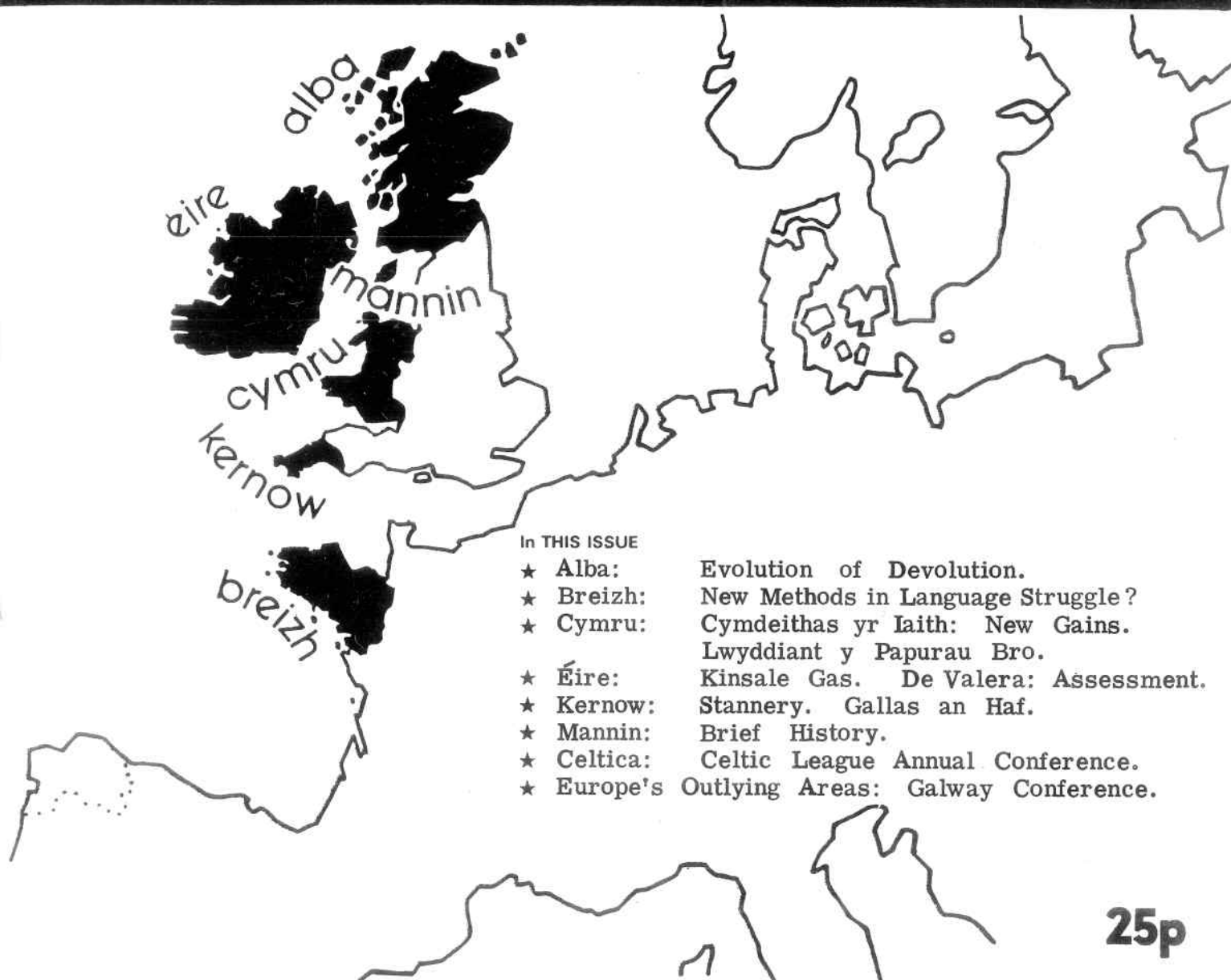


# celyn

NOVEMBER  
1975  
NO. 11.

## A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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25p

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

## EDITORIAL.

"The Nation-State is Withering Away", crowed Norman Moss in the June issue of that quintessentially English imperialist monthly, the Illustrated London News. One hears this more often nowadays, not from Marxists but from Liberal advocates of the Supranational conglomerates. It has become an almost popular refrain in organs of that establishment as they disparage nationalism, and try to pretend that nationalism is antediluvian.

But of course they are wrong; and wrong on every level. First the state that is more and more coming under review, question, or stress is the un-national or multi-national state - which may have resulted from some union of monarchies or the jigsaw carving of the map by the world's super-powers of another era.

This issue of CARN carries more material than is usual about non-Celtic countries: it is no harm to underline that our nascent nationalism is part of a much wider global phenomenon, whether we think of Flanders, Quebec, Euzkadia, Catalonia, Frisland, of Breizh or of Cymru. Through all of these movements the world's map will be re-drawn in time with greater respect for the nationality of peoples.

Hence the importance, to come back to Celtic League matters, of thorough discussion of say the Stannery in Kernow. Both the English Labour and Tory Conferences re-iterated a willingness towards such measures of devolution as were consistent with maintaining the integrity of the U.K. In other words they are willing to 'concede' talking shops of little power, institutions which they will have built into checks against fissiparity. Can their concessions be reconciled with national aspirations; can a gradual policy succeed; are the Stannery-type suggestions stepping-stones or stumbling blocks; to what extent do they mean that the values and systems of the imperial powers are accepted by us as norms?

These subjects need further discussion among ourselves and can be usefully informed by a study of Irish and Breton experiences.

## ALBA.

### DEVOLUTION - It's evolution over the past 6 months.

Following on the Labour Party performance at Aberdeen as reported in Carn 9, the S.T.U.C. (Scottish Trade Union Congress) had their meeting in April and from it came very different sounds. Their demands were, nothing less than a powerful Assembly with maximum control in the economic and social field - particularly control over the proposed S.D.A. (Scottish Development Agency). They demanded the publication of the proposals at an early date, implementation in 2 years and that the S.D.A. be accountable to the Assembly and not to Westminster. It is worth quoting one of their comments on the strange contortions of the Labour Party on the theme - "they have been dragged screaming through every stage of the debate and have created a confusion in the minds of those genuinely seeking devolution". The most important new demands were for tax-raising powers and a proportion of North Sea oil revenue for financing S.D.A. projects. These strong and forthright demands are to be applauded though they are made for the benefit of a Labour controlled Assembly!

About this time it was evident that the E.E.C.

Referendum vote was beginning to take first place and the debate on devolution was more leisurely and scholarly, e.g. how it would affect particular areas such as law and education. It was obvious, too, how the campaign of the anti-devolutionists took the line that we must not be in too much haste - that since it was so important it was worth doing well so we must get things worked out to the last detail, (the present sorry mess of course being a planned one!)

**LAW.** Scottish Law, though once separate and distinct has lost its sharp and well defined edges since there has been no "Scottish" statutory legislation since 1707. In evidence to the Kilbrandon Committee the Law Society said "further steps towards assimilation were inevitable and desirable". However the Faculty of Advocates said to same body "the conformity of Scottish and English Law was not necessarily to the advantage of Scotland". The most ironic comment is "many might also agree that the Assembly will not be in a position to achieve as much as Westminster in the sphere of reforming or progressive legislation". Ironic because during the early summer a private member's Bill to reform Scottish divorce law bringing it into line with that of England and Wales was thwarted by the behaviour of one individual.

At the beginning of May Mr. Edward Short, Minister in charge of devolution expressed surprise at suggestions of a time lag and assured that the planning was well ahead -- the package of proposals "had to be pretty well tied up by the end of September". He was non-committal at this point about a White Paper and he could not recall any one item "as they are all so interrelated". He was vague about many things but one point he emphasised - **THE ASSEMBLY DID NOT MEAN SCOTLAND GETTING A LARGER SHARE OF THE NATIONAL CAKE - ONLY DECIDING HOW TO SPEND IT!**

By this time the Government had set up their special referendum unit manned by 16 civil servants - experts in special areas - to answer queries by letter or telephone. It seems that from Scotland many of the questions concerned how remaining "in" would affect certain activities - our programme for devolution - our situation within the U.K. - our control of our oil - community grants and loans etc.

At the end of May a new post was created - a co-ordinator for the constitutional, organisational and financial aspects of devolution responsible to the permanent Under Secretary of State. There are now 6 deputy secretaries so there should be no excuse for the details not being filled in!

A few days before the Referendum vote, Harry Ewing, the Scottish Under Secretary with responsibility for devolution, said that a "YES" vote to stay in Europe would give the devolution plan a severe jolt. He feared (rightly) that it would arm the anti-devolutionists with reason for attempting to halt the whole thing. (The vote was not decisive enough though it did lead to miscalculations on the part of some.) The most immediate action however came from the "pros.". Mr. Jim Sillars, Labour M.P. for Ayrshire South and Mr. J. Robertson, Labour M.P. for Paisley, Tabled a Motion asking for direct representation of Scotland at Brussels. Mrs. Margaret Bain, S.N.P., M.P. for Dumbartonshire, and Mr. George Thompson, S.N.P., M.P. for Galloway, put down an amendment to the proposal accepting the main statement but substituting "self-government" legislation for "devolution" legislation. This earned the Labour M.P.'s rather

hysterical criticism from the chairman of the S.C.L.P. (Scottish Council of the Labour Party). "Sheer arrogance" was the term used but this could more suitably have been used to describe the attitude of the right-wing of the London Labour Party. By mid-June the rumours that some of the government (as predicted - misconstruing the Scottish referendum vote) were back-sliding on the devolution plans led to great outcries from representatives of all the parties in Scotland except the S.N.P. Obviously those in the field knew best who would be harmed by government shilly-shallying and as one commentator put it "surely EVEN in London it is possible to calculate the devastating results if Labour are completely discredited in Scotland". However Roy Jenkins, (fresh from his E.E.C. triumph and ignorant, as ever, on the situation on Scotland), Reg Prentice (the militant, middle-of-the-road, moderate), Mrs. Shirley Williams, Mr. Antony Crosland and Mr. Denis Healey (the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom) took the view that - "the devolution plans under which a Scottish Assembly is Promised for 1977 are proving unworkable in practice - they threaten the efficient government of Scotland (where on earth does that operate?) and the integrity of the United Kingdom". Considerable upheavals and convulsions must have shaken the Labour Party as the Cabinet's devolution committee met for an all day session on Monday 16th June, and the following day it was announced that a majority had voted for an early Assembly, - Another White Paper to appear in the autumn, - but it was obvious that the Bill itself was slipping further back in the Parliamentary session. And of course some adverse changes may affect it in time.

Devolution and Education. As most bodies concerned with education are, or claim to be, non-political, comment was of a personal nature and it was clear that many people welcomed the chance for a radical rethink on the subject. That politicians in Westminster, spending a few hours per year on the matter, can do little good is obvious and that here also the "edges" had become a little blurred is shown repeatedly by people talking about "the 11 +", "grammar school versus the rest", "O level" and "A level" exams. etc., - all English terminology for systems which Scotland has never had. One well known headmaster said "since 1885 Scottish education had followed in the wake of England sometimes with disastrous results - now is the time to free it from the guidelines laid down by an anglocentric policy". Though he made a plea for Gaelic and Scottish studies in the curriculum this was to be done while remaining aware of modern educational objectives and rethinking such things as the terminal examination in schools.

However in the educational area of Scotland we have a very large Trojan Horse - the great number of English professors now heading almost complete "English" departments. They have cried out loudly against an Assembly under which "the Universities would be reduced to Scottish Bantustans" and they have combined to oppose the separation of the 8 Scottish universities from the centralist U.G.C. (Universities Grants Committee) a body of not very ancient lineage against which there was a quite considerable protest in Scotland. It remains to be seen whether the Universities undemocratic as they are non-accountable to the public and seemingly as insensitive as the London politicians to Scottish needs will be successful. There are other people involved and those people - the students - might have something to say on the matter.

At the beginning of July there was a 4 day conference in Scotland under the auspices of the Committee on Political Sociology (an international research group) finding out how Scotland and Norway were reacting in the political field to the stresses of the 70's. This was another forum for many items relevant to devolution to be discussed. Dr. James Kellas (Senior lecturer in politics at Stathclyde University) said that The Scottish Assembly would be the first step towards federalism in the U.K. and the fragmentation of the whole system and its allegiances. Professor Cornford (head of the department of Politics at Edinburgh University) said that the S.N.P. was now poised on the edge of electoral victory and that if oil did become a matter of contention the folly of those at Westminster as much as anything else would lead eventually to a completely independent Scotland.

As the summer wore on Tory unease about devolution led to requests to slow things down from some of their spokesmen (the destination of the path they were on began to dawn on them) and to limit the proposed powers of the Assembly. However in answer to questions from various quarters the Government spokesmen continued to deny that there was any delay in the timetable.

The phrase "Ulster type Assembly" began to be discussed and we were told, "the aim is to marry the incisiveness of the Cabinet system with the more democratic committee system". Such a concept lay at the heart of the abortive Northern Ireland Assembly and had been resurrected by the government's devolution unit. Misgivings about this could be counter-balanced by the fact that such committees would perform a pre-legislative function such as in the Swedish Riksdag and if this could cut down the comic capers we were subjected to while parliament at Westminster was broadcast earlier this summer it would restore the credibility that politicians have lost in the eyes of so many people.

By August 1st. Short was promising the White Paper for the middle of October, but despite this Mr. Donald Stewart, S.N.P., M.P. for the Western Isles, gave a strong warning in the House of Commons that any "double-crossing" on devolution would be dearly bought -- "some of the ostriches in the Tory and Labour Parties are not aware of the tremendous tide that is flowing". He expressed regret at this new anti-Scottish role being enacted by the once "Scottish Labour Party. This was during a 7½ hour debate lasting until 4.15 a.m. as the S.N.P. were determined to get the time required for this important subject. (1-9-75). However Westminster folly continued to show. Mr. Hamish Gray, Tory M.P. for Ross-shire, "the S.N.P. had no credibility before oil, they, had only 2 seats, they came in on the barrel and they will go out on the barrel." But some Labour M.P.'s are acutely aware of their danger, Mr. Robertson M.P. for Paisley warned that the working class of Scotland will "finally reject" the Labour Party if the devolution discussion deteriorates into personal propaganda programmes on the part of the half hearted mini- and more vocal anti-devolutionists. Mr. Edward Short (6-8-75) denied that a blue-print was ready and claimed that leaks in the papers were only "intelligent speculation". Mr. William Whitelaw (now the Tory spokesman on devolution) said "those of us who would support sensible proposals for devolution are nevertheless determined that these don't undermine the basic unity of the United Kingdom (as shown working in Northern Ireland at the moment?) Mr. Short replied that he agreed with every word. Where are their left-right allegiances now in the face of this dire devolution threat?



By the end of August it was announced that the Assembly would not have control of the Universities though as a sop to Scottish feeling this control might be exercised from a Scottish U.G.C., getting its money direct from Westminster. An "alternative might, be discussed" when Mr. Short meets representatives of the 8 Universities. By the 1st week in September it slipped out that "late October" would be the date for the White Paper - no hint as to positive powers but plenty negatives - NO control over oil, NO control over the Universities and NO control over The Scottish Development Agency. During the summer holidays the area which showed real crisis conditions in Scotland and local government. Following on the reorganisation in May there was great discontent with various aspects - a gigantic increase in rates, huge salary increases for some officials despite the cry for restraint, the cheap-rate loans for councillors for car and house purchase etc. Mr. John McCormick, the S.N.P., M.P. for Argyll, asked that parliament be brought back to deal with this matter and though this was refused he got a reply from Mr. Ross that it would be unproductive to interfere with local government so soon but that this might be an area that the Assembly would have powers to change. That the regions might be scrapped altogether had already been postulated and this theme was taken further in an article by Neal Ascherson. He thought, rightly, that it would be a pity if attitudes to local government were to adversely affect the Assembly, and suggested that if it meant to govern and not just administer the Assembly should abolish the elected regions and set up a system of prefects nominated by themselves and very much answerable to them, for decentralisation is not enough in a small country like Scotland with such diverse economic-geographic regions. Of course this leads inevitably to the question of a constitution and thoughtful people in Scotland were long ago considering this as an alternative to the present thoroughly British muddle.

11th Sept. another long Cabinet session - 6 hours - a record length for such a meeting and from it a few more crumbs of information -- the Secretary of State will remain in the Cabinet but with his powers transferred to the new "Scottish Premier", -- perhaps his main function will now be to negotiate the block grant from the U.K. exchequer - something in the region of £1 billion per annum. There is also the possibility that the Assembly will get tax raising powers not exceeding 10% of the Grant.

By mid-September the S.N.P. began to step up their campaign for self government as the time for devolution White Paper drew near, and the 11 M.P.'s undertook a tour of constituencies throughout Scotland.

The concern of the other parties was now the dreadful inequalities and inconsistencies in the voting system! This is now being thoroughly studied and debated and the prize comment as usual comes from a Tory (Rifkind M.P. for Pentlands, Edinburgh) "if under the present system the S.N.P. gained control with a minority of support and proceeded to wreck the U.K. we would then have a recipe for disaster similar to recent events in Chile".

Well the great day came at last, Mr. Short came to Edinburgh on 23rd September and we were promised that elusive White Paper in November. At a press conference after a two day visit he claimed that the proposed Assembly would be such "a credible and viable scheme, with real legislative and executive

powers "THAT THE S.N.P. WOULD WITHER AWAY"! Well one meaning of wither is "to become dry" and there are two quite interesting meanings for dry -- "restrained - e.g. in humour" and "not green". As a matter of fact the S.N.P.'s can remain quite restrained the reaction to the government is coming from the more enlightened and intelligent Labour M.P.'s in Scotland who are constantly warning them about trying any trickery.

M.D.

### CRIOCH NEO TOISEACH?

Tha cunnart ann am measg nàiseantaich gu bheil sinn a' faicinn cànan nàiseanta neo pàrlamaid mar cheann-uidhe schan ann mar thoiseachadh. Scinnteach gur e bun-stéidh ar n-ionannas a thànn an cànan, mar a tha Bearnard Lebhinn a' tuigsinn a thaobh a theanga fhìn:-

"The English language is not a tool, though it is used as one; it is not an ornament, though it is ornamental; it is not even a conduit, though expression passes through it. It is us, and we are it; it defines us as well as describing us, it is the breath whereby we have life, the means and also the meaning, the hedge and the field alike. If it perishes, we perish; no, if it perishes, we have perished."

(Times, 5/6/'75.)

Sa chomhthèasg chan eil eagal air Maighstir Lebhinn gun téid a' Bheurla fodha fa chomhair na Gearmailtais neo na Fràingis. Chan ann idir idir. Ach tha eagal gu leòr air gum bi na breugan de luchd-pholataig a cur ais dhi gu h-éifeachdach. Bi a' Bheurla beò, tha e ag radh, fhads a chleachdar i airson na fìrinn a chur an cèill. Ann am faclan eile surrain cànan a bhi marbh ged tha a huile mar màthair ga bruidhinn.

Nan robh an Albais (se sin a' Ghàidhlig) ar a h-uile Albannach cha bhitheamaid air ruigsinn ar ceann-uidhe. Cha bhitheamaid ach air ar toiseachadh. Mar a tha Jean-Paul Sartre a' foighnich de sgrìobhadairean òga - "Avez vous quelque chose à dire?" A bheil rud-éigin againn ri radh leis ar cànan phrìseil? Se sin cridhe na cùise.

Sann an smaoin domhainn a tha an sanas-réice as fhearr airson cànan sam bith. Ionnsaichear Rùis is a' leughadh Dostoiebski, Tolstoi is Soilsinitsin; Gearmailtais airson Nietzsche, Hegel is Kafka; Dànais airson Kierkegaard; Fràingis airson Rimbaud, Camus is Sartre; Albais airson .....? Mar is abhaist cha ionnsaichear cànan a chionn gu bheil fuaim flachdmhor airre ach a chionn gu bheil rud-éigin inntinneach sgrìobhta innte. Smathaid gur e run-diomhair de ath-bheothachadh cànan a th'ann seo.

**Fearghas Mac Fhionnlaigh.**

### **FIONN MacCOLLA.**

There died on July 20th this year, a Scottish writer whose worth will be a long time in the assessing. The only sure thing is that it will be in the top most ranks, though at the moment he was just beginning to receive the attention which should have been his decades ago.

Born Tom Douglas MacDonald in Montrose in 1905, though his father was a Gaelic speaker from Inverness he had to learn what he considered his native tongue. Those in a similar situation are possibly best able to appreciate the anguish he expressed -- as acute as the pain of a lost limb.

There have been quite a few appreciations of the man and his work, but not of course in the wide

"British" context. The September issue of *The Scots Independent* has one by Hugh MacDiarmid. The current *Scotia Review* has two - one by the poet Alan Bold and the other by an excellent writer, well-known in nationalist circles, John Herdman. In the autumn *Gairm*, R. MacThomais devotes "An Sgeilb Leabhraichean" to a review of *Ro Fhada Mar So a Tha Mi* - "Too long in this Condition" an auto-biographical book just newly published. MacColla took the title of the book from a piobaireachd and his application is to the sorry state of Alba and also the Albannachean.

Each writer mentioned above has important things to say but inevitably they accent that which they see most clearly, which strikes a responsive chord in themselves or that with which they disagree most. For example, Bold questions if MacColla did not exaggerate the influence of John Knox and give undue time to struggling against it. Well, the period of the past few months has seen not only John Knox alive and shouting in the High Kirk of St. Giles because the Roman Catholic Bishop of Derry was putting to the test the much vaunted freedom of speech we have here but it also witnessed the Scots meekly accepting the ordinance of the Westminster Government that we might not have our proposed theatre complex in the city of Edinburgh. If the Daddy is big enough we accept unquestioningly.

Perhaps Ruairidh MacThomais whose appreciation is the most restrained is also the most hopeful of the outcome -- his last sentence -- "Ma tha e ceart (believing that our sins e.g. drunkenness stem from our subjection) b'faic dhuinn leighas a lorg, agus tha mi duilich nach do mhair Fionn MacColla beo gus am faicheadh e an saoghal ur' air a robh e a 'bhuidar."

Fionn MacColla's novel *The Albannach* was first published in 1932 and well acclaimed by the knowledgeable but it was before it's time. It was reprinted by *Reprographia* in 1971 and some copies may be available still. His other novel *And The Cock Crew* was published after the war in 1945, and let us hope a new edition will be forthcoming. It, along with Neil Gunn's *Butcher's Broom* is one of the few novels set against the time of the clearances.

His other published work *At The Sign of the Clenched Fist* is non-fiction - the comments of a radical and original thinker.

**RO FHADA MAR SO A THA MI**, (Too Long In This Condition) is available direct from the publishers:-  
Caithness Books, Janet Street, Thurso, Scotland.  
£1.85p (incl. p+p).

Fionn MacColla's reputation is deservedly high among those who have read his published work so far. It seems there is more ready for publication and we could do no better service for the brave spirit of one who helped to keep the small flame alive in the dark days than to clamour for it, loud and long.

**GAIRM**. An Raitheachan Gàidhlig. From:-

Gairm Publications,  
29, Waterloo Street,  
GLASGOW, C 2.

4 issues £1-50.

*The Scots Independent*, a monthly newspaper. From:-

Scots Independent (Newspapers) Ltd.,  
9, Upper Bridge Street,  
STIRLING FK8 1ER.

## BREIZH.

### THE SITUATION IN BRITTANY

Conditions have deteriorated in Brittany as a result of the present crisis of capitalism; dozens of small factories have had to close: Laita (Kemperle), Donval (Rosporden), Garnier (Redon), China Clay (Berrien), etc. The collapse affects not the big companies but the small ones which are the most numerous. The Breton economy has been severely hit during the past year and tensions developed throughout the country among the city workers, the farmers, and the fishermen.

While the numbers of farmers and fishermen decreased unemployment figures reached new heights. The problem of employment is the most important in Brittany to-day. Work opportunities were never so limited. The problem is particularly acute in the "cantons" in decline as in the ARGOAD (inland area) where in many places the population dropped by more than 10% between 1968 and 1975 -- and those are the areas where Breton is most commonly spoken. (1)

However the French government is doing nothing to solve this problem. Oil prospecting off the West coast has yielded no definite results. There was also talk of building a nuclear reactor in various coastal localities but this has met with organised opposition everywhere. Of new factories, not a word.

The projects of the French government are increasingly clear: Paris intends to leave Brittany as a prey to tourism and "the" Army. According to the technocrats of the official planning office DATAR, the South of Brittany is to become a "Stockholm - Sud" i.e. a touristic area designed to attract especially Scandinavian Summer visitors. It is significant that their plan makes no mention of the fishing industry which has its main harbours on this coast.

The French military Establishment is also busy seeking to extend its hold on our land. It has not got enough with some 300 bases and stations! There were protest marches and other demonstrations, as in Men-  
ez Kelc'h which is now the focus of the anti-Army struggle.

In such a dreadful situation, what is being done by the Emsav (the national movement)? Plenty of festivals (2) were organised this year by political and cultural groups alike. There are now two organisations in the political field: The Union Democratique Bretonne (U.D.B.) and the Front Socialiste Autogestionnaire Breton (F.S.A.B.) The former has put the stress on increasing its numerical strength (decision of its 12th Annual Conference) and organised a Feast of the Breton People. It appeals in particular to the people concerned with securing a place for the Breton language in public life. The U.D.B. is a cosignatory of the Brest Declaration which expresses the solidarity of peoples oppressed by International Imperialism. On the other hand, the F.S.A.B. has brought together the militants of Stourm Breizh, the Comites d'Action Bretons and Strollad ar Vro. They organised jointly a political and cultural festival commemorating the 1675 Revolt of the Red Caps, which with its social-revolutionary character was one of the most remarkable episodes in the struggle for Breton freedom since the annexation by France.

The Breton Liberation Front continued its violent activity: of about twenty attacks which occurred during the past twelve months the most remarked were at the Brenniliz nuclear reactor and at the Rennes Police Jud-

iciaire. (3) Of three men arrested one, Pierre Loquet continues to deny his participation in these attacks. They were transferred to the Sante Prison in Paris.

In the cultural field agreements are being worked out between associations such as Skol an Emsav, Brezhoneg Yezh Vew and Ar Falz, which co-operated in organising a second, successful, Breton Language Festival (Kastell-Pol), in issuing a declaration amounting to ultimatum to the French Minister of Education in relation to the teaching of Breton in the schools. All these associations intend shortly to intensify the struggle by using new methods.

However the struggle for Brittany has made little progress in recent times. The national movement still exerts no important influence on the people although it is becoming more popular among the young. 1975 seems to mark the end of a phase for all groups and the beginning of a new one in which the struggle will be pursued with renewed vigour.

(Report forwarded by J.D. for the A.G.M. of the Celtic League.)

#### Remarks.

(1). Maps published recently show the cancer-like spreading of the areas where the death rate exceeds the death rate. While 30 years ago this was the case in only 4 or 5 cantons, today the balance is on death's side in about half of Brittany.

(2). One might be pardoned for thinking that merry-making for all its invigorating effects on the Breton psyche, will hardly bring home the urgency and acuteness of the situation. Yet it provides an opportunity for reaching the mass of the people by such means as "committed songs", displays of slogans and periodicals, debates, etc.

(3). Since this was written, the offices of two M.P.'s who support the government policies in connection in particular with projects for a nuclear reactor in Brittany, were wrecked by the F.L.B.

#### TOWARDS NEW METHODS IN BRETON LANGUAGE STRUGGLE?

A common declaration was adopted in Brest on July 18th by the organisations Emgleo Breiz, Kuzul ar Brezhoneg, Skol an Emsav, which group nearly all the people involved in the struggle for the Breton language. It starts by reminding of all the efforts made in the past to bring the French governments to recognise rights defined by international agreements and pointing out how the very limited measures conceded are reduced as much as possible in their application. Regulations are such that for instance only a few dozens secondary schools teach Breton in most precarious conditions, while it remains excluded from the primary schools. Yet it is known that thousands and thousands of school goers at all levels would welcome the opportunity to study their language. There is no prospect for a devolution of authority in educational matter: the trivial "Regional Reform" introduced in 1974 gives a truncated Brittany no power to intervene in matters of education and broadcasting (see statement by Per Denez in Galway).

The declaration refers to a permanent aggression against the Breton personality and the violation by France of conventions which she has signed. Official statements, such as those of Haby, minister of education, promising a more tolerant policy, and of Chirac, telling journalists that the necessary measures in favour of the "local languages" have long been taken, are designed to mislead the people and international opinion. The three organisations pledge that they will no longer put up with this deception. They demand that a modern

and complete status for our language be NOW worked out (without further dilatory enquiries and reports) and put into practice within a year.

If the required changes are not implemented, "our movements will start a new campaign, to last as long as needed, in and outside Brittany, to inform the world of the retrograde attitude of the French State which is trying to-day as ever to smother values it is supposed to foster".

A complaint will be sent to the European Commission of Human Rights against France's violation of the European Convention. Delegations from foreign countries will be invited to come and verify the truth of the Breton accusations. The three organisations demand that France renounce its anti-Breton policy and do all in her power to repair the immense damage inflicted on the Breton people by her linguistic and cultural oppression.

Alerting international opinion is right, as we believe the French are sensitive to the image they present abroad. Some ten years ago the Celtic League presented a case of linguistic discrimination to the European Commission of Human Rights: it was dismissed because France had not ratified the Convention. It seems that she has done so in the mean time. We are curious to see what excuse the Commission will find now. Complaints will have a better chance to be taken up if they are based on specific examples such as the denial to Parents to have their children educated in the language of the home -- even though the Etienne family were told that the State was the last arbiter in matters of education. What could be shown is that France is, as Per Denez said, a totalitarian State where culture is concerned.

#### APPEAL HEARD?

At the appeal of teachers from all over Brittany, a general demonstration was being organised for October 7th by all the Breton associations, cultural as well as political, and by a large number of professional associations, to demand the adoption of an active policy for the safeguard of the Breton language. We do not yet know how far other teacher organisations than AR FALZ, which has tried for the past 40 years to win the active support of the Breton teachers for the cause of our language, were involved in the appeal; we shall be delighted if, on such an occasion, all the Breton associations which profess an interest in the survival of Breton, were able to sink their differences and come together. We keenly await reports of the participation of professional organisations. It should be quite clear to all who have witnessed the numerous attempts, coming from elected representatives or otherwise, to wring some meaningful measures in favour of the language over the past 75 years, that only a well organised, united, popular movement could at this late hour make the French government think again. It will take more than a few demonstrations to convince them of the wisdom of giving the Breton people the freedom required to save the language.

#### BRETONS IN PARIS.

A debate organised around the weekly EVIT AR BREZHONEG on June 13th in St-Germain-en-Laye, was attended by some 700 people, mostly Breton immigrants in Paris. It concluded with unanimous resolution by the participants demanding that a) their situation as Breton immigrants be recognised, particularly on the linguistic level; b) the Breton language broadcasts from Radio-Brittany (Armorique?) be audible in Paris; c) a series of programmes in Breton be broadcast on Radio-Paris similar to those already existing in 16 other foreign languages ranging from English to Macedonian.



and Yiddish; d) time be made available on School Television for teaching Breton or improving listeners' knowledge of it; e) the teaching of Breton be included in the "permanent education courses"; f) Breton immigrants and their children be given the means to learn or improve their knowledge of their language at all levels of the education system. The resolution was signed on behalf of the Paris branches of the U.D.B., Stourm Breizh, Strollad ar Vro, the five Breton federations of the (French) Socialist Party, the Public Teachers' Organisation AR FALZ, Emgleo Breiz, Emglev Sevenadurel Breizh (Paris).

It is good to read that, like the Corsicans, the Bretons in Paris do not intend to give up their nationality, and that contrary to the advice given to the Irish in England by the Catholic Bishop of Limerick, they refuse to integrate in the cosmopolitan "Francophone" magma around them. They have a full part to play in the struggle to make their home country a place capable of feeding all its people, so that they may return to it with their children.

#### TANGUY MALMANCHE.

In presenting T. Malmanche's principal play "Gurvan" in the French translation to the Breton public, the Drama Group "Le Theatre Populaire de Bretagne" has successfully tackled (considering the means at their disposal) one of the most difficult plays in modern Breton literature.

"Gurvan" is the story of two human beings, Gurvan and Azilis, living in the 9th century, condemned to a life of painful solitude and destined to meet in the afterlife. The play is broadly based on Traditional Breton tales with its strong elements of fantasy irrationality and dream-like quality.

The original play was written in Breton and later translated into French by the Author himself, nevertheless it loses some of its impact in the translation.

Born in 1875 T. Malmanche spent his youth in the Breton speaking area of Plabennec, but later emigrated to France where he worked in the Steel industry. One of his first plays "The Hungry Soul" was written in 1904. "Gurvan" his most important play was written in 1923. "The Pagan" was written in 1933, "The Thatcher's Wife" in 1942, "Salun the Mad" in 1943 and finally "The Antechrist" in 1950.

Undoubtedly T. Malmanche could have made a name for himself by writing in French, like many other Breton writers, but to him the Breton language meant everything. Unfortunately Breton plays in Breton or in French do not get the support that they deserve from the Breton public, as witnessed by the size of the audience during the performance of "Gurvan" at Vannes, 75 people were present, at Pontivy 100. This badly compared with the huge audiences present at Bagpipe Festivals, Festou Noz and singing sessions, or with the support given to the same actors at the performances of French Classical Plays.

#### INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR BRETON.

We hope that the creation of an International Committee for the Safeguard of the Breton Language, precisely on the 7th October, in Brussels, will be made widely known in Brittany. A communiqué issued by this committee on that day refers to the demonstration being held in Brittany and continues:-

"In view of the urgency of such an active policy of safeguarding the Breton language and its numerous justifications, (need to prevent the loss to mankind of any culture, however 'minoritaire'; desire clearly expressed by so many Bretons to obtain the means to

give their language a place in their life, to teach it to their children and to carry out the measures required to that end), the Committee constituted to-day aims at -- supporting all the efforts undertaken in that direction in Brittany:

-- informing international opinion on the necessity and urgency of safeguarding the Breton language.

A further objective of the Committee is to launch an international appeal to the French government, asking for its "indispensable intervention" before the disappearance of the Breton language and culture, an outcome which would be incompatible with the "mission d'humanisme" which France has always claimed. We are more than sceptical about the effects of such an appeal. The French talk of "civilising mission" is a propaganda ploy to help the linguistic imperialism which pervades the French Establishment and which regards any propping of the Breton language as detrimental to the progress of French influence. The French government has been and is intervening all the time to bring about the disappearance of Breton. We greatly welcome international appeals for a reversal of this intervention.

The Committee is composed of representatives of some ten European countries and regions, (Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, etc.) and its general secretary is Mr. C. Sterckx, 456 Ave. de l'Exposition Universelle, 1080 Brussels. Tel: 479.17.06.

#### ARRESTS IN BRITTANY.

A wave of arrests in mid-October is reported to have affected dozens of members of the Breton movement. Yann Fouere was held for 6 days, charged with endangering the security of the State and transferred to a Paris prison. We urge members of the Celtic League to write to the French 'Ministre de la Justice', Paris, asking why dozens of Bretons have periodically to be arrested: this being a sure indication of denial of freedom to the Bretons, the people imprisoned should be immediately released.

#### DIGEST OF PARTS OF CARN 11 IN BRETON.

Da heul an tourni graet gant arvesterien'zo e Su - ha Kornog Iwerzhon o c'houlenn 'kaout Skinwel ar B.B.C.' diwar goust ar Stad -- o vezañ ma vez degemeret gant tud ar reter a-drugarez d'an douaroniezh -- e lakaas ministr ar P. & T. ober un enklask evit gouzout pegement a dud a oa a-du. Eñ e-unan a zo, anat eo. N'eus stad all ebet a adkas Skinwel ur vro estren. Ma' n'eo ket dave c'hoazh an darn vrasañ eus tud ar Republik da zistreiñ d'ar Rouantelezh Unanet. 62% o deus lavaret e fell dezho e chomfe gant ar Stad-mañ evesh-aerezh ar servij-se. Abegoù liesseurt o deus moarvat, ha n'eo ket evit kelo-se e vo gwall iwerzhonat an eil chadenn R.T.E. Ur skouer eus levezon ar B.B.C. war yaouankiz Iwerzhon: "Pelec'h emañ sez gouarnamant ar vro-mañ" e voe goulennet ouzh ur c'hlasad merc'hed 10 vloaz e Dulenn. An hanter pe dost a respontas: e 10 Downing Street!

Ret eo he defe pep yezh un dachenn-vro dezhi hec'h -unan, e lec'h na c'heller ket tremen hepzi. Krouiñ ur seurt Krefñvlec'h eo a dlefe bout penn-pred ar vroadelourien. Adfer a ginnig un diskoulm disheñvel diouzh hini Cymdeithas yr Iaith. Hervez ar gevredigezh-mañ ez eo en-dro d'ar skolioù eil-derezh kembraek eo e flier krouiñ Y Fro Gymraeg. An dud na blegfent ket d'ober gant ar yezh-se a vefe pouezet warno de vont kuit.

Ur galv da'r gouarnamant gall - ma vo roet d'ar brezhoneg tu da vevañ, en ur e lakaat war un dere heñvel ouzh hini ar c'hembraeg er skolioù, er skingomz ha skinwel.  
Ref. Celtic Congress Appeal.

Strollad Breizh-Veur al LABOUR zo tapet etre ar youl da virout ar sezioù niverys en deus e Bro-Skos rak hepzo ne vefe ket mui krenv a-walc'h evit derc'hel ar stur e London - hag ar youl da ziwall unded ar Rouantelezh. Divizet eo bet a-berzh-Stad sevel un Dael Skosat. Peseurt galloud reiff d'ar Bodad-se? Ma roer re nebeut, e vo roet danvez da vruderezh ar vroadelourien hag e c'hounezint c'hoazh en dilennadegoù. Ma roer re e tigor frank an hent d'an emsavioù broadel en Enez. A bep seurt daleoù ha digarezioù a zo gant ar gouarnamant evit plediñ d'ar gudenn. Anat eo n'eo ket prest ar Saozon da anzav da Skosiz ar galloud da ober gant an eoul-mor evit o mad o-unan.

Marv eo de Valera. Echu mat ur prantad en istor Iwerzhon (se a c'helled gwelout spis e gwirionez abaoe 1966, ar bloaz ma voe lidet an enñvor eus taol-dispac'h 1916!)

Petra en deus sevenet "Dev"? Ma oa un Iwerzhonad hag a oa brudet dre ar bed, hennezh e oa. Bremañ e seblant na ouefe ket kalz estrenien mui, en Europa ar C'hornog zoken, ez eo "dieub" an darn vrasañ eus ar vro-mañ. Neuze, De Valera hag a zo bet e penn ar Stad e-pad 25 vloaz bennak en defe c'hwitet? Klasket en deus distardañ gwask armerzhel ar Saozon, hep dont a-benn; dalc'het en deus ar 26 Kontelezh er-maez eus ar brezel ha kounaet e vo ar respont balc'h a roas da damalloù Churchill e 1945. E strollad, Fianna Fáil, tost da werin Iwerzhon en derou, zo bet troet gant e warlerc'hidi ur benveg da servij an "embregerien", goude ma kendalc'h d'ober arvezioù "broadelourien". Daou bal en doa lakaet dezhañ: adsav an iwerzhoneg hag adunanidigezh ar vro. Daoust ma roas Dev bepred ur skouer personel o komz iwerzhoneg, ne voe ket heuliet ar skouer-se gant izili all e c'houarnamant, ha tamall a c'heller dezhañ bezañ manket da ober diarbennoù evit diorren al labour bet boulc'het gant ar Stad Dieub: da skouer sevel ur Skingomz iwerzhoneg, ur gelaouenn bemdeziek iwerzhonek, ur skol-veur vroadel gwirion troet war-du ar gouezelekaat.

Evit a sell ouzh an adunanidigezh, ne reas Bonreizh 1937 netra evit hoalafi Protestantad ar 6 Kontelezh.....

Mankout a reas dezhañ ivez "ar Gehedenn Geltiek" (Celtic Dimension): nebeut a dra a reas evit harpañ ar pobloù keltiek all, ha pa ne vije nemet war-dachenn ar sevenadur. Diouer a weledigezh, a lavar P. Ó Conchúir.

Dreist e voe evelato da c'hazed ar mare-mañ, Iwerzhoniz dre zegouezh.

Gwall dizhet eo ar gouerien vihan iwerzhonat abaoe daou vloaz gant emdroadur priz an traoù a brenont hag a werzhont koulz ha gant ul leviadurezh a nac'h outo kredadoù hag a vez roet d'ar gouerien vras. Kement-se a zo diouzh sturiennoù ar C'Henvarc'had. Stourm a ra ar F.D.A. ouzh ar politikerezh-se. Goulenn a ra adreizhadurioù evit ma c'hell ar gouerien vihan gounit o buhez diwar o micher. Ret e vefe rannañ an atantou bras, sevel ur Gomision-an-Douar war ziazezoù demokratel gwirion, ha harpañ ar gouerien da sevel kevelourioù.

Un toullad Kerneveuriz, en o fenn Frederick R. Trull, o deus soñjet e c'hellfent gounit emrenezh da Gernev-Veur o klask reiñ buhez en-dro d'un ensavadur damankouet, "Dael ar Staenourien". Graet ez eus bet trouz en-dro d'an dra-se e-pad an daou vloaz tremenet. Petra oa Dael ar Staenourien gwechall? Aozer ar pennad-mañ a ziskouez e voe savet 800 vloaz'zo hag e voe anezhañ betek an 18<sup>vet</sup> kantved. Peseurt emell ha galloud oa dezhañ? Hag e oa ur benveg da zifenn laz (interest) ar vengleuzierien-staen e gwirionez? Hag ec'h astenne e veli war estreget ar re-se, "war hogos holl ar bobl" e Kernev-Veur? Daou eus diagentidi sekretour hor skourr kerneveuriat a vage disfiziñs ouzh ar strivadoù d'e adsevel, o lavarout ne oa ket micherourien eus ar re a oa en afer hag e ranked diazezañ ar stourm evit an emrenezh war fedoù hag ezhommoù an amzer-vremañ (ahendall ne vez eus ar bruderezh nemet uzion en avel). J. Treays a ziskouez avat ne oa ket eus an Dael-se ur benveg da zifenn gwirioù ar staengleuzierien met unan er c'hontrol da dennañ Korvo diganto ha da leuniañ kef ar rouaned saoz! Plijout a ra, emezañ, da bolitikerien ar strolladoù saoz gwelout broadelourien Gernev-Veur o tremen o amzer gant ur c'hoariell. "Blew Melen" a lavar ivez (Gallas an Haf) e tlefe ar vroadelourien diskouez o deus respontoù evit kudennoù ar bobl ha paouez a dabulal: ne wel ket kalz a ziforc'h etre ar menoziou a vez embannet e "Cornish Banner" hag e "Cornish Nation".

Aezhenn-leskiñ e-leizh zo bet kavet en dindanvor Iwerzhonat, 50 km er c'hreistez da g-Cork. Ret e vo d'ar gouarnamant paeañ 600 milion d'hec'h adrenañ digant ur gompagnunezh amerikan. Evit he degas d'ar greantioù evit aozañ tredan dreist-holl, pezh a wasto 70% eus ar gremm pe energiezh, e vo ret lakaat un pikol tuellenn (piblinenn) da dreuziñ an tir ha porzh Corcaigh. En ur gompagnunezh saoz eo bet fiziet al labour-se daoust m'he deus Kompagnunezh an Tredan Iwerzhonat tud varrek d'e seveniñ.

Abaoe derou ar bloaz ez eus bet bodadegoù eus an N.I.C.C. evit gwelout ha gouest eo an S.D.L.P. (Katoliged a-du gant ur "gehedenn iwerzhonat") hag an "Unanourien" (unanet evit disteurel nep ere ouzh ar Republik) d'en em glevout a-zivout an doare da ren Norzh-Iwerzhon. E miz Du e tleont lakaat a c'hinnigoù dirak gouarnamant London, met ne vo bet tamm emglev ebet. An disrann etre kostezennoù "ar re feal" zo deus avat splannoc'h war wel; W. Craig, rener unan anezho, o vezañ diskouezet bout troet da rannañ galloud gant ar "bihanniver" war zivizoù'zo e-pad an enkadenn - mañ, zo bet skarzhet kuit eus Kuzul bras an Unanourien: Paisley zo o paouez ober ur c'hammed ouzh penn evit diazezañ e veli war ar re-se holl. Ha kilañ 'ray ar Saozon dirazañ avat? Ma reont ec'h adkrogo da vat stourm An Arme Republikan Iwerzhonat ouzh an Arme Saoz.

B. Ó Baoill en deus skrivet unan eus an nebeut levrioù a bled gant ur vro geltiek en ur yezh keltiek estreget hini ar vro-se. Frouezh un droiad graet gantañ en Hanternoz Kembre eo hon eus amañ en iwerzhoneg. Komz a ra eus al lec'hioù en deus gwelet, o istor, o zud brudet. J.W., anezhi un Norzh-kembreadez, a gav nebeut mankoù el levr hag a erbed e lenn.

Due to an abundance of material, many contributions have to be postponed to a later issue. Remember our space limitations.



## CYMRU.

### THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF PLAID CYMRU.

The Annual Conference of Plaid Cymru in Aberystwyth (24th-26th October) registered an unprecedented run of election successes for the party, denounced the Labour Party's "commitment to devolution for Scotland and Wales" as a crude electoral dodge, passed an emergency resolution warning that the Plaid and the Scottish Nationalist M.P.'s will combine to bring down the London Government if the Devolution Bill is delayed (for another two years, as rumoured).

### LLWYDDIANT Y PAPURAU BRO.

Un o'r datblygiadau mwyaf diddorol yng Nghymru yn ddiweddar yw twf y "papurau bro". Seisnigaidd ofnadwy fu'r wasg leol yng Nghymru ar hyd y blynyddoedd, dim ond ambell i adroddiad am Ferched y Wawr neu ambell i erthygl am hen gymeriadau neu am grefydd neu eisteddfodau un ymddangos yn Gymraeg. Yr unig eithriadau oedd Yr Herald Gymraeg (ardal yr hen Sir Gaernarfon), Herald Môn, Y Cyfnod (ardal Y Bala, ond â Llawer gormod o Saesneg ynddo o feddwl mor Gymreigaidd yw'r ardal) a "Y DYDD" (ardal Dolgellau). Roedd De Cymru yn anialwch llwyr cyn belled ag yr oedd papurau Cymraeg yn y cwestiwn!

Adwaith i'r Seisnigrwydd hwn yn bennaf a esgorodd ar y syniad o gynhyrchu papurau misol cwbl Gymraeg. "Papur Pawb" yn Nhalybont ger Aberystwyth oedd yr arloeswr. Roedd criw o Gymry ifanc brwd yn byw yn y cyffiniau ac roedd Gwasg Y Lalfa yn hwylys wrth law. Bu'r ymateb i'r rhifyn cyntaf yn rhyfeddol o dda a gwerthwyd 600 o gopiau, hynny mewn ardal fechan ac isel ei phoblogaeth. Dilynwyd esiampl Talybont gan ardal Bethesda (Llais Ogwan), Penllyn (Pethe Penllyn), Gogledd Penfro (Clebran), Dyffryn Nnantlle (Lleu), Harlech (Llais Ardudwy), Llanddewi Brefi (Yr Ancr) - a chychwynnir ar y fenter yr hydref hwn hefyd yn Nyffryn Conwy ac ym Mlaeau Ffestiniog. (Teg yw nodi hefyd fodolaeth "Y Dinesydd" sef papur Cymraeg Caerdydd a gychwynnodd o flaen pob un o'r papurau bro, ond sydd mewn sefyllfa wahanol i raddau).

Cyfrinach llwyddiant y papurau bro wrth gwrw yw'r apêl leol - stori am Mr. Huws drws nesa a llun o hogyn bach Anti Jên - peth nad yw'n bosib gyda phapurau cenedlaethol fel Y Cymro a'r Faner. A'r peth gwyb yw mai drwy'r Gymraeg y cyflwynir y newyddion-a'r erthyglau. Clywir am bobl sy heb ddarllen gair o Gymraeg ers blynyddoedd, rhai ddim erioed - ac fel y gwyddom mae cael iaith yn iaith uw darllen a'i hysgrifennu yn ogystal â'i siarad yn gwbl hanfodol i'w pharhâd. Gall effaith y papurau hyn felly fod yn allweddol.

Dydyn nhw ddim uwchlaw beirniadaeth wrth gwrw. Mae'r cynhyrchu, y cysodi a'r diwyg yn aml yn wael ac amaturaidd, a'r iaith weithiau'n wallus. Ond o ystyried mai cwbl wirfoddol yw'r gwaith sy'n mynd i mewn iddyn nhw, mae'r rhai sy'n gyfrifol amdanynt nhw yn haeddu pob clod a phob cefnogaeth. Bydded i'w hesiampl gael ei dilyn mewn llawer rhan arall o Gymru.

(The idea of publishing monthly local papers in Welsh is gaining ground. Up to now nine have been established in different areas, and each one has been very well received. It is possibly the most effective way to get people into the habit of reading Welsh as well as speaking it.)

### CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH.

- \* Prisoners Released.
- \* Post Office Change of Heart.
- \* Annual General Meeting.

On October 10th four members of Cymdeithas were released from prison after serving sentences of six months each as a result of damage caused to Post Office vans earlier this year. The four included Rhodri Morgan, co-secretary of the Welsh branch of the Celtic League.

In a well-timed statement the Post Office announced a few hours earlier that they had decided to accept the majority of the demands made by Cymdeithas and that most documents would from now on be bi-lingual, with Welsh placed foremost, or would be available separately in Welsh. Mr. McDougall, the Postal Board's Chairman in Wales dismissed any suggestion that this new attitude had anything to do with the activities of Cymdeithas yr Iaith. Most people in Wales however are not quite so foolish!

One day later the annual conference at Talybont, near Aberystwyth passed a motion, amongst 25 other motions, calling for the immediate halt to the direct action campaign against the Post Office. The motion warned however that everyone should be on their guard to ensure that the official promises are implemented in practice.

Another motion stressed the need to safeguard the present strongholds of the language as the cornerstone of any policy to revive the language throughout Wales, and called on people from these areas who now work in Anglicized areas of Wales and in England, to return in order to strengthen their native areas socially and economically. Despite fears that the motion might cause fierce disagreement, it was passed with only two votes against, thanks mainly to the eloquence of Dafydd Iwan and Cynog Dafis.

There were other motions on Broadcasting, Education, Road-Signs (a rally is to be held at Llanelltyd on November 8th), Industrial Areas, Housing, Agriculture, Tourism, Policy towards learners, and Public Status. A motion was unanimously passed calling on members within the next months to discuss and to draw out details of a new set of socio-economic policies, to be called "Cymdeithas iaith". This is not a word which is translatable, but the main principle behind it will be the defence and development of social life so as to safeguard the Welsh language and the traditional values attached to it.

The conference was better attended than the previous year, the highest numbers reflecting also the new spirit of enthusiasm and determination which exists within the ranks of the movement at the moment. The movement as a whole seems to be more mature and members much more confident than they were twelve months ago.

The new Chairman of Cymdeithas is Wynfford James, with Ffred Ffransis as vice-chairman for 1975/76.

CUAIPT AR CYMRU le Brian Ó Baoill  
Foilseacháin Náisiúnta Teo.

Gwyddel yw Brian Ó Baoill sydd wedi priodi â Chymraes Gymraeg. Mae nhw a'u tri a blant yn byw ar hyn o bryd yng Ngaehtacht Conamara. Yn y llyfr yma ceir hanes ymweliad a wnaeth yr awdur â Gogledd Gorllewin Cymru. Ar dechrau'r llyfr ceir

map yn dangos yn union y daith gymerodd o Gaer Gybu, o gwmpas arfordir gogleddol Môn, trosodd i Fangor a Chaernarfon, i lawr i Llyn ac ymlaen i'r dwyrain i Fala trwy Feddgelert a Thrawsfynydd. Ar ôl crwydro am sbel trwy Ddolwyddelan, Betws-y-Coed a Llanrwst, mae'n diweddau i fyny ar gopa'r Wyddfa. Fel mae'r awdur awdur yn egluro yn ei ragymadrodd, nid oes dim patrwn arbennig ar ddeunydd y gwaith Mynd o le i le y mae e, yn nodi pwyntiau disgrifiadol, hanesyddol neu lenyddol ar y ffordd. Llyfr teithic felly, yn nhraddodiad y gyfres o lyfrau Gymraeg, "Crwydro Arfon", "Crwydro Sir Gâr" ac yn ymlaen. Nid dogfen academig ar Gymru, na hyd yn oed ar ran o Gymru mohono ond cyfres o argraffiadau hollol oddrychol.

Gan mai Gwyddel yw'r awdur, yn sgrifennu yn ei iaith ei hunan, yn rhannu ei brofiadau ei hunan â'i bobl ei hunan, bydd y llyfr o ddiddordeb i Wyddelod yn anad neb arall, ond gobeithiaf y bydd yr vchydig o Gymru sy'n medru rhywfaint o Wyddeleg (a mae eu rhif yn tyfu) yn cael siawns i'w ddarllen; mae'n ddiddorol gweld ein hunain trwy lygaid cymydog; cysgir llawer amdanom ni'n hunain a llawer am ein cymydog hefyd.

Cyfeidia'r awdur at debygrwydd iaith fel y disgwyliet o unrhyw Gelt yn sgrifennu am fath arall o Gelt. Yn y bennod gyntef rhy restr o bŵrau o eiriau cytras Cymraeg-Gwyddeleg, sy'n digwydd mewn enwau lleoedd, a braslun o seineg y Gymraeg ar y tudalen olaf. Cyfeirir hefyd ar y ffaith fod Gwyddelod yn byw yn Llyn ac ardaloedd eraill yng Nghymru ar un adeg, ond mae'n cyfeiric hefyd at gysylltiadau diweddarach rhwng y ddwy wlad, cysylltiadau yr ydym ni Cymry braidd yn anwybodus amdanyn nhw ar y cyfan. Cyfeiria at Frongoch lle y carcharwyd rhai a ymladdodd yn 1916, De Valera yn eu plith. Ceir stori diddorol dros ben hefyd am Michael Davitt, un o arweinwyr mawr Iwerddon, yn dod i Flaenau Ffestiniog yn 1886, trwy wahoddiad oddi wrth Michael D. Jones, ac yn annerch cyfarfod ar "Hunanlywodraeth". Gwnaeth y dyn ifanc a safodd ar ei draed i gynnig y bleidlais o ddiolchgarwch argraff mor fawr ar Davitt fel y cymeradwyodd hwnnw iddo wneud gyrfa iddo ei hunan mewn gwleidyddiaeth - a David Lloyd George oedd y dyn ifanc hwnnw!

Cyfeiria at chwedloniaeth yn ardal yn helaeth iawn, yn enwedig at chwedl Math fab Fathonwy, gyda llawer o ddyfyniadau. Wrth gael ei ddychryn yn erchyll unwaith, mae bron a chredu bod dreigiau'n del i fyw yn yr ardal yma sydd mor llawn o chwedloniaeth; ond cofier mai anaml iawn y bydd Gwyddel yn gweld neidr o gwbl gan na welwyd neidr erioed yn Iwerddon. Trewir ef gan ddylanwad y Beibl a'r capel ar y Cymry a hefyd gan y ffaith fod traddodiad argraffu a chyhoeddi llyfrau yn y Gymraeg wedi bod yn llawer cryfach na'r traddodiad yn y Wyddeleg.

Er ei fod yn rhoi clod cyfiawn i Urdd Gobaith Cymru am ei gwaith gyda phobl ifainc a'r rhan bwysig dros ben y mae nhw wedi chwarae yn y mudiad Cymraeg yn gyffredinol, mae'r bennod ar Gymdeithas yr Iaith yn fyr iawn ac wedi'i sgrifennu braidd yn frysiog, ac, yn fy marn i, yn methu dangos y dylanwad mawr y mae'r gymdeithas honno wedi'i gael ar ddiwylliant Cymry ifainc yn ystod y deng mlynedd diwethaf. Yn enwedig yn y ffordd mae gwaith y Gymdeithas wedi gweld cymaint i orfodi llywodraeth Westminster i wella statws yr iaith a rhoi hunan-barch yn ôl i'r Cymry Cymraeg. Credaf ei fod, yn yr ychydig o gyfeiriadau sydd ganddo at wleidyddiaeth Cymru, yn rhoi gormod o bwyslais ar y methiannau sydd ynddi a'r ffaith fod diffyg hunan - lywodraeth yn rhwystr i'r genedl i symud ymlaen, (er bod hynny, wrth gwrs, yn wir) a methu rhoi digon o glod iddi ym symud ymlaen cymaint er gwaetha diffyg hunan-lywodraeth.

Mae'n wir bod y frwdrydedd sydd wedi bod yn tyfu ers tua 1963 wedi troi gwleidyddiaeth Cymru wyneb i waered. Gellid ateb hynny, wrth gwrs, trwy ddweud mai llyfr am daith bersonol yw hwn ac nad oed hi'n bosibl i weld pob golwg ar Gymru mewn ymweiliad byr ag un rhan ohoni, ond os felly, pam mae'r awdur yn defnyddio tystiolaeth un sylwadaeth neu ddau fwy nag unwaith i gyffredinol ar y wlad i gyd.

Mae rhywbeth hen-ffasiwn o gwmpas y llyfr hefyd. Nid yn unig y lluniau sydd ynddo sy'n hen-ffasiwn chwaith. Ceir yr argraff nad wy'r hen fywyd tawel capelaidd wedi peidio â bod. Mae'r bennod ar "Farddoniaeth Newydd" yn stopio gyda T.H. Parry-Williams ac nid oes dim sôn am y beirdd ifainc. Wrth fynd trwy Drawsfynydd mae'n dweud hanes Hedd Wyn i ni (a chwarae teg iddo) ond yn anghofic 'n llwyr am yr Orsaf Niwclear sydd ynddo ac sydd wedi newid cymaint ar fywydau pobl yno. Mae'r arddull weithiau yn sentimental hefyd. Ond llyfr dymunol iawn ar y cyfan, ac un o'r ychydig rai mewn iaith Celtaidd ar wlad arall Celtaidd sydd ddim wedi'i sgrifennu ar gyfer pobl prifysgol yn unig. Llyfr i leygwyr yw e. Yr ydym hefyd yn ddiolchgar i Brian am y cyfieithiadau i'r Wyddeleg sydd ynddo, ar farddoniaeth Gymrag hen a newydd, ac yn enwedig ar y hen emynau sydd yn rhan mor hafodol o'n diwylliant ni.

J.W.

#### Y BROYDD CYMRAEG - The Strongholds of the Welsh Language.

(The following are extracts from an article in Welsh by Cynog Dafis which appeared in TAFOD y DDRAIG, on a much debated issue in Wales at the moment.)

There are several reasons why Cymdeithas yr Iaith should define clearly its attitude towards the Welsh-speaking areas and their relation to the struggle for the future of the language; the main reason being the vital importance of the question itself.

The society has always emphasized the basic importance of those areas where Welsh is the main spoken language. The Manifesto (1972) states that "it is quite obvious that safeguarding the language in the Welsh-speaking areas is a matter of basic importance; we cannot but base our efforts to revive Welsh throughout Wales on its continued existence as a living language in the Welsh-speaking areas".

A living language in the true meaning must have its own territory, an area where it is the master, where knowledge of it is necessary if one is to take part in society. When we use the word crisis or when we say that the language is dying we mean that it is losing its place as the main living language in the Welsh-speaking areas.

We could achieve self-government and lose the language. We are justified in saying therefore that creating areas where the language will undoubtedly be the main language, is a very high priority, if not the main priority of Welsh nationalism. It is right to call upon people to return to these areas from the anglicized parts of Wales. It is right to make the Welsh-speaking areas the source of a national awakening rather than being a poor parasite living on the breadcrumbs of a power centre outside that area (as has happened with the Gaeltachtaí in Éire).

The movement of "Adfer" (restoration) has now begun calling for a "senate for the republic of the Fro Gymraeg which would be a sovereign authority for the lives of the Welsh people (y bobl Gymreig)". There are at least three objections to this fantasy; firstly

that having such a proposal generally accepted would take so much time that the Welsh-speaking areas would long have been anglicized; secondly, it would lead to splitting up the geographical unit which for over 1500 years has been called Cymru - the boundaries of a sovereign state are not something which can be changed from time to time; thirdly, the problem of defining the boundaries of the so-called "Fro Gymraeg" would be immense - it is quite possible that Adfer is the first movement in history that has called for self-government for a 'country' that no-one quite knows where it is.

To Cymdeithas yr Iaith (which is a political language movement) the questions which must be asked are there:- What will be the nature of the Welsh-speaking areas? Where and when can they be created? And how will they be created?

Withing the 'broydd Cymraeg' Welsh would be the language of every official body or institution, Welsh would be the medium of education in primary and secondary schools, and the principles of integrating newcomers would be basic. Knowledge of Welsh would be necessary for any jobs in administration, public services and schools, and banks and commercial companies of all kinds would appoint Welsh-speakers as managers of their branches in these areas. It is absolutely vital to create conditions where people would have no choice but to know and use Welsh - exactly as conditions at present force people to use English. As it is not possible to create those conditions all over Wales, some areas must be singled out.

This will involve creating linguistic boundaries within Wales - not permanent political boundaries in any way, but boundaries in the mind where people would know that a distinct linguistic conduct would be expected of them. A family would not cross this border without knowing that it would involve integrating with the linguistic pattern of the area. It has been suggested that the secondary schools catchment areas would be the most suitable areas to create Welsh-speaking areas within them. It would be most difficult to unite these areas, although several in the West would border with each other. These could be created almost at once and they could be added to regularly, by pursuing strong and effective education and general policies. They would be mobile boundaries (moving outwards), moving by secondary schools catchment areas, since education policy would be their basic definition.

How will this come about? They cannot be brought into existence by law, and proclaiming the setting up of a government is not much help. It has been already suggested that the starting point is to make the secondary school an official Welsh school (a gradual change will not do), the primary and nursery schools of the areas to follow suit. That's the aim. Apart from that there are only two things, to live in these areas and to work in them. Use all means to pressurize and to influence, courteous and otherwise, legal and illegal; let us work constructively for an economic revival; let us organize Ulpan crash courses in order to integrate the immigrants who so wish.

If we can therefore create Welsh-speaking areas in fact and Welsh Senedd when established may recognise in law the pattern and policy which we began to implement. The de facto could be transformed into de jure. These are some of the words that led to the foundation of Cymdeithas yr Iaith:-

"In my opinion if we won any kind of self-government for Wales before we recognise the language as the official language in the whole administration of local and state authorities in the Welsh-speaking areas of Wales, it would never become an official language, and its death would come quicker than under English rule."  
(Saunders Lewis, Tynged yr Iaith.)

A.G.

#### Road-Sign Fiasco at Llanelltyd.

The controversy still rages over which language should come first on the new bilingual road-signs in Wales. One of the best (worst) examples of Welsh Office stupidity and dictatorship on this matter happened when a new by-pass was about to be opened at Llanelltyd near Dolgellau in the new county of Gwynedd. All trunk roads come under the authority of the Welsh Office, the local County Council acting as their agents when erecting signs, etc. Gwynedd County Council however, have already decided that Welsh would have priority on their own signs (on the grounds that in the long run this would be cheaper than having the signs cleaned if painted or replaced if removed), and consequently put up all the signs on the new by-pass with Welsh on top.

The Secretary of State, Mr. John Morris, (a fluent Welsh-speaker) was furious since it went against his ruling that all signs must have the Queen's language on top (in the interest of road safety!) He wrote a "strongly-worded" letter to Mr. Alun Jones, Gwynedd's Chief Executive Officer, on the morning that the new road was to be opened - presumably reminding him that the Council was defying government policy. Barry Jones, the Under Secretary of State announced that he would not be attending the official opening. The order of the names were eventually reversed and Mr. Alun Jones in a statement said that there was a limit to what a council could do within the law but that they would continue to exert pressure on the Welsh Office.

Little wonder that the Welsh Office are popularly known as the English colonial office and that John Morris was on this occasion labelled as an 'irresponsible vandal' by Cymdeithas yr Iaith (haven't we heard those words somewhere before! ?) and as a 'small-minded dictator' by the local Plaid Cymru M.P., Dafydd Elis Thomas.

P.S. A few days later Mr. Barry Jones must have been more than a little surprised when at the beginning a speech at Bangor, about 50 people came forward from the audience and dumped the Llanelltyd signs at his feet!

#### CELTIC CONGRESS APPEAL.

This appeal signed by Hywel Roberts and Jack Williams was addressed to the French President on behalf of the Welsh branch of the Celtic Congress.

"Yr ydym ni, aelodau o Gangen Cymru o'r Gyn-gres Geltaidd Ryngwladol, yn apelio at Lywydd Gweriniaeth Ffrainc i drefnu adolygiad o safle israddol yr iaith Lydaweg yn ysgolion Llydaw ac ar radio a theledu, gyda golwg ar godi statws yr iaith i safle gymharol a safle'r iaith Gymraeg yng Nghymru.

Ystyriwn yr ieithoedd Celtaidd yn rhan werthfawr o dreftadaeth ddiwylliannol Ewrop ac yr ydym yn dymuno iddynt gael cyfle teg i fyw ochr yn ochr â phrif ieithoedd Ewrop. Gofynnwn i Lywydd Gweriniaeth sydd wedi chwarae rhan mor bwysig yn natblygiad treftadaeth Ewrop ymyrryd o blaid iaith y gwrthodir iddi'r statws a'r gefnogaeth a gaiff ieithoedd lleiafrifol yn gyffredin yn ail hanner yr ugeinfed ganrif."



## ÉIRE.

### PIÓBAIREACHT.

Bhí cupla alt againn le déanaí a bhain le píobair-eacht na h-Alban. Níor mhiste má sea nóta breise a chur leo. Ró-mhinic a chloistear, mar shampla, nár bhain an phib mhór agus an phíobaireacht ach le arm Shasana agus go príomhda leis na haonaid ó na Garbhchríocha san arm sin.

An Fhírinne atá taobh thiar den bharúil seo ná nach raibh píobairí ar an mbunáocht san arm sin go dtí 1854 (nuair a cheadaíodh iad do Risimintí ó na Garbhchríocha), - leathnáfodh an cead oifigiúil seo go dtí risimintí Deisceart na hAlban sa bhliain 1918.

Tá sin fíor - ach níl sé iomlán. Bhí alt suim-iúil san Bulletin of the Military Historical Society (eagrán Lúnasa) ag W.G.F. Boag ar an abhar seo. Léiríonn sé go raibh píobairí á núsáid i risimintí al-bannacha in arm Shasana chomh sia siar le 1660 a.d.

Ní hamháin sin ach bhí píobairí ag risimintí deisceart na tíre i bhfad sul má bunaíodh na risimintí ó na Garbhchríocha. Bhí, mar shamplaí, píobairí ag na Royal Scots, na Royal Scots Fusiliers; na Cameronians agus na King's Own Scottish Borderers fiú sul má saolódh an risimint is sine ó na Garbhchríocha in arm Shasana - an Black Watch.

Agus má tá miotas amháin leagtha ag Boag san alt sin, tá méar leagtha aige tríd ar fhíric thabacht-ach eile, eadhon, aontas na hAlban i gcúrsaí cheoil - aontas a théann i bhfad siar roimh earcú albannach do arm Shasana.

### PIÓBAIREACHT 2.

Nuair a úsáideann arm Shasana risimintí ó thíortha Ceilteacha eile in Éirinn, cuirtear siar don Chomhthuis-cint atá an Conradh Ceilteach ag trialladh a chothú agus loitear fiú amháin ceangal ár gcomhoidhreacht.

Sampla de'n rud atá i gceist againn anseo ná na h-eagráin is déanaí d'iris amháin de chuid na Sealadach i mBéal Feirste, The Tatler, a chonaiceamar. Ar cheann acu bhí tagairt maslaítheach do phíobaireacht risimint amháin: "it was very painful to listen to"; agus "take your bagpipes, or bags of wind as we call them, back to the Highlands and annoy someone else".

Ar chóip eile deineadh gearán faoi bhrúidiúlacht an dreama sin agus dubhrathas "we demand the immediate withdrawal of the Sektarian thugs and, when they do go, good riddance to the scum".

Agus is léir ó na gearáin a dhein Paddy Devlin faoin Black Watch, - gearán go raibh de thoradh air gur cheistigh an R.U.C. scata maith ón risimint sin - go raibh bunús leis an gearán. Is léir fosta, agus is trua é, nach bhfuil comhbhá, trua ná tuisceant ag saigh-diúirí na risimintí sin dá gcomh-Cheiltigh. An é go bhfuilid níos "dílse" ná na Sasanaigh féin? "Scottish regiments have traditionally incurred more hostility than the English regiments in Republican areas of Belfast."

### THE IRISH FARMER, THE COMMON MARKET, AND THE F.D.A.

Prior to E.E.C. membership Irish Farmers were told that unlimited markets existed in the E.E.C. for their produce and at ever increasing prices.

Farmers were urged to double their livestock numbers. Unlimited credit was made available to normally credit-shy farmers by the Associated Banks

and the Agricultural Credit Corporation. ("Between 1972-74 bank loans to farmers doubled" - and of course bank profits doubled also.)

1972 was a good year for the smaller farmer and many believed that at long last the flight from the land would be halted. (The Agricultural Labour force fell from 421,000 in 1953 to 267,000 in 1972 - approx. 25% of the total labour force.)

Urged on by the Irish Farmers' Association (I.F.A., the big farmers' organisation) and by the major political parties the majority of farmers voted to join the Common Market.

Alas the boom year of 1972 was followed by a major recession in Irish farming in 1973/74 - and this crisis has not yet been entirely resolved. Calf and store cattle prices collapsed completely and at one stage calves were unsaleable while cull cows could be bought for the price of a pint of Guinness.

To make matters worse most small cattle producers were overstocked and because of poor hay making weather, winter fodder stocks were very low. The meal and fertiliser firms took advantage of this crisis to make increased profits (for the period 1973-74 farm costs in Ireland rose by 66% - the highest in the E.E.C.).

Small farmers faced with falling prices borrowed additional money to buy feed for their starving cattle. But all to no avail, for they were eventually forced to sell their cattle below the cost of purchase.

Pig producers were also hard hit in 1973/74 by soaring meal bills and falling bon ham prices - and as a result over 30% of pig producers went out of business - (mainly those with 10 sows or less).

However the meat factories and the fat cattle producers made enormous profits by buying store cattle at rock bottom prices, and by selling into inventory.

Smaller farmers reacted by reducing livestock numbers, by purchasing no fertilizers and very little meal. While this is understandable it has served only to further reduce farm incomes and has helped to push the unemployment figures in the Republic over 100,000.

Prior to E.E.C. membership small farmers were also told that special Development Grants would be available to help farmers to modernise their farms under the Farm Modernisation Scheme (F.M.S.). Yet under this scheme 78% of the farmers have been classified as Transitional farmers and are therefore NOT eligible for Development Grants.

For example, Transitional farmers will not receive the (10%) grant for approved livestock purchase and for mobile equipment. Nor will they receive beef and sheep guidance premiums which over a period of 3 years could amount to £5,000 +, in the case of Development farmers.

Again small farmers will receive 10% less in grants for farm buildings and land reclamation if they are over 55 years old - a move designed in conjunction with the E.E.C. Retirement Scheme to force them to transfer their land - not to their sons and daughters but to their big farmer neighbours.

At present 13% of farms in the Irish Republic are over 100 acres - and this is the only category of farm size increasing in numbers. These are the farms which will benefit under the F.M.S.

And there are the farmers who are well repres-

ented by the I.F.A. in Dublin and Brussels. However small farmers have now begun to organise themselves in the Farmers' Defence Association and with some success.

The F.D.A. was first established in 1968 and campaigned vigorously against E.E.C. membership. The Association has close links with Les Paysans Travailleurs, which is well established in Brittany and France.

In January of this year Mr. Lardinois, the E.E.C. Commissioner for Agriculture was picketed in Dublin by angry members of the F.D.A. led by Brendan Lynch (a small dairy farmer) from Co. Meath - (and a founder member of the Land League).

Since then the Association has gained many new members as a result of its vigorous campaign to have full Development Grants extended to transitional farmers.

The Association is also involved in numerous land agitations and among the proposals of the association in relation to land are the following:-

- That farm size be limited to 100 acres and all estates and very large farms be taken over for use by farmers in need.
- That the Land Commission be abolished as it has completely failed to acquire large estates for re-distribution or to prevent non-farmers and non-nationals from buying up land needed by small farmers.
- The Land Commission should be replaced by a democratically controlled Land Board with the sole right to buy, rent or sell land.
- That all land acquired by this Land Board be allocated on a points system and rented out on a long term lease - 10 to 15 years - at a reasonable rent. This rent should be adjusted to allow for crop failures and bad years.
- Co-operative Farming - realising that large farms are necessary if farmers are to benefit from mechanisation and to allow for a five day week, holidays, etc., the Association demands that a major portion of agricultural funds be allocated to encourage smaller farmers - especially young farmers - to form large co-op farms, of 1,000 or 2,000 acres in size.

It is now Government policy to favour larger farmers in the allocation of available land and in grants and subsidies. This is in accordance with E.E.C. Directives and policies. There it becomes clear that future plans by ordinary working average size farmers must be based on co-operative ventures.

The Farmers' Defence Association has examined the live stock and pig industries and has published its proposals. Some of its proposals in relation to the livestock industry are:- to reduce the price of meat to encourage consumption (this can be done by eliminating profiteering by butchers and meat factories and will have no adverse effect on cattle prices); that the Government actively encourage the export of calves and young cattle to the lucrative markets that exist in Italy, Holland and other continental countries for veal and bull beef, (these exports could be organised by vigorous and concerted action on the part of co-op creameries, marts and cattle breeding societies - reasonable exports of young cattle offer no threat to the meat factories, especially if exports of forward stores and fat cattle are diverted through the factories); that the small cattle producers should receive the same aids as

development farmers and all aids should be reserved for farms of less than £100 valuation (the money thus saved would pay for the increased aids to smaller farmers). For the pig industry F.D.A. demands include the introduction of effective price control on all meal companies and effective control of meal quality, a guaranteed minimum price for bonhams and fat pigs, a more effective marketing for pig meat exports and an immediate end to all E.E.C. taxes and levies on these exports and that aid to producers should be designed to encourage sow herds of up to 50 sows and pig fattening co-operatives.

The Farmers' Defence Association has branches both North and South of the border. Its executive, regional councils and branches are made up of ordinary working farmers and the association is therefore genuinely representative of the smaller farmer. A monthly publication has recently been launched and organisational drive is taking place for the winter months.

Liam de Paor.

[F.D.A. publications The Farm Modernisation Scheme - What it really means, (20p plus postage) and In Defence of the Working Farmer (10p plus postage), obtainable from The General Secretary, Farmers' Defence, 8 Belvedere Place, Baile Átha Cliath 1, Éire.]

#### R.T.É. 2 or B.B.C. 1.

The debate initiated by Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien's (the Irish Minister for Posts and Telegraphs) proposal to rebroadcast B.B.C. 1 in toto on the second channel in Ireland has been carried on with great intensity in the last few months. Conradh na Gaeilge and the Irish Trade Union movement have waged a vigorous campaign against the re-broadcasting of B.B.C. 1 and O'Brien has toured the country lauding the merits of his proposal. Both Radio Telefís Éireann (R.T.É.) management and the trade unions argued that there would be massive redundancies at R.T.É. with up to 800 men thrown out of a job if B.B.C. 1 became the second channel. They pointed out that R.T.É.'s share of the television audience would be halved and that they would thus lose £2.25 million per annum in advertising revenue. The radio service would also suffer because T.V. advertising and licences provide three quarters of radio's annual cost of £4 million. This loss of income would force R.T.É. to drop most of their home produced programmes and thus lead to the loss of almost 800 jobs. It was pointed out that Ulster Television, which re-broadcasts Independent Television had only 200 full time employees compared to R.T.É.'s 1600. Conradh na Gaeilge has continuously emphasised the danger to our already weakened cultural identity of accepting the broadcasting in full of a British channel. A second channel should be used to provide more locally orientated television, home produced programmes of high quality and imported features from outside the Anglo-American cultural spheres of influence as well as providing in conjunction with the other channel a proper television service for Irish speakers. An Conradh have organised meetings to influence public opinion, collected signatures and formulated petitions and supplied speakers for debates. O'Brien announced that an opinion survey of 1,500 homes would be held on the question and that the Government would base their final decision on the results of this survey. The result of the survey has been announced showing a 2 to 1 majority for R.T.É.2. O'Brien in his stepping down speech in Dail Éireann on 28th October said that the second channel would be controlled by R.T.É.

## KINSALE GAS PIPELINE CONTRACT TO BRITISH COMPANY.

The decision by the recently formed Bord Gáis (Irish Gas Board) to award the consultancy contract for the £10m Kinsale gas overland pipeline to the British Gas Corporation has been greeted with criticism. Opposition from Electricity Supply Board (E.S.B.) engineers to the engagement of the British Gas Corporation has been based on their belief that the job should be kept in Irish hands and that most of the necessary skills to do the job were available in the E.S.B. technological pool. They also feared that the part of the contract relating to advice on purchase of materials etc. would lead to a good deal of the procurement for the pipeline being done abroad and they were wary of British standards in codes of practice etc. being introduced without any proper study being done to determine their suitability or otherwise for Ireland as against codes used in other countries.

Adding weight to this view was that of an Irish oil and engineering consultant of international repute who has been in the business for 26 years, who advised the British Government on North Sea Oil and who is now oil and gas consultant to the Kuwait Government and occasionally to Libya. He stated that the design and overseeing of the laying of the pipeline could be done by a design group gathered from concerns like the E.S.B. and that apart from one or two specialists there should be no need to go abroad. Most of the actual work of laying the pipeline could also be done by Irish concerns. It is perhaps ironic that hundreds of miles of gas pipeline have been laid across Britain for the British Gas Corporation by Irish owned companies with mainly Irish workers. The Chairman of Bord Gáis Éireann meanwhile claims that Ireland got 'a very good deal' and that the British Gas Corporation has accepted a commitment to make An Bord Gáis independent and capable of handling future gas finds on their own!

The Kinsale Gas find is controlled by the Marathon Petroleum Co. who is responsible for bringing the gas ashore in 35 miles of submarine pipeline. The Gas Board will then pipe it over land to the E.S.B. power station in Whitegate and across Cork Harbour to the fertiliser factory of Nitrigin Éireann Teo. (N.E.T., a semi-state company) then further on to another E.S.B. power station and the Cork Gas Company. The decision by the Government to have the Kinsale Gas find used in this fashion is regrettable. The Kinsale field contains one million cubic feet of high quality 98% Methane gas. Electricity generation from methane gas will lose over 10% of the gas in the energy transfer. This gas could be used to develop an Irish petro-chemical industry which would supply valuable jobs and exports. The minimum usage of the gas should be to pipe it into a national grid around the country and the Cork and Dublin Gas should be nationalised. If this were done the price of gas in the State would be reduced to one fifth of its present.

Finally it should be remembered (see Carr 10, p. 11) that the government has agreed to buy back the Kinsale gas from Marathon for about £600 million over 20 years and that Marathon's expenditure was £500 for the licence to own the gas and some £15 million spent over 10 years. With a deal like that completed by previous and present governments it is no wonder that the civil servant chairman of An Bord Gáis thinks he is getting "a very good deal".

## THE NORTH.

As the time for the submission of the report of the Northern Ireland Constitutional Convention draws near, cracks have begun to appear in the previously monolithic United Ulster Unionist Coalition. Mr. W. Craig, previously leader of the Vanguard Party in the coalition attempted to get the Coalition to adopt a policy of sharing power with the Social, Democratic and Labour Party (S.D.L.P.) in an emergency, he deeming that an emergency now exists in the north. Even this however was too much of a concession for the Coalition and his own Vanguard Party Convention colleagues although he received a vote of confidence from the central council of his party. The U.U.U.C. has regrouped, accepting the deputy leader of Vanguard and his eight rebels as Independent Loyalists into the Coalition and leaving Mr. Craig and three remaining supporters out in the cold. The acrimonious meeting at which this occurred generated tensions however between the other parties in the Coalition, the Official Unionist Party and The Democratic Unionist Party which could contain the seeds of the collapse of the U.U.U.C. Ironically for Mr. Craig, since his proposal of emergency sharing was defeated, the S.D.L.P. have re-iterated that they could not accept this form of power sharing and must have permanent institutional power sharing if they are to be satisfied.

The Westminster Government, it is understood, is considering extending the Northern Ireland Convention for an initial period of three months after its report is submitted in early November. This is in the expectation that the report will be found totally unacceptable. After rejecting the report because it does not comply with the guidelines laid down by Mr. Rees, the British Government believe that the U.U.U.C. Coalition members will have no alternative but to seek a mandate from their supporters to continue talks with the S.D.L.P. with a view to finding agreement within the Westminster terms, or forego the prospect of forming a new Stormont administration.

Meanwhile the Provisional I.R.A. have been active again in bombings and attacks on British troops. They claim this is in retaliation for increased British Army and R.U.C. harassment aimed at the Nationalist people, and the reintroduction to torture during interrogations. They also claim that the ceasefire still exists and they have launched a publicity campaign in Ireland and Britain to draw attention to their own proposals. Their increased activity resulted in the by now expected loyalist paramilitary retaliation in which ten people died in the one day amongst them four members of the organisation responsible, the U.V.F., which has been declared an illegal organisation again by Mr. Rees.

## ÉAMON DE VALERA - An Assessment.

The recent death of De Valera has marked the end of an era. To many foreigners he was the apotheosis of Irish nationalism so that it was by no means uncommon for people (such as the writer), not too enamoured of him, to find themselves defending him, in spite of themselves. De Valera was a consummate politician. Document No. 2, which he tried to have accepted as a compromise between the goal of an Irish Republic and the 'Treaty' that brought the Freestate into being, was rejected. Eventually, after a civil war and a long period when he was in the political wilderness, Document No. 2 largely took effect in the constitution of 1937. After the 'Economic



War' with England differences were patched up and Chamberlain's relinquishment of the 'Treaty' ports enabled De Valera to keep the 26 counties out of World War II. It was an "Allied" neutrality and only preserved by clamping down hard on some of his erstwhile comrades.

When the Freestate came into being this did not result in any ban on Irish migration into the United Kingdom. This had the effect of removing the pressure that would otherwise have compelled radical grappling with the problems of the Irish economy. Because of this built-in English safety valve and no doubt also because of the influence of an extra-reactionary brand of catholicism in Ireland the original radicalism of Mr. De Valera's party eventually gave way to a jobs-for-the-boys philosophy not all that different from that of the Unionist Party.

His introduction to active political nationalism was through the aegis of the Gaelic League. The two goals he set for Fianna Fáil, the party that he created, were the restoration of the Irish language and the reunification of Ireland, so that his influence can reasonably be assessed in the light of his own objectives. Regarding unification, the presence of nearly 900,000 Unionists in the North-East presented an almost intractable obstacle. His neo-Catholic constitution (discussed as it was by him, as it was being drafted, with all Protestant leaders in Ireland, ) was hardly likely to modify their contention that Home Rule was Rome Rule. Nevertheless, the long years that he and his party held office ought to have enabled some progress to have been made towards the cultural reconquest.

In fact most of the positive steps towards reviving the language were introduced by what was the "Freestate" party. The successful utilisation of the emotive term "compulsory Irish" in diminishing the status of the language has been due to the failure to set the example in using it at the highest levels or to maintain and to provide definite environments where Irish is the natural medium. Mr. De Valera and his own family set an excellent example in the use of Irish. What was lacking was the will to ensure that its use became the norm in his party and in his governments. No doubt decidedly sophisticated measures would have been necessary to have hastened Gaelicisation. In terms of elementary common sense it can be asserted that at least three very obvious measures were omitted:-

- 1) A Gaeltacht radio station could and should have been set up as soon as Mr. De Valera assumed power. In fact it has not been in existence for more than a few years and was shamed into existence through a pirate radio.
- 2) There is no daily paper in Irish, while the Dublin weekly paper owes no thanks to Mr. De Valera or to his party. It would have been simple enough to apply a nominal levy according to the amount of newspaper space printed in English to be directly funnelled as subsidies for Irish publications.
- 3) The National University which ought to have been one of the most important institutions for the cultural reconquest has been allowed to remain a bastion of the conquest. Not alone has this situation been allowed to continue, but for a period of some 50 years Mr. De Valera through his titular office of Chancellor of the National University of Ireland gave it his tacit blessing.

Finally, it has to be admitted that Mr. De Val-

era had hardly any "Celtic Dimension". In a sense this was understandable. It was Lloyd-George, the Welsh wizard, who in his 'English Dimension' helped to provide for the partition of Ireland. Even allowing for this and accepting that Mr. De Valera felt little personal sense of Celtic identification it ought to have been obvious strategy for an Irish statesman in his turn to endeavour to break up the United Kingdom unit into its component parts with a view to reducing the odds against Ireland.

The furthest Mr. De Valera seems to have gone in this direction was to urge the Welsh people to retain their language, which he did during an anti-partition speech in Caerdydd. It was also of interest to learn of another such step in the course of the League's recent conference in Mannin. On a visit to the island Mr. De Valera had been introduced to one of the then surviving native-Manx speakers. As a result of this he had been partly instrumental in starting the process of having as much as possible of this irreplaceable part of the Manx heritage tape-recorded. On that same journey he called twice to Barra in the Hebrides and similarly helped with the collection of Folklore in Alba.

Although very prosaic in manner, Mr. De Valera has had a popular appeal exerted by no other Irish leaders except Daniel O'Connell, Parnell and Michael Collins. As in the case of O'Connell, it would seem that good intentions were frustrated by lack of vision. Due to that lack of vision in one who had such a tremendous potential we have had two generations largely disillusioned and lost in a grey Transatlantic Anglo-Saxon mist.

P.O'C.

## KERNOW.

### CELTIC CHURCH?

A heading for an article in the paper of the Cornish Council of Churches reads, "Churchmen Lead In Celtic Revival" and the article itself begins, "Christians are taking a leading part in the current revival of the Cornish Language which is attracting nation-wide attention". It goes on to report briefly on the Celtic Congress and Congress of Celtic Studies both held in Kernow this year. The title is a little piece of overstatement as although individual churchmen have played their part it is only very recently the church in Kernow has shown interest as a combined body. The Bishop of Truro recently set up an advisory group on church services in Cornish and intends liaising with other churches using Celtic languages for public worship. Chairman of the group the Bishop of St. Germans has emphasised there is no "direct link" with Cornish nationalism.

### A STAMP FOR KERNOW.

In the next few weeks Mebyon Kernow will be re-opening their campaign for a Cornish postage stamp. National and international organisations, press, local M.P.'s, Plaid & S.N.P., television as well as the Post Office will be contacted in hope that they will join with M.K. in pressing for the issue of a Cornish postage stamp for "the only Celts in the British Isles without a distinctive postage stamp of their own".

### THE STANNERY MYTH.

Of late in Cornwall there has been considerable interest in some quarters about an institution called the "Stannery Parliament", especially by so-called, self-elected, "Stannators" - who have claimed all

sorts of 'privileges' and rights, setting themselves up as a 'provisional government', and quoting all sorts of facts and figures to try to prove their validity and value (?). Though there are some sincere members of this 'institution', I feel that it is the wrong way for Cornwall to achieve independence, especially when we consider the history of the Stannery.

The origin of the Stannery is to be found in the desire of Richard I (Coeur de Lion) of England, for finance to engage in the usual English imperialist dreams (under the excuse of a crusade) in Palestine. To raise this finance he set up, in 1197-8, a 'commission of inquiry' into the Cornish tin mining industry, under William de Wrotham, who was given the newly created (fancy) title of "Lord Warden of the Stanneries". So successful was he, that the revenue - after his "investigation" - was greatly increased. One of the ploys used was to set up a 'workers' council' to increase the revenue from the tinners, while letting them think they had control. In 1207 King John of England, who as it is well known was always looking for ways to increase his royal revenue, provided, as a 'gloss of legality', a "Royal Charter", with a set of laws, which bound the tinners, like soldiers under military law. The 'power' and 'rights' of the Stannery was limited, covering only Haldhu and a few other limited areas.

Magna Charta (used by present day Stannators as a shield) overruled and repealed the Stannery Charter! Henry III, like all English monarchist oppressors, realising a good revenue source, reconfirmed the charters - under the Earls (later Dukes) of Cornwall - under which was given power to cover all matters (excepting those covering life, limb or land) where only tinners were concerned, and authority was given for a 'parliament' or 'convocation' to cover only tin mining matters, and to act as an 'advisory' body on such. The tinner had other 'privileges' - such as only being conscripted by the Lord Warden - after all they were "vital workers" (like coal miners in the last war!), and they were exempt from some ordinary taxation - but they had to pay dearly for their 'privileges' - they paid a heavy tax on their product, they were at a disadvantage financially, as the tin markets or coinages were held only 4 times per year, so they were dependent at other times on money lenders (at extortionate rates of interest). They also had many payments to make to petty stannery and royal officials (jobs for the boys - an old English trick); and if that was not enough, the English Crown had the right of pre-emption (otherwise known as price fixing) and the right to purchase before any other, to such an advantage that John Nordon, in his "Description of Cornwall" (1584-1604), was able to say "..... And greatest profit may be raised by it unto his Highness" (i.e. The Duke of Cornwall).

The English Crown confirmed these 'rights' (of great advantage to itself) in many charters including that of Henry VII (another money grubber) in the so-called "Treaty of Pardon" (which Cornwall had to pay for!), and to quote Nordon again "..... the Statute made the 10 year of Henr. 8 (1519) provideth that Excheators, and suche like officers of informations shoulde not deal within the Duchye of Cornwall" - so they could not get their hands on the revenue the Crown had to itself? Unlike the medieval guilds the Stannery afforded no protection to its distressed members, with the result that due to the Crown's price fixing (pre-emption), which the Stannery could not prevent, in 1597 a depression occurred in the industry and 10,000 were

unemployed, without any chance of relief or help. By this time Stannery law jurisdiction was in most cases quite beyond the comprehension of ordinary tinners, who were thus dependent on others for its interpretation, so leading to exploitation by lawyers and 'gentry' etc.

(To be continued.)

## GALLAS AN HAF.

Gallas glan an haf lemmyn, ha prest yma genenyn an glaw ha'n hagerawel. Whath, tewedhek kyn fe an gewer, ny vu honna travyth kehevellys orth an dhathel Mebyon Kernow a wra crothvplas erbyn an Dr. Whetter awos ef dhe 'ladra' nebes huny a'ga ysyly, hag ynweth un lacca gorheleth a wrons yn kever erbys, ha mona. Dr. Whetter y honen a worthyb yn y dorn-ef bos tyllys dhodho arghans gansa-y ..... Ha pubtra re bu gwaryes arak dhe lagasow an bys.

Marthys plegadow yn henna dhe'n media. An re-na, ha dres ken an B.B.C. re ervyrys a omdhy-squedhes yn aga furf gwyr. Hedhyu yn jeth y a veth settya poran erbyn Gernow avel gwlas dyblans. Sol-abrys ny wrens-y namoy es gul ges anedhy ha'n dus fol a grys ynny. An paperow-newodhow (ha pes anedha a bew kernowyon?) a gows hep hedhy erbyn an 'brys munys' usy dhe'n gwlasegoryon. Sur yns-y bos braster an gorthyp dhe bubtra-oh. Bytegens y hyller gweles bos ran vur an dus ow whylas whel, an keth tus a dheth aberth yn Kernow gans an gwythvaow 'whel scafy', medhygneth Westminster. Martesen ny a dalvya clewes y'gan colon nep lowena a'y wosa, pan us, adryf an vaner drus a welyn yn 'gwask', an aswonvos certan bos agan partyow devedhys dhe os.

Ynweth ny yl-e bos brok ha ny ow cafos deu lyvryk gwlasegorek, "An Genethel Gernewek" ha'n "Baner Kernewek", yn gwerthtyow kernewek. Dhe'm brys-evy nyns yu dyhevelept bras ynthredha saw bos y'n Baner moy a vater kesgwasek ha keskeltek. Pos yu dhyn pur wyr kescows yndella, mes res yu dhyn keffrys gwaytya na wren-ny omdhyvroa dhe nep tyr a hunrosow, yn le mostya agan bysow yn un gewsel orth an bobal a'gan mamvro.

Gallas an haf, an gwaf devedhys yu! Moy es 8% a'n wonesogyon yn Kernow a fyll a gafos ober. Hep mar ytho lyes den a wra gweles bos neppyth cam aberveth y'n vro. A yl agan partyow gwlasegorek cafos an lef ha'n hembrynkysy rak dyspletia dhedha bos aga sylwyans dhe vos kefys yn gwlasegoreth kernewek?

**Summary:** The press and other media have been enjoying the disputes within the nationalist camp. The media is bolder in directly attacking the Cornish movement. Unemployment, now above 8% in Kernow: - Can the Cornish parties demonstrate that Cornish nationalism is relevant to this? Blew Melen.

## MANNIN.

### LHIETAL BREE-LOAYRTYS NY YERNEE AYNS SOSTYN.

Bombs will not solve the English question in Ireland. Neither will England's ill-conceived Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Ayns Mee Houney, ta Sheshaght Connolly as y Choonsel cour Seyrsynys Theayagh (N.C.C.L.) ayns Sostyn son shirrey er olteynyn Ardwhaiyl Hostyn y Slattys cour Lhiettal Agglaghey y cheau magh. Lurg bleaystanyn Birmingham blein er dy henney, hie y slattys tranlaasagh shoh trooid Ardwhaiyl Hostyn gyn boirey erbee - ga dy loayr fer daaney ny ghaa noi.

Dy jarroo, oddagh oo gra dy-vel y-slattys shoh cur er Yernee oney ayns Sostyn smooïnaght dy vel ad nyn gimmee er y fa dy vel ad Yernagh.

Derrey y shiaghtoo laa jeh Mee Luanistyn, va 766 sleih er ve goit ec ny meoiryn-shee, va goaill ymmyd jeh'n clattys shoh. Agh cha jagh agh 32 jeusyn er cassid, as cha row agh nane jersyn feddynit y ve kyndagh! Ta 66 sleih er ve ceaut magh ass Sostyn: ny keayrtyn, hug shoh er nyn lughtyn-thie y hurranse dy mooar. Dy chooilley pheigh ta ny meoiryn-shee greimmey, t'ad goaill e lurgyn-mair. Ta ny meoiryn-shee goaill caslys jeh dy chooilley pheigh t'ad greimmey - ny bunnys dy chooilley pheigh. Ta sleih cummit ec ny meoiryn-shee rish shiaght laa gyn caa y ve oc loayrt rish leighderyn ny rish ny lughtyn-thie oc.

Ny keayrtyn, ta stiurtyn-shapp er ve goit as va ny meoiryn-shee son eebirt ad. Agh ren ny keird-heshaghtyn caggey dy 'endeil ny stiurtyn oc va goit, as lhig ny meoiryn-shee daue goll seyr feer happee. Hoil shee shoh magh dy cronnal dy re drogh 'lattys t'ayn as dy lhisagh eh ve ceaut magh.

Brian Mac Stoyll.

## THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN MANN.

(Opening Address at this year's A.G.M. of the Celtic League.)

Firstly, I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of Mec Vannin, the Manx Nationalist Organisation, to welcome this Celtic League Conference to Mannin, and to wish it every succes. We in Mec Vannin recognise fully the need for an organisation such as the Celtic League. It is a living symbol of the Celtic Brotherhood which unites our nations and which, above all, unites our common struggle for the right of national self-determination.

I have been asked along tonight to give a talk or talk about the political situation in Mann, and perhaps the best way I can start is by giving you a brief history of the Island and its constitution.

The ancient Kingdom of Mann was for many years under the general control of the Kings of Norway. However in the year 1266 the Island passed from under their control to Alexander III, King of Scotland, and for over one hundred years the Island became a pawn in the game of international politics between successive Kings of Scotland and England.

Eventually the Island became a recognised sphere of influence for the English Monarch, although it must be stressed that the Manx people were never conquered - neither did they consciously surrender to the English Crown.

At this time the Island was granted by reigning Monarchs as a reward to those who gained favour by their special services to the Crown, and in the year 1405 Mann was granted, by the then Monarch, Henry IV, to Sir John Stanley for life. The following year this gift for life was changed to "in perpetuity". Sir John Stanley and his heirs (later to become the Earls of Derby) were virtually independent sovereigns and, indeed, did for generations style themselves "Kings of Mann". The Derbys continued to rule Mann until 1736, except for the few years between 1595 and 1609 when the Island was administered directly by the English Crown during a dispute between rival branches of the Derby family.

However during the time of the Derby lordships, the English Civil War indirectly led to a change in the Islands constitutional position. The Derbys were staunch supporters of the Royalist cause and when the

Manx Receiver General, William Christian (known to history as William Dhone) refused to commit Manx forces against an invading Commonwealth army, he was sentenced to death for treason. The sentence was carried out only hours before a Royal Pardon was received and King Charles II (suspicious that the Pardon had been deliberately delayed) threatened the Derby family that the lordship of the Island would be removed from their possession - a reminder that they were, in fact, subject to the overall Sovereignty of the English Crown, and from this time on the English Crown was continually looking for ways to curb the Derbys' power in Mann.

Gradually over the years the rights of the Derby family were reduced - especially during a dispute in the Island between Thomas Wilson, the Bishop of Sodor and Mann and the civil government as to the limits of their respective authorities, which resulted in the right of appeal by Manx men to the Privy Council. This dispute, in 1721, was a major step in removing the almost absolute rights in the Derby family.

Just fifteen years later the lordships of Mann passed to the Duke of Atholl, whose position was short lived. Mann had become a centre of the smuggling trade and the loss of revenue to the English Crown had become so large that the British Government forced the Atholls to allow its purchase by the Crown under the Isle of Man Purchase Act of 1765 (known as the 'Revestment Act'). Under this Act the Island was placed under the Administration of the Crown. Manx revenue was merged with the general British revenue and no money was available for government within the Island.

However, it was not until 1866 that Manx revenues were separated from United Kingdom revenues, and the Insular Government given some limited control of expenditure. From that time on, gradual increases in the degree of Manx self-government continued until the present situation was achieved. (To be continued.)

## CELTICA.

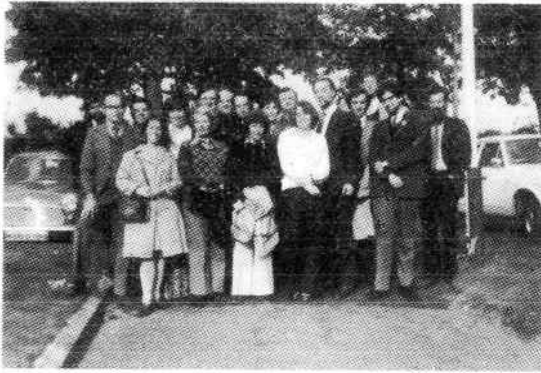
### CELTIC NATIONS RIGHTS CONFERENCE.

Conradh na Gaeilge's Celtic Languages Conference will be held in Rath Cairn, Co. Meath, on 9th - 11th July 1976. Basic decisions on the Conference were made at a meeting of the Organising Committee in Baile Átha Cliath on July 26th under the chairmanship of Pádraig Ó Conchúir (also chairman of the Celtic League). Present at the meeting were representatives of Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg (Arfon Gwilyn), An Comunn Gaidhealach (Tormod Burns), Skol an Emsav (Tangi Louern) and Yn Chesaght Ghailckagh (Brian Mac Stoyll). The Secretary of Kesva an Tavas Kernewek wrote regretting the inability of that body to send a delegate but expressed interest in the project. Also present were Alan Heussaff (General Secretary, Celtic League), Pádraig Ó Snodaigh (President, Conradh na Gaeilge), Mícheál Mac Aonghusa (International Campaign Director, Conradh), Pádraig Ó Fearaíl (Editor, ROSC), Cathal Ó Luain (Sec. Irish Branch, Celtic League) and Nollaig Ó Gadhra (Chairman, Conradh Gaeltacht Committee).

The meeting prepared a General Discussion Document which shall be distributed throughout the Celtic countries next month. An International Preparatory Committee is being set up.

Further information may be obtained from:- M. MacAonghusa, Conradh na Gaeilge, 6 Sráid Fhear-chair, Baile Átha Cliath 2.





At the 1975 A.G.M. of the Celtic League,  
-- in Peel --

#### CELTIC LEAGUE. ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The A.G.M. was held in the Viking Longhouse, Purt ny Hinshey (Peel) from the 12th - 14th September. Twenty three delegates/participants representing all the C.L. branches attended its working sessions.

On the 12th, a public meeting chaired by Jack Irving (Mann) was addressed by David Keggin, of Mec Vannin, speaking about the political situation on the island, and by Bernard Caine, dealing with aspects of the Manx culture.

The following day was taken up with a review and discussion of the work of the Celtic League over the past 12 months, based on reports from the eight branch secretaries and the secretary general. Much of the work had to do with the editing of material for CARN, and the dissemination of this quarterly. We had kept to our schedule, CARN is now sold by a number of C.L. members in cities and university colleges and also by a substantial number of shops, particularly in Wales. A good deal of attention was given also to the dissemination of information, replies to requests from various sources about methods for learning our languages, cultural events, etc., also to statements of the Celtic League policy in relation to broadcasting and European federalism. Our organisation can claim to have contributed significantly to the increased frequency in interceltic relations, pursuing its aims without yielding to false sentimentality, seeking constantly to recognise the real conditions under which the Celtic nations are struggling. The structure we have built up over the years has its weaknesses, especially a lack of full-time officers, but it has proved its solidity and it was further developed during the past year by establishing new Manx and U.S. branches.

Our paid-up membership needs increasing, but it was higher than in the previous year. Financially we were in a satisfactory position, thanks to a £50 contribution from the Manx branch and donations, (£50 from Alan Stivell, \$100 from Mrs. E. Bryant, to quote but the two most important ones). We should not be complacent however as we still were in the middle of our publication year.

On the morning of the 14th, the meeting dealt with proposals for:

- a) improving the contents, presentation, distribution and sale of CARN;
- b) setting up a C.L. Youth Section or alternatively a network for interceltic exchanges of a social-cultural nature: it was decided to encourage the latter which

appears to have more support, especially in Brittany. c) improving our organisation. Mr. I.S. Hainey, a Welshman who has assisted the C.L. for many years, was appointed Treasurer General, as Caitlín Ní Chaomhánaigh (whom we here thank for her help), could not spare enough time for our accountancy work. Pádraig Ó Conchúir, Chairman, will also act as assistant editor of CARN, particularly for the general section. It was agreed that each branch secretary would be responsible for coordinating the supply of material for the quarterly for his/her national section. All other officers were re-elected.

The resolutions adopted (see below) express the Celtic League's recognition of the close link between our economic and cultural problems and of the need for radical solutions.

The social side of the A.G.M. was efficiently catered for by our friends in Purt ny Hinshey; the céilí on the Saturday night in the homely Viking Longhouse was very successful with its numerous attendance, its lively atmosphere of music, songs and conversation in Manx, Irish and Breton (as well as English). For the occasion of our A.G.M., Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh had arranged to have a Church service in Manx (well attended) in Marown, at which a sermon was given appropriately based on the Bible story of Naboth who would not sell his ancestral heritage at any price. There is not one Celtic country that could afford to forget that lesson.

The A.G.M. ended with a press conference. Two Manx weeklies gave detailed and correct reports, but the "serious" English daily "Guardian" and "Grampian Television" allowed their fancy to run wild (or sought to alarm the people of Peel) in announcing our meeting on Friday. That is the freedom of the Press ..... to twist news.

#### RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE 1975 CONFERENCE OF THE CELTIC LEAGUE.

- 1) Keeping in mind its aim of fostering a movement towards a free Celtic Confederation this Conference of the Celtic League considers Mannin to be the ideal centre for that Association.
- 2) The Celtic League hopes that Manx Radio will play an even more important part in fostering Manx culture and recommends that consideration be given to the early provision of lessons in the Manx language.
- 3) This Conference of the Celtic League expresses its concern at the uncontrolled immigration, particularly of tax-evaders, to Mann and suggests that henceforth:-
  - a) Manx nationality be given legal status; and
  - b) Manx citizenship be available only after 5 years of residence, subject to an examination, as applicable in other countries.
- 4) That the Celtic League has noted French centralist disregard of Corsican identity and interests in planting inordinate numbers of Pieds-Noirs and condemns this policy which has inevitably led to a situation of violence.
- 5) In view of the possibility of the present situation in the North of Ireland deteriorating still further the Celtic League reiterates our previous call on the London government for a Declaration of Intent for a planned withdrawal from the North, such a declaration being in our opinion a prerequisite for an eventual political solution to the Northern problem.
- 6) The Celtic League awaits with interest the Report of the Committee on Language Attitudes Research and urges the prompt publication of its findings

which will be of interest to all the other Celtic countries as well as to the people of Ireland

7) This Conference of the Celtic League views with dismay the promotion by some members of the Irish government of a plan to rebroadcast in toto the television services of a foreign country and considers it contrary to the interests and dignity of the Irish nation, but rejects equally the proposal for a second R.T.E. channel which would be used to rebroadcast almost exclusively Anglo-American material.

8) In this International Womens' Year the Celtic League wished to place on record its wholehearted support for women in their struggle for equal rights in the many areas where discrimination against them exists - the major ones being law, education and remuneration. It notes with regret that the Republic of Ireland still retains on its statute book a law that makes of woman in marriage her husband's chattel, with no independent domicile, a legal infant with the loss of many of her already too few rights. It recalls with pride that Celtic Law (e.g. the Brehon laws and Welsh laws) gave women full rights with men, recognising their humanity first. The Celtic League pledges itself to restore to women their full rightful place in the future Celtic society that the League envisages.

9) This Conference of the Celtic League regrets that one of its officers, Mr. Rhodri Morgan, is prevented from attending because of his imprisonment for refusing to accept the continued procrastination in implementing Equal Status for Welsh and we take pride in the stand that he has made.

10) This Conference of the Celtic League expresses support to the Cornish people in their fight against the encroachment by Plymouth in the administrative and economic areas.

#### FIRST CONVENTION OF THE REGIONAL AUTHORITIES OF PERIPHERAL EUROPE.

by Dr. James Whetter, Chairman of the Cornish Nationalist Party.

I and the Vice-Chairman of the Cornish Nationalist Party attended as observers this First Convention of the Regional Authorities of Peripheral Europe held at Galway on 12th-14th October. The subject seemed very much to relate to Cornwall and the other five Celtic nations and we thought it important that we attend.

The Convention opened on Tuesday 12th with statements and discussions of the transport problems of peripheral regions. We were able to distribute to delegates copies of a report we had prepared, the latest issue of our magazine, *An Baner Kernewek*, and a report written up by the Celtic League. All three had wide circulation and our feeling was that they were read sympathetically by many delegates. On Tuesday evening we attended a dinner laid on by the Irish authorities for delegates and observers and here and on other occasions we were able to meet and talk with individuals from many different parts and of various persuasions.

The second day was given over to statements from the delegates of the authorities about the problems their areas were facing. In the evening there was a reception which gave scope for a further exchange of views. The afternoon with a discussion of the various resolutions was probably of the greatest interest to us. There certainly appeared to be a camaraderie among the delegates of the peripheral regions who felt equally threatened by arrogant centralist bureaucracies which paid little heed to their needs and aspirations. As I said to the Vice-Chairman such was the feeling that I thought a resolution was imminent "That this house declares war on south-

east England!" A leader of the Breton delegation spoke at length on the inferior position held by the Breton language in schools and a resolution demanding its rectification received the unanimous support of the convention. With some minor amendments the lengthy declaration of the convention received unanimous support likewise. In the report we had distributed we had reprinted the resolution which the F.U.E.N. conference at Copenhagen in September had forwarded to the Council of Europe and the E.E.C. - "The ethnic groups and minorities of Europe have played an important role in the history of the continent and will continue to play such a role. The Council of Europe is requested to base its regional plans on the territories of ethnic groups and minorities and not on size of population or on areas of common economic interest". Kernow being the size that it is and the bureaucratic mind being apparently entirely economic - and population - orientated we feel that it is in this sphere progress has to be made or the European scene in order that the Cornish identity can be preserved and promoted. However, in its final declaration the Convention made no allowance for such a view and most of it was concerned with the economic problems of the peripheral regions and how best they could be solved. But No. 5 of the specific recommendations to competent European and national institutions did meet with our wholehearted approval - this was for them "to take the necessary measures for the protection and revitalisation of the languages and cultures which are often threatened by extinction in ethnic peripheral regions". We trust the authorities in all the Celtic lands will act determinedly on this recommendation. With the belief that "every little bit helps", we felt in general that our attendance at the Convention had been worthwhile.

#### THE CELTIC LEAGUE'S POINT OF VIEW.

The following statement was printed for distribution on behalf of the Celtic League among the participants to the Galway Convention:-

The matters to be discussed at the Council of Europe Convention on the development of Europe's Outlying Areas are of the greatest importance for the future of the Celtic Countries - Scotland, Ireland, The Isle of Mann, Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, all of which are peripheral and under-developed by comparison with the prosperous regions of Europe.

From the Convention's agenda it appears that the organisers want to direct attention to the administrative, economic and geographic difficulties of the peripheral regions. They ignore the fact that, as far as the Celtic Countries are concerned at any rate, the economic problems are closely linked with cultural-linguistic problems and therefore constitute so many political problems. The prominent personalities and representatives taking part in the Convention are obviously anxious to avoid stiffening the resistance of centralist governments to their proposals. In our opinion they will achieve only very fragmentary results in their efforts to restore the peripheral Celtic regions to health unless they recognise that:-

- a) A policy aimed at revivifying these regions must take account of all the factors which testify to their will to live and develop, and above all to their sense of community and the national spirit which animate the most conscious and dedicated elements of their populations.
- b) This sense of community must be encouraged and strengthened; it will not run counter to the developments of solidarity between the peripheral and the central regions if the former cease to be exploited for the profit of the latter.

- c) This sense of community persists in each of the Celtic Countries though weakened by the ignorance in which alien educational systems and government-sponsored media have kept them of their history, by systematic policies of linguistic assimilation, by movements of population designed to dilute their ethnic character ("plantations", "clearances", "overspills", economically forced emigration, unhindered acquisition of land by wealthy outsiders).

We hope that some of the Convention's participants will be able to introduce this cultural aspect in the discussions. We wish to submit the following points for their consideration:-

- 1) The healthy development of the Celtic Countries, particularly in areas where their Celtic languages are still spoken or have been spoken till recently, depends on effective measures to restore these languages to a viable position. Their decline as community languages is accompanied on the one hand by symptoms of social disintegration and on the other by tensions leading frequently to violence. Wherever governments fail in their obligation to ensure proper conditions for the development of our languages and cultures, local and regional authorities should stand to and assume this obligation to the limit of their means. Otherwise they will be trying to put life in soul-less bodies.
- 2) The present *laissez-faire* policy of land-purchase in the Celtic speaking areas needs to be modified with a minimum of delay. The Finnish legislation preventing the purchase of land in the Åland Islands by people who do not speak Swedish is the example to follow.
- 3) The sense of identity which is of essential value to the peoples of the Celtic countries has survived in areas such as Cornwall and Mann where the national language ceased to be commonly spoken, but this is like living on dwindling capital: it cannot endure under present conditions.
- 4) A healthy society can absorb a reasonable number of emigrants and benefit from their contribution to its life. In our weakened communities however, uncontrolled immigration is impairing their sense of community and identity and helping to ensure their permanent classification as the poor relations of the wider European community. Intrusions in the form of "holiday homes" (e.g. Llyn Peninsula), military complexes (Brest-Krozon area), promotion of tourism to the neglect of staler economic activities, are inevitably producing resistance. Where government fail in their obligation to ensure that work opportunities are made available in their home country to those who have to leave the rural areas, local and regional authorities should claim the means to provide for this need.
- 5) The E.E.C. Principle of free movement of workers and capital cannot be treated as a Sacred Cow if we are not to head for a soul-less and basely materialistic society. The Celtic peripheral areas have exceptional problems which call for exceptional remedies. Failure to take such action will not make the problem disappear but exasperate the situation on the Atlantic seaboard. The violence which flared up in Corsica recently should serve as a warning.

As regards the economic measures required to counterbalance the pull towards the European centre, we suggest that the local authorities and professional organisations of the Celtic Countries follow the example of the SICA of Kastell Pol (St.-Pol-de-Leon) and aim at developing a Celtic merchant fleet on a co-

operative basis, as well as the local or regional railway system. As regards the exploitation of the resources should be used very carefully, with the greatest concern for its importance to the earth's ecological balance. Until this principle is accepted by the dominant powers, however, the benefits arising from the exploitation of the sea resources in oil and gas in areas adjacent to the Celtic Countries (North Sea, Celtic Sea, Iroise) should be devoted in priority to redressing the neglect of their economic interests which occurred at a time when their supposed lack of resources was used as a pretext to such a neglect.

The Celtic peripheral regions will not agree to remain the colonies of the industrialised European countries, just good enough for the exploitation of their raw material and manpower or for relaxation. They will not subscribe to the ideal of a European community unless the latter offers them the chance to develop their cultures and economies which imperialistic centralistic States have denied them until now.

#### PERIPHERAL REGIONS.

A convention on the development of Europe's Outlying Areas was held in Galway under the aegis of the Council of Europe on October 14th-16th. Its aim was to enable "representatives" of such regions to consult one another on the needs of their areas, particularly concerning transport and communications, and on recent developments in the regional policies of the various "European" organisations.

Looking at the list of expected participants it appeared that it would be difficult for any but the "conventional" and semi-official views to gain access to this meeting. There were ministers, ex-prime ministers, members of regional assemblies from the dozen Council of Europe countries. The programme evinced concern with excessive administration and political centralisation, the relative (?) failure of regional policies, the antagonism of peripheral towards "Europe" (or the E.E.C.) One could expect proposals for better communications between those regions, the promotion of "national" (referring to State in fact) and "European" polycentrism, the institutionalisation of the regional personality.

We were agreeably surprised that Per Denez, who participated in the convention as a member of the Cultural Commission of the Comité d'Etudes et de Liaison des Interets Bretons, managed to throw a cultural stone in this economic-administrative pond. He accused the French education policy of being totalitarian. In matters of culture the French State was not democratic. The Paris Government made promises but there was no fundamental change in a NATIONAL policy of uprooting all the non-French languages. He appealed to the Convention for help for the Breton culture. (Muted response, one would guess.) He urged that a European Bureau for Endangered Cultures be set up by the Council of Europe. He asked that an urgent and strong appeal be made to the French government for a radical change in its policy towards Brittany.

How did R. Pleven, the president of the powerless Regional Assembly of Truncated Brittany react to that appeal? He never risked his French political career in defence of the Breton Language.

#### CELTIC STUDIES IN BRUSSELS.

The Institut des Etudes Supérieures de Bruxelles, (44 Ave. Jeanne, 1050 Brussels), will run every Wednesday, from January 6th onwards, a course of 15 lectures on the Celts, their languages and culture.



The lecturer is Mr. Claude Sterckx, who has spent ten years in Brittany, is married to a Breton, is bringing up his children in Breton and also holds a Breton class in the Belgian capital. We note the following titles in his course: la societe celtique traditionnelle, ideal et realite -- la condition feminine -- la tradition litteraire (4 lectures).

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A monthly newsletter in Irish is now being published on E.E.C. matters. It is available free from Oifig Eolais an Chomhargaidh, 29 Cearnóg Muirfean, Áth Cliath 2. A booklet of information about the E.E.C. in Irish can also be got from that address.

### KELTIA III.

This is a firm set up at the end of 1974 by Alan Stivell with a view to widen his activity by publishing books, records and, later, films. Its aim is to educate the Breton people in the matter of Celtic culture, past and present, stressing the elements which constitute its unity; to make the Bretons acquainted with the other Celtic countries and the other Celts acquainted with Brittany, so as to develop a feeling of (pan) Celtic community and indestructible bonds between our peoples; to propagate knowledge and appreciation of the Celtic culture and its vitality throughout the world, thus strengthening Keltia's credibility.

An autobiography of A. Stivell is to be published in French before the end of the year. It will later appear in Breton and in English. Stivell was recently appointed director of the Breton language weekly "Evit ar Brezhoneg". Along with others he has decided to engage in such direct action as refusing to pay his T.V. license until our language is given its due place in television, and preparing to found a private school using Breton as its medium of instruction.

He will be on a tour of the Celtic Countries and England in January, but he will also be in the National Stadium, Dublin, for a televised concert in December.

### THE LAPPS: ANOTHER BELEAGUED LANGUAGE GROUP.

The 50,000 Lapps form a minority in Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Soviet Union. Their lack of population concentration weakens their ability to exert pressure on the various states in which they live. Only in Norway do the Lapps (35,000) amount to almost 1% of the population. Only 2% of Sweden's Lapland inhabitants are actually Lapps (10,000), while Finland and the Soviet Union have a mere 2,500 each. Linguistically, Lappish is related to Finnish and Hungarian and is a member of the Finno-Ugric group. But unfortunately Lappish is divided into rather divergent dialects. Although Sweden prides itself on its high international standing, its attitude towards its own minority is colonial and far from exemplary. Traditionally the Lapps have been engaged in reindeer herding. Sweden industrial expansion in mining and increased afforestation greatly restricts their livelihood. Financial compensation has been inadequate and at present a major Lappish organisation is suing the Swedish Government. Teaching in the schools is almost exclusively in Swedish. Local radio provides only a daily news bulletin and one weekly half hour programme in Lappish (like the 1,000,000 Breton speakers). For all other purposes Lappish is ignored, despite the fact that im-

migrants into Sweden be they Spanish, Serbo-Croatian or Malay are catered for quite well in their native languages. Sweden's students will happily support down-trodden peoples half a globe away whom they can help become 'modern and progressive; they seem incapable of understanding the plight of a culturally different people living in Sweden itself. (This attitude is typical, of the French and English also.)

L. MacMathúna.

### HIGHLAND LAND LEAGUE.

I much appreciated the articles on the Second Highland Land League, but I have always been puzzled about why it was discontinued in 1922 at a time when land raiding was going on and being planned in Lewis etc. This had the support of men like the Rev. James Barr. Hugh MacDiarmid tells me Dr. R. F. Muirhead and a Quaker Barclay Murdoch were active in the League around 1920. But this does not explain its demise. Dr. Muirhead, brother of R. F. Muirhead, was at one time the tutor of Bertrand Russell and a socialist of the Piotr-Kropotkin brand. It may be, he thought he could do more through the Scottish Home Rule Association etc.

The Scots National League was in existence in the Dundee area about 1920 under the guidance of Harold S. Kirkpatrick and Stewart Carmichael, and was addressed by John MacLean. This was a reconstituted Scots League. The original one was founded earlier. Information about this is omitted (except for a footnote) in Nan Milton's John MacLean, and also in John L. Broom's book. The S.N.L. to some extent took up the work of the Highland Land League.

The books on John MacLean also suppress his indebtedness to the work on Celtic Land Tenure by Sismondi, a non-Marxist.

Archie Lamont.

### FRISIAN STUDENTS PETITION FOR RECOGNITION OF FRISIAN.

Last December Folkert Faltings, representing North Frisian students at Christian Albrecht University in Kiel, Germany, met with Curator Janus of the Schleswig-Holstein Ministry of Culture. The Ministry of Culture is responsible for education and cultural affairs in Schleswig-Holstein. Faltings presented a petition demanding recognition of Frisian as a subject of study and language of instruction in Schleswig-Holstein, the state in the Federal Republic of Germany where most of the North Frisian minority live. The petition, drawn up by 40 Frisian students from North, West and East Friesland at the Ninth Inter-Frisian Student Camp at Risem, North Friesland in August, demands:-

- 1) Establishment of a chair in Frisian philology at the University of Kiel.
- 2) Recognition of Frisian as a regular subject of study at the university, i.e. as a major or minor subject and as an examination subject.
- 3) Acceptance of the responsibility to see that the North Frisian Dictionary (in preparation since early in this century) finally reaches completion
- 4) Establishment of a chair in Frisian at the Teachers' College in Flensburg and recognition of Frisian as a regular subject of study for students preparing to teach in elementary and secondary education.
- 5) Recognition of Frisian as an official subject in elementary and secondary schools in North Friesland and Helgoland.

Faltings explained that up to now Frisian has not received the necessary moral and financial support from the Ministry or the government and that the fulfillment of these demands will be a positive step towards recognition of the Frisian linguistic and ethnic minority in Germany. Until 1970 there were not any course offerings in Frisian at Kiel University and it was only the private initiative of Frisian students that led to Professor K. Hofmann donating time to teach one seminar per semester. It was also student initiative that led to the setting up of a language course in one modern North Frisian dialect in 1974.

The meeting at the Ministry was also attended by Professor D. Hofmann, director of the North Frisian Dictionary, Dr. Paulsen, chairman of the North-Frisian Institute, Herr Tholund, chairman of the Inter-Frisian Council and one university official in charge of financial and personnel matters. Curator Janus answered the petition of the Frisian students by saying that the government of Schleswig-Holstein does not have the money for the implementation of these demands and suggested that the necessary funds should be raised by the Frisian community itself.

This position on the part of the government of Schleswig-Holstein stands in stark contrast to that of the Netherlands where Frisian is the second official language and is an independent subject of study at six universities. The East German government is also far ahead of the Federal Republic in regards to its policy on minorities. The Sorbians in the Democratic Republic have achieved a much greater degree of official recognition for their language than the Frisians have in West Germany.

The North Frisian students are now seeking to raise support in and outside of North Friesland for recognition of the Frisian language in West Germany. They plan to collect signatures for petitions in North Friesland, gain the support of the political representatives of North Friesland in the county and state parliaments, seek the help of the academic and cultural bodies in West and East Friesland and ask the Federal Union of European Nationalities to take action in the European Parliament against Schleswig-Holstein for its discriminatory policy against the Frisian minority. Already, the Island Associations of Söl' (Sylt), Feer (Föhr) and Oomram (Amrum) have sent in a joint protest against the response to the petition by Curator Janus.

Interested persons may contact Folkert Faltings at the following address:-  
Folkert Faltings, Nordfriesische Wörterbuchstelle,  
Christian Albrecht Universität, D-2300 Kiel, Germany.

#### BILINGUALISM: WALES AND FRIESLAND.

The journal "If Besker" of the Friesian Academy at Lyowwert (Dutch Leeuwarden) in 1974 issued a special Welsh edition. Five of the contributors were Frisian and the other six, including Gwynfor Evans, Welsh. Various facets of the Welsh scene are treated in depth and comparison made with the corresponding situation. The article on bilingual education in Wales by Krine Boelens takes up a third of the issue. As a direct comparison study was made on the teaching of Welsh in a Primary School in Cardiff and of the teaching of French in a school in Friesland. It was a hopeful indication that the attainment in Welsh was much higher. It seemed that the incentive to learn Welsh is considerably greater because of its relevance throughout Wales whereas in the Frisian Context French is of decidedly less obvious relevance.

What is alike in both Wales and Friesland, contends Van Ryn, is an electorate that will vote someone out of office for not having done enough in the struggle against homefront social-economic backwardness, yet not one who has failed to become actively involved in the struggle for the native language and culture. He sees a worldwide change in mental outlook, however, that favours languages like Welsh and Frisian, but those fighting for such languages and their cultures must ever be mindful to politicize their efforts and organize them within the framework of the real and intricate world in which we all live.

So much for the first or political series of (four) articles! A cultural series of (five) is next, beginning with Garlick's "The two literatures of Wales" and Tamminga's "De draek hat twa tongen" 'the dragon has two tongues'. (Incidentally, of the members of the five-man Frisian team all but Van Ryn chose to write in Frisian.) Tamminga indicates that Frisians are by and large a long way from extending any concept of Frisian literature to writings in Dutch by Frisians. Anglo-Welsh literature, as defined by the presence of the Welsh spirit, he does not find as concrete as when understood as a phenomenon not unlike American or Australian literature. On pp. 34 and 35 Douwe Tamminga has rendered in Frisian, as Jacques Bloem yn Kalenberg and Wales oan de Nederlannen, two "Anglo-Welsh" poems of Raymond Garlick.

Meic Stephens tells about "The Welsh Arts Council," and fittingly, Pyt Hemminga of the Fryske Kultuerried discusses "Cyngor Celfyddydau Cymru [in:] In pear opmerkings oer de Ried foar de Kunst fan Wales" / 'a few remarks on the Welsh Arts Council'. Particularly instructive is the parallel drawn between the Frisian Book Foundation and the "Book Council", on the one hand, in that they restrict themselves to books in Frisian and Welsh, respectively, and, on the other hand, the Frisian Culture Council and the Welsh Arts Council, as bodies with no such restriction. We learn that in the Literature Section of the Culture Council, writers representing Frisian, Dutch-language and Stellingwerwen dialect literature are all seated around the same table.

In the last of the cultural articles Freark Dam pays tribute to the "Anglo-Welsh dichter ['poet'] Meic Stephens." He finds that Stephen's best poems are those where there is a synthesis - or at least a relationship is suggested - between the general poetic feeling of being in exile and the more specific syndrome of the complex Welsh destiny, which in outline gives perspective to a Welsh future. As to style and technique, it varies: but, as poets go, Dam considers Stephens craftsmanlike rather than eruptive. He speaks of the compactness and of the solidity and strength of each piece of work, always feeling the poet's presence in the flesh, which leaves Dam with the impression that the poems were written with great personal involvement. But the Frisian versions of four poems by M. Stephens would certainly have conveyed more of the essence that is Wales had the translator's image of the Welsh word in the Anglo-Welsh poems not remained like something typed by a blindfolded Meic Stephens who had unwittingly struck the wrong keys.

The third or pedagogical series consists of "Welsh in education" by Raymond Edwards and "Twatalich ûnderwiis yn Wales", that is 'Bilingual education in Wales'. Edwards gives a diachronically organized capsule account of his subject, noting the concomitant rise in prestige and decline in use of Welsh. The cause he espouses, that of "the creation of a nation of bilingual individuals in Wales,"

is the selfsame goal paraphrased for the Wales of the Netherlands as "the creation of a nation of bilingual individuals in Friesland".

Fully one third of the book is made up of Krine Boelen's article in Frisian. In May, 1973, Boelens was the professional guest of the Adran Addysg A Gwyddoniaeth-Welsh Education Office. A work program was set up for him, and Raymond Edwards was given time off to act as his guide. Boelens' visit laid the foundation for the whole book. His coverage of bilingual education in Wales is painstakingly thorough-going and comprehensive. The Welsh situation and the Frisian are scrutinously analysed for what makes them to any degree the same or different.

In a primary school near Caerdydd Boelens thought the standard of Welsh among seven and eight year olds second graders much higher than that of French after two years of advanced instruction in Friesland, to which he adds that the difference between Frisian and French is comparable to that between Welsh and English. Earlier he had already mentioned the possibility that when languages are as unlike as Welsh and English it may, as contrasted with languages as alike as Dutch and Frisian, be too much to ask that youngsters by eleven have mastered their second language no less well than their first. In considering the supposed lag of a year and a half in reading skill in English on the part of eleven year old bilinguals in Wales (over against their monolingual fellow eleven year olds he advocates nowise discounting as contributing factors urban-rural and class differences). Boelens engages in yet another creative analogy. When it comes to non-national languages in elementary school, with the prerequisites that teachers have a flawless pronunciation in the target language and the latter be capable of use in the local community, then Krine Boelens would have us believe that there is less hope for French in Wales than for English in Denmark, with prospects for English in Friesland lying somewhere in between.

Now a word or two on Boelens' creative analogies in the paragraph above! In purely physical terms Boelens does well to postulate the equation 'Welsh is to English as French is to Frisian'. But it does not follow that the teaching of French in Friesland can functionally be reset in the cast of Welsh instruction in a Welsh-English bilingual school. There would be little motivation to do that much for French in Friesland. In 1969 Lieveu Pietersen made a sociolinguistic study of 'the Frisians and their language': *De Friezen en hun taal* (Drachten: Drukkerij en Uitgeverij Laverman N.V., 1969). Among other things, a sampling of 739 Frisians of fifteen and older ranked five languages and two Dutch dialects aesthetically in the following order: Frisian, Dutch, English, German, the Limburg dialect, the Groninger dialect and French. By virtue of French being a language, it outranked the two dialects insofar as it was deemed worth keeping on utilitarian grounds by - with the addition of 61 younger Frisians to the foregoing 739 - 39% of 800 Frisians of twelve and over: Dutch (95% for retention); Frisian (84%); English (73%); German (58%); French (39%); the Limburg dialect (27%); and the Groninger dialect (26%). I wonder what language opinion polls like these would reveal in Wales.

The kind of deep-level familiarity with a second language acquired at an early age by a child at a bilingual school in Wales or Friesland, and further cultivation of both languages thereafter, should serve to root out interference between languages as close as Dutch and Frisian, and to render ineffective the lin-

guistic gap between others as distant as Welsh and English.

Geart B. Droege, Ph.D.

#### MANX BOOK CLUB.

The establishment of a Manx language Book Club has been mooted by Volturna Press. It is envisaged that members might receive a book a year in return for a subscription of about £3.50p. As there is a paucity of reading material available in Manx such a project would meet a very obvious need. A mere 100 subscribers are needed to ensure the success of the venture according to Volturna Press. Interested readers should write at once to:-

Douglas MacEwan,  
VOLTURNA PRESS,  
52 Ormonde Road,  
Hythe, Kent, ENGLAND.

This publisher is actively working on a second project to produce books in Scottish (Gaidhlig) and has expressed interest in publishing works in Irish.

M. MacAonghusa.

Breton readers complain that CARN'S English is difficult. Think of them when writing complicated sentences or "journalese". For their sake, explanation of a number of articles are given in Breton (marked (Br.)).

#### IRISH LINGUAPHONE COURSE.

Readers of Carn may be interested to know that a course in Irish is now available from the Linguaphone Institute. This was produced in co-operation with Gael Linn and opinions differ as to the layout and form of the course. While being relatively expensive at £43.50p it is interesting to note that since it was launched six months ago it has taken over in Ireland as the second most popular language course on offer from Linguaphone (French remains at the head of the list!)

Scotia Review, Annual subscription for 3 issues £1. (Prose, poetry and comment). From:-

The Editor,  
3, Moray Street,  
Wick,  
Caithness, Scotland.

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EDINBURGH EH9 1HT.

#### EXCHANGING PUBLICITY WITH CARN.

An Baner Kernewek/The Cornish Banner. Organ of the Cornish Nationalist Party. Ed. Dr. J. Whetter. 4 issues £1-20p (overseas £1-50p). Trelispen, Gorran, St. Austell, CORNWALL.

\*\*\*\*\*  
Kenethel Gernewek/Cornish Nation. Organ of Mebyon Kernow. Ed. D.R. Rawe. M.K. Publications, 8 Eger-ton Road, Padstow, CORNWALL. 4 issues £1-20p. (overseas £1-50p).

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