

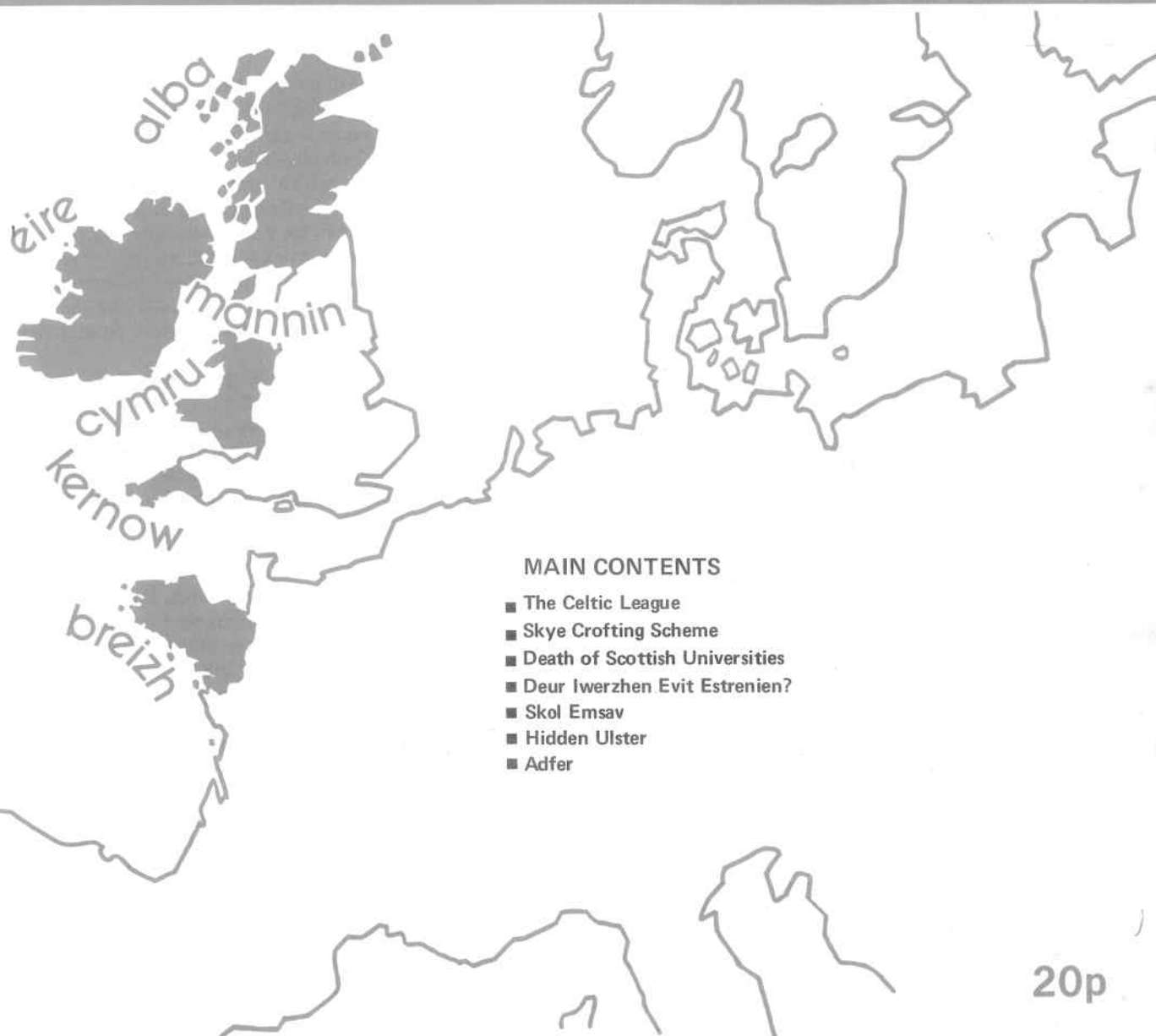
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## A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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QUARTERLY PERIODICAL IN ENGLISH & IN CELTIC LANGUAGES  
PUBLISHED BY THE "CELTIC LEAGUE"

## THE CELTIC LEAGUE

**OUR AIMS**—The fundamental aim of the Celtic League is to contribute, as an international organisation, to the struggle of the six Celtic nations to secure or win their political, cultural, social and economic freedom. This includes:

- (a) fostering co-operation between the Celtic peoples;
- (b) developing the consciousness of the special relationship and solidarity between them;
- (c) making our national struggles and achievements better known abroad;
- (d) campaigning for a formal association of the Celtic nations to take place once two or more of them have achieved self-government;
- (e) advocating the use of the natural resources of each of the Celtic countries for the benefit of all its people.

By Celtic nations we mean the peoples living in Ireland, Scotland, Mann, Wales, Cornwall and Brittany. Each of these nations is characterised by an ethnic background, a history, a language and a sense of community which distinguish it from the English and the French peoples. A common factor is that their destinies have been controlled for centuries by external powers, with the result that their cultures and economies have declined to a critically low level. But in each of them the will to rebuild an integrated community has engendered a national movement that manifests itself through various groups.

**Why stress the Celtic element**—This similarity of situations and interests, together with the realisation that each Celtic nation on its own is weak compared with the forces of oppression, prompted the setting up of the organisation. Although affected by many other factors and influences, it was the Celtic element which gave these nations their cultural distinctiveness. The Celtic languages today constitute their least disputable mark of nationality, and give them the strongest motivation in their struggle for freedom.

Hence the stress which we put on the work being done to promote their restoration to a position of prominence in their respective areas. We see this essential factor as a means to recreate in each of our countries a well integrated society. Our basic concern is a social one and this is the reason why we must pay the greatest attention to the social problems standing in the way of nation-building in our countries. Our aim is not so much to maintain national characteristics against the pressure of hostile forces as to create the structures of a new Celtic society.

**Organisation**—The Celtic League is headed by a General Council and composed of six national branches, and international branches where a minimum number of members from at least two Celtic countries co-operate locally.

At present, the members of the General Council are the Chairman and the Secretary-general of the League;

the editor of its quarterly; and the branch secretaries. Responsibility rests uniquely with those who are active in carrying out the work of the organisation, and its co-ordination. The League constitution specifies the attributions of each officer and the modalities of decision-making. Attempts have been made to give our members the opportunity of taking part in decisions but difficulties arise if these are scattered over wide areas. Where they are in sufficient numbers, encouragement is given to the formation of local groups.

**Publications**—Over the past ten years the Celtic League has published 33 issues of the quarterly CELTIC NEWS, giving in condensed form information on each Celtic country, as well as reports of Celtic League activity. It has also published nine substantial volumes of articles dealing in depth and detail with various aspects of our national struggles.

These publications have been replaced by the present quarterly CARN, which is better adapted to serve the aims of the League. It provides the basis for an inter-Celtic information service by reporting facts of importance in our national struggles as objectively and accurately as possible. It offers a means of seeking, through discussion and analysis, a common Celtic approach to our problems and putting forward proposals for solving them. It thus constitutes a permanent channel of communication between the six Celtic countries and gives its readers the opportunity to participate in formulating Celtic League policy.

By devoting a significant proportion of the space in CARN to articles in the Celtic languages, of equal importance to those in English, we thus give them the largest place in our work compatible with a wide diffusion and adequate financial support. Our answer to the objection that this decision deprives readers who cannot read these languages is that we have an internal as well as an external role and that by using our languages we make a more positive contribution to their restoration than by preaching about them in English or French. Here is a test of earnestness. Two considerations are to guide the writers of these articles: (1) that they provide their countrymen with information about the "other" Celtic countries; (2) that they write as simply as possible so as to encourage those with only an elementary knowledge of their language to read them with the help of a dictionary. This should help to spread a reading knowledge of the Celtic languages.

**Meetings**—General meetings or conferences are held annually by the Celtic League to review its work and plan for the year ahead. Annual, quarterly or monthly meetings are organised by the Cornish, Irish, Scottish and London branches.

Much of the attention of the League secretaries is devoted to the answering of queries and letters concerning our organisation, our languages, national groups and publications, etc., and acting as a focal point of Celtic information in their respective countries.

**Activities**—In view of our financial and staffing limitations many of our projects take time for their completion. We have, however, a record of sustained activity including:

(1) demonstrations of inter-Celtic solidarity: pickets on embassies, written protests against aspects of government policies, participation in the campaign to end internment without trial and to ask for international investigation of allegations of torture in Northern Ireland; demand for the withdrawal of Scottish and Welsh troops;

(2) Collections of money in support of the dependents of Breton and Irish internees (£600 gathered by the Breton C.L. branch with the help of the Association of Breton-Speaking Families for the relief of distress in N. Ireland); co-operation with S.P.I. in the transport of four tons of second-hand clothing from Brittany to Belfast;

(3) the preparation of a memorandum stating the right of Brittany, Wales and Scotland to self-determination and its distribution to 112 permanent representatives at the UNO; similar work in connection with a pamphlet illustrating linguistic discrimination in Brittany, and a petition to UNESCO in favour of Scottish and Breton. (It was soon recognised that inter-governmental organisations were unable or unwilling to intervene in the absence of a serious threat to international peace on our nations' behalf.)

(4) the holding of a summer school to teach Irish to beginners from other countries coupled with a seminar on certain aspects of Irish history, literature, art and politics;

(5) helping young people to find work and holiday accommodation in Celtic countries other than their own, as well as facilitating their contacts there;

(6) statements of the Celtic League position concerning many matters of importance to our national lives (e.g. the exploitation of mineral resources by foreign companies; misuse of television; bilingualisation of road signs).

Such activities could be intensified and multiplied with better means. They give reality to inter-Celtic solidarity.

**Role of the Celtic League in our national struggles**—On an internal level, the role of the Celtic League is secondary to that of the national organisations which work for the rebuilding of our respective nations as fully-integrated communities. It is only if they failed obviously in this task that our branches would need to spell out the implications of our fundamental aim and stimulate a reorganisation of the forces of liberation at home. At an inter-Celtic level, we should promote exchanges, facilitate acquaintance of people from different Celtic countries with one another and strengthen our solidarity. On the external level, we should let other peoples know that the Celts are determined to assert their nationhood and that they have an original contribution to make to the achieve-

ment of more satisfactory relations between individuals and nations. We need friends in all countries, and feel solidarity with other peoples struggling for liberation, particularly in Western Europe.

In view of the fact that each Celtic nation is conditioned by a different history, we must not expect uniformity of thought but allow diversity to express itself within the Celtic League so that we may better recognise those areas of possible co-operation and eventually formulate a detailed common policy. It is fairly obvious that the attainment of Celtic freedom is hardly possible under the ideologies prevailing in the West as well as in the East, and that we should work out which kind of relations in our communities will enable them to enjoy freedom without undue restrictions for the liberty of the individual.

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#### CORNISH BRANCH LOSES PRESIDENT

Robert Arthur Dunstone died on Tuesday the 22nd of February at the age of 50. He was president of the Cornish Branch of the Celtic League and one of its founder members; he had also been a vice-president of the Celtic League. Many will remember him and miss him for his unfailing kindness and courtesy, others because of the competence with which he fulfilled his duties as president.

The occasions on which the services of a president are required are few but important. Robert well knew how to remain in the background when he was not needed, and how to appear and officiate with confident efficiency when he was.

He was too kind to be a hard-line activist and was not often to be found in the fore-front of national protest: somehow he managed to love Cornwall intensely without ever once hating its English exploiters. This enabled him to be a lay-reader in the English Church.

Robert Arthur was also life-president of Mebyon Kernow, secretary of Truro Trades Council and secretary of the local branch of the Health and Social Security Workers Union. That he held three presidential offices at the same time is sufficient evidence of his ability.

When the next ill-wind rocks the boat his stabilising qualities will be missed.

R.C. Boyd, Branch Secretary.

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## ALBA

The past four months or so in Scotland have been marked by confrontation—the aligning of forces against a government eroding the fabric of democracy under the guise of solving national crises. Other bodies of the establishment such as universities have also been flexing their repression muscles. A now famous non-event at Stirling University last October (a photograph in the press of a student leaning against a wall and nonchalantly raising a wine bottle to toast the Queen who was visiting there was blown up by the press out of all proportion) was subsequently used by the authorities to discipline the students who had genuine grievances and were attempting to draw attention to them. Five months later this sorry business is still dragging on with the only “sentences” given, obviously political ones, but one ray of hope is that so many of the staff have expressed themselves as being against this farce.

Miss Wendy Wood, the Leader of the Scottish Patriots, began a fast on December 7th to highlight the fact that the Government had done nothing to implement their pre-election promise of a Scottish Assembly. No one expected this Tory Government to be moved by this action—but they did finally promise a Green Paper on the subject, after all sections of Scottish politics had been moved to some action. She abandoned her fast on the sixth day.

Nineteen seventy-three began with a symbolic damp squib. The Tron Kirk steeple in the Royal Mile in Edinburgh is the traditional place for bringing in the New Year. The crowds this year were disappointed when no bells could be heard at the stroke of midnight—they thought another of our old Scottish customs was lapsing—but, no—what they should have heard was a tape of bells from the Cathedrals of other European countries ringing out into the Common Market. Fortunately this part of the Fanfare for Europe misfired.

One of the more iniquitous Acts to be passed by the Heath Government is the Rent Act. This, is to raise rents very considerably at one stroke (the opposite of what they promised) and it affects Scotland very much more than England since lower wages have always meant a much larger percentage of the people living in rented houses. Many local councils decided to refuse to implement the Act but as time went on they became fewer. Glasgow Labour-controlled council finally capitulated before Christmas and now in Scotland there are six councils still resisting led by Clydebank Burgh Council who have been taken to court and fined £5000 for acting according to their conscience. At this moment support for their action is coming from various fields. Many of the unions, including the National Union of Mineworkers, have pledged support for “those councils who are carrying the cross for the British people as a whole”. It is rather symptomatic that “British” was the word used by someone speaking for Scottish miners,

though technically correct as one brave little council in England is also soldiering on.

The second Scottish Assembly organised by the S.T.U.C. (Scottish Trades Union Council) met in Edinburgh on January 15th. If ever an event highlighted the way in which the mass media are determined to keep from the people of Scotland the truth about the strength of the movement for independence and the people fighting for it then the reporting of this one did. First of all the B.B.C. gave precedence to excerpts from Jo Grimmond’s speech—he had not attended the first assembly in February 1972 but something prompted him to this second one where he delivered the usual Liberal—Greek oracle double talk. Then the press took up most of their space with accounts of how the S.N.P. had “packed” the meeting and been reprimanded by the Secretary of the S.T.U.C. The truth behind this is that the S.N.P. were the only party who gauged the importance of this assembly and attended accordingly, many of their speakers giving voice to sentiments that the whole audience responded to. The two “big” parties were not there in sufficient strength to sway the meeting for the simple reason that they had not taken up their invitations to attend. Once again the Tory and Labour parties have shown how out of touch you may get with your people when you insist on remaining hundreds of miles away from them. The Assembly closed this time with no remit to re-assemble—obviously the only thing left for the S.T.U.C. to do is to face the facts. The will of the Scottish people for independence grows stronger daily. The S.T.U.C. should make a reality of that word at the beginning of this title—“Scottish”.

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OILEANAICH NAN CANAINEAN CEALTEACH AIR  
AN CUR AIR FALBH— DO BHRIGH NACH EIL AIT’  
ACA ANNS AN OILTHIGH!

Bha Goronwy Alun Hughes a’ sgrìobhadh anns an “Welsh Nation” ochionn ghoid gum bheil gainne aithean anns nan oilthighean Breatunnach airson sgrudaidhean Cuimris agus canaichean Ceilteach eile a reir aithisg bhliadhnail an UCCA an uiridh. Is ann anns an UCCA a’ phrìomh chomhairle airson leigeil a steach do cursaidhean oilthigh an Rìoghachd Aonaichte air fad.

Cha robh ach 89 aitheichean ri faotainn airson Ceilteas a measg oilthighean an rìoghachd gu leir agus bha 122 oileanaich deonach airson cursa leithid seo. Mar sin bha 33 air an cur air falbh. Co-dhiubh bha 52 as an 89 a bha fortanach nam boirreannaich.. Is leir do a h-uile duine a’ faicinn de cho iosal a tha urram an UCCA airson cuspairean Ceilteach ’nuair a tha sibh a’ faicinn gun robh 550 aitheichean airson Laideann ’s a’ Ghreugais, 489 airson diadhaidheachd agus 185 airson canain an Ruis.

Cha’n ’eil e cothromach idir nach ’eil ach 89 aitheichean anns na h-oilthighean Breatunn ri cheile airson sgrudaidhean canaichean a tha air an labhairt aig an la-an-diugh anns na duthchannan Ceiltich le corr agus muillion



dhaoine. Feumaidh Oilthigh Cuimrigh a' dusgadh suas agus aiteachan a' thoirt do gach neach a tha deonach cursa oilthigh faighinn anns a' Chuimris agus cananean Ceiteach eile.

Ged a tha'n UCCA ag ordughadh cuisean an cus-pairean eile mar gum bitheadh teoma no ration, cha dean siud a' chuis idir airson na caineanean naisiunta a' Chuimrigh agus a coimhearsnaich Ceiteach. Barrachd air sin cha'n 'eil cothrom idir airson sgrudaidhean oilthigh a deanamh a mach a oilthigh anns an tim agad fhein airson teasdanas no degree airson oileanaich dachaidh ann cus-pairean leithid Cuimris, cananean Ceiteach eile, eachdraidh agus litreachas a' Chuimrigh.

Is docha gum bheil aireamh na's mo de choigrich an coimeas ri luchd-teagasg Cuimreach anns an Oilthigh Cuimrigh. Mar sin cha'n eil e ceart idir a' saoilinn gum bheil Oilthigh Cuimrigh Cuimreach gu h-iomlan: chan' eil an dolach Cuimrich ann ach airson dreach Freagarrach a' cur air aodann an suidheachadh. Is fheairrde do'n luchd-teagasg Cuimreach anns an staid sin, ma tha iad gun cumhachd anns an Oilthigh aca fhein, aonachadh a dheanamh comhla ri luchd-teagasg anns na duthchannan Ceilteach eile agus anns na tìrean thall thairis far a bheil suim anns na h-oilthighean airson Ceilteis—mar eiseampair 'san t-Suain, Gearmailt-an-Iar, agus na Stairtean Aonaichte.

Is urrainn dhuinn 'san Albainn ag radh—barrachd air na bha Mgr. Hughes a' sgrìobhadh—nach cuisean na's fhearr a thaobh Gaidhlig anns na Oilthighean Alba. Cha'n 'eil cursaichean Ceilteach ach an triuir dhuibh (a ochd). Nan robh croitear no tidsear anns na h-Eileanan-an-Iar deonachd cursa postachd a deanamh an Gaidhlig bhith-eadh mor am briseadh-duil aige. Cha'n 'eil external degree ann an drasda bho Oilthigh Lunnainn. Bha sin air cur as le Prionnsapal Albannach a tha aca sios an Oilthigh Lunnainn. Ged a bha an Oilthigh Fosgailte air cur air bonn gu h-àraidh airson daoine anns na h-ionadan iomallach ar duthaich, chan' urrainn dhaibh programan an Oilthigh faighinn idir o chionn nach robh am BBC a' craobhsgaoileadh programan an Oilthigh do nan Eilean. Cha'n eil BBC a Dha anns an airde an Iar—thuath idir—agus nan robh iad sin a dheanamh cha'n 'eil cursa Ceilteach ri faotainn aig an Oilthigh Fosgailte.

#### F.S.N. SKYE CROFTING SCHEME—WHAT OF THE NEXT PHASE?

by Rob Gibson (President, Federation of Student Nationalists)

The F.S.N. Skye Crofting Scheme in the late summer of 1972 has been faced with the need for a fundamental reappraisal of its activities in the light of the need for as much involvement in the community which it aids and also in the light of the overall political situation in the Highland area today. It is an urgent necessity to define our role and aims in order that our future work can be as meaningful as possible. The encouragement that we were on the right lines this time by being involved in

helping crofters at harvest time, by undertaking a holiday house survey, by considerable distribution of our Resist leaflet and by being co-partners in a demonstration against an undesirable alien landlord, Martin of Dunan who is terrorising his tenants, was confirmed but some review of the wider political circumstances is necessary.

The heirs of Patrick Sellar, the infamous entrepreneur sent to improve and clear Strathnavar by the Duke of Sutherland in the early 19th century still perpetuate the idea that individual speculation must have free rein to win what it can for the initiator in the short term/long term security of employees being little considered. This theme was developed recently in an article on the Highland Clearances by F.C. Smout in Scottish International. Though this historian can be criticised for his lack of real research in his major social history of the Scottish people from 1560-1830 his conclusions in my experience ring true in this instance. He remarks that the prophets of economic rationality today had already decreed market forces should shape the West of Scotland's shipbuilding industry show the residue of people from there had better get out into the world and make a go of it elsewhere. Thus our resources of capital and labour would be more rationally utilised and we should all be better off because the national income would be higher. "The consensus in Britain would probably agree with this train of thought . . . Radicals—liberals, nationalists, even socialists—who wish to stop what one industrialist in the West himself has called 'The Lowland Clearances' will need more than frantic emotion. They will have to have, and to convey to the people a more reasoned argument to the heirs of Patrick Sellar than they usually trouble to present. This must ultimately involve putting some other value before individual enrichment and economic growth. Can anyone be really serious about this? The intellectual trumpets of the Scottish left give forth no certain sound whatever . . ."

My own belief is that when dealing with Highland problems that they are a special area of hope which can guide the more heavily industrialised areas of Scotland, that, to stop expressing the negative, they must be prepared to demand control over their resources at the most local and convenient levels and scrupulously control the market force oriented major industries typical of lowland Scotland that have so often been the pawns of international capital. Highland enterprise and a stimulus to the economy is central to this argument. Whilst a balanced economy is the aim, the means may have to take certain 'market' forms.

The SNP has put up practical suggestions for the fostering of co-operation by crofters in the purchase of supplies, marketing improvement of rough grazing and the planting of timber by providing a decentralised Agricultural Department Board. This would be to get over the major drawbacks to the use of the present croft as a basis for agricultural and non-agricultural activities. What I am advocating is the need to make as much use of local

resources in food, building materials, etc., and use them to create a stable 'home' market.

At a recent meeting of the Skye Crofters Union it was suggested tentatively that local hotels should try to use locally produced meat, vegetables and fish, etc. and advertise the fact. In a forward looking and confident community this should have been the case years ago. The local employment generated and steady market for a cash crop for a crofter/fisherman is the basic requirement to draw together the efforts of diverse individuals to work for the common good. Export industries such as whisky, fish products, etc., can then be seen in perspective. This rather crude statement is made purely to introduce two major problems and can be developed in due course. The problems facing the Highlands are the already central issue of the brutal fragmentation of age structure in the population and the apparent consensus which seems to believe that any government concession of a few jobs or grants are the only way of surviving. The insidious work of the Employment Exchange in being one of the major elements in the modern Highland Clearances should be noted here. The continual offering of employment outside of Skye and the failure of its central government masters to bring really substantial work to Skye is the major indictment. The arrival of any work in the Highland area for building work for hotels by the H.I.D.B. or military bases such as in Uist and soon in the Kyleakin area only show that these are manifestations of industrial colonialism which by definition is for the benefit of the overlord not the colony.

The deplorable situation where the people are so punch drunk as to accept through their elected leaders the disinterested and alien decision taking of the centralist bureaucrats is only more plainly echoed in the ingrained Scottish habit of cowering before authority for fear of striking out on a new road to a prosperous self-governing future. In short the former exhibited a supreme lack of confidence. Here the first point shows the evidence of the end result. A population so brainwashed into taking no action to stop its young people being forced to leave their communities and so proclaiming its own death wish to a slow decline in the face of such obvious opportunities to reverse the trend. Where in the last 50 years it was expected automatically that the young would leave the North, the abilities of a discerning few young Highlanders are being pitted against the new tide of urban escapees from grossly overcrowded England who are well aware of the opportunities to live a new life in stimulating surroundings of great beauty and in the main can make a living from tourism in one form or another. The massive influx of white settlers who are either come to opt out or to retire is only beginning to hot up. The problem is of so many people with such little real connection with Skye or the Highland area. Culturally alien and representing therefore, different values many especially the retired, become district or county councillors representing no interest of a dynamic

nature from within the community. The numerical aggression which will result from the massic influx if not stemmed could fill a whole study on its own.

For the local communities, let's make no mistake, this is the final demoralising stroke, for the cutthroat pursuit of individual enrichment precludes the one method which will change the course of history in the Highlanders' favour, i.e., collective action.

This does not mean the suppression of individual satisfaction, it means the only possible way to ensure any meaningful development of the Gaelic culture and the non-urban life of the Highlands in the interests of the natural inheritors of the great tradition of struggle against the incursion of outside interests through the centuries. The legacy of the 1886 Crofters Act was to create a breathing space when a new direction of Highland development was made possible. The fact that the old unsympathetic forces have nearly reasserted themselves over the native community does not mean that we cannot recognise small but definite projects which can give a lead to others in the new fight to resist the cultural indoctrination, industrial colonialism and numerical aggression that is so central to the actions of outside interests.

Perhaps the most obvious means of final cultural indoctrination is to undermine the values of the Highland life by imposing numerous military establishments, which with their highly indoctrinated staffs from the English upper class traditions provide a strong subversive influence to any Highland values they confront; be it in the pub, dance hall, church or political meeting. Their very presence all the year round further undermines the ability of any other culture to exist wherever their power extends to, supplemented by the work of the mass media in the final destruction of any other value on life than a submission to the dictates of central government in a wholly alien and eventually self-destructive form of society that has consistently insisted on individual enrichment above collective satisfaction despite its lip service to environmental pollution and ecological imbalance today. The gross profit motive leaves no room for rational appraisal of the long term needs of society.

The awareness we need today is many sided. The specific problems that we as a Skye Crofting Scheme have to face are how to aid the best forces acting for the regeneration of that community in the Highlands and the rest of Scotland by participation and reflection, by active physical help and research. We must act as watchdogs to expose the forces that threaten to destroy this regeneration.

In the past schemes the main emphasis has been on helping the community with odd jobs, painting halls, roofs or helping old or disabled crofters or those in special circumstances with their harvest work, etc. While this is wholly desirable on an irregular basis where the need is greatest, dependance on student labour is to be avoided at all costs as this cannot fairly be maintained on an informal basis nor is it likely to solve more than short

term problems and establish links with the local people. Through these activities we can understand their problems more fully. The development of more permanent projects in co-operation with local people are essential. The aid to Peter MacAskill to start renovating the Glendale Water Mill which is now being considered for development as a full-time oatmeal production process is most gratifying. The use of natural resources of oats, of peat and water power has brought this simple technology into efficient use in the modern age. This is no novelty because the ramifications are innumerable—local labour is needed to build, maintain, run and distribute the produce. In a local context this approach is vital. It is the basis of a sound economy when a local idea with local support, and some outside help is developed to fit into a local community.

### THE DEATH OF SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES?

The publication by Edinburgh University of the 'Report of the Student Academic Performance Committee for the three years 1967-1970' has shown that students with the Scottish Certificate of Education have fared less well at university than those with the (English) General Certificate of Education. Everyone connected with education in our country, pupils, parents, teachers, students and lecturers must be concerned with these findings, must take steps to seek the cause of this disparity, and also enquire about the fate of Scottish graduates after the end of the educational process.

The committee of nine members of staff from all faculties (Scottish first degree graduates accounting for four members only) two students and a secretary was set up in its present form in 1968 to investigate student wastage. The committee found that on average 15% of students with SCE qualifications left Edinburgh University for 'academic reasons' compared with only 8% of students with GCE qualifications. The committee also noted that only 48% of SCE students gained an honours degree compared with 64% of GCE students, and that Edinburgh University (probably in common with the other Scottish universities) has a higher failure rate and a higher rate of 'degree without honours' than the U.K. average.

What are the causes of these differences? Are Scottish students inherently inferior to their English competitors? Has a century of the emigration of Scotland's most enterprising sons and daughters so depleted her genetic stock that academically the Scot cannot match his English cousin? This cannot be proved, but perhaps it should not be discounted too readily.

More weight should be given to the argument that, since a substantially larger proportion of young people in Scotland go to university than do in England, the average Scottish performance is likely to be poorer. Also, in the arts faculty in Edinburgh (and probably in most other faculties) the authorities favour SCE candidates, being more selective with the English. Furthermore Scot-

tish students are on average about a year younger than English students, and a substantial number of Scots opt for an ordinary degree although academically acceptable for honours.

Against these points, however, must be put the unproven, but self-evident fact that the Scottish university selection committees are usually starting with the skimmed milk as far as English students are concerned. Oxbridge creams off the best, many others will give their 'own' university top priority, and the best will be accepted, some of England's redbrick universities are justly famous especially in particular fields and these will attract the most able and ambitious students in their particular disciplines, and for the rest Scotland is cold and remote. The English contingent at our Scottish universities (currently around 5250) is unlikely to include a fair proportion of the most able Englishmen, and yet they still seem to do better than the Scots.

To find a possible answer to this conundrum we must examine the composition of the staff and student bodies of our universities and of Edinburgh in particular. Among the statistics contained in the report that might interest those concerned about the Anglicisation of our universities is a record of the annual proportion of entrants with SCE qualifications. This has risen from 57% in 1963-64 to 70% in 1969-70, the remaining 30% being made up of 24% with GCE and 6% with other qualifications.

Lest these figures cause any relief they should be set alongside the proportion of professors who have a first degree from a Scottish university, and therefore have probably attended a Scottish school and come from a Scottish home. Between 1957 and 1969 the proportion of Scottish professors by this definition had dwindled from 57% to 41%, and the English professors are now in an absolute majority, a position they also hold in St Andrews, Stirling, Strathclyde and Heriot Watt.

In important cultural departments the situation is worse. In history only one of seven professors is Scottish; none in Education; in Philosophy, in which subject the Scottish universities were paramount a century ago, one in three is Scottish; in English language and literature, although a renaissance is bursting out all over Scotland, only one in seven professors and readers has a Scottish degree, and even the professor of Celtic graduated at Cambridge and has other degrees from Welsh and Irish universities. A number of those with Scottish first degrees have seen fit to debase that degree (almost to the level of a pre-Oxbridge cramming course) by proceeding to one of these English institutions to take another undergraduate course leading to the same degree.

If these trends continue unchecked, Edinburgh will become an outpost of English culture where the elite of Oxbridge can cut their professorial teeth, and to which the not-so-elite are banished, its purpose being the civilisation and indoctrination of the peasants and proletariats of the North.



How can a university department, whose professor and senior staff have been educated at English schools and universities design a course for SCE students? Given the will it might be done, but is there the will? Professors commonly insult their adopted universities by taking little interest in matters important to Scotland where these differ from the English model. The Student Academic Performance Committee recognises that the discrepancy between the performance of SCE and GCE students may be due to suitability of courses for Scottish students. Although the committee drew no conclusions and made no recommendations with this report, it was not so shy previously, and among the suggestions made in its earlier report in 1969 was the following: "The committee recommend a review of first year courses to ensure their suitability for SCE entrants"(!). Only in Scotland could it be conceived that native students might be at a disadvantage compared with other nationalities because of the design of the academic curriculum.

There is also widespread concern for the young Scot's prospects after graduation. Immediately they are quite good. In these days when a professor at a Scottish graduation address can speak of BSc's working as garage mechanics, MA's as insurance agents, LIB's as clerks, at least the Scottish graduate can count himself fortunate that his unemployment rate is less than it is for graduates of English universities, although he may have to move many hundreds of miles for a job. The rub comes when we examine his prospects for the top jobs. There used to be a toke, the "Heids o' Depairtment's" joke which referred to the fact that very many of the top civil service jobs in London were held by Scotsmen. Another anecdote relates how Ramsay MacDonald pointed out to an English-Public-School-Oxbridge graduate that one after another of the key positions in the British Raj were held by "Graduates of Robert Gordon's College and Aberdeen University". These jokes are not heard any more (although Sir Alec Douglas-Hume referred to the Heids of Depairtments joke on TV not long ago) because in our hearts we know that they are no longer true. As in the Civil Service, so in Business, the galloping centralisation by take over bids, nationalisation and increasing government powers, has meant a huge drop in opportunities for top Scots in Scotland, and a Scottish degree is no longer held in such high esteem South of the Border.

In so far as top jobs in the universities are concerned, the whole process can be quantified, and the extent of the failure of graduates of Scottish universities to maintain their positions in universities both in Scotland and England is painfully obvious. In 1939 approximately 75% of all our professors had a first degree from a Scottish university. By 1957 this had slipped to 66% and is now 49%, meaning that Scotsmen are in an absolute minority in the professoriat of our universities. Nor have their places been taken by men from widely different cultural backgrounds, so that at least we could say that our universities were cosmopolitan. On the contrary, for every

foreign member of staff in 1969 in addition to the number present in 1957 there were in our universities 10 extra Englishmen.

The situation is no different in England where our graduates are also in full retreat. Taking Durham, Manchester, University College London, and Bristol (all with medical schools) we find that the proportion of Scots in professorial chairs in Durham and London has remained static at around 2% since 1939, whereas in Manchester and Bristol (taking the average) 15% of professors in 1939 had a Scottish first degree, 11% in 1957 and 7% in 1969. This means that for our present students who aspire to the highest positions the statistical chances of success are getting steadily if not rapidly worse.

Why is this so? Could it be that our Scottish universities are becoming just like English Redbridge, so that the Scottish graduate has nothing unique to offer a university at home, and with nothing distinctive to offer or preserve, our universities are succumbing to U.K.-wide elitist forces which are setting Oxbridge on a pinnacle and ranging the provincial universities in a distinct pecking order downwards, with the Scottish universities at or near the bottom.



## TO OUR MEMBERS AND FRIENDS

We welcome your comments on this first issue of CARN. Which articles interested you most? What about our distribution of space? Presentation? Ideas?

Show CARN around, get other to subscribe or to join the C. League; order copies for sale (please pay in advance—18p per copy). Help us to publicise it by writing short reviews for national periodicals. Copies of off-prints of the article about the Celtic League available for publicity purposes. Help us to draw up a list of journalists, press organs, organisations which may be interested in receiving our "News of the Celtic Nations" section in English.



## TO BE REVIEWED IN OUR NEXT ISSUE

*La Langue Bretonne et la Revolution*—Emsav BP 125 35-Rennes—5 Fr. plus postage.

*The Northern Conflict and British Power*. Pamphlet Nr. 1 issued by the Irish Sovereignty Movement, 24 Br Belgrave, Rath Maoinis, Ath Cliath 6, price 15p plus postage. *On our Knees—Ireland 1972*—by Rosita Sweetman—288p. 35p. A compelling account of talks with a cross-section of Irish people, some in the North and some in the South, including leading politicians, IRA leaders, Unionist extremists, people fighting for social justice. A passionate and outspoken book. Pan Special, Current Affairs 0 330 23320 3.

*Tears of the Shamrock*—An anthology of 20 contemporary short stories on the theme of Ireland's struggle for nationhood, 220p, £2.50. Editor: D. Marcus. Wolfe Publishing Ltd., 10 Earham Street, London WC2.

*Great Folk Tales of Old Ireland*—compiled by Mary McGarry. 112p, £1.50.



## BREIZH

### DOUAR IWERZHON EVIT ESTRENIEN?

Kouerien Iwerzhon zo nec'het-bras hiziv an deiz en abeg da briz an douar. Dreist-holl ar gouerien vihan hag a garfe brasaat o atantou.

Priz an douar-labour zo daougementet e-pad an daou vloaz tremeret. N'eo ket mui barragezh. an douar da genderc'h an eo a gont, hogen e dalvoudegezh evit ar re o deus arc'hant da engouestlan.

Abace 1958-59 o deus kresket ar prizou gwashoc'h-gwazh gant estrenien o tont da brenan gorreadou bras a zouar er Republik. A-benn 1965 o doa prenet tost da 32,000 hektar. A-benn neuze ivez, a-drugarez da vroeñerezh Sean Lemass, e oa deut un nebeut Iwerzhoniz pinvidik gant lammgresh ar greanterezh. Greantourien, mezeien, alvokaded ha tud all paeet-mat, renerien kompagnunezhioù stadel pe zamstadel, o welout pegen spletus e ao, a engouestlas o arc'hant e miliadoù ha miliadoù a zevezhioù-arat dre ar vro a-bezh.

E lec'hioù 'zo e lezas Komision an Douar pep frankiz gant an drafikerien. Ur gevredigezh-Stad eo Komision an Douar, savet er bloavezhioù tregont evit perc'hennan domaniou bras hag o adrannan etre kouerien vihan.

Hervez ur reizhad degemeret er bloavezh 1965 e rankfe estrenien kaout aotre digant Mavdiern (ministr) ar Gounezerezh-Douar kent perc'hennan douar en Iwerzhon. Etre 1965 ha 1972 a roas ar mavdiern an aotre evit 10,000 hektar. E-keit-se e ao-savet ivez meur a gompagnunezh-engouestlan gant harp arc'hant estrenien e sell da brenan douar, met Iwerzhoniz a voe kavet ganto evit rein o anv ha mirout al lezenn evel-se.

War-dro 150,000 gounideg zo dre ar vro ha ganto etre 6 ha 25 hektar a zouar: ar re-se n'int ket gouest da vrasaat o mereurioù. Eus ar 110,000 gwaz divroet etre 1960 ha 1970, 60,000 a oa bet o labourat douar.

Penaos reizhan an traou? Ur c'henaozadur anvet The National Land League savet evit difenn gwirioù ar gouerien vihan a stourm evit kaout ur Reizhad nevez. Ret e vefe kemer diarbennou start, gant ar palioù-man:

(1) divodan Komision an Douar ha lakaat en he lec'h ur C'Huzul-an-Douar ennan dileuridi eus ar c'henaozadurioù-kouerien;

(2) adkemer ar garg eus an holl zouar e dalc'h estrenien, kompagnunezhioù-engouestlan iwerzhonat koulz hag estren, prevezidi ha n'int ket labourerien-douar hag all;

(3) spisaat ar gorread gwellan evit un atant o verkan ur braster dereat na dlejed ket avat mont dreist dezhan;

(4) da Vavdierniezh an Arc'hant rein tu da amprest tan war hirdermen evit sevenin ar mennadous-se.

Disklerian a ra breman an armerzhourien a bled d'ar gounezerezh-douar koulz hag ar c'hevredigezhioù-kouerien all e ranker diaesaat ar prenan-douar d'an engouestlerien, met ne vo ket kavet kalz tud da harpan al Land League. An Irish Farmers Association—FNSEA Iwerzhon—zo a-du gant ar gevalouriezh. N'en deus prezidant an

IFA nemet un dra da ginnig: e vefe stizet ar gouerien gozh da feurmin. o douar da gouerien yaouank oberiant. Setu ivez kinnig heverkan prezidant Macra na Feirme, ur c'henaozadur kouerien yaouank. An IFA ha M.na F. zo kalz krenvoc'h e pep doars eget al Land League.

Brid Heusaff.

*(A new system of landlords threatens to take possession of rural Ireland. A remedy is proposed by the National Land League. It is not likely to be accepted by other farmers' organisations, as they are incompatible with the principles of the Common Market.)*

### A NEW METHOD OF LEARNING BRETON—

"Brezhoneg . . . Buan hag aes", by Per Denez; 256 pages, 17.50 Fr. accompanied by a 33 rpm record OXB, 47.50 Fr. and minicassettes OXB, 73.90 Fr. Published by OMNIVOX, 8 rue de Berri, Paris 75008 (Money Orders CCP Paris 14305-01). Each of the 25 lessons comprises a list of words, a conversation, questions, grammar and numerous exercises. Points of grammar and syntax are explained in detail (in French). The presentation is pleasant, with humorous drawings.

*(What is needed to stop the decline of the Scottish language? A more militant approach as in Wales? A bolder assertion of its role in the rebuilding of the nation?)*

Bep ar mare e teu ur reked dibar a-walc'h dirak ar Sekretour—Stad evit Alba e Dun Eidhin. Goulennet e vez outan gwelout ha tu a vefe da rein renk kefridiel d'ar gouezeleg. Ar wech diwezhan ma 'z eas an Ao. Donald Stewart, ar c'hannad broadelour, de ober ar goulenn e lavaras ar Sekretour ne oa ket ezhomm da rein ar renk-se d'ar yezh.

Uvel-meurbet e vez peurlvuian breutaennou difennourien ar gouezeleg. Kouezhet eo niver ar re na gomzont nemetan da 500 bennak: n'eo ket un abeg evit nac'h outo frankiz keodedel klok. Ar mantrusan eo emzalc'h hesent ha laosk ar c'henaozadur brasan "o tifenn" ar yezh, An Comunn Gaidhealach. Gant an £12,000 ar bloaz a zegemer digant ar Sekretour-Stad ez eo minwalet-mat. Arabat taerin ha stourm a-zevri, peotramant . . . Evito ar gouezeleg zo yezh ur bihanniver. Da belec'h . . . ?

*(The closure of the sea-link between Mallaig and the Kyle of Lochalsh is recommended . . .)*

An toleadou en arvor kornog Alba a vefe fall-tre o stad ma ne vefent ket ereet dre vor gant ar rannvroioù all. Se a dalvez dreist-holl evit arvor an Uheldirioù. Padal un Transport Users Committee en deus erbedet d'ar Sekretour-Stad serrin al linenn-darempred etre porzhioù Mallaig hag An Caol. Ur c'hammed ouzhpenn evit didudan

an Uheldirioù. Anv a vez eus laz-h-gouenn sevenadurel. Er c'horn-broioù-se e komzer gouezeleg. Ha tu a vefe da ziskuilhan ar C'Homite da Vurey an Darempredou-Gouennou? Rak e izili n'eus ket Skosiz anezho.

## KENLABOUR ETRE DAOU STROLLAD BROADEL

Strolladoù Broadel Alba ha Kembre a zo a-unvan evit klask kaout seziou evit an div vro e Parlamant Strasbourg. Setu disoc'h un emvod etre dileuridi eus an daou strollad e Dun Eidhin. Emglev a zo bet etrezo ivez evit goulenn ma vo roet miuoc'h a amzer d'an S.N.P. ha da b-Plaid Cymru evit prezegennou politikel war wagennoù ar B.B.C. Anv a voe ouzhpenn a ober enklaskoù diwar-benn kudennou ha kenaozadurioù poblou bihan all eus ar C'Henvarc'had, evel ar Vrezhoneg hag Euskariz.

Laouenaus eo ar c'henlabour-se etre an daou strollad. N'eo ket kenaozadurioù a vanko dezho e Breizh! Evit a sell ouz ar B.B.C. gouzout a reer ec'h en em glev ar tri strollad Saoz, Labour, Mirourien ha Frankizourien evit mirout ar gouign evito o-unan, ha koulskoude ne dap ket ar Frankizourien muioc'h a vouezhioù en dillenadegoù eget an S.N.P. ha P.C. en Alba ha Kembre. Demokratiezh a vez komprenet e meur a zoare.

## CYMRU-DILABOUR E KEMBRE

8000 Kembreder o labourat e greanterezh an dir a gollo o gourc'hwel (fred) ma vez sevenet mennadoù ar gouarnamant saoz. 60% eus ar vicherourien hag a vo tizhet gant an diarbennou-espenn a zo e Kembre. Setu ur gwall daol o tont buan goude serridigezh 48 mengleuz c'hlaou, a daolas 37.000 mengleuzier er-maez a labour. Prederiet gant an diskar-se, o deus divizet unvaniezhioù-micherourien 'zo sevel ur C'Hevredad a-ratozh evit Kembre, ar Welsh Trade Union Congress. Bodadeg gentan ar c'hevredad a voe dalc'het d'an 10 a viz c'hwevrer e Llandrindod Wells. An holl vizou a oa paeet gant Unvaniezh Vroadel ar vengleusierien.

## ARC'HANT EVIT AR SAOZNEG

Kuzul Kontelezh Morgannwg a brofe £1000 bep bloaz d'an Eisteddfod, ha Kuzul ar Rhondda a roe ivez £100, met nevez'zo e voe nac'het ganto harpan ar gouel broadel ma ne vefe ket divyezhekaet. Respontet e voe e vez digor an Eisteddfod ivez da dud ha na ouzont nemet saozneg. Kefridi an Eisteddfod a zo diwall live uhel al Lennegezh Kembraek. E gwirionez, pezh en deus displijet da dud evel Lord Heycock, penn-bras Kuzul Morgannwg, eo e vez roet tro da vroadelourien Gembre da zisplegan menozioù "politikel" war leurenn an Eisteddfod. Kuzul Morgannwg zo e dalc'h Strollad al "Labour".

Broadelourien Gembre n'o deus ket daleet gant a respont. Da heul ur galv embannet er Welsh Nation o deus kroget da zastum arc'hant da harpan an Eisteddfod. Ar c'henurzhier, an Ao. C. Hodges, en deus dastumet £135 en un nebeut devezhioù en e geriadenn Sully e-kichen Penarth. Skritelloù zo bet peget dre draonienn ar

Rhondda evit atizan an dud da rein o skodenn. Dastumet e vo moarvat muioc'h a arc'hant eget na veze roet gant an daou guzul, hag e vo diskouezet dezho ne brener ket pep tra gant arc'hant.

## FFRED FFRANSIS DIVAC'HET

E dibenn miz Genver e teuas Ffred Ffrancis unan eus diazezerien Gymdeithas yr Iaith er-maez eus an toullbac'h, goude tremen 18 miz e-barzh. Gouzout a reer en doa kemeret perzh en un argad war ur servij-skinwel e 1971. Ouzhpenn 1000 den a zeuas war e arbenn e Caerdydd hag e voe ur gerzhadeg dre ker. Disklerian a reas Ffred e kendalc'h ar gouarnamant saoz da nac'h ur servij-skinwel e Kembraeg penn-da-benn daoust da c'houlennou a bep tu, hag e rankor kenderc'hel da stourm taer eta.

Graet e voe kement-se gant 40 ezel eus Cymdeithas yr Iaith oc'h aloubin ur c'haslec'h H.T.V. e Pontcanna e-pad 16 eurvezh. Ret e voe da B.B.C. Wales kemman skignadennoù en abeg da se. 6 den a voe kaset d'an 29 Genver dirak al lez-varn e Kaerdiz.

Ffred Ffrancis a zo distroet da Skol-Veur Aberystwyth evit kas da benn ar studi war ar c'hembraeg boulc'het gant e-keit ma oa en toull. N'en deus ket gallet kaout ur yalc'had-studi digant ar pennadurezhioù, met harpet e vo gant donezonou mignoned. Hag en en toull-bac'h e voe dilennet da Guzul-Ren Skol-Veur Kembre ha da Guzul an Eisteddfod.

Youan Noac'h.

Kernow Kernev-Veur. "Brocoli train will beat French ferry"—setu ar pezh a skrive ar gelaouenn gernevveuriat "West Briton" d'an 11.1.73 diouzhtu goude treizhadenn gentan ar c'h-Kerisnel. Un tammig nec'het e tiskouez hor mignoned en tu all da Vor Breizh bezan gant ar c'heveze-tezh etre hor c'henvroiz hag o re war varc'hallac'hioù Bro-Saoz. Petra ober ma ne vez ket "rannvroelaet" ar c'henderc'han, un dra hag a c'houlenne kouerien Vreizh digant ar Gumuniezh Armershel Europat bloavezhioù'zo?

Ober a ra hor c'henskriver e Kernev-Veur un embregadeg gall-ha-saoz eus ar gompagnunezh "Bretagne-Angleterre-Irlande". Ret e vefe gouzout piv ez resis a berc'henn an afer-se. Ma teu an darempredou etre hon div vro da greskin dre al linenn nevez, e tlefe Kerneveuriz kavout ar gwellan degemer du-man, met mat e vefe dezho lakaat un arouez bennak evel ar Bzh war o c'hirri-tan.

Manav. Dleout a ra Tynwald, bodadeg vroadel Manav, breutaat ur mennad o kinnig digreskin beli leuriad ar gouarnamant breizhveuriat, al Letanant-Gouarnour. Eman e karg kadoriad Kuzul an Arc'hanterezh Manavat evezhian ouz diazezennoù al lezennerezh hag ar brorenerzh. E-kerzh ar bloavezhioù tremenet o deus strivet Manaviz, dre an Tynwald, da greskin o frankiz.

(Will the Tynwald curtail the powers of the Lieutenant-Governor?)

Ur c'hwezhiñell zo bet kavet e Cronk-y-Voddy, Enez Manav, e derou Genver gant ur skritell stag outi o tiskouez ur gartenn eus ar C'Hwec'h Kontelezh bevennet gant orjal dreinek, ur banniel breizhveuriat e stumm ur vouc'hal sanket enno; war an tu all e oa ur galv en iwerzhoneg, saozneg, alamaneg ha galleg, o c'houlenn harp da argas ar Saozon. Bez'e oa a-berzh "The Andersonstown Central Civic Resistance Committee, Owenvarragh Buildings, Belfast 11.

(Balloon with message from Belfast to Mannin.)

All the words in the Breton language section are in Roparz Hemon's Nouveau Dictionnaire Breton-Français, 820 pages, 18 Fr. (21 Fr. with plastic cover), available from Melle Queille, 47 rue Notre-Dame, 22-Guingamp, Brittany.

Due to mutations, B can become V or P; D, Z or T; G, C'H or K; K, G or C'H; M, V; P, B or F; T, D or Z; GW, W or KW.

## BIG MEETING IN SUPPORT OF LANGUAGE

A meeting attended by 1200-1500 people and organised jointly by the three associations Skol an Emsav, Kuzul ar Brezhoneg and Emgleo Breiz was held in Pondivi, Central Brittany, on November 26, 1972. Its aim was to bring together members of the three main organisations engaged in promoting the Breton language at a time when the awareness of common interests is growing rapidly among the people of Brittany. There had never been such a large attendance for a meeting of that kind. In a statement, the participants agreed that the language could not be divorced from other aspects of the Breton problem and that a solution could only come from the Bretons alone. After 100 years of petitions, it was clear that our country's destiny could not be entrusted to the French State nor to "deputes" to the French Parliament. "The deputies elected in Brittany, who all pledged to support our language, have in fact been satisfied with crumbs. This shows they don't give a damn about Breton . . . We want (1) freedom to manage ourselves our cultural and educational affairs, (2) freedom and power to decide what is good for us in other fields as well."

The meeting, which went on for many hours, started with songs in Breton from Gwernig, Gweltaz, Servat and other popular singers whose themes are directly related to present Breton issues.

Emgleo Breiz has tried hard during the past 20 years to obtain reforms in favour of our language by parliamentary means and in co-operation with Basques, Catalans and Occitans. This association includes non-political cultural groups with moderate reformist aims. Its spokesman, A. Keravel, whose patience with French dilly-dallying seemed infinite, appears now to recognise that the French government will not go further than totally ineffective concessions to the Breton language.

Y. Talbot, speaking for Kuzul ar Brezhoneg saw that by killing our language, the State was destroying a com-

munity and making it subservient to its power. T. Louarn, for Skol an Emsav, stressed that we had to create the structure of our own society and take, not beg for our rights. Y. Gourvez, ex-FLB prisoner, linked the language struggle with that of the workers against exploitation.

Delegates from two teachers unions which have recently come to see that the schools of Brittany had been used to uproot a "popular culture", also spoke, but according to one report, they objected to the strong language used by unrepresentative speakers.

It was decided that half the money collected among the participants would go to support Breton workers on strike in Ploemet (Plouvaël) and St-Karreg. This illustrates the desire of the cultural organisations to establish links with the workers' organisations.

Late in the evening, the participants marched through the town to the local government building.

This joint demonstration by groups, two of which were in the fifties and sixties hostile to one another, was hailed as a success. The conviction that the restoration of Breton is a *political* matter comes here forty years after it was expressed by the nationalists of Breiz Atao. Some scepticism remains as to whether some of these organisations will abide by their statement and stop in fact asking the government to do things for us. It was remarked that no practical decisions emerged at Pondivi. It is all right to insist that the revolution which is necessary in Brittany must express itself in Breton, but while we are still at the talking (and writing) stage, the Welsh are taking down monolingual-English road signs whatever the cost in personal liberty. It is no use blaming the French government for turning a deaf ear to our demands if they are not backed by massive popular support of the kind the French-speaking Jurassiens are mobilising against the Bern government. The power required by the Breton organisations will not be given: it has to be built up from inside.

Excerpts from the speech delivered in Pondivi on behalf of Skol an Emsav:

"Let us ask nothing from the oppressors of Brittany but strive to carry our struggle into everyday life and build structures which will be independent of the French State. The first task is to restore the national consciousness and impart to the people the will to take their own destiny in hand.

"It is no business of officials and politicians in Paris or Marseille to say what we should do with our language. Their refusal is however a tacit recognition of our existence as a national community. Remember the P.M. Doumergue, in 1909, opposing the teaching of Breton for fear it would boost the demand for self-government.

"The myth of the French 'nation' must be destroyed if we are to be free. We must carry further the work of our writers and linguists who, by developing our language's ability to express modern ideas and feelings, asserted independence.

"Today the Bretons are rising against subjection and beginning to see the Breton problem in its totality. For us Breton is not a 'small language', fit for preservation only as a means of expression for a rural society and subordinated to a 'major language'. We reject the French language claim to universality as a disguise for imperialism. The Breton language alone will enable us to establish the link with our history and to express our personality, to create a new cultural medium instead of depending on intellectual productions 'made in Paris'. Our first victory in this struggle is learning Breton and transmitting it to our children. Our second: helping others to learn it. This is the task of Skol an Emsav.

"We look upon the French structure, radio, TV, newspapers, administration, as the front on which to carry the fight: they are instruments of alienation."

**THE WORK OF SKOL AN EMSAV** is based on the recognition that it is necessary to make our people acquainted with or at least aware of our own culture before proposing political aims. SKOL AN EMSAV gives two kinds of instruction: (a) Breton classes, organised in centres on a district basis, with the aim of enabling participants to use the language as soon as possible; (b) meetings to develop an awareness of all aspects of the Breton problem; seminars at Christmas and Easter, summer schools at which the foundation of a genuine Breton society is laid.

On a broader level, S. an E. is engaged in spreading among the people the officially concealed knowledge that they have a language and culture which differ from the French ones. Its activity is not limited to the cultural field: it proposes ways of stopping the decline, publishes pamphlets in French (the first one: *Sous-développement et domination politique en Bretagne*), takes part in the social struggle: at the Loudieg festival, S. and E. has a stand in support of the workers on strike in Plouvaël and St-Karreg.

More than 1000 young people are attending the classes in centres which are scattered over the country. More than half of them are in that part of Brittany where Breton has not been spoken commonly for centuries. There are three centres in Rennes and four others in the vicinity, one in Beignon, one in St-Malo and one newly created in Nantes. In Lower Brittany, there are seven centres: three in Treger (Gwengamp, Lannuon, Montroulez), two in Leon (Brest and Bro-Bagan), two in Kernev (Kemper, Douarnenez). The lack of qualified teachers has prevented the setting up of classes in the Gwened region (there are Breton classes in Gwened, an Oriant, Pondivi but they are not in S. an E.).

A conference held in Plistin (27-30 December) dealt with questions of organisation and S. an E.'s position concerning the political and cultural situation in Brittany. Committees were formed to take care of such aspects as

press and international relations. It was proposed to develop S. an E. activities in other than the language field: in music, art, theatre. The need to help workers in their struggles and to transform S. an E. centres into cells of a new Breton social life was debated.

## HOW SKOL AN EMSAV VIEWS THE PRESENT EVOLUTION IN BRITTANY

Neither the Emsav, nor the groups terms Ledemsav or "Breton Movement", can claim to be steering this evolution, but it is happening in the right direction. The distrust or indifference which existed before the war, and grew considerably around 1945, though still common during the sixties, is vanishing. In Pondivi, where anti-Breton elements have long been notorious, some hostility was displayed towards the marchers by middle aged people: a woman who shouted, "Vous êtes tous des Allemands", a man who boasted having been in the "Resistance", adding, "Je suis Français, moi"; the gist of this being: you cannot be French if you speak Breton today!

Those who stand for Brittany are no longer looked upon as intellectuals detached from modern life. People with socialist or communist sympathies who were opposed to anything Breton are now attracted to our ideas. The concept "Brittany=colony" became popular under the impact of the Breton Liberation front actions in 1967-68 and 1971: they brought home to them the oppression exercised by the State or by the powerful companies. The Breton and the socio-economic strands have met at a level of action. Those concerned with the national aims gave their support to the strikers of the "Joint Français" of Plouvaël and St-Karreg. On the other hand, the workers' claims refer to an overall Breton situation; men like Caryl and Morvan, who testified for the defence in the FLB trial, are prominent in farmers' unions as well as engaged in the Breton movement. The small shopkeepers of the CDCA union, covering all Brittany and led by Hourmant, the mayor of Kastell-Nevez, support the demand for self-government and co-operate with the association Adsav 1532.

However the cultural motive is the strongest. Our people are regaining their sense of values, finding joy in our culture after decades of alienation in French schools. The Breton culture is a free domain, free from capitalism, from the State-managed pseudo-education, from the control of an established intelligentsia. The world of the Festou-noz is not dominated by money. Our singers, Glenmor, Servat, Gweltaz, Gwernig and many others depict a struggle for liberation, a workers' resistance to oppression. Our culture is a source as well as a reflection of this struggle. Through it, we are loosening the grip of the French structure. We cannot create immediately a Breton structure shunting the French one, as the latter, with its institutions and control of employment, will be stronger. But we can weaken and undermine the French



structures, refuse to emigrate, strengthen our hand in the economy.

Hundreds, sometimes thousands, as well in Upper as in Lower Brittany, come to listen to them.

In conclusion, while the economic, cultural and political oppression continues unrelieved, the struggle is being extended and intensified at a popular level.

## LABOUR UNREST

The recurrence of strikes and protests during the autumn and the first winter months indicates that the employment situation remains precarious all over Brittany. They took place in small or medium-sized enterprises which, in some cases, have their centres of decision outside the country. They aimed at obtaining higher wages than the S.M.I.C., the minimum guaranteed by law, as well as improvements in working conditions. The proportion of workers paid the minimum is twice as high in Brittany as in France.

"Les Kaolins de Ploemeur", makers of heat-resistant bricks, employ 120 men. The direction of the company, of which they are a branch, is in Paris. The firm is sited in an area with little employment opportunities: people should have been pleased to have got the factory. One third of the workers were paid the SMIC rate, 28p per hour, the others little more. One of the unpleasant conditions was to be working in a dust-filled atmosphere. So they asked for a 20% pay rise, holiday pay, one hour per month for trade union briefings, an increase in the night duty allowance. They kept the strike going for over two months, in spite of threats of closure. They got hold of the company books and proved that the company would remain perfectly competitive if their claims were granted. It was only four weeks after starting to strike that their delegates were able to meet the people in charge, IN PARIS.

Breton solidarity did not develop on as large a scale as in support of the "Joint Francais" workers in St-Brieg last spring, but support by shopkeepers, farmers and other workers enabled the strikers to hold out: shops were closed, consumer goods were given free of charge, attendance at meetings reached 500 to 2000. Elected representatives were thus forced to take their side. Obviously, the fear of electoral repercussions dictated the granting of their main claims.

"Big Dutchman", subsidiary to an international trust, employs 50 men in St-Karreg in the area of St-Brieg. They assemble parts for agricultural machinery; they were paid the SMIC rate, had to work 72 hours a week, some of them were brought to work in cattle trucks and kept on temporary contracts. When they decided to strike, the company closed the factory, thus in fact cancelling their right to strike.

It seems that the only trade union organisation to back them was the Union of Metal Workers in Brittany (affiliated to the CFDT). In a statement dated October 13, 1972, they denounced the *colonial-type exploitation*

*of the Breton workers*; they pointed out that Big Dutchman, for a turnover of 2300 million "ancien francs" in St-Karreg, made a profit of 230m. Af. The claim would cost only 2.8% of this profit (£5500). Big Dutchman had moreover increased their profit 100-fold between 1970 and 1971. "The Breton metal workers must fully support the workers of St-Karreg and put an end to the exploitation of man by man."

The French hosiery manufacturers S.P.L.I. has four branches employing 2000 women in Eastern Brittany. The basic wage is supplemented by output bonuses which are so calculated that only a small number of the workers can really take advantage of them; in trying to earn them many suffer extenuation, unbearable strain, nervous breakdowns. Last September, a further tightening of this slave-driving device led to revolt in the Fougères branch. The wage packet of the woman who led it was £64 for 174 hours/month: by no means the lowest. They claimed £83 a month as the guaranteed minimum and the suppression of the checks on individual output and of the bonus system. Production norms must not take priority over health requirements.

A similar strike was started by 40 of the 118 women working in the Craly hosiery in Lorient, which are Breton-owned. Here industrial action was due as much to bad pay as to the attitude of the employer towards the workers: insults, threats, police intervention, boarding school discipline. Various pressures and the formation of a submissive union gradually wore away the strikers' resistance. One of them was fired when the strike ended. Court action was taken by the CFDT.

A common feature in today's workers-employers relationships in Brittany is that due to lack of alternative employment branches of the boss-obedient Confederation Française du Travail are easily formed: when strikes occur, their members stay at work, police can intervene to get them to pass pickets in the name of "la liberté due travail". Sanctions are also frequently taken against strikers, thus eroding the right to strike.

The employers' refusal to meet strikers' claims is generally motivated by insufficient profit margins and the need to compete. To convince SMIC-paid workers requires harder evidence than the employers are prepared to provide.

## IN STOCK, for sale at less than half price:

1. copies of the 1969, 1970, 1971 annual volumes of the C. League—35p each.
2. copies of the 1972 volume—75p each.
3. copies of back number of CELTIC NEWS and material of interest about Cornwall, Scotland, Mann and their languages—postage plus small nominal charge.

For sale at ordinary price: 3 copies of Roparz Hemon's Nouveau Dictionnaire Breton Francais (£1.65 each) and 1 copy of the Dictionnaire Francais-Breton (£1.10). From the Secretary-general.

## EIRE

### AN BHRIOTAIN

#### Ag dul sa treo ceart

Nil se le ra ag an EMSAV na ag an LEDEMSAV (Gluaiseacht na Briotaine) gurb iad amhain ata ag stiuradh na heabhloide i gcursai na Briotaine fe lathair. In ainneoin sin ta an eabhloid seo ag dul sa treo ceart. Ta an tamhras agus an dimheas a bhi in airde roimh an chogaidh agus ar a dtainig borradh chomh mor sin thart ar 1945, ag imeacht. Cinnte ta an dimheas le feiceail go foill i gceantacha airithe sa tir. I Pondivi fein, le linn an mhoirshiuil, caitheadh corr-achasan leis na siuloiri—o dhaoine meanaosta a thainig se. Bean amhain a scairt amach “Vous etes tous des Allemands” (Is Gearmanaigh sibh uilig); agus fear a bhi ag maoidheamh go raibh se san Resistance a duirt “Je suis Français, moi” . . . ag cur in iul nach feidir leat bheith id Fhrancach ma labhrann tu Briotainis. Is tearc naisiunai nach naontodh leis an smaoineamh sin. Ach roimhe seo glactai leis go mba Francaigh iad lucht labhartha na Briotainise, se sin le ra, niorbh iad naimhde na Fraince iad. Ni hamhlaidh ata anois: ni feidir leat bheith id “dhilseoir” i dilis do Stait na Fraince ma labhrann tu Briotainis. Mar adeir Pompidou fein “nil aon ait do na teangacha reigiunda laistigh de Stait na Fraince agus an Fhrainc ag iarraidh a seala a chur ar an Eoraip.”

Ni cail na nintleachtoiri, scartha o saol an lae inniu, sta ortha siud a seasann ar son na Briotaine a thuille. Ta baidh anois a fhail aca on dream a chlionn le tuairimi an tsoisialachais agus an chumannachais. Thainig an coincheap “An Bhriotain=Coilineacht” os comhair an phobail le linn feachtais an FLB ins na blianta 1967-68 agus 1971: cuireadh abhaile ar an bpobal ceanna cen leatrom a bhi a cleachtadh ag an Stait agus ag na comhlachta mora. Bhi teacht le cheile idir an naisiunachas agus an coras soisialach-eacnamaiochta. Thugadar siud ata togtha le cuspoiri naisiunta tacaiocht do stailceoiri an “Joint Français”, i Plouvael agus St-Karreg. Ar an dtaobh eile de, is i gcomhtheacs na Briotaine go hiomlan a bhi eilimh an lucht oibre. Ta fir ar nos Caryl agus Morvan, a thus fianaise le linn cuisui an FLB, chun tosaigh i gceardchumainn na bhFeirmeoiri chomh maith le bheith gníomhach i ngluaiseacht na Briotaine. Tugann siopadoiri beaga an cheardchumainn CDCA (ata fe cheannas Hourmant, maor Kastell-Nevez) tacaiocht don eileamh ar fein-rialtas agus don eagraiocht ADSAV 1532.

Ach ise an cuspoir culturtha is treise ortha uilig. Tareis na mblianta fada den “cul le cine” de thairbhe tionchair na scoileanna Francacha ta na Briotainigh ag filleadh ar an dachas. Is domhan saor e domhan chultuir agus teanga na Briotainise: ta se saor on gaimbineachas, o bhreag-oideachas an Stait agus o smacht lucht na saiochta oifigula. Is ar “cogadh na saoirse”, ata a throid ag an lucht oibre agus daoine eile, a chanann na hamhranaithe Glenmor, Servat, Gweltaz, agus Gwernig, agus tagann na milte ag eisteacht leo. Is trid an chultuir ducha-

sach stathar ag ealo o smacht na Fraince. Dar ndoigh ni feidir greasan nua a chumadh don Bhriotain chomh reidh sin. Ta cumhacht na Fraince bunaithe go daingean sa tir trid *institiuidi* an rialtais agus an tionscail. Ach is feidir an chumhacht seo a lagu go mor ma diultaítear don eismirce agus an pobal a thabhairt ar thaobh na gluaiseachta mar atathar a dheanamh faoi lathair.

(bunaithe ar raiteas o Skol an Emsav)

Brid Heusaff.

(The Breton movement is no longer confined to the Ghetto. The link-up with social forces has been increasingly evidenced during the past year. Thousands are flocking to listen to those who sing in Breton as well as in French about the workers' struggle.)

### CYMRU LE DIOL

Nuair a luaítear gluaiseacht teangan sa tir seo seard is tuisce a ritheann le moran daoine na feiseanna, fainni, agus failtithe. Ni hamhlaidh ata an sceal sa Bhreatain Bheag. O bunaiodh Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (Cumann na Teangan Breatnaise) ta si ar na gluaiseachtaí naisiunta is reabhloidi da dtainig ar an saol sa tir sin. Ta traidisiun na siochana agus an nos glacadh le dli agus reacht—fiu mas dli agus reacht Shasana ata i gceist—an laidir i Gymru. Feidhm a bhaint as modhanna bunreachtula an talt creidimh is mo a bhi ag Plaid Cymru o bunaiodh e. Le linn na seascaidi thug an FWA sunc don traidisiun seo, ach nior bhriseadar e. Cibe ar bith ba bheag tacaiocht a fuairadar agus ni raibh ar a gcumas aon feachtas leanunach a chur ar bun. Chomh maith le sin niorbh speis leo moran ceist na teangan agus bi an cheist a bhi ariamh chun tosaigh i ngluaiseacht naisiunta Cymru.

Le linn feachtais na gcomharthaí bothair a thainig an Cymdeithas os comhair an phobail den chead uair. Thaisbeanadar don phobal go rabhadar sasta dul le hagoidi phoibli, dul i bpriosiun agus fiu ar stailce ocras: bhi se le tuisceint go mba cheist pholaitiul i ceist na teangan. Nios tabhachtaí na sin bfheidir, thuig an Cymdeithas nach feidir an teanga a scaradh on bpobal a labhraionn i. Is ar an dtuisceint sin a cuireadh tus le feachtas na dtithe Samhraidh. Ta moran tithe beaga tuaithe a dtreigint i dTuaisceart Cymru de bharr banu na tuaithe agus laru na tion-sclaiochta.

I mi Iul seo caite (1972) bhi se cinn deag de na tithe seo a gcur ar ceannt i gCaernarfon ag Jackson Stopps (nil an Mac Caba aca ansin ar a laghad) nuair a thainig dream den Cymdeithas isteach ins na seomraí ceannt agus leigh Gronw ab Islwyn, cathaoirleach an chumainn, an raiteas seo leanas “Cuireann an Cymdeithas in iul go bhfuil diol talun agus tithe Cymru le eachtrannaigh shanntacha ata ag iarraidh an dara agus an triu ti, fad is ata Breatnaigh gan aon teach, ag scriosadh phobail agus teangan na tire. Is mithid stop a chur leis an gno seo . . .” Leis sin shiul dareag baill chun tosaigh, leagadar an bord, scaipeadar agus strocadar na paipeiri agus shuiodar futha ag canadh “Nil Cymru le diol”.

Cuireadh stop le ceanntanna eile ar an gcaoi ceanna ach nior cuireadh stop le diol na dtithe i ngach cas.

Se donas an sceil na de reir Achta Tithiochta 1969 ceadaítear do comhairli aitiula deontaisi a thabhairt le feabhas a chur ar na tithe seo—airgead an phobail a thabhairt d'eachtrannaigh gan leas ar bith don phobal fein.

Scriobh Cymdeithas chuig 71 de na comhairli seo ag fiosru i dtaobh na ndeontaisi; fuarthas freagra o 34, agus ortha seo ni raibh ach 7 san iomlan a dhiultaigh deontaisi ar son tithe saoire.

Siad na droch-thorthai a leanann diol na dtithe na (i) go dhfuil a lan Bearloiri ag teacht isteach i gceantracha Breatnaise; (ii) go mbionn na bailte beaga treighte ar feadh cuid mhaith den bhliain; (iii) go bhfuil na luacha ag dul chomh hard sin nach feidir le muintir na haite na tithe a cheannach Mar reiteach praiticiul ar an sceal bunaíodh cupla comhlacht tithiochta d'fhonn cuid de na tithe a thagann ar an margadh a cheannach, a choiriu agus iad a ligint ar cíos do Bhreatnaigh dhasachas.

Deanann Cymeithas Tai Gwynedd freastal go speisialta ar shean daoine agus ar lanuin oga ata ag iarraidh tithe. Glactar le iasachtaí airgid saor o us chomh maith le iasachtaí ar us 6%.

Se an príomh cuspoir ata le ADFER na tithe a cheannach i gceantracha ina labhartar Breatnaise agus iad a ligint ar cíos do lucht labhartha Breatnaise. Ta sceim oibre deonach acu leis na tithe a ghlanadh agus ta cuireadh tugtha do foghlaimoiri Breatnaise beith pairteach sa sceim i mbliana.

Is innholta ar fad na sceimeanna seo ach ta se deacair creidbheail gur leigheas iomlan iad fad nach gcuirtear aon srian ar an 'margadh oscailte' agus gur feidir le lucht an airgid mhoir teacht isteach i gconai.

**Brid Heusaff.**

(Wales is not for sale! This article describes the resistance to cheque book imperialism which has developed around Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg.)

#### FESTIVAL OF CELTIC MUSIC (Dublin 28/1–3/2/73)

The recent Eigue na Tríonoide, on the theme of Celtic Traditional Music organised by the Cumann Gaelach of T.C.D. was an outstanding success. Capacity audiences at both lunchtime and evening sessions sat (or sprawled in the passages or stood) enthralled by the wealth, variety and excellence of the performances. There was an opportunity to learn as well as listen from the lectures which were an essential part of the evening sessions. Apart from the more familiar themes of Uilleann Pipes and traditional Fiddling—at least to Irish listeners—special mention must be made of the very informative and entertaining lectures delivered by Grainne Yeats on Irish Harp music, by Seamus Mac Neill from Scotland on Piobaireachd or 'Ceol Mor' of the Highlands, by Sean Og O Tuama on Irish 'sean-nos' singing, and finally by Robin James Jones from Wales on the Welsh Triple Harp and Penillion sing-

ing. Indeed the Scottish and Welsh contributions were the most valuable of the whole week since they revealed aspects of the musical tradition of our Celtic neighbours unfamiliar to most Irish people.

In spite of the two Breton flags which flanked the rostrum, Brittany was not represented, as had been expected. Many were disappointed at this absence, particularly after the resounding success of Gweltaz at the Oireachtas last October. It was not clear whether the requested Breton artist was not available or that his costs were beyond the modest means of the Cumann Gaelach, but likely a combination of both. Because of the growth in popularity of traditional music, it cannot be excluded from commercial interests. However, these should not be allowed to take precedence in an event such as this whose main purpose is to promote inter-celtic understanding on a cultural level. (It should be noted that all performances during the week were free. In other words commercial fees are not fitting in such a non-commercial venture.) Perhaps a better effort could have been made by the organisers to get alternative Breton artists as I'm sure there are many of these who would be happy to take part for a nominal sum.

The Celtic League will be happy to help in establishing the contacts for similar events in the future as it has done in the past.

#### HIDDEN ULSTER by Padraig O'Snodaigh

The title of this booklet refers to the submerged culture of the north of Ireland which has been denied to so many of its present day inhabitants. In the foreword the Rev. Canon Cosslett Quin calls on his fellow Protestants to speak out in "the accent and language of the land in which they are rooted", and this is Padraig O'Snodaigh's theme—not what divides the people of Ulster and is given so much publicity, but what they had in common in the past and could be the means of uniting them again. The writer rejects the "two nations theory" being revived in many circles at the moment and put forward as a solution for the present crisis. He points out that the advocates of this seemingly simple solution rest it on too many untenable claims, e.g., that the Irish language is not part of the heritage of the Ulster Protestant community. He shows that this would require equating the Six Counties firstly with Ulster then with the planted counties—but non facts. Then it would presuppose that the Protestant community in the north is separate from all the other Protestant communities of Ireland, and even more difficult to accept that the "native" and incoming people never mixed or inter-married and that the latter were on arrival and remained monoglot English speakers. Quite a list to prove. He also shows that the plantation was not the revolutionary and cataclysmic event which we have been led to believe and did not lead immediately to the submerging of the land in an alien culture. To

begin with the planters did not outnumber the residents in total and with so many of the former being Gaelic speaking Scots making a journey which had been made so often before in each direction across that narrow sea the word "native" ceases to be a term of discrimination. The established Church looked to Scotland to provide preachers in Gaelic, and among many other paradoxes—the record of the Protestant Church at that time towards the Irish language bears more scrutiny than that of the Catholic Church. It took a gradual sequence of events to help create the present day situation. Hostile or indifferent agents such as Church and state causing the contradiction of the language—the emigrations of the 18th century, and the tenfold increase in the population of Belfast in the 19th century, these are some of the events. It is not possible to summarise what is already a condensed account of the events which affected the language and through it the culture of Ulster but it cannot be recommended too strongly to those who wish to understand and especially to fellow Scots, who feel saddened by the present situation. Reading it even at this moment or possibly especially at this moment, one is given a little hope by having some of those dark corners illuminated and some of the more pernicious myths exorcised. There is an excellent, detailed bibliography to show the sources, given as footnotes at the end. The text is mainly factual and leaves one with plenty to think about. If given a chance people of Ireland could live together in harmony, cherishing one of the oldest and richest cultures in existence and we Scots should take a long look back at our own roots and share the cherishing with them—they are out kith and kin in a sense the chauvinists daily try to obliterate. When we have so much to gain from learning the truth and building on that, who gains from the present agony?

Padraig O'Snodaigh is to be congratulated on this calm and constructive piece of scholarship.

Mairi Nic Mhaolain.

**Hidden Ulster by Padraig O'Snodaigh, 20p**  
Clodhanna Teo, 6 Sraid Fhearchair, Baile Atha Cliatha 2.

### SPECIAL BRANCH COLLABORATORS

The trial 'in camera' continues of an English citizen and an Irish Garda, accused of breaches of Official Secrets Acts, etc.—in short of spying for England. One of their accusers is a Special Branch Inspector Doocey.

The same Doocey is the man who was revealed a year ago in *Pobal* as collaborating with the English authorities to deny Celtic League member Janice Williams the opportunity of visiting a Welsh Political prisoner in an English jail.

The difference is that in the latter case the English and Irish official attitudes are at one, while in the former yachtsman Heath was showing too much inside knowledge of Irish affairs to suit Jack Lynch.

### IRISH IN THE SCHOOLS

On the eve of the general election it was announced that the parents in Ballymun (Dublin) have won their two year struggle for an all-Irish school in their north Dublin satellite town.

With the growing numbers involved (Tallaght, Dundrum and Ballyfermont are probably the next three areas of agitation near Dublin) publication of first class textbooks will have to keep pace. (Could there be a project towards multi-lingual—inter-Celtic—publication of some illustrated texts?)

The nearest school to the U.S.A.—Dun Chaoin—is still officially closed, but unofficially opened for the third year. The decision to close it was a civil servant's not a politician's. One can vote against a politician. What redress is there against bureaucracy?

### PRESIDENCY

The Presidency of the Republic of Ireland will be vacated by Eamon de Valera this year. The race for succession has already started. Though as a legislative office the presidency has never been seen as significant the failure of the two major parties to agree on a candidate was one of the factors which precipitated the calling of a general election in February. An Taoiseach, Mr Lynch, at least said so, when announcing the dissolution of An Dail. That will not be a factor in the electorates minds nor indeed will this 'reason' be regarded as such. Two further aspects of the timing of the election are (1) that by its being held it avoids the X factor of the 18-21 year-olds, who will not be enfranchised until April, and (2) that the redrafting of the constituency boundaries—a constitutional requirement, in the light of demographic shifts revealed by census returns—will not have taken place before the election.

To some these are aspects of the "power game" or manifestations of "professionalism". There is another word "gliocas".

### WAITING FOR WHITE-LAW

The Irish condition ought to be seen sometimes in classical imperialistic terms. Many governments in England have avoided so displaying it. Not so Heath, who sends a renegade Scottish estate owner aided by two knights of the Realm to quell the disturbances on the marches of Her Majesty's domain.

The arrogance, the conceit, and the master-race complex that inform such attitudes can never solve the Irish problem. That can only be solved by an English disengagement.

And so month after month goes by waiting for White-law to conjure up 'the final solution': a restored Stormont reduced to county council status, a Council of Ireland and a federation of museums and art galleries. And then for some grouse shooting in the depopulated Highlands.



## EROSION OF DEMOCRACY

Who defends the abstract in a state where the short-term, the immediate, the concrete, is the criterion par excellence? Law after law has been passed in the Republic of Ireland, under Fianna Fail over the past few years, aimed at particular occasions but leading to new principles and dangerous precedents. So it was with the Forcible Entry Bill, the legislation about about demonstrations in the vicinity of Dail Eireann, and most recently with the amendment to the Offences against the State Act. This has brought in, in effect, the concept of guilt by hearsay (the suspicion—unsupported by evidence—of a Garda Superintendent was sufficient to have Ruairi o Bradaigh jailed for six months) and to an approximation towards the code Napoleon endorsed presumption of guilt until innocence be established.

## FORCE AND ITS PERPETRATORS

Some people have urged lately that subject nations should not follow the Irish path of violence towards liberty. This attitude is crude in its historical inaccuracy, ignorant of the boycott, the land league and other aspects of the Irish revolution and crypto-racial in its administration of some lack or quirk in the Irish which drives them towards violence.

As was pointed out in Norway late last year, there is no fundamental difference between the Irish and the Norge in this: the difference in their patterns of achieving measures of political liberty was in their landlords. That is the difference between Sweden and England; not between Ireland and Norway.

Any brother Celt who urges otherwise is wittingly or not a collaborator of the English in their continuing deleterious interference in our lives.

## ART FOUNDATION

The Irish-American Cultural Institute—publishers of the quarterly *Eire-Ireland*, of the monthly *Duchas* (which sells by the ten thousand in the USA, apparently) and administrators of the Butler Memorial Prizes for Irish writing—have announced a new and well endowed foundation for the support of practitioners in the plastic arts in Ireland. Their motto is "Not Ancestor Worship but Filial Gratitude". Trua nach amhlaidh gach deorai.

## INTER-CELTIC SUMMER SCHOOL 1973 (IRISH BRANCH OF CELTIC LEAGUE) DUBLIN, 2nd–13th JULY

### Activities:

1. IRISH CLASSES (morning and afternoon, Monday to Friday)
2. LECTURES concerning various aspects of Irish life—Cultural, economic, social, political, etc.
3. AFTERNOON TOURS—midweek of Baile Atha Cliath (Dublin).
4. WEEKEND TOURS of Gleann da Loch, Newgrange (The Gaeltachtaí—if at all possible)

Last year taught us that it was just as cheap to avail of C.I.E. (National Transport) tours.

FEE £6 (Course only) Students £4

Apply before 1st May 1973 to:

Caitlin Maude,  
37 Dun an Oir,  
Tamhlacht,  
Co. Atha Cliath.

## MISSILES HIT SCALLOP BUSINESS

Irish fishermen stand to suffer a substantial loss in earnings during the coming summer unless a decision by the British Government to extend the area of an experimental missile firing range off the Welsh coast is restricted.

The range is at Aberporth in Cardiganshire, about 18 miles north-east of Fishguard. During the past couple of seasons trawlers from Kilmore Quay, Rosslare, Wicklow, Howth, and other Irish ports have been crossing the Irish Sea to dredge for scallops in Cardigan Bay.

Excellent catches of top-quality shellfish have been made about 15 to 25 miles off the Welsh coast and well outside British territorial waters.

For the past decade, since the range was established, British and foreign vessels have been prohibited from operating in the 200 square miles danger area off Aberporth.

Now the British Government have announced that the prohibited zone is to be increased to 1500 square miles for about eight weeks, at the peak of the shellfish season. This area embraces the main scallop grounds.

A protest has been made by irate Welsh fishermen, who claim that such a move would cut their earnings by more than 40 per cent. However there seems little hope that this protest will have any effect. The Government's attitude is that the extension of the missile testing zone is imperative.

Fishermen are anxiously waiting developments.

## COWSESOW KERNEWEK . . . (Cornish Thoughts)

Land is being lost to us at an alarming rate. If our heritage really means anything to us, we must be prepared to suppress a part of our Celtic nature, and make a concerted effort to present a common and determined front to the insidious colonisation that is taking place.

Pan bobel yn ystory an bys a gowsys kemmys yn kever sansoleth aga thyr, mes a asas kemmys dhe vos dalghennys gans estrenyon?

Nans yu myl vledhen ha pypm cans an Sawson ha'n Francas re dhallathsa namnygen dhe dhegemeres agan tyryw, ha ny hep gothvos fatel omjunnya er aga fyn ha'ga lesta.

Nyns on-ny ken hedhyu. A pen-ny tus wyr, a wrussen-ny gwertha agan treven ha'gan dor dhe estrenyon awos cals an arghans us dhedha? Po a wrussen-ny gasa dh'agan gentrevogyon dhe wul yndella? A pe cref again colon, ny a wrussa dos warbarth yn un bobel, ha strotha agan bro, ha'y hontrolya, ma'na alla bos kellys ertach agan fleghes . . . ya, hag ertach an yl bro a vyth ertach whegh bro; unwos a vydhyn, ytho unver prag na vydhyn-ny kekefrys?

Y halsa bos. Mes kensa ny a dal kysya un ran agan gnas Geltek kemmyn; an ran re wruk agan dyberth dres an osow, ha'gan gwanhe; an ran a wra agan lesta-ny rag omdhon an towl mur-na a dalva bos y'gan brys.

Hemma unwyth a pe, ny vya res perthy collesow kepar ha'n re ha re be perthys yn Breten Vyhan ma'ma towl rag "dyspletya" ran an plek-mor Konk-Kernev rag les an havysy ha'n gevothogyon, yn un wul "Cyta an Mor" ynnny 3000 chy po ranjy, kefrys ha porth rag an lyster-wary. Pupprys yma gwres puptra abarth Myghtern Mydas, ha papprys yma kellys dhyn ran moy agan ertach ha'gan forth vewa.

Yn Kernow (Vur) ynweth, prena po rentya chy re dheth ha bos tra na yllyr drehedhes dhiodho rag den an vro. Ny nyns on kevotyak, deffry. Goy, an dheubryas noweth!

Ha pandr'awher yn Ywerdhon? Ytho, Cōwethas Velgyk re brenas 50 erow an Pentyr Dingle awos y "dyspletya".

Hag yn Kembry? Hag yn Manow? Hag yn Alban?

A wharfe hemma unwyth, ny amontsa namur marte-sen; collenky an dra a wrussen: mes yma-hy ow wharfos pup bledhen, pup mys, pup seythen, ha nyns us lowr a Geltyon dhedha y fern; gans an ran vrassa, del hevel, gwell yu Hedhyu agas Avorow . . . pandr'a vern hedra ven-ny attes y'gan dedhyow, hag arghans luk y'gan pokettys? Hedhyu yu ragon-ny. Avorow a vyth rag agan fleghes; avysyens-y a henna.

Ytho, my a wayt y dh'agan grassa ragtho!

R.R.M.G.

## THE FIGHT GOES ON

Cornwall's troubles are by-and-large the same as those of any other Celtic country in that it is left wide open to economic exploitation by the powerful financial, industrial and trading companies of the Colonial power, in this case England. There is also, of course, the brutal refusal of the English Establishment to recognise that the Celtic peoples have very special rights or indeed exist at all.

This position is no longer being accepted by Cornish people and so protest groups are springing up everywhere to deal with local complaints. These groups act with vigour and show considerable unity and determination in the operations in which they are engaged but they tend to break up when they are completed.

Immediate dangers are large-scale land purchases for building houses too expensive for local people to buy,

also the encouragement of the holiday and tourist trades by creating tourist attractions when these trades have already reached saturation point and Cornish people are, during the holiday season, crowded off their own beaches and roads and out of their hospitals by foreign road casualties.

Probably the most brazen and cynical of recent invasions is that of the Greater London Council who secretly bought land in an old Celtic area on which to build homes for its unwanted old age pensioners. Needless to say, this project will meet with complete and comprehensive opposition until it is abandoned.

The British electoral and Parliamentary system, probably the least democratic in Europe, provides no opportunities for minority opinion to be expressed so it is generally believed that the best way to influence the government is through the local councils. If pressure can be brought upon them, they in turn can exert some pressure on the government and certainly are able to direct the actual administration of most government measures.

Both Mebyon Kernow and the Cornish Nationalist Party are working in this way. Mebyon Kernow through its branches and activity groups is supporting local protest groups and directly lobbying the members of local authorities. The Cornish Nationalist Party is doing similar work but is doing it through an Environment Forum set up by the County Council. Both parties hope to be ready to give effective support to bona-fide Cornish candidates at the coming local elections.

Much more should be done to gain the confidence and support of Cornish working men and women; their support is essential to a strong and active movement. We need, too, to contact the large number of non-Cornish Celtic residents and involve them in our struggle.

## KERNOW

### Political Experiment in Cornwall

Because none of the three main political parties in Britain has ever done any good to Cornwall and because under the British two-party system it is almost impossible to develop a new party, some Mebyon Kernow groups are experimenting with a new tactic specially designed to gain influence in the local councils. In this the existing parties, Liberal, Labour and Conservative, are ignored as being completely irrelevant. If it is well-known that a candidate is a loyal Cornishman who has always supported Cornish interests he will be supported whatever other political views he may have.

An M.K. group will get two or three of its car-owning members to help the candidate to distribute his election propaganda and to convey his supporters to the polling station on the election day.

If this candidate is elected the group will keep in touch with him, inform him of local opinion and discuss local issues with him. This it is hoped will strengthen Cornish influence in the councils and restore the influence of the elector upon the councils.

### Cornish Police

In 1967 the police forces of Devon, Cornwall, Exeter and Plymouth were amalgamated by order of the English government for the sake of efficiency. By this amalgamation sparsely populated Celtic Cornwall lost control of its police force which was taken over and reshaped to suit the special needs of the densely populated Saxon towns of Devonshire.

The result of this exercise in efficiency is that Cornwall has now a police force that is disliked, distrusted and completely inadequate.

In the first year of the change-over it cost us £320,000 more than did our own satisfactory force, and the cost is still climbing. Just one more example of how English majorities treat Celtic minorities.

Cornwall County Council has now stated that it intends to take control of its own police force whether the Home Secretary agrees or not.

### Conflicting Interests

Cornish tin mines in the Camborne area, recently reopened after generations of disuse, have run into trouble. They state that they can only operate profitably if they are allowed to discharge their untreated waste into the Red River. As this is causing considerable pollution and damaging fishing beds and holiday beaches, the River Board has ordered them to discontinue this practice. This brings three of Cornwall's major industries: mining, fishing and tourism into conflict.

### Roscoff Ferry

Roscoff ferry is now in operation. Of its first ten lorries four came to Cornwall, loaded with apples and lettuce. They would have come anyway though by a different route. The new British Rail high-speed service will get Cornish broccoli and cabbage to the central English markets earlier than the goods carried in the ferry's lorries.

The ferry is simply a Franco-British commercial enterprise\* that is unlikely to have any Celtic significance until it carries passengers. When this happens, we may well find that a number of Bretons will come to work in Cornwall and vice-versa. It will then be important that these people are treated as *kinsmen* and not as French or English foreigners.

Here the Celtic League could do a worthwhile job. Joint membership of the Breton and Cornish branches backed up by just a little organisation in each country might well provide moral support and information to those visitors until they settle down.

\*Note by A.H. — "Bretons may not agree. On its first trip, the *Kerisnel* hoisted the Breton flag. A sister-ship is to be called "Penn ar Bed". We'll enquire who exactly is behind the venture.

### AN TEINE BHREATNACH

by Brian Mac Stoyll

Ta Cymdeithas yr Iaith (An tSeiseacht Bhreatnais) er ndeanu rudan iondasach son an teine dhughasach sa Talu Bhreatnach. Teobh muigh de'n Talu Bhreatnach fhin, 's ioma duine ta fost smuineacht do bhel slaigh na Seiseacht seo slan an na gciall. Er a' fa nach bhel an chuid 's mu do 'laigh claistinn bheg mo cheann an Cymdeithas ach truid an teilibhis as na pabaran Sostnach, t'ad siltinn do menic nach bhel ach omaideas ra ghaodainn bhaigh'n tSeiseacht seo.

Ach ta rud mur er dtaghairt. Nis, ta iomadaí slaigh aga sa Talu Bhreatnach cunda An tSeiseacht Bhreatnais a bhe na seiseacht fíor neartal as scainseoil. T'ad faiginn do bhel An tSeiseacht Bhreatnais cur tuille bri steach anns Plaid Cymru. As san acht sein, ta'n tseiseacht ag seo cur eagal do leur er Seiseacht Obrachas Shostan.

Do dearu, tra bha nan de ard dhaoine na Seiseacht Bhreatnais, Ffred Ffransís, anns Learpholl er a' ghoirid, is ioma fer uasal as ard-ionsait bhaigh'n Talu Breatnach bha cur onoran da'n fer "ciondach" seo.

### SCUGHA-TAIGH FOST ANNS NEIRINN—Evictions continue in Ireland

B. MacStoyll

The winning of a sort of freedom for part of Ireland has not helped the Fahy family a great deal. They face eviction by an English landlord, Commandant Burgess of Sussex.

Ta'n lucht-taigh O Fathaigh er chumal sa taigh che-dain er traigh Loch Coirb, loch 's fhoide na hEireann, ris ciad do le do bhliantan as nas mu. Ta radhart alainn ec lucht O Fathaigh de na eileanan as croinc Chonamara. Ach ta fir an airgead Sostnach 'g iarrai gaodainn greim er an talu seo uile. Ba mhaith leobhsan muindir na tire a cheamh mach do slan as milliunai a chur steach san ionad oc, bagha anns taighean uasal costal tomhsanan do phunt. Ta'n Commandant Burgess, bhaigh Sussex, gra do bhel talu lucht-taigh O Fathaigh leisean, as anns 1971 duirt cur do robh an taigh leisean. Teobh muigh de lucht O Fathaigh, ta Burgess as a fhir-chunai 'g iarrai gaodainn re ris slaigh eile anns Uachtar Ard. Nis ta cur gra do bi lucht O Fathaigh ceamht mach as nan dtaigh. Act ta Sinn Fein (oiceoil) as stiudaeran na hEireann cur cuna da'n lucht-taigh dunal seo. Ach gheobh an airgead an bhar-raiocht an cuairt seo.

### UNANAS RA-HOIGH CODA CO-CHRUINNEACHT NA BRIOTAN—A Union for the defence of the Breton Environment

This union is seeking to bring together 150 associations to combat the spread of camping sites, the ravaging of beauty spots by speculative building, the pollution of rivers, and so on.

Ta'n unanas seo goil toiseacht leis 30,000 oltanan. Ta a uachtaran, Jarno, gra do bhfod e 'g obrach ball erbi sa Bhriotan. Ta'n unanas noigh ocsan ta siorra cosna dohbhan fhin rois gach ni. Ni e co-obrach marais na co-chorpan tuach, ach manach bhios seo fiu, thed e teobh muigh de'n leigh.

Anns leor no, ta Yann Breilien (38 rue J. d'Arc, Quimper) deanu stiudaeras de uile na rudan ta deanu bagartas da corp as anam na Briotan. T'e scriu do bhel na daoine leis airgead deanu diol mur as tomhs. 'S eighean dobh bhe scuirrit nis, teilireach.

Ta'n leor seo ainmiosait "La Bretagne qu'il faut sauver".

## MANN AND THE COMMON MARKET

In spite of recent statements and reports that Mann would remain virtually outside the Common Market, it now appears that Manx association with the Market will be much closer than envisaged. Cynics might even say that Mann was being annexed by the back door.

On 28 December, Tynwald (the Manx Parliament) met to give formal approval to the act tying the Island to the Common Market. Like the Channel Islands, Mann is to have a "special relationship" with the Market, but as yet no one knows what form this relationship will take. So far, the position of Manx farming and fishing has not changed, but, eventually, the Council of European Communities in Brussels will pronounce on this. Mann is in an exposed position because her case is not being put directly. A United Kingdom representative is putting the Manx case in Brussels and is reporting back to a Manx select committee on Common Market affairs.

Writing in the Isle of Man "Examiner", Alan Bell recently reported that it seemed likely that the Manx Government would have to impose tariffs and levies in the same way as the United Kingdom. But probably the product of these levies would accrue to Mann and the Manx Government would not be expected to contribute to Common Market funds.

In all the confusion and speculation about Mann and the Common Market, one thing is certain: value added tax will be levied in Mann. This has been decided in spite of determined opposition by some members of Tynwald.

## CYMRU

Shortly before Christmas a young Breton girl was interviewed on B.B.C. Wales. She was Miss Anamari Trellu who presented a glowing example of young nationalists who are transforming the Celtic countries. Her knowledge of the Welsh language was almost perfect and her concern for obtaining justice for Breton and Welsh very sincere. Miss Trellu who is a teacher paid tribute to the work undertaken by the Welsh language society. She expressed a desire to see a greater co-ordination between the Celtic countries, especially within the E.E.C. Miss Trellu will be staying in Pwllhwl for another year. Doubtless she will be fluent in the Welsh language before returning to her native Brittany.

John Jenkins, the political prisoner in England's Albany prison on the Isle of Wight has just completed 40 days hunger strike. He was protesting against conditions inside the prison. We are asked to say that Mr Jenkins would like to receive any book on 'Celtic Illuminated Manuscripts'.

Followers of Esperanto usually support justice for minority languages. Wide publicity was given to the English lord justice visit to Bangor by Esperanto publications. To those who think that the proper way to communicate with other countries without using English, further particulars can be obtained from Bill Chapman, 'The Willows', Ffordd Caergybi, Bangor, Wales.

The Language Society's campaign for more Welsh language programmes:

*May 1968:* A parade through Cardiff. A petition containing 10,000 signatures presented.

*October 1968:* A motion passed at a general meeting that 'the society start a peaceful campaign against the B.B.C.'

*November 1968:* Occupation of studios at Bangor and Cardiff as part of the campaign.

*October 1970:* A general meeting accepting a motion to the effect that the B.B.C. had not taken any steps to increase Welsh language programmes.

*December 1970:* Members hold a series of three protest meetings in London. Over 30 people arrested and fined in different courts.

*April 1971:* A hundred mile ramble over four days from Llanellwly to Bangor. A collection of Radio and TV licences on the way. A public meeting and bonfire held at end of journey.

*July 1971:* Ten members of the society ascending TV masts in various parts of Wales. Three members entering TV studios in Manchester.

*August 1971:* A ramble over a period of fourteen days from Bangor to Cardiff. A petition containing 10,000 signatures presented. Seventeen members arrested and accused of conspiring to damage TV equipment.



*November 1971:* Trial of above members in Y Wyddgrug (Mold). At the end of a fortnight, three were freed; nine given suspended sentences and four were imprisoned.

*January 1972:* The occupation of five broadcasting stations.

*February 1972:* The Welsh broadcasting council publish detailed figures on the estimated cost of establishing a new service.

*June 1972:* Occupation of the B.B.C. administrative office in Cardiff.

*July 1972:* Four people enter B.B.C. offices in London.

*August 1972:* About thirty people occupy the Post Office buildings in London.

At the Caernarfon branch of the Union of Welsh School Masters it was reported that membership had increased by 16%. At the meeting it was decided to send a strong protest to the education authority against the trend of appointing monoglot English speaking teachers in counties where the majority of children are Welsh speaking.

#### ADFER

Adfer, the Welsh movement to restore the land, houses and dignity of the Welsh people, has expanded rapidly in a very short time. The movement, with its Limited Company, has bought houses in many areas of the Fro Gymraeg (Welsh-speaking Wales), and local branches have been set up to organise and promote the work. There are now branches of Adfer in Arfon, Mon, Meiron, Ceredigion, Penfro and Myrddin. On the practical level the work involves organising Housing Campaigns, which involves the local community as a whole. Local people invest or donate money in Adfer, and the money is used to buy houses and land locally. Many of the houses bought need renovating, and local craftsmen are employed and local building materials are used.

The Directors and Officials of Adfer do not accept any dividend, and the work is done voluntarily, with the profit going back into the company in order to expand its activities. As well as buying land and houses, the movement is planning to building new houses for Welsh people. The movement also acts as agents for Welsh people who are selling property, as well as lending money on interest to Welsh people who are setting up a business or industry in the Fro Gymraeg.

The movement organises Work Camps, and during the last year hundreds of young people have been working voluntarily on work sites, helping with the renovating of the houses. These Work Camps are developing into important social events in Welsh districts. The houses, after having been renovated, are rented to local Welsh people.

'Yr Adferwr' (The Restorer), the movement's newspaper advertises Welsh property for sale, and advocates the return of Welsh-speakers to the Fro Gymraeg to work

for its restoration. An Exile Fund exists with Welsh people outside the Fro Gymraeg, investing money in order to further the cause of Adfer.

Ieuan Wyn,  
Ysgrifennydd Cyffredinol.

#### CILMERI

The General Secretary and seven members of the Irish Branch travelled from Ireland to attend the commemoration at Cilmeri in memory of Llywellyn on Saturday, 9th December 1972. On arrival at Abergwain on Friday at 2 a.m. they were held and questioned for almost three hours by British Special Branch detectives. A particular point of irritation to these 'gentlemen' seemed to be the fact that all members of the party had their names in Irish, as always, and documentation to show this. The Branch men persisted in asking for anglicised versions of our names (you could not have an identity of course if you had your name in Irish only!) and on being told that there were none muttered darkly about having power to refuse us entry, etc. Another thing that irritated them was that one of the party had a batch of republican papers which he wished to bring into Cymru with him. Despite the fact that these papers are sold openly in Cymru and indeed in England itself all 120 of them were confiscated! Eventually, after lengthy phone calls (to and from Dublin Castle?) we were allowed to proceed at that unearthly hour on our way to Caerdydd. It is hoped however that the gentlemen of the Branch now have a better appreciation of Irish traditional music as they were serenaded by one of our party with some of our best tunes, on the tin whistle, during our enforced delay.

While absolutely overwhelmed by the marvellous hospitality shown to us in Caerdydd, Casnewydd, Cymbran and Bala it must be admitted that the small attendance at the commemoration was a disappointment to us. Perhaps the dreadful weather was responsible. It was explained to us of course that this was the first year that an organised commemoration was attempted, the previous custom being for groups and individuals to come on or around the date of Llywellyn's murder. It could certainly be said that there was a fair diversity of opinion in Cymru present even if they sometimes seemed to be uneasy bedfellows! One wonders whether this diversity will be a help or a hindrance in attempting to build up a large well attended commemoration which could serve as an occasion for a review of the year's activities and achievements and a reassessment of the coming year's strategy and tactics in the battle against Imperialism.

**Tachdadh Craoibhe-sgaoileadh an Eirinn**  
Gòrdan Bàrr, Comunn na Cànan Albannaich

Bha farmad mòr againn an Alba 'nuair a chuir na h-Eireannaich air bhonn réidio uile gu léir anns a' Ghàidhlig. Cha do dh'iarr iad màl dubailte mar a tha am BBC a' dèanamh anns an duthaich seo le bhith iarraidh £20,000 bho chomhairlean ionadail. Ach tha cuisean ùra a'sealltainn nach eil a h-uile rud a'dol gu math le craobh-sgaoileadh Eireannach, oir aig deireadh an t-Samhuinn 1972 chuireadh Donal O Morain agus ochdnar eile à dreuchd anns an Ughdarras RTE (Reidio agus Telebhision Eirinn) le Mr Collins, Ministear Phoiste is Telegoireasan, a chuir craobh-sgaoileadh claon as an leth. Dh'agair e gun robh an RTE a'toirt cus foilseachaidh do dhaoine is do chruth-shuicheachaidh a tha a'misneachadh fòirneart agus nach tug iad foilseachadh gu leor mu "mnathaibh na sìthe" an Doire. Mu dheireadh an deidh dhaibh còmhraidh le Sean MacStiofan a chraobh-sgaoileadh air an 19'mh de'n t-Samhuin, an latha a ghlacadh e, chuireadh iad à dreuchd gun dàil.

A'beachdachadh air a'ghnothaich, thuairt Mr O Morain gun robh e do-sheachanta gum bitheadh programan ghnothaichean-laitheil a'cur fearg air cuideigin—ge be eaglais no partai politiceach no na buidhnean agus thuairt e nach robh Mr Collins ach 'na inneal anns na lamhan aig Mr Lynch airson craoibhe-sgaoileadh a chur fo smachd a'Phartai Fiana Fail.

'Se naidheachd nach cuala sinn anns an duthaich seo cha mhòr. Ach tha e gu math soilleir gu bheil réidio is telebhision fo smachd chollonta de Fiana Fail a nis agus gu bheil saorsa—labhairt air a tachdadh an sin. An t-aobhar? A chum gum bith Eirinn a Tuath 'na tamh a dh'aithghearr agus gum bith na dà charaid Mr Heath agus Mr Lynch a'dol air adhart leis an obair a tha iad a'cunntadh mar an obair as cudthromaiche aca—meadachadh industrialach agus trilleachd industrialach aig pris 'sam bith agus le aon stràc.

*Summary.* Mr Lynch's government has dismissed the RTE Authority for allegedly biased broadcasting. Broadcasting is now under the control of the Fiana Fail party for the purpose of ensuring a smooth return to industrial expansion and industrial slavery which both England and Ireland desire in Northern Ireland.

*Sommaire.* Le gouvernement de Mr Lynch a rejeté la Commission due RTE a cause de radiodiffusion qu'ils ont alléguée était partial. La radiodiffusion est maintenant sous le contrôle du parti Fiana Fail avec l'intention de mettre l'Irland du Nord encore sur la voie de développement industriel et d'esclavage industriel.

**FOR A NEW TREND IN THE CELTIC LEAGUE**  
*What kind of society do we want in our countries?*

This is one of the questions which the Celtic League has to face, and for me it is principal problem. Perhaps, after the linguistic problem, it is our greatest and most difficult one.

We want a society in unison with the temperament of the Celtic people, a decolonized Celtic people. But we—this people—have shared aspirations in common with all other people in the world. It cannot be said that "capitalism" is enjoyed by the people, that they don't see the ravages it is causing everywhere in association with imperialism, especially in our countries. We are not a party, only an association seeking genuine ways to enable all our countrymen to fulfil themselves, and we do this by confronting and exchanging our views. There is no question of fully adopting the integral marxist dialectics. Our main concern is to decolonize the mind of our fellow-countrymen, not to lay down a doctrine. Actually we must show to all our people what exploitation they are subjected to, particularly the "working class" which is the victim of two closely related forms of exploitation. The workers want more and more responsibility—sometimes there is a slight movement backwards, but the trend is irreversible; we are going towards some form of workers' management (autogestion) and socialism. It is not our role to go into details, but when workers in our countries are fighting for more responsibility and a better standard of living, fighting against the revolting disparity in wages, wages, against all forms of exploitation of workers (including the farmers), we must be on their side, and not just against the "economic deportation" of workers or against foreign control of our industries.

We must be objective. It would be inconsistent with our aims of liberation if we stayed out of this struggle. Of course our influence is limited and it is first for our national parties to take part in it. But we have a role of information. We can for instance organise a mobile exhibition about the fight of the workers in the Celtic countries over the past two years. It would illustrate the increase in their awareness of our national problems, of the national dimension in their struggle. Showing how the Glasgow workers kept the UCS going would interest their colleagues in Brittany and an account of how the strike of the "Joint Francais" workers was successfully carried out would benefit the Scottish, Irish, Welsh industrial workers.

Here in Brittany, all the really nationally minded people know that if they stay aloof from the workers' daily struggle, they will fail to further the Breton people's cause: whether the workers become Breton-minded or not, for them we shall remain a crowd of intellectuals! French socialists, communists, leftists, will know how to help them and draw advantages from this for themselves. For us however it is a central issue. To paraphrase Connolly, "What is Brittany without her people?"

Jakez Derouet, Breton Secretary.

## WHO CAN HELP?

A. ap O. an 18 year-old Welsh member looking for fairly cheap accommodation, July or August, in Breton-speaking area, with someone of his age to converse with?

H.B. 16 years, Rennes, learning Breton and Irish, wishing to spend a month in Irish family with someone of his age, who could in return spend a month in his home in Brittany.

G.J. 18-19 years, Cardiff, interested in learning Irish, would like to find work in Ireland 5-6 month after June.

Write to A. Heusaff.

"Our group has been growing little by little. For this term we are going to concentrate our efforts each month. February is Welsh month, March is Irish month, April is Scottish month. May presents a problem both in time and availability of material and people for programmes on Brittany, Cornwall and Mann . . ." M.K., Hunter Keltic Club, 695 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10021, who would like to build up a library on Celtic subjects at the Hunter College.

Postage on letters represents a considerable portion of our expenditure. It will greatly facilitate replying if stamped addressed envelopes or international coupons-responses are enclosed with letters requiring answers.

### The Dundee East By-election

|                           |        |
|---------------------------|--------|
| G. Machin (Lab.)          | 14,411 |
| G. Wilson (SNP)           | 13,270 |
| W. Fitzgerald (C)         | 11,089 |
| N. Gordon (L)             | 3,653  |
| G. McLean (L.P. of Scot.) | 1,409  |
| J.S. Thomson (Ind.)       | 182    |
| Lab. majority             | 1,141  |

Percentage polled 70.6

General Election: G.M. Thomson (Lab.) 22,630; J.A. Stewart (C) 19,832; I. MacAulay (SNP) 4,181; E.G. MacFarlane (Ind.) 176.

Lab. majority 2,798. Percentage polled 75.

The Breton Party Strollad Ar Vre presented 27 candidates in the French General Election. One of these was Yann Feure, the political director of the monthly *L'Avenir de la Bretagne*. S.A.V. declared earlier its intention to field a candidate in each of the 33 constituencies in Brittany. No startling results could be expected, if only in view of the uncertainty (till the last week or two before the election) about who would be the SAV candidates. See CARN 2 about the results of this election.

The results of the Irish elections: Fine Gael—54; Labour—19; Fianna Fail—69; Independents—2. The F.G. and Labour agreed to form a coalition government. How long will this last?

## PROOF WANTED?

Kuzul ar Brezhoneg succeeded in gaining admission to the Comité d'Etudes et de Liaison des Interets Bretons (C.E.L.I.B.) shortly before Emgleo Breiz, tired of its ineffectiveness, left it, and also before Me Lombard, mayor of Brest, set about re-energizing it. The Kuzul federates a number of groups and publishers who, in the fifties and sixties, resisted pressure to abandon the Breton spelling adopted in 1941 and adopt instead the so-called "University" spelling, which was fostered by Emgleo Breiz.

In recent years, the opposition between the two organisations lessened a lot but there was still a tendency to equate Kuzul with nationalists and Emgleo with "regionalists". Now the difference between nationalists and regionalists has also become blurred. The old C.E.L.I.B. lost its usefulness when it allowed its pro-Gaullist parliamentary commission to confine it to a non-political role. The new C.E.L.I.B. wants to be recognised as representing Brittany in "negotiations with the State". How does it intend to achieve this? By gathering the most dynamic elements? Or by courting favour with the party in power in Paris?

Kuzul ar Brezhoneg has stated that its entry into C.E.L.I.B. would not bind it to the French system nor lower the tone of its voice. It has recently adopted resolutions which express its wish to tune in with the popular voice of protest now rising in the country. It is the main element in the C.E.L.I.B. Commission for the Breton Language and Culture. On December 2, shortly after the first meeting of the new C.E.L.I.B. Central Committee, the Commission adopted a programme representing the minimum required for the State to prove that it no longer seeks to destroy our culture, and for the Bretons to lay an effective basis for its development.

Demands are thus being addressed to the State concerning the various levels of education, the mass communication media and the place of the Breton language in public life and administration. This programme goes a little further than those formulated by GALV and Emgleo Breiz. Its value is that it could contribute to focus public attention to certain aims. It should be clear to its supporters that these cannot be attained under French rule.



## MEMBERSHIP

All who subscribe to the constitution of the Celtic League are entitled to membership. The membership fee for Ireland and Britain is £1 per annum; for Brittany and other continental European countries it is 15 F. or £1.20. For non-European countries, surface mailing, it is also £1.20, but with air mailing it is £1.60. The fee, which entitles each member to the League periodical, is kept at a minimum so that money need be no obstacle to membership, but we would ask those members who wish to see the organisation functioning without having constantly to ward off deficits, to send us an additional 25p-50p donation.

Payments should be made to any of the following secretaries, in the name of the Celtic League:

- Scotland:** Mrs M. Denovan, 9 Dalgleish Road, Dundee  
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**Cornwall:** R.C. Boyd, Meadowsweet, Spar Lane, Illogan, Redruth  
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or to the Secretary General, Alan Heusaff, 9 Br Cnoc Sion, Atha Cliath 9, Eire.

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In certain cases (e.g., Libraries and members of religious orders) subscriptions to CARN will be accepted at the same rates as the membership fees.

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Name . . . . .

Address . . . . .

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