 1975.

The next major thrust for Manx nationalism seems to have taken place at the start of the Second World War with the founding, so far as is known, of the first political party/movement in Man with a nationalist hue: *Ny Manninee Dhoovie* 'the true Manx' (apparently another Mona Douglas brainchild, and a forerunner of *Mec Vannin*, founded in 1963). Details regarding the former, its aims and functions, etc. seem somewhat obscure, and so far no hard evidence, such as a manifesto, pamphlet outlining aims, etc. has so far come to light. All that is at present available are recollections from oral sources collected by myself and former Celtic League chairman Peter Berresford Ellis.

In a personal communication Ellis informed me that he had been in communication re *Ny Manninee Dhoovie* with the then *Mec Vannin* secretary Shiela Cregeen. She intimated to him that "the first truly political movement was *Ny Manninee Dhoovie* during World War II. Short lived, but enthusiastic: foundered on a lawsuit - police case? No details". (I have so far found no evidence of any such). The intention seems to have been to win seats in the House of Keys, with one of its policies being to ensure status for Manx and introduce a bilingual education policy.

It seems probable that *Ny Manninee Dhoovie*, regarded according to founder member Leslie Quirk as anti English and pro-German, was inspired by Éamon de Valera's neutral stance for Ireland (followed by that of *Plaid Cymru* for Wales) during the Second World War. Given the ample evidence of pro-British hype in the Manx press during the war years, it is perhaps easy to see how any utterances of Manx neutrality could have



Mona Douglas — (Photo courtesy of Eibhlín Ní Chathailriabhaigh)

been interpreted by the authorities in Man as pro-German. In any event this appears to have been Mona Douglas's final venture into the political arena.

But this was not the final expression of nationalist sentiment before the end of the war. This time it manifested itself in the form of demands for greater (internal) political control for Tynwald (i.e. constitutional reform). At a sitting of the House of Keys on 4 January 1944 a draft petition of 16.11.1943 to the British Home Secretary concerned with reforms in the Manx Constitution was discussed. The petition was evidently occasioned by the appointment of a Government Secretary (non-Manx) to the Isle of Man Government by Whitehall over the heads of Tynwald. Leading the debate the then Speaker of the House of Keys J D Qualtrough, a nationalist and Manx speaker, made a vitriolic attack on the British government:

[...] Nobody living in the Isle of Man could fail to be impressed by the exposure of the limited powers of the House of Keys and of Tynwald which has taken place even in very recent weeks, in the appointment, without any consultation with us, of the principal officer who administers and is in charge of practically the whole Government of the Island - under the Governor [...]. Without intending to use any strong or violent language, it is obvious that the House has been ignored [...]. We have an object lesson of the fact that that we are controlled from outside the Island. The Lieutenant-Governor is sent here; he is not appointed by us, he is not responsible to us (then follows a list of posts the Lt.G. holds). In these high posts in the Government of the Island, I think it is obvious today that "no Manxman need apply" - not because they are not capable of doing the work [...], but because they are Manx, and in the opinion of those who make the appointment, a Manxman is not a suitable person to be responsible for the Government of the Island. We are, in other words, treated as a conquered

country [...]. I personally am unable to see such a tremendous lot of difference between the theory of government as applied to the Isle of Man and the theory of government as applied by Germany to the conquered countries - Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France. In these countries the men who have the supreme power are appointed by Germany. I understand that in some of them at least, Germany has not interfered with their parliamentary institutions. Their parliaments are allowed to meet; they are allowed to talk, allowed to pass resolutions; they may go on, so long as they do not clash with the opinion and policy of the conquering country. That, roughly, is the Constitution of the Isle of Man [...] (HOUSE OF KEYS HANSARD 04.01.1944: 141-42).

Tynwald eventually won the reforms it sought. Given that the Island still found itself in a war situation along with the UK (though the immediate prospect of invasion of the latter had by 1944 passed), the fact that an attack of that sort could be made (basically accusing the British of behaving like Nazis) reveals the depth of feeling at that time to be found in the Island against England, even from someone of moderate temperament and of standing in the community - in spite of all the pro-British razzamattazz in the media. Such feelings exist yet.

Though expressions of nationalist sentiment occur in Manx politics from time to time, even today, with the example of Illiam Dhone (William Christian 1608-1662/3, nationalist and martyr), again and again brought to the fore as the champion of Manx rights and Manx independence, nevertheless the events of 1916 in Ireland did not go unnoticed in Man. There was evidently among many Manxmen of nationalist persuasion at that time a secret admiration for the Irish achievement, namely the throwing off of the English yoke - and at a time when the British Empire was at its zenith.

Ireland made clear what was possible. Other Celtic countries have endeavoured since to strive for greater, if not total, independence from their domineering power (whether England or France), using methods suited to their own particular situation. In Man, whether overtly or indirectly, endeavours in that direction this century, as I have tried to show, owe their origins and inspiration directly to the Irish experience of 1916. We have not yet succeeded, but the changing political situation in Europe, the EC, may and, in my view, can bring about in Man, if the will is there, the desired goal. If and when it is achieved, we will need to thank Ireland for her lead and inspiration.

Shorys y Creayrie

Lesser Used Languages - Assimilating Newcomers

In line with the decision taken by the General Council of the Celtic League I represented the League at the above conference held in Carmarthen on 10th, 11th and 12 September 1991. In fact the proceedings were far more wide-ranging than just dealing with the assimilation of newcomers (which can be coped with if there aren't too many of them and if the indigenous languages are strong enough).

The conference literature was in four languages, Welsh, French, Spanish and English; the working languages of the proceedings were Welsh, Spanish and English with instant translation facilities provided.

There were about 120 or so people attending, representing a wide range of organizations concerned with the promotion of minority languages in Europe.

There was a considerable variation in the strength of input from the Celtic nations. There was no doubt about Wales; although under the auspices of the E.E.C. it was Welsh people who ran the conference under the extremely competent guidance of Llinos Dafis, Trefnydd Cydweithgor Dwyieithrwydd yn Nyfed who was in charge. It was gratifying to see prominent members of the Welsh Branch of the League there, like Eleri Carrog representing Cefn, Dafydd Orwig for the Gwynedd County Council, Gwynfor Evans for Pont and Siôn Meredith for Cyd. The Dyfed County Council was well represented too, and important organizations like Plaid Cymru and Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg.

Kenneth MacKinnon was one of the chief guest speakers. He put the Scottish case very clearly and competently, revealing both the strengths and weaknesses of his national language, Gàidhlig, though it has been pressed to the very western fringes of Scotland, is pretty strong where it is and is set for expansion again with the increasing provision being made for it in the fields of education and television, both of them so important to the well-being of any language these days.

While the preparations for a greatly improved television service in the Scottish language are well under way such measures are only promised for its sister Gaelic language in Ireland while for the third Gaelic language, Manx, no television service is provided or promised.

I met four of the Irish delegation. Two of them couldn't speak Irish but they said

they were taking good care that their children could. That shows promise but it is also a reflection of the patchy nature of the Irish schools' system which is excellent in parts. The all-Irish schools are second to none but why are there so few of them in a country the greater part of which has been self-governing for about seventy years? One whose career is dedicated to putting that matter right is Deirbhile Nic Craith, organizer of Gaelscoileanna who was representing that movement at the conference. The other Gaeilgeoir I met there was Mícheál Ó hUigín, T.D. They were both much in evidence as able and enthusiastic ambassadors for their national language. **Meeting such people convinces one that the future of the Irish language is assured in spite of the leaden apathy of the two biggest political parties towards Irish and the more blatant unionism of the Progressive Democrats.**

There are serious difficulties, though, in that country. We Welsh would dearly like our own language to have the same sort of constitutional and legal status as that enjoyed by Irish. It is a shame that the everyday practice in the Republic of Ireland doesn't match what is provided there by law. The mean and meagre ration of Irish language television is a national disgrace. One can't escape from the marked lack of confidence among Irish speakers that the authorities will carry out their promise to set up an Irish language television in 1991.

Whatever the difficulties in Wales, Scotland and Ireland, they are worse in Brittany which has to suffer the intolerance of the French Republic towards any minority language under its jurisdiction. It was revealed at the conference that the French attitude is only marginally better than that of Greece which has threatened a veto on a map to be produced by the European Commission showing the territories of all the minority language within the E.E.C. unless Greece is shown blank to lead people to believe that there are no languages there apart from Greek. However the French Republic is not much better. Not content only with carving Brittany up territorially, its stonewalling of any advance for Breton is one of its chief policies in that country. The brainwashing by the French authorities is intense and persistent. Anything they provide with one hand for Breton they take away with the other. One cannot but praise the courage and persistence of the Breton language

enthusiasts in the face of the cat and mouse game played against them by the French. There were Bretons at the conference too; they never miss any chance they get to put their case wherever their fellow Celts are gathered together on a similar mission.

The constitutional and legal position of even the best favoured of the Celtic languages is as nothing when compared with the status enjoyed by Basque and Catalan in Spain or the languages of the Baltic Republics. All these languages enjoy full official and executive status enshrined in cast iron legislation. There is no place in those countries for the sort of niggardliness displayed by the English or the downright linguistic vandalism of the French. There was a guest speaker from the Basque Provinces in Spain and another from Estonia. They just made the mouths of us Celts water when they described the unassailable positions in which their languages were enthroned. We Celts have an awful long way to go before we can get out of the shadow of shame, the Celtic twilight that we have dwelt in so long.

As well as the main lectures given by the guest speakers and the general discussions attended by all at the conference we divided up into discussion groups to deal with the following subjects in detail:

1. Public Administration.
2. Language and Economic Development.
3. Language and Planning.
4. Marketing and Creating Attitudes.
5. Education and Assimilation.

I chose No. 2 because moneygetting and language are two of the most powerful motivators known to man and when combined as in the case of Mondragon in the Basque country one helps the other not only in the national interest but also towards the economic benefit of all the people and not just a few of them.

I believe that it is valuable for the Celtic League to have a representative at any conference organized or sponsored by the European Commission. I was at Trinity College merely as a representative, one who could ask questions from the floor and lobby important people and contribute to the proceedings of a discussion group. If the League makes a point of attending such E.E.C. conferences it would not be long before we would be asked to provide speakers and might find ourselves in positions of some influence. **Let the voice of the Celts be heard loud and clear in Europe once again, unmuffled by the administrative flannel of state governments.**

Merfyn Phillips

Breton Education

The DIWAN schools reopened in the autumn with 832 children in attendance: 468 at pre-primary, 300 at primary and 64 at secondary level. New schools opened in Baod and St-Nazer. Plans to open others in Gwidel, Pluvinger, Karnag and Sarzhav for a total of 150 children failed due to opposition from the Morbihan Academy Inspector and the director of the private (Catholic) schools in that departement.

DIWAN has now a balanced budget thanks to the support received from the Regional Council (Rennes). The Finistère Council is taking steps to facilitate the training of teachers of Breton.

Obstacles put by the administration to the increase in the number of bilingual classes in State schools had not affected the existing ones which recorded an overall 19% rise in their attendance. In Leon (N. Finistère) three Catholic schools had opened bilingual streams attended in all by 51 pupils.

In all some 1500 children are now getting their education through the medium of Breton (as well as French from a certain level upwards).

For more than 3 weeks 20 persons belonging to the parents association APEEB kept a picket on the rector's office at the Loire-Atlantique Academy in support of their demand for a permanent post of secondary school teacher of Breton (CAPES). They occupied the building but were expelled by a group of 35 policemen.

Thanks to the good work of the Breton teachers KDBP association in the Paris area, 322 secondary schools students passed an optional test in the bacclaurat in 1991, 18 others being also successful in exams with Breton as a living language.

The Union of Breton teachers (UGB) at its annual congress urged all Breton associations to cooperate in order to establish a network of national schools teaching through the medium of our language; also to provide increased facilities for adults to acquire a proper knowledge of Breton so as to offset as much as possible the regression of the language in the community.

To help those who are learning Breton as well as native speakers who are not used to reading it, the periodical EVIT AR BREZHONEG, which interrupted publication after 12 years in 1986, is now back. It will be publishing information and news, also interviews, using only the most common words (at most 3000) with translation in French under each line. Subscription 75F/6 issues a year to E.arB., BP 41, 29870 Lanniliz. Help this useful undertaking!

NEWS FROM WALES

Economic Trends

Gross Domestic product per head of population in Wales was 85% of the United Kingdom average in 1989.

Average gross earnings of full time male employees in Wales was £289 in 1990, 87% of the Great Britain figure.

Average gross earnings of Welsh female full time employees in 1990 was £180, 90% of the Great Britain figure.

In 1988 personal disposable income per head was 86% of the Great Britain level.

Average household expenditure in 1988-89 was 91% of the United Kingdom average. Households in Wales on average spend more on tobacco, fuel, light and power, clothing and footwear, and less on travel, housing and household services.

241 foreign owned firms in Wales employ 41,000 persons in Wales.

In 1989-90 9.5 million tourist trips made to Wales involved an expenditure of over £980 million. Net manufacturing output per employee in 1988 was £29,00 - higher than any other area in the U.K.

Eisteddfod's Homeland

Only 60% of the population in the Mold area where this year's National Eisteddfod was held were born in Wales.

Immigration to the host county, Clwyd, now runs at 13,000 per annum.

At least 2,000 people in the county are actively learning Welsh.

In Dinbych the old library has been converted to and re-opened as a resource centre for teaching Welsh to adults. As all the movements involved in this teaching will be based there it will also help to co-ordinate their activities.

Translators

It is estimated that about 250 people work as Welsh-English and/or English-Welsh translators in Wales. About 90 of them are employed full time, most of them for local and central government and the media.

Clive James

Kan an Douar

(meaning "the song of the earth") is an association created in 1983 by Breton-speakers in Landelo and neighbouring parishes with the aim of furthering the practice of Breton in daily life. They have renovated the old presbytery in Landelo; it can now provide accommodation for people attending Breton courses or also for visitors wishing to spend their holidays in a rural and Breton-speaking environment. There are 25 beds, and facilities for self-catering. Landelo, named after a saint who

is also venerated in Wales, is situated close to the Aon (French: Aulne) river, SW of Karaez/Carhaix. Kan an Douar have published a very interesting book about Landelo, its history, its tradition, its economy, etc. They have also published a cassette of songs Kan-ha-diskan songs (two singers alternating and thereby providing dancers with various rhythms at festoù-noz) as well as a humoristically illustrated collection of such songs in Breton on present-day events, both local and international. For further information write to Yann Puillandre, Kan an Douar, 29161 Landelo, Brittany.



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Éire

Léargas Taibhsiúil ar an Stair

Micheál Mac Aonghusa

Ceann de na hionaid is stairiúla i Manainn is ea Caisleán Rushen in Balley Chashtal. Go dtí an aois seo caite bhí an baile agus an caisleán mar lárionad rialtais Mhanann, fiú da mba rialtas gallda féin é. Is áit í atá ar eolas go maith ag go leor de bhaill an Chonartha Cheiltigh ach b'fhéidir nach eol dóibh gur athraíodh as cuimse í an samhradh seo caite.

San áit nach mbíodh ach ballaí loma go dtí seo tá buantaispeántas taibhsiúil cruthaithe ag Músaem agus Iontaobhas Náisiúnta Mhanann. Léirítear stair an chaisleáin ó bunaíodh é thart faoi 1250 go dtí deireadh na haoise seo caite.

Caitheadh breis agus £600,000 ar an tionscnamh agus seoladh é i mí Iúil seo caite. Baineadh úsáid as an teicneolaíocht is nua-aoisí i gcaomhnú fhoirgintí an chaisleáin agus iad a chur i riocht slán.

Ar theacht isteach dó chuig an caisleán feiceann an cuairteoir grianghraif mhéadaithe de lámhscríbhinní ón Mheánaois atá leagtha amach go healaíonta. Ansin glacann sé siúlóid thart timpeall ar na forbhallaí óna bhfuil radharc maith ar fáil ar an tírdhreach thart timpeall.

Síos leis ansin go dtí an dara hurlár, áit a mbíodh na seomraí cónaithe agus cé fheiceann sé roimhe, ina shuí ag bord, ach Thomas Stanley, Rí deiridh Mhanann! Ghéill muintir Stanley an teideal 'rí' agus thug siad 'tiarnaí' orthu féin mar nach bhféadfadh na Sasanaigh riocht eile a fhulaingt sna críocha a bhí faoina smacht. Níos déanaí fós dhíol an teaghlach an teideal 'Tiarna Mhanann' le Coróin Shasana.

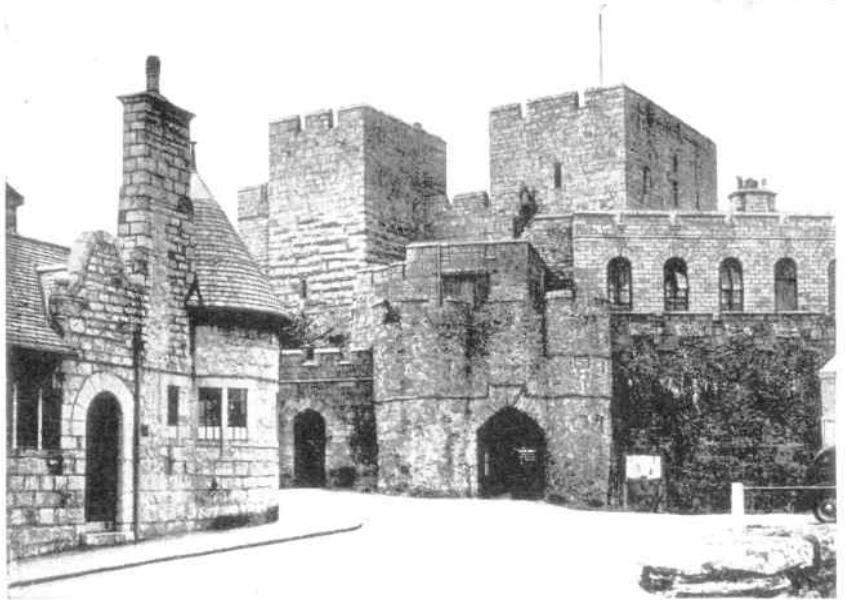
Ach ar ais linn go dtí an caisleán agus an bhliain 1504. Ag suí taobh leis an Rí sa taispeántas tá Ab Mhainistir Rushen agus iad réidh chun féasta de phéacóg rósta. De réir mar a théann an cuairteoir ina dtreo cloiseann sé an tAb, Thomas Farkar ag insint don Rí mar a d'éirigh le suirbhé a rinne sé ar an tír tamall roimh ré.

Tabharfaidh an cuairteoir faoi deara go bhfuil na ballaí thart timpeall air feisithe mar a bheadh i 1504. Tá an maisiú bunaithe ar dhiantaighde faoin gcaisleán agus faoi shaol na linne.

Déantar an cuairteoir a thionlacan ansin trí chistin den 15ú haoise, thar scafláil Mheánaoise a thugann leide dúinn faoin chaoi inar tógadh an caisleán. Tugaimid cuairt ansin ar an Easpag Wilson a chaith tamall i bpríosún sa chaisleán sa bhliain 1722. Cloisimid é ag cur Manainnise ar Soiscéal Mhaitiú.

chaisleán ó 1643 go 1651. Ba é ceann de na cúiseanna a cuireadh ina choinne go raibh sé ag moladh go dtoghfaí an **Kiare As Feed** (an 'Ceathrar is Fiche', Dáil Mhanann) go daonlathach.

Chaith Yn Stanlagh Mooar seo go dona leis na daoine ach ba é an toradh Éirí Amach Illiam Dhone sa bhliain 1651. Is



Castle Rushen, Castletown.

Dealraíonn sé nach bhfuil bunús ceart faoin gcuid seo den taispeántas. Deir an Dr Shorys y Chreayrie nach móide go raibh mórán Manainnise ag an Easpag Wilson, Sasanach. Meastar gurbh é an Dr William Walker (1679-1729), comhphríosúnach leis an Easpag Wilson, a rinne an t-aistriúchán. Is trua nach taispeántar an bheirt acu le Wilson ag tabhairt na véarsaí Béarla agus Walker ag cur Manainnise orthu.

Sa chéad seomra eile feiceann an cuairteoir **Yn Stanlagh Mooar**, James Tanley (1627-51), agus cloiseann sé é ag caint ar '**the troublesome Manx**'. Mar a deir an Dr y Chreayrie is mór an trua nach mínítear cén fáth a raibh na Manannaigh 'trioblóideach'. Ní luaitear, mar shampla, Edward Christian a cuireadh i bpríosún sa

beag ar fad atá sa taispeántas faoin éirí amach sin.

Sa seomra deireanach feiceann an cuairteoir mar a bhí an caisleán ina phríosún san 18ú agus 19ú haois. Ina dhiaidh sin taispeántas scannán a rinne **Manannan Films** ina bhfuil cur síos ar dhaoine a bhain leis an gcaisleán i rith na n-aoiseanna. Tríd is tríd is mór an chreidiúint í an chaoi atá curtha ar an gcaisleán d'fhoireann Mhúsaem agus Iontaobhas Náisiúnta Mhanann. Is léir go bhfuil an-taighde agus machnamh taobh thiar den tionscnamh.

The Manx Museum and National Trust have turned Castle Rushen into an imaginative exhibition centre displaying the history of the Castle since 1250.

Torture at Castlereagh

In a statement issued in October Celtic League General Secretary, B. Moffatt, said: "If Hugh Annesley the R.U.C. Chief Constable were to open a 'joke shop' he would pedal a sick line in humour. Annesley has vigorously defended his officers operational methods at the Castlereagh R.U.C. interrogation centre and in the course of mounting what he no doubt regards as a counter to 'malicious propaganda' has allowed the following statement to be issued.

"All interviews with terrorist suspects are monitored by uniformed officers through closed circuit television. That is the most fundamental safeguard against physical abuse of the suspect during interview."



This statement not only has a naivety one would not expect to be sanctioned by an officer of Annesley's experience it also has a cruelly familiar ring. The most disreputable police forces world wide have concealed their tortures and abuse behind the 'safeguard' of internal or in-house monitoring. Unfortunately from Chile to Uganda this has not silenced the screams of the suffering nor tended the wounds and scars the treatment has made a legacy. The perfection of 'markless' forms of physical abuse and crude sexual intimidation are the first indicators that Castlereagh is well on its way to living up to its reputation."

At the end of November it was revealed that a firm of Belfast solicitors received £134,000 compensation over a two year period from the N.I.O. for 58 clients they successfully represented who claimed ill treatment at the centre. The firm submitted a report to the U.N. Committee against Torture who also received submissions from the Celtic League, Amnesty International and the Committee on the Administration of Justice on Castlereagh. The award of such a number of compensation payments belies the claims of Annesley that such ill treatment is not occurring.

Opposition to EC Economic & Monetary Union

At its annual conference in Dublin on 9th November last AMÁRACH-IRELAND 2000 issued a call for organisation against impending moves within the EC on political, economic and monetary union planned for the Maastricht summit. The main business of the conference was how to oppose the new EC treaties the Irish Government is intent on signing with their profound dangers to Irish democracy, neutrality, independence and the job opportunities and economic future of the Irish people. A referendum to change the Constitution to allow them to come into force is expected in 1992 and the organisation will be taking the lead in urging people to vote 'No' to this sell out and in organising opposition to these proposals which are likely to be promoted by the main political parties.

EC Political, Economic and Monetary Union

"This annual conference warns of the acute dangers to Irish democracy, independence and neutrality, and to the employment prospects and economic future of our people, of the Government's proposal to sign next month two new EC Treaties - on Political Union and on Economic and Monetary Union.

- The proposals in EC circles for a European Army and for various foreign policy matters to be decided by EC majority vote, would make Ireland a pawn of the larger EC States as they seek to intervene collectively in areas like Yugoslavia and the Middle East, and prepare to participate in what M. Jacques Delors has termed the "resource wars" of the coming century. Ending Irish neutrality is in no way "inevitable", as EC Commissioner Ray McSharry arrogantly proclaims.

- As the Governor of the Central Bank, Mr Maurice Doyle, has stated: "Ireland's experience of economic and monetary union with Britain in the 19th century is not a good advertisement for either concept." An EMU means the end

of the Irish pound, loss of national control of currency, credit creation and interest rates, and permanently fixed exchange rates with other EC countries that are much more developed than Ireland, leading to a greater drain of capital and our people abroad. The proposed Economic and Monetary Union in no way commits the richer EC countries to finance the resource transfers to the poorer ones that would compensate them for the flight of their capital, the massive loss of jobs, and the loss of independence in Government spending and revenue-raising that an EMU would mean for us

- Conference warns that the draft EC Political Union Treaty envisages the EC taking over significant law-making competence from the Dáil and Government in relation to culture, social policy, education, energy, tourism, immigration, visa and asylum policy, citizenship, diplomatic protection and other areas, with the effect of eroding further democratic accountability by the Irish government and our ability to protect our interests.

- It warns that the EC Political Union Treaty would be a major step in turning the EC into a centralized Multinational Federation, run in the interests of Big Business and Bureaucratic elites, in which Ireland would be a mere province at the receiving end of decisions taken elsewhere - and this at a time when centralised Multinational Federations around the world are everywhere breaking up in face of people's desire for national democracy.

- Accordingly Conference instructs the incoming Executive Committee to *do all in its power to alert the public to the dangers of these Treaties, to oppose their ratification by referendum of the people, and to this end to contact other interested organizations and individuals with a view to organizing a campaign* of national education and information on how they will adversely affect the interests of Irishmen and women."

The Scottish Sovereignty Movement

says

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Yes to Scottish Democracy!
No to the UK and the EEC!**

Details from:

Scottish Sovereignty Movement,
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Wolfe Tone

"Theobald Wolfe Tone and the Irish Nation" Desmond Greaves. Fulcrum Press, 42 East Essex Street, Dublin 2. 109 pps, £7. \$12.

This book on the life and work of Theobald Wolfe Tone has been published to coincide with the bicentenary of the foundation of the United Irishmen in Belfast, on October 18th 1791. It is the first Irish edition of the work which has not been previously published or distributed in Ireland. The preface to this edition is written by Desmond Greaves' literary executor, Anthony Coughlan. A preface to a previous edition was written by Celtic historian, P. Berresford Ellis. Both stress the subjective biased treatment of Tone by modern day revisionist historians. Coughlan outlines in particular "the full frontal assault on Tone himself" made in Dr. Elliott's biography "Wolfe Tone, Prophet of Irish Independence". He mentions briefly the many antagonistic

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE and the Irish Nation



C. DESMOND GREAVES

allusions to Tone and the apologetic treatment of British Government actions by that author. He calls for the publication

of the complete edition of Tone's own 'Autobiography' which is in Trinity College library, promised decades ago and the non-appearance of which (along with the other works) he says has assumed the dimensions of an academic scandal.

This small book is particularly useful for those in other Celtic countries as it sets Tone's work and time in context by providing a synopsis of Irish history for many centuries previous. Events leading up to the formation of the United Irishmen are outlined. Tone's development as a separatist and his acquiring of an acute grasp of the political realities of his day are described. His views and political arguments were put forward in a number of pamphlets and culminated in his work for the United Irishmen and his attempts to secure French aid for Ireland's struggle for national independence. D. Greaves' booklet gives a very readable summary of Tone's life and efforts for his countrymen and even if a little expensive for its size it's well worth the cost.

C.Ó L.

Irish TV?

Promises, Promises.

Will the survival of C.J. Haughey as Taoiseach make any difference to the fulfilment of his long-ago promise to establish Telefís na Gaeilge by 1992? Probably not - as the extent of such survival is in doubt and why should a Minister for the Gaeltacht who has never visited his Department bother to progress this now?

Unfortunately backtracking seems to be the order of the day. A special RTÉ programme on the future of television in Ireland followed the withdrawal of the franchise for a third TV channel by the Independent Radio and Television Commission from the consortium to which it had been awarded. While most discussions centred on the feasibility of a third channel the issue of a separate TV channel in Irish was debated, the case for such being ably put by those such as Proinsias Mac Aonghusa (President, Conradh na Gaeilge) and Ruán Ó Bric (Chief Executive, Údarás na Gaeilge). However the comments of the Minister for Communications, Séamus Brennan, did not augur well for the fulfilment of Haughey's promise. While claiming that he personally might favour the establishment of an Irish Language TV service (would a politician oppose it?) he went on to qualify the possibilities of such being realistically founded by introducing estimates of £20 - 30m. a year as the running costs. These figures are challenged by An Feachtas Náisiúnta Teilifíse, the national campaigning body for an Irish language TV

who questioned whether such inflated costs were being bandied about as a method of long fingering any action.

Two more Irish speakers were in court in October last. Cáit Uí Chadhain who spent 3 days in prison in 1983 was summonsed for the ninth time but had her case dismissed as the licence inspector did not appear.

Nóirín Ní Chonghaile was the other person charged but the case was dismissed when her counsel established that the inspector had not brought to court the notes of his conversation with herself and her husband. Objections were made that both defendants had been sent summonses in English.

Religious Rights of Irish Speakers

At a seminar held on this topic last October basic demands were put forward.

- that all church services and ceremonies in the Gaeltacht be in Irish
- that they be provided elsewhere in places where a reasonable demand exists for such
- that Irish be used generally in services and ceremonies for particular prayers or hymns for example
- that religious text books be available bilingually
- that Irish medium schools be adequately catered and that other schools introduce bilingual aspects

At the seminar Conradh na Gaeilge President, Proinsias Mac Aonghusa said:

"Undoubtedly, there are certain priests ministering in Gaeltacht parishes who sneer at the people's language and refuse to speak Irish socially. Some such priests celebrate mass in Irish on orders from the Bishops, But it appears Bishops may not be aware of their refusal to use Irish otherwise. And, sadly, there are some Catholic Bishops who make no attempt to

ensure that priests posted to Gaeltacht areas are capable of speaking the language of the people."

"If German and not Irish were the language of these people, one may be confident that Bishops would provide German-speaking priests to minister to them and that all church functions would be conducted in German, and that the Bishops would be as proud as peacocks of their enterprise. But, unfortunately, some Bishops and many priests, hold Irish in low esteem."

"Yet, there are many who follow in the steps of that great Christian Irishman, the late Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich, a life-long member of Conradh na Gaeilge. I salute these men as I salute those Archbishops, Bishops and priests of the church of Ireland who, against strong opposition at times, gave Irish its rightful place in the Church. I particularly salute the Most Rev. Dr Donal Caird, Archbishop of Dublin and a member of Conradh na Gaeilge, for his support of the Irish language at all times."

Irish Important in Marketing

"The Irish language will become a key marketing tool for companies seeking to defend their share of Irish consumer markets in the 1990s" notes a study by Henley Centre Ireland. The report, 'Planning for Social Change' (PSC), is the second study of consumer lifestyles and market forecasts in Ireland by the Henley Centre, and is one of a series of studies taking place across Europe.

"One in three people think that the Irish language will become more important in the years ahead, and many of them are young enough to turn this aspiration into reality" noted Gerard O'Neill, managing director of Henley Centre Ireland in commenting on the report. "However, only three in ten people say that they speak or read Irish very or fairly well, and it is clear that a revival of the Irish language will require the support of Ireland's increasingly middle-aged and affluent population".

The report states: "Over the next three years, the 'Irishness' of products and services will, for many companies in Ireland, be the most important guarantee of their survival in the Irish marketplace. The three year period is our estimate of the length of time it will take for most sectors of the Irish economy to become fully exposed to the competitive pressures of a de-regulated European marketplace. It is also an indicator of just how long Irish companies - particularly those mainly dependent on the domestic market - have to prepare their strategies for increased competition. In the PSC study, we describe why we believe that the use of 'Irish' as a branding strategy can be a successful tool in defending market share, with particular reference to consumer markets.

Insights provided by the PSC study should prove valuable to Irish companies seeking to identify and exploit 'value-added' opportunities in an increasingly competitive food sector in Ireland. The success of the Donegal Catch brand, and the compliment paid it by Bird's Eye's Iasc, are examples of the the increasingly sophisticated usage of 'Irishness' in Irish food and health markets.

It is in this specific context that we believe the potential exists to develop the 'Irishness' of the goods and services in a way which anticipates the 'anxiety' that competitors' strategies will cause as they seek to identify every niche, fragment and segment in the marketplace for their products. That 'Irishness' will emphasise that Irish produced goods and services are functionally as good as the competition's, but more than that, their character and style will re-assure the consumer that this is the right product for them because it is both familiar to them but also different from the rest.

The chart below provides part of an answer to the question of how valuable the use of Irish might be to reinforce a marketing message. It shows the significantly higher level of agreement with the statement that 'Irish products are better' among those who also think that the Irish language will become more important in the future.

About one in three Irish people think that the Irish language will become more important in the future. Interestingly there are few significant differences by age or class, which at least means that there are no demographic or economic factors working against the view that Irish will become

more important in the future. That said, the growing awareness of 'Europe of the Regions', and of the need to protect, and indeed enjoy, what makes us different from one another - as well as what we have in common - could well contribute to a revival in the Irish language. It would be reasonable to suggest that Ireland's more mature, more confident and more affluent population in the 1990s will give the language more of the time and commitment to develop that previous, poorer generations could not afford."

Commercial Stations Neglect Irish

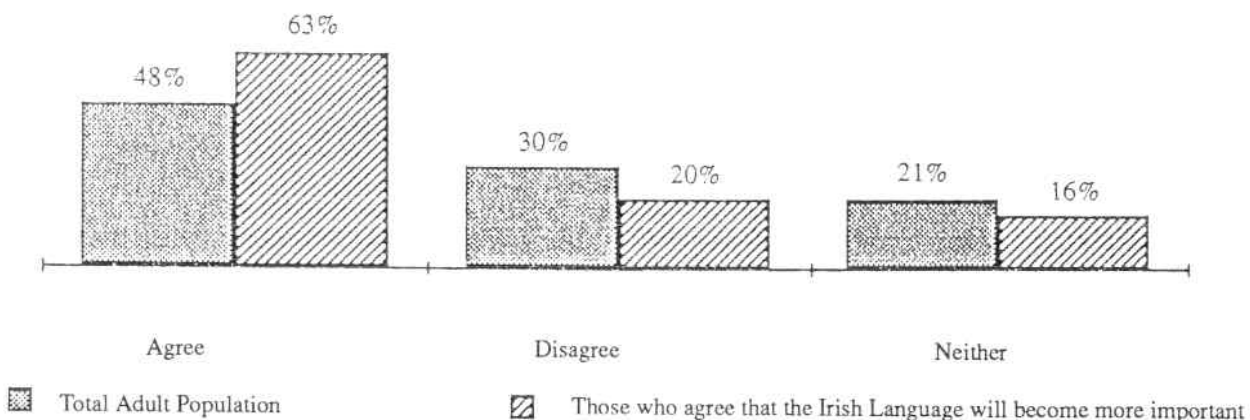
A survey produced on the use of Irish on the new commercial radio stations indicates clearly that most of them have shown a total neglect of Irish language content in their programming.

It provides clear evidence that they have in no way lived up to the promises made when making submissions to the independent Radio and Television Commission (IRTC) for their licences.

An example of promises made would be those of Mr. Aiken, Capitol Radio (now Rock 104) "Irish culture, Mr Aiken said, would permeate our programming policy and there would be more than just token gestures towards the language." Actuality - nothing, but 20 second commercials now introduced.

Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge has made representations to the IRTC for an improvement and if such does not occur has other plans to pursue the issue.

Level of agreement with the statement:
"Products made in Ireland are usually better than those from other countries"



Source: Henley Centre Ireland.

KERNOW

Newodhow Gwydhalek Alban

(Kernewek Unyys)

Ruairidh Muileach & Martin Campbell
translated by Martyn Miller

Scolyow Kensa

Ygerys esa ran Gwydhalek yn Plockton Primary dhe'n 20ves mys Est. Yu an kensa ran yn par ma yr Randyr Lochalsh. Dyscajor a'n ran ma yu Patricia MacKinnon. Pendyscajor a leveryys dhe dhallesh an ran ma gans 5 studhyor hag yma deu moy dhe'n lya rag hevleny.

Yma towlen dalleth ran Gwydhalek yn Lanarkshire, martesen dhe East Kilbride ow talleth yn 1992. Whath yma 17 studhyor ow quatya an ran ma, hag yma scol-gwary lun (pymthek flogh) yn randyr. Malcolm MacInnes a leveryys dhe vos Consel an Randyr Strathclyde ow kovyn rag arghans adhyworth an sothva Alban rag dalleth an ran noweth ma.

Scol Nessa

Y fya Portree High ha Millburn Academy yn Inbhir Nis (Inverness) kensa scolyow nessa yn Randyr Ugheldyr profya dycsans dres Gwydhalek. Dr D.J. MacLeod Cusulyer Gydhalsh Randyr Ugheldyr a leveryys ef dhe vos fest lowen hag yn meth ef "Pan dallethys dycsans dres Gwydhalek o gweles gans nebes avel ecsperians, mes lemmy'n yma nebes flogh ow muvya dh'aga nessa fes dycsans, dycsans, dres gwydhalek ow tysquedha yu omma rag gortos; yu ran an system."

Lingua

Herwyth Mrs Winnie Ewing, ESE Ugheldyr & Enesow, an Consel Europek a wruk dalleth an dowlen 'Lingua' dhe ry gweres anghansek ha dres ober, mes ny yl henna gweres Gwydhalek Alban. Drefen nyns yu Gwydhalek Alban aswonys gans an C.E. Yma Ywerdhonek ha Luksembergekek aswonys yndan towlen 'Lingua'. Yu da gweles an re na aswonys, mes prag na Gwydhalek Alban, yu yeth gwlas Europek.

Comunn na Gaidhlig

Kevarwedhor noweth Comunn na Gaidhlig yu Mr Allan Campbell, Rewler Gorsaf, BBC Radyo Ugheldyr, sewya y whruk John Angus MacKay nep a wruk

gasa an ober ma rag kemer ober avel Kevarwedhor Fundyans Pellwolok Gwydhalek.

An Duk dhe'n Mod

An Duk a Gernow eth dhe'n Mod synsys dhe Dthingwall 14ves mys Hedra. Kevarwedhor an Cumunn Gaidhealach, Donnie MacLean a leveryys dhe'n 'West Highland Free Press' ef dhe dyby yu da gweles tus ryal dos dhe'n Mod, o an vrassa gol Gwydhalek, ha dysquedha aswonvos an yeth Gwydhalek. (Martesen an Duk a wra dos dhe'n Benseythen Kernewek po dhe'n Gorseth ha ry aswonvos yeth Kernewek).

Feis Fleghes

Ynter an 5ves ha'n 9ves mys Est. esa synsys an kensa Feis Fleghes yn Lewis & Harris. Sowynians dres eghen o, rag an 200 spas ogas try hans a wruk mos. Leveryys o gans Marisa MacDonald esel consel ordenna 'Feis Eilean an Fharoich, y fya tybyans da gul Feis rag Harris aga honen hag onen moy rag Lewis. (Feis yu kepar hag Eshedhvos tyller y halsa tus dos rag dysky gwary ylow & canow hengovek).

Kescusullyans Art Ha Lyen Gwydhalek

Synsys dhe Sabhal Mor Ostaig, Colej negys Gwydhalek dhe Sleat, Skye. Avel ran an Kescusullyans ma y a wruk ry gravyans dhe Sorley MacLean. Bardhonegorek dhe verkya y benbloth 80ves ha'y ober da rag an yeth Gwydhalek. Ynwith y a wruk myras orth lyen, gwary & dons hedhyu, ylow & can, an muvians Feis, ha'n Artow lagas.

Yn mysk an kowsoryon dhe'n Kescusullyans o Donald Archie MacDonald a'n Scol Studhyansow Albanek, Donnie Munroe a'n bagas rok 'Runrig' ha Muirghis Mac Chonaghail a R.T.É.

Summary

Various short news reports on Gaelic language and culture.

An Dean-Shoppa Emperent Thurt Kent

(En Conoack Nowedge)

Eleri Carrog, screffar Cefn, a greiaz ve drez an telefone De Leene 21 Hedra.

Cefn ew corf eze sevall rag kerraw an boble vedn ewzia an tavaz Kembrack.

Hye a lavaraz thebm dre vea deskithians urt shoppa treav vean henwez Llanybi igge war an vorr treeth Tregaron ha Llanbedr Pont Steffan (Lampeter). Hye vednaz thurtam tha voaz en Llanybi bedn hanter ower ouga deeg metten De Marhar 23 Meeze Hedra.

Club pleaw an Deeogean Younk reeg orna tha varkia go hanter cans blethan gen gweetha gool musik. An Kembrack ew tavaz an clubna, en Kembrack vea an ool, andella argrafez en Kembrack o an volladnow gwarnia.

Sows ew an dean-shoppa. Ray Sutton ew e hanaw. Eve a theath tha Llanybi thurt Kent whee blethan lebma.

Eve a nahaz tha gurra aman onen an volladnow gwarnia drefen ova argrafez en Kembrack. Hedda o case an deskithians. Thera teeze thurt Cefn ha Cowethas an Tavaz Kembrack enna tha vaintainia an Deeogean Younk ha'n deeze errol era doen seenez broaz grullia warbidn trig an gucker war an tavaz Kembrack.

E ve dro tha try iggans ahanan. Leeaz ahanan eath agoy tha'n shoppa ha lenoll an tellar. Thera gwithias et agon mesk aweeth war aradowe pedn dean an Deeogean Younk an bleaw. Eve reeg e voyna tha resna gen Mr Sutton buz heb sowinians. An gucker a lavaraz na ressa eve naha tha gurra aman vollan theawthavazack. Me a vednaz thurta vengava naha vollan en Sowsnack ednack. Eve a worebaz dre vengava gurra aman vollan Sowsnack ha assentia tha thesquethaz onen deawthavazack buz dre vengava naha onen Kembrack. An grulliers a zorraz urt e orrib emperent.

Ouga moy a resna treeth Gwyn Davies, pedn dean an Deeogean Younk, ha Sutton, Sowses eze gunnez en shoppa a vednaz thurt an gwithias tha gurra nye meaz an tellar.

Me lavaraz tha Sutton pothera thotha kerr tha naha edn vollan warnia thera kerr aweeth than Kembreean tha voidia e shoppa.

Nye eath meaz.

Thera nebbaz Sowsen et agon mesk en shoppa a assentiaz tha gon trig.

Thera enna teeze an television, an radio han paperiaw nawothow.

Rag hedda an Kembreean ore pur tha lebben dro tha zoer Sutton warbidn an tavaz Kembrack. Sempell ew gorrib an Kembreean tha guckers carra an deanna - tha voidia go shoppas.

A veath Sutton pell en Llangybi? Ma dowt tha ve dro tha hedda.

Summary:

This is what happened when an English shopkeeper in Wales refused to put up a Welsh poster in his shop, a demonstration organized by the local Young Farmers' Club with help from Cefn and Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg. His insolent attitude to Welsh has been exposed. The answer is for people not to go to his shop anymore.

Merfyn Phillips

News from Kernow



Walk the World

When Sunday October 13th 1991 dawned bright and clear those of us who were preparing to Walk the World for Schizophrenia felt that whatever Gods that be were on our side!

The aim of the sponsored walk organised jointly by: SANE (Schizophrenia A National Emergency); NSF (National Schizophrenia Fellowship) and YHA (Youth Hostels Association), is to get 5,000 people to walk 5 miles, so that in total the equivalent of the circumference of the world will have been covered.

There were 4 'walks' in Cornwall. One group did the coastal walk from the 'Admiral Nelson Inn' in Falmouth to Maenporth; another (organised by MIND) from Newquay to Trefice House; another

covered the Panorama & Silvermine Trails in Cardinham Woods, and the Local Group of the HYA organised a steam train trip from Bodmin General Station and a walk to Lanhydrock, joining the Cardinham Woods Group.

As a result we hope to raise about £400 which will be equally divided between research into Schizophrenia and practical help in the localities. We would like to express our thanks to all 'walkers' and all those who supported the walk.

If anyone would like to support our effort, please send cheques (made out to SANE) to: B. Green, Tranquilla, Carnmenellis, Redruth, TR16 6NT - we might even reach the £500 mark then.

Cornish Language

sources of information

The list below gives the contact address's for each of the three language organisations.

Cornoack Nowedga

Cornish Language Council/Cossel An Tavas Cornoack.
R. Gendall, Tregrill Vean, Menheniot, Cornwall.

Kernewek Unyes

Agan Tavas
Ray Chubb, Gordon Villa, Sunnyvale Road, Portreath, Redruth, Cornwall, TR16 4NE.

Kernewek Kemmyn

Cornish Language Board/Kesva an Tavas Kernewek.
Wella Brown, Chi an Gell, 9 Frith Road, Essa/Saltash, Cornwall.

Wind Energy

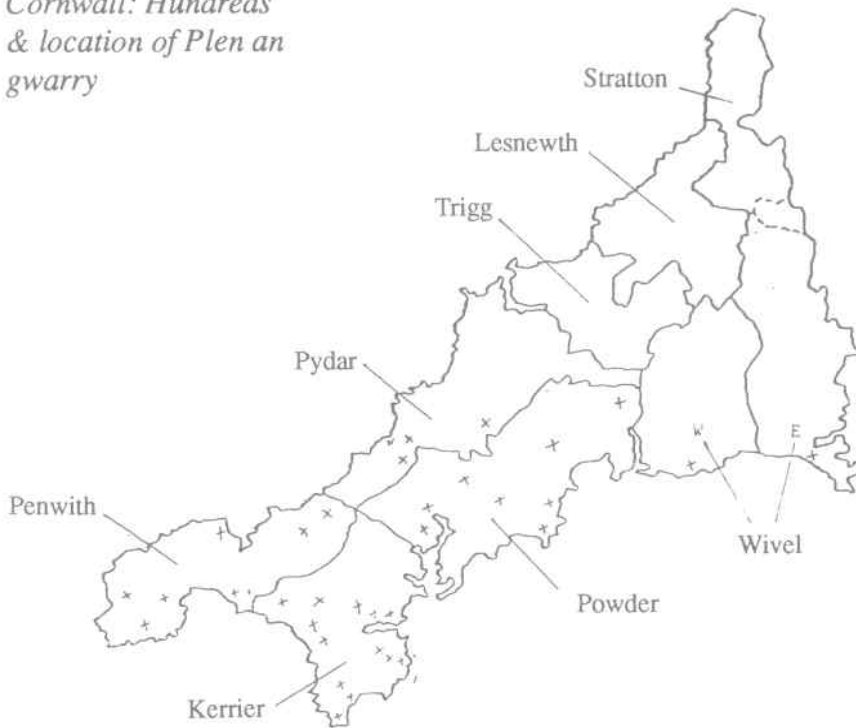
Recent Cornwall Council figures indicate there are about 350 wind farm sites in Cornwall with economic potential. In 1989 the Cornwall Energy Project estimated that with 700 installations, 375 million kWh of power could be generated each year. This equals 16.5% of the electricity used in Cornwall in 1986.

Derelict land-1988

District	Acreage	% of total area
Penwith	1470	2.0
Kerrier	3857	3.3
Carrick	2824	2.5
Restormel	1068	1.0
North Cornwall	1253	0.4
Caradon	1606	1.0

Plen an Gwarry's/Playing Places

Cornwall: Hundreds & location of Plen an gwarry



An important part of Cornish culture in the middle ages was the performance of miracle plays in the Cornish language. Such plays, as their name suggests were based on religious themes with a local flavour. They were a very popular form of entertainment 'country people from all sides, many miles off, (come) to hear and see it, for they have therein devils and devices to delight as well the eye as the ear'. (Carew) Many of these plays were probably lost but some survived, notably **Bewnans Meriasek** (Life of Meriasek - the parish saint of Cambrone and a village in Breizh), **Gwyreans an Bys** (the Creation of the World), and **Pascon agan Arluth** (Passion of our Lord).

The plays were performed in the open air in structures known as 'Plen an gwarry's' or Playing places. These were either built specifically for that purpose or based on existing features. St. Pirans round between Goonhaverne and Perranporth, is an example of the latter. It is thought that the site was originally an Iron age/Romano-British settlement enclosure. As well as plays, it is believed that the sites were also used for sports such as wrestling.

The map shows the distribution of Plen an gwarry's. Of the 35, which includes both the probable and alleged, all but two are in the four western hundreds. This concentration in the west corresponds very closely to the area where the Cornish language predominated at that time. For example: Penwith 8; Kerrier 13; Powder 8; Pydar 4; Wivel 2.

Unfortunately, the tradition of performing miracle plays died and with them the Plen an gwarry's fell into disuse. Today the only clearly discernible enclosures are to be found at St. Just (in Penwith) and St. Pirans round in Perrazabuloe parish.

Place names are the clearest legacy of the activity. In many cases they are the only evidence that a Plen an gwarry existed in a particular area. Sites where Plen an gwarry exists as a place name can be found at Redruth, Ruan Minor, Sithney, St. Hilary, and in English at Playing Place. Elsewhere, there are field names such as 'Plain-gwarry crofts' (Constantine Parish, Kerrier), or 'Higher' and 'Lower Playhouse' at Tregoning (St. Keverne Parish), and 'Play Ground' at Tresowes (Germoe Parish). The basis for locating other Plen an gwarry's rests on the record of writers and historians. Most references of this nature come from Henderson, although Lhuyd mentions a site used as a 'Plain an gwari' at Race just outside Camborne.

It is a tragedy that so little remains today and many Cornish people are unaware of this important part of their heritage.

(Information on sites is derived from records kept by the Cornwall Archaeological Unit at Truro).

Peter Wills

Rebuff to Linguistic Imperialists

An international conference on plurilingualism in Europe organised jointly by the Catalan government and a French association "Le Monde Bilingue" was held in Barcelona last April. The Catalan president, Mr J. Pujol, in his opening address drew attention to the danger of linguistic imperialism in certain quarters.

Indeed, immediately afterwards, Frenchman J.M. Bressand claimed that it was not possible to speak of "l'Europe de la culture" so long as the language problem was not solved. What he meant was made clear when he later said: "The countries which had been colonised are in a favourable position. The people who came here to defend the cause of the minority languages have made a mistake: they should have gone to Wales where a meeting is taken place these days for that purpose". He added that to preserve those languages was like locking oneself up in a room at a time when Europe was becoming wide open.

Whistling and heckling forced him to shut up. The chairman replied that the majority of the 700 linguists present could not agree with him. The same session approved a manifesto on plurilingualism after rejecting some fifty French amendments which sought to give French a more important role in Europe. This Barcelona manifesto would be sent to political representatives in various European assemblies. Regional authorities would be called upon to further the dissemination of the languages and cultures of Europe and to give particular attention to those which are deprived of official status. Commenting on the French attitude, Y.J. in *Le Peuple Breton* points out that it is consistent with the view that a united Europe must be based on the existing States. In fact, he says, little is done in France to facilitate the learning of foreign languages. The only one worth bothering about there is English. Does "Le Monde Bilingue" seek to eliminate all the others? Such pretensions must be strenuously opposed. After learning thoroughly our own languages we Celts should do our bit to reduce the importance of French and English by learning Esperanto.

A. Heusaff

MANNIN

Naightyn Veih Nalbin

Ny keartyrn ta'n screudeyr geddyn artyn giarrit voish pabyryn naight ass Nalbin, as ta mee er reih shiartanse daue ta bentyn da'n chymbyllaght.

Ta baggyrt rish yn traa ry-heet er ny Ellanyn Canna as Sanday mannagh vel yn droghad eddyr oc mooadit yn aght oddagh gleastanyn goll harrish. Shoh dooyrt coonseilagh da ny Ellanyn Beggey, Dr. Michael Foxley. T'eh jeeaghyn roish sheeyney magh jeh ny cummaltee ynyydagh as seyraadyn da skibbyltee-boghtey.

Haink liooar ny cruinney noa magh er-ygherrid jeh buill mygeayrt y clyst ta fo baggyrt voish ooill deayrtey magh. Ta shiaght caslyssyn-cheerey jeig as three feed ayn oddagh cooney lhieu ta glenney traaieyn as buill elley lurg drogh haggyrtyn. Ec y traa cheddin va naight faarney mychione treiltys follit ec British Petroleum dy ghoaill toshiaght er tarrarey son ooill faggys da Ellan Barraie. Ta ny ynyydee Varraie fergagh nagh row fys currit orroo. Hooar ad fys er-yn-oyr dy row yn Cheshaght eignit dy cur raau da

marrinee. Ta aggle ec ny ynyydee Varraie nagh jig foays argidagh erbee daue as ec y traa cheddin bee'n eeastagh ayns gaue kindagh rish ooill deayrtit. Ta'n Cheshaght Chevron gra nagh vel monney feuid ayns yn eeastagh er shen. Ta gra nagh vel baatyn eeastagh 'syn ynyyd shen agh ayns emshir aalin son gimnee as gimnee voirrey.

Ta ny cummaltee Lingerabay er Ny Harrey Jiass er gheddyn coyrle gerjoilagh vauseyn ta er-chee fosley quarral er shen. Hie paart jeu dys quarral noa ayns Sostyn dy akin yn aght nagh vel eh jannoo jeeill da'n chymbyllaght. Lhisagh ad cur shilley er Glensanda boayl ta Foster-Yeoman er gymmyrkey ersooyl cronk er shen. Ta'n jeeill agglagh as ry-akin dy baghtal voish ardjyn ooilley mygeayrt, Appin, Mull as Oban. Ta ourys neesht dy bee ymmyd jeant jeh ceau magh trushtey chesh veanagh tra ta'n quarral cooilleenit.

Lurg ooilley ta daa screeuyn ayn mychione shynnee er Ellan Skianagh. Ta croiteyr gra nagh vel ad marroo wheesh dy cayin as ta sleih smooinaightyn. Ga dy vel ad goaill fer ny keartyrn as t'ad jannoo

traartys da ein chirkey as tunnaghyn, ta smoo jeeill jeant ec moodey ushtey. Ta shynnee jannoo smoo foays er-yn-oyr dy vel ad freayll earrooaghyn lughee as fir ny fanman liauyr fo smaght. Ta foddey smoo eayin marrooit liorish gleashtanyn, lhieys as Kyndagh rish accrys.

Ta screudeyr elley, ta shelgeyr shynnee, gra dy vel eh lane ymmychagh smaght y chur er ny shynnee er-yn-oyr dy row ad goaill 20-30 'sy cheead jey eayin shiaght bleaney er-dy-henney, as ec y traa cheddin va nane shynnagh ayns dagh three gymmyrkey yn screb. Ny laghyn ta'n jui cha nel eh agh nane goit 'sy vlein lesh yn screb. Ec y traa cheddin ta bishagey ry-akin mastey ny Kellee ghoo ta jannoo foays da ny urlee as shirree ny giark. Ta daa heu er dagh chooish.

The above fragments are concerned with environmental issues in Scotland. It includes widening of the footbridge between Canna and Sanday, oil pollution fears, danger from damage caused by quarrying and concerns over fox populations in the Islands.

Colin y Jerree

The Iris Project

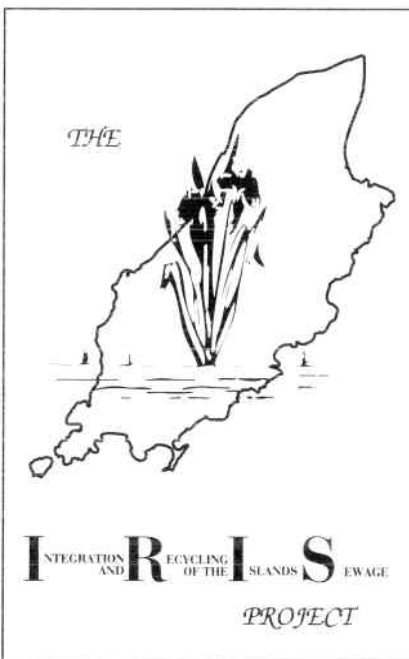
The "IRIS" project, approved by Tynwald in 1990, which will cost more than £50,000,000 at today's prices, is a scheme for a single wastewater treatment site for the whole Island, to produce high quality effluent and sewage sludge.

The chief principle of the project - that of disposing of sewage by means of returning it into the environment in a harmless way - is entirely laudable. Nobody would argue with that. There are doubts in some quarters that this particular scheme will not be best value for money. 'Wetland Treatment' which is part of the method of treatment, involves creating a curragh area for the whole Island, to provide additional treatment of sewage before effluent is discharged into the river (we do not yet know which river as the site has not yet been identified). This in itself will have an environmental impact on the balance of nature in the area chosen. The

delicate balance of nature apart, the project will surely give a less than delicate added sense of meaning to the current popular use of the word 'bog'.

Construction of 38 new pump stations is also part of the plan and presumably accounts for a major share of the costs. Perhaps the most disturbing revelation published in with the other facts and figures is that the costings were based on a possible population figure of 100,000. Clearly, the new population target is considerably higher than the 80,000 figure that has been banded about in the last few years. Fears are being expressed that now such a project is in the pipeline, it will provide the excuse to encourage expansion of the population by means of unrestricted immigration. No attention has been paid to the social consequences of this policy thus far. The incoming government will have to find the money for this scheme costing £700 for every person living on the Island.

C.J.K.





Mec Vannin News

What Country?

The Manx government, in its sickeningly biased publicity material, never misses an opportunity to tell would-be new-residents, of Mann's independent status. "The Island has its own flag, its own government and its own language", the pamphlets proclaim.

The first sight a visitor to the Douglas seafront will see however, is U.K. Union flags flown alternately with the Manx Triskellion. What impression does this give? If the Island's capital flies the flag of the U.K., it's fairly reasonable to assume that it is part of the U.K. Furthermore, many new-residents and even some Manx people seem to think that it is.

Mec Vannin sent a letter to Douglas Corporation, pointing out the misconception that this particular practice can convey, and requested a change in policy.

Mr. K.H. Radcliffe (the non-elected Deputy Town Clerk) responded with a letter saying:

"The use of the Union Jack alongside

the Manx flag signifies no sovereign link with any other Government, rather it reflects the close ties with the United Kingdom in many fields, e.g. Higher Education, Business, Tourists, Customs and Excise, the Armed Forces and with the many Island residents who were born in the U.K. and have contributed so much to the Manx Economy and culture."

The letter went on to declare that many residents, including Manx born, support the monarchy, and that Mr. Radcliffe considered Mec Vannin's viewpoint to be that of a "tiny minority".

A meeting of Douglas Corporation's Policy and Resources Committee decided that the policy would not change.

Mec Vannin responded with a two page letter, pointing out that, from purchasing the title Lord of Mann in 1765, until 1866, the English Crown stripped the Island of revenue, leaving its industries and infrastructure impoverished. From 1866 until 1958, Tynwald had control over revenues, but had to pay substantial levies to the

English Crown. Even today, defence and Common Purse (the latter re-named Customs and Excise Agreement) administration, is charged to our Treasury. The Common Purse agreement incidentally is an arrangement to allow free trade between Mann and the U.K., whereby certain taxes such as V.A.T. are levied and collected by the U.K. An estimated amount is returned (less administration costs) to the Island's Treasury each year.

Students from the Island generally go to the U.K. for university and similar education, and must pay their way like any other student foreign to the U.K.

Unfortunately, many people simply fail to comprehend this. Anglicanization of the Manx education system and distinct lack of a Manx curriculum have led to a failure of awareness of our distinct history. These factors have, over the years, allowed a self-perpetuating myth to grow, that the U.K. somehow dragged the Island from a 'Dark-Age'.

A flag may seem to be a petty subject, but is nonetheless a powerful symbol of nationhood. Whilst our own local authorities continue to give mis-placed allegiance to a foreign flag, the concept of an independently minded nation seems further away than ever. That members of these bodies are apparently so ignorant of our own politics, is truly disturbing.

Mark Kermode
Mec Vannin Publicity Officer

Inter-Celtic Information

US Military Personnel

	1980	1990
Alba		
Edzell	541	249
Glen Douglas	2	21
Holy Loch	1655	1942
Machrihanish	27	71
Mormond Hill	11	10
Prestwick	9	na
Thurso	137	562
Others	4	na
Total	2386	2855

Cymru 1990

RAF Brawdy	*1
RAF Caerwent	4

Kernow 1990

RAF St Mawgan	231
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* Number of personnel is classified.

Z-Berths

These are harbours or anchorages suitable for use by nuclear submarines. Of the 33 in the UK only 8 are in England.

Cymru

Abertawe/Swansea*, Barry, Cardiff, (*new base).

Alba

Broadford Bay (Syke), Brodick Bay (Arran), Campbeltown, Coulpport, Dales Voe, Faslane, Firth of Forth, Glean Mallan, Holy Loch, Lamlash, Lerwick, Loch Ewe, Loch Fyne, Loch Goil, Loch Long, Loch na Beiste, Loch Striven, Portree, Raasay (Skye), Rosyth, Rothesay, Thurso Bay.

Cassette Price £5.50 available from:
Wakeman's Music Emporium,
Atholl Place, Peel.



CELTICA

A Dark Stain in the Irish Sea

The incident at the BNFL plant at Capenhurst on the Wirral once again focused attention on the contentious safety record of Britain's Nuclear industry and BNFL in particular.

The Company Public Relations Machine undertook the now standard procedure of playing down the incident in which a tank containing radioactive material 'burst' apparently due to inadequate maintenance procedures.

In isolation these incidents may appear 'minor' but taken over the past two decades Britain's North West Nuclear Plants have regularly 'bled' pollutants into the Irish sea. These contaminations have provoked long term concerns about the safety of the marine environment.

It's as well radiation is an 'invisible' phenomena. If it were not a 'dark stain' would by now have spread across from the eastern coast of the Irish sea undiminished between Britain and Ireland.

From Chapelcross in the North to

Wylfa in Anglesey the British nuclear plants ensure a steady stream of pollution into the Irish sea.

British Nuclear Fuel's stance in the face of concern over its appalling record has been to churn out a mammoth Television and Newspaper advertising campaign. These nauseating adverts invariably extoll the virtues of BNFL as a protector of the environment. Hence in 'nuke doublespeak' the polluter becomes the protector.

This campaign has had some success in calming the fears of the British public and taken with its Sellafield exhibition centre complete with paper hats for the kids has attempted to turn the Nuclear debate into a 'game show'. Unfortunately the ultimate prize is invariably disaster. Incidents like that at Capenhurst and others at Windscale reiterated the reality of this dangerous industry. British Nuclear Fuels despite the smokescreen publicity and 'razzamatazz' is unmasked.

Dangerous Legacy of the Peace Dividend

The United Kingdom's decision to set a new deadline of Jan. 1993 for the discontinuation of the dumping of live munitions at sea is bad news for the coastal communities of Ireland and Western Scotland.

Sea dumping in the Atlantic to the North of Donegal and S.W. of the Hebrides was set to cease in Jan. 1992 however Britain now intends to use the new deadline notified to the European Commission to step up dumping at sea.

The dangerous effect of this practice has been graphically illustrated over the past two years with material from earlier dumps in the North Channel (between Scotland and Ireland) and the Clyde migrating to shore on the coasts of Antrim, S.W. Scotland and the Isle of Man. In a series of incidents on the N. Ireland coast literally hundreds of small phosphorous munitions were washed ashore and one member of the public was injured. The

munitions also create a problem for fishermen and two large devices, one of approx. 1000 tons were picked up by vessels off the IOM in 1991.

Despite fierce criticism of the practice in the Irish media and in the face of opposition from the Irish government the UK is pressing ahead with plans for this unsophisticated disposal. Ironically the munitions if recycled would provide large quantities of high grade steel and other high value metals.

For the time however the easy option is being pursued 'OUT OF SIGHT OUT OF MIND - FOR HOW LONG?'

Thanks

We would like to thank all authors and those who contributed information for the articles in the supplement

Membership and Subscriptions

All those who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership fee (including *Carn*) and subscription rates are IR£8; Stg£8; 80FF or US\$20.00 (US funds, cheques drawn on a US bank). Postage outside Europe is Stg£10.00 airmail.

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Our next deadline for material for *Carn* is 1st February 1992. Materials sent for publication in *Carn* must relate to our aims, and should be typed. All materials copywrite *Carn* © unless otherwise stated. The views expressed in *Carn* are not necessarily those of the editor nor of the Celtic League.

Leagan amach: Peanntrónaic Teo., 49 Br Cramach, BÁC 14, Éire.

Printers: EloPress, 49 Reuben Avenue, Rialto, Dublin 8.

ISSN 0257-7860