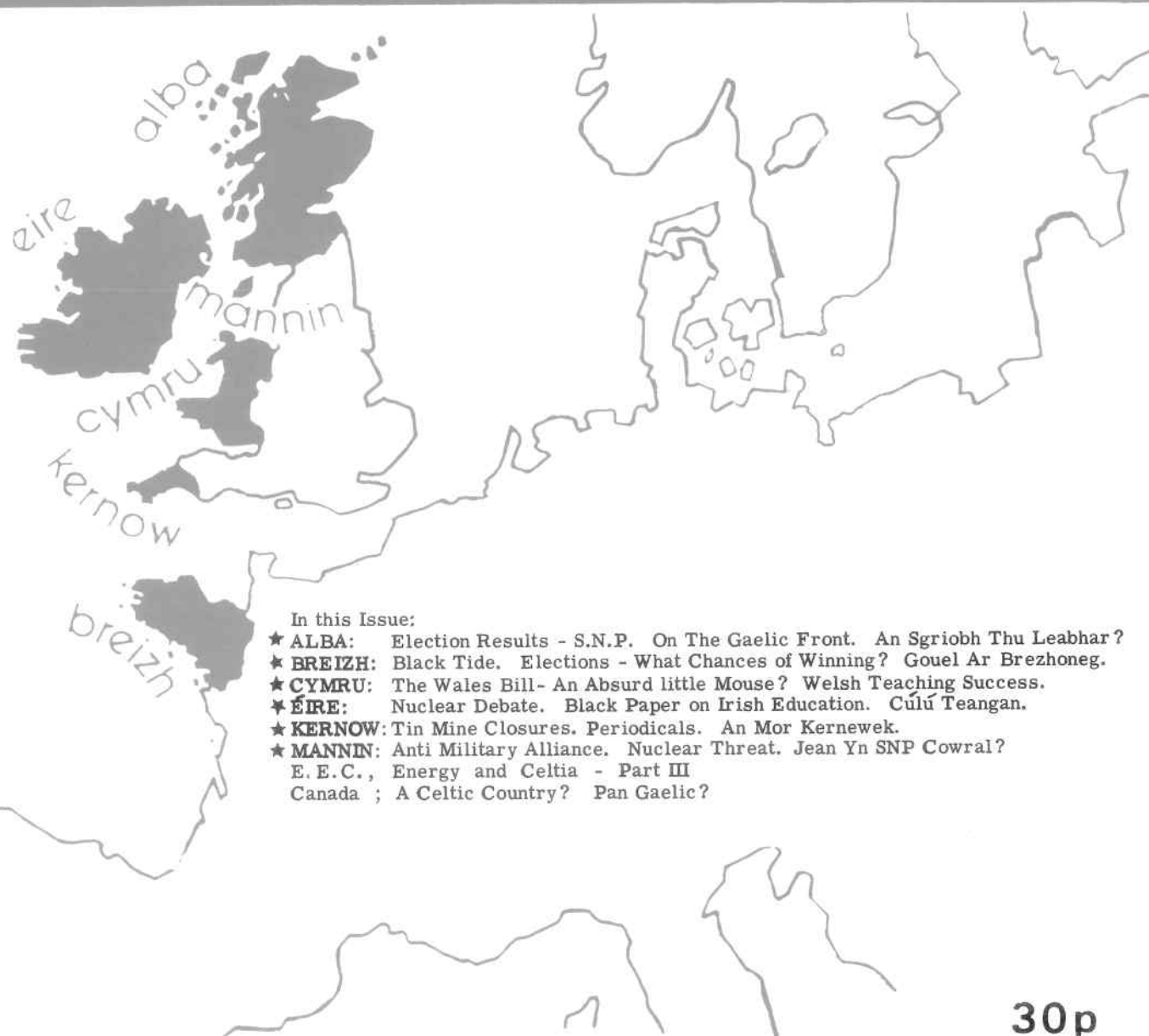


cafn

SUMMER
1978

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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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30p

QUARTERLY PERIODICAL IN ENGLISH & IN CELTIC LANGUAGES
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ALBA

AN SGRIOBH THU LEABHAR?

Dé bha a' chiad leabhar 'sa Ghàidhlig clò-bhuailte ann an Alba? "Foirm na n-urrnuidheadh" ann an Dun Eideann, Giblin 1567. Dh'eadar-theangaich Seon Carsuel leabhar nan sacramaid a Geneva. Chan eil ach trì leth-bhric air fhàgail, fear ann an Dun Eideann, fear ann an Lunnain agus fear eile ann an New York. Chuir an Scottish Gaelic Texts Society a mach clò-bhualadh ann an 1970, deasaichte le R. L. Thomson.

Thairis air na bliadhnan gus an latha an diugh chuireadh a mach leabhraichean 'sa chànan Albannaich. Ceithir ceud bliadhna an déidh leabhar nan sacramaid aig Carsuel chuireadh an Comunn Leabhraichean Gàidhlig air bhonn, ann an 1968. Bho'n bhliadhna sin tha a h-uile rud a dol am feobhas ann an clò-bhualadh nan leabhar. Sgrìobh ris a' Chomuinn agus cuiridh iad Catalogue agus Supplement chugad de'n a h-uile leabhar ann an clò, an asgaidh.

Tha àite-gnothaich a' Chomuinn anns an Roinn Cheil-teach Oilthigh Ghlaschu. Tha e fo sgéith an Oilthigh agus is e an t-Ollamh Ruairidh MacThómais as an Roinn Cheil-teach fear-cathrach a' Chomuinn Leabhraichean.

O thòisich tha an Comunn Leabhraichean air a bhith faighinn tabhartas o Roinn Foghlaim na h-Alba a tha 'ga chumail a' dol. Tha e a' faighinn cuideachd deagh thabhartas gach bliadhna o Chomhairle nan Ealdhan an Alba. Tha Iomhhasair an Oilthigh a' coimhead as déidh riaghladh ar airgid as a leth.

Is e prìomh obair a' Chomuinn Leabhraichean a bhith a' cuideachadh agus a' brosnachadh leabhraichean ùra Gàidhlig.

'Sa Chiad Àite: le bhith toirt thabhartasan airgid air son cosgais clò-bhualaidh agus foillseachaidh nan sgrìobhaidhean a chuirear chuige.

'San Darna Àite: le bhith cumail cho-fharpaisean sgrìobhaidh o àm gu àm agus a' tairgsinn duaisean airgid. Mar eisem-plear chithear sanasan-reic ann an GAIRM, OBAN TIMES, STORNOWAY GAZETTE & cach mar sin:

- 1) Uirsgial no Nobhail - cuspair sam bith o £100 gu £500 a bhith a stigh roimh 30.6.78
- 2) Cruinneachadh le Buidheann de Chlann-sgoile - i. eachdraidh, bàrdachd, sgialachdan agus dealbhannan, £100 agus leabhraichean, a bhith a stigh roimh 30.6.78.
- 3) Dàn agus grunnan de dhàin o £25 gu £100 a bhith a stigh roimh 31.12.78.
- 4) Eachdraidh ghoirid air Beatha neach eile o £200 gu £500 a bhith a stigh roimh 30.6.79

'San Treas Àite le bhith barantachadh sgrìobhadairean air son sgrìobhadh air cuspair araidh.

'San Àite mu dheireadh le bhith reic leabhraichean do'n bhùitean agus tha fear-siubhail aca a' falbh a reic leabhraichean air feadh sgìrean na Gàidhlig anns a' bhùth-chuibhle.

Seo an obair as motha tha aig a' Chomuinn Leabhraichean agus chuidich e 80 leabhar air tighinn a mach, reiceadh suas ri 70,000 dhe na leabhraichean. Ach feumaidh thusa agus sinne sgrìobh na leabhraichean!

Chuir an Comunn Leabhraichean air chois taisbeanaidhean beaga de leabhraichean agus feasgair litreachais feadh na h-Alba, gu h-àraidh air Ghaidhealtachd, o àm gu àm; mar eisem-pleir an oidhche Cheilteach far an robh Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn (Bard Gàidhlig) agus Dafydd Rowlands (Bard Cuimreach) a' leughadh de'n bhardachd aca. Chur a h-uile duine seachad oidhche aighearach agus làn de litreachas bheo ann an Talla Eaglais Renfield an Naoimh, Sràid Bath, Glaschu air 19 Giblin agus anns an Netherbow, Sràid Ard, Dun Eideann an ath oidhche.

Aon rud a mhàin cha dean an Comunn Leabhraichean, mar a thuit sinn cheana - an sgrìobhadh. Tha sin an urra ri muinntir na Gàidhlig fhéin! Ach cha robh an cothrom riamh cho math!

Ma's math leat, sgrìobh an drasda do'n Chomuinn Leabhraichean. Seo an seòladh:
AN COMUNN LEABHRAICHEAN GHÀIDHLIG, AN ROINN
CHEILTEACH, OILTHIGH GHLASCHU, GLASCHU G12.
Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich.

ON THE GAELIC FRONT

le Frang MacThomais

After some eight decades in the Gaelic business, An Comunn Gaidhealach in March 1978 made a call for action to revive Gaelic. Such a call begs the question: What has it been doing all these years? However it is not so sinister as the call makes out. What An Comunn were saying was that it is essential for firm policies on bilingualism to be made now in those areas where Gaelic is a significant element. The target of An Comunn is the Highland Regional Council, which, unlike the Western Isles Council, Comhairle nan Eilean, has not made any attempt to consider the need for the promotion of bilingualism, though they do have Skye (76% Gaelic-speaking) in their large area.

Since then the Highland Regional Council appointed a Committee (that is often a fatal tactic) to look into the matter. Everyone concerned with Gaelic now looks forward to an enlightened approach by that Council.

However it was typical of its attitude in the past to analyse the amount of work load of its Gaelic Adviser whom they found to be under-used; so it was suggested he fill in his time by teaching English! Fortunately the Gaelic Adviser was able to show that he could, with the support of the Council, amply fill his time on Gaelic matters in the schools. But with an attitude like that, who can say whether An Comunn's call will be answered in the right way?

On the other hand, something happened in Sutherland (part of the Highland Region) which indicated that the force of the individual is better than a Council Committee. A survey of parents in that county showed that 70% of all parents wanted Gaelic taught in Primary Schools. This thin wedge was placed under the officials of the Regional Council and the result was that an itinerant teacher of Gaelic was appointed. That is the way to do it: pin the officials down, or to the wall until they accept the will of the electorate.

A major event in Gaelic publishing was the appearance recently of twelve children's books, part of the production of the Western Isles Bilingual Project. The simultaneous production of twelve books was an event in itself. For Gaelic in the island schools in the Outer Hebrides the new dawn is at hand; no more are these children second class citizens.

Trouble with the Post Office loomed recently when mail with All-Gaelic addresses were returned to sender. One envelope actually reached Dublin, from where it was sent back to the Scottish Postal Authorities with the suggestion: Try Inverness-shire. As the letter was addressed to a recipient in Aviemore, Inverness-shire, full marks for the Irish Postal authorities. The incident however underlined the unsatisfactory state of Gaelic in Scotland, where a deeply entrenched militancy against the public use of this language is more to be pitied than railed against. The Post Office's attitude is surprising, however, considering that Club Leabhar has been operating from Inverness for many years and is able to get mail through to its office with all-Gaelic addresses.

BY-ELECTION AND LOCAL ELECTIONS

By-Election, Garscadden - 13th April '78.

The results were as follows:-

1978	Oct. 1974.
D. Dewar Lab. 16,507	19,737
K. Bovey S.N.P. 11,955	12,100
I. Lawson Con. 6,746	5,004
S. Farrel, S.L.P. 583	1,915 Lib.
S. Barr Com. 407	
P. Porteous S.W. 166	
Lab. Maj. 4,552	Lab. Maj. 7637.

-oOo-

These are the bald figures giving the results of the by-election and out of them the Labour Party made the most glorious victory that had ever been. Certainly it was an unusual by-election in many ways and the obituaries are still being composed. If however, they are to have another such then there is quite a task ahead of them. Firstly they will have to get a candidate with a "media" background - quite a professional with the cameras and interviewers - in fact. Then the timing will have to fall just after a conference of the Labour Party in Scotland so as to disguise the panic rush of Government personalities to the backwoods and a budget will be required which seems to hand out financial lollies - which will no doubt prove as insubstantial as the one the Prime Minister was photographed with on the boat from Dunoon. Then it is just possible that even with the undoubted importance of unemployment and prices and all the other ills that beset everyone, the reason why devolution was placed so low was that this year the Government seem to be about to deliver their promised package. Should they fail the results could be very difficult.

For the SNP, as most intelligent commentators are now saying, the setback could be a blessing in disguise. If it is true that, as one poll indicated, even SNP voters think that a Labour Government could best deal with acute problems then they (the SNP) have a long educational task ahead, . . . and the area where this will need to be most intensive is the West Central area. This is far from being a cause for despair. The policies of the SNP if they could be got over to the electorate would be much more worthwhile than last minute election propaganda pamphlets. The Scottish electorate is a surprisingly sophisticated one and far from fickle. Before many of them will be persuaded to jump from the Labour liner (whose many leaks are being disguised by the whole panoply of the state and most of the media) sailing on what to most of them are the dangerous seas of the Tory Capitalist world, then the SNP raft rapidly being furbished for the salvage operation must be shown to be properly equipped for the task.

If to the figures above is added the Labour majority of February 1974 - which was 11,264, then the euphoria of the Labour spokespeople seems much too great and much too soon. The next by-election - to be held on Wed. 31st May - will be at Hamilton, the name which will cause much trauma to Labour. Now it seems that despite all appearances there was a $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ swing from Labour to SNP at Garscadden and only a 4% swing will be needed for them to take Hamilton. The SNP candidate will be Mrs. Margo MacDonald - their most popular figure and probably the one most thought of outside the party. The SNP conference will take place the weekend prior to that - and Labour had all the luck at Garscadden

The subject which was not rated highly at Garscadden was Devolution - the state of play in which is as follows - On Feb. 22nd it passed by a majority of 297 votes to 257 on

its last reading in the Commons and went to the House of Lords. There on March 13th and 14th it passed its second reading stage and since the Easter recess the debate on the committee stage has been enacted. They gave it quite a mauling, hardly making it more acceptable to the Scottish electorate, and possible hastening moves by a Labour dominated parliament should that arrive, to hasten their demise.

Before the Bill left the Commons a Labour member suggested that the proposed referendum in Scotland before the Bill is made law should require a 40% of the electorate in favour. When this was voted on it was passed - a marvelous opportunity for the anti-devolutionists, or so they thought - such a ridiculous demand has made people look back to all sorts of votes with the result that it seems not many of them would have been carried at all.

Not only will 40% be required, but this referendum must not take place within 3 months of a General Election. Two organisations have been set up. Campaigning for a "YES" vote will be the "Yes for Scotland" organisation chaired by Lord Kilbrandon. The "NO" vote will be canvassed by various groups, the main one of which will be the "Scotland is British" group. The Tory Party conference is past and they have come out clearly in favour of a "no" vote being the only party officially to do so, though of course the group will have well known mavericks from other areas.

The committee set up by the "YES" group has influential people from the other parties - John Mackintosh, Jim Sillars, and Margo MacDonald.

The question now is which would the Government prefer to come first - the Referendum or the next General Election, having in the meantime reassured us that should we not manage the almost impossible 40% (especially as the year wears on and the electoral roll becomes more out of date) then something will be done about it. Time will tell.

The "local" elections that were held on 2nd May were to replace completely the Regional Councillors who were elected in May 1974 - the first time the elections were held under the new organisation. Labour got outright control of Lothian and increased their majority in Strathclyde. The Tories retained control of Grampian and the SNP were disappointed in the Central Region where they had hoped to make considerable gains. Away from the Centre the SNP did get some seats in the Galloway and Borders and in the Highland Region, where the councillors still operate as "Independent", there was a salutary range of lost seats.

Closer examination again shows that the SNP did well enough to take heart. In Tay-side alone where the media insist "there has been no change" or "The Tories have gained one seat" the facts are that 11 SNP candidates stood for the 1st time - they all gained creditable results - (what publicity they would have got if they hadn't) - got 2nd place in each ward and their votes total up to 31.7% of the total. Let them keep on working for such - "no changes".

M. D.

THE HIGHLAND REGION AND GAELIC IN SCHOOLS

The remnants of the mainland Gaidhealtachd and the largest mainland Breac-Gaidhealtachd lie within the Highland Region. In spite of this the provision of teaching in Gàidhlig especially in secondary schools is derisory. The main part of the Region is now English-speaking as a result of linguistic neglect and/or oppression. Recently the Regional Education Authority defended the lack of Gàidhlig studies on the grounds that there was "no demand" for it. Apart from the fact that there seems very little "demand" for anything in particular except basic literacy and numeracy, the lack of "demand" was really a lack of

consultation. No-one had bothered to find out what people wanted. Highlanders are usually quite resigned to this as it is the history of the last two centuries.

For this reason, and others, the results of a survey conducted by R.A. Ross, principal teacher of modern languages at Alness Academy, with the approval of the Rector, R. B. Meikle, show surprising results. Alness is on the Cromarty Firth some 20 miles from Nigg Bay where the oil platform works is situated and the new oil terminal is already being built. The main residential area is Alness, only five years ago a small village typical of the area with high rates of unemployment and population drift, and now the biggest concentration of population in Ross-shire. Easter Ross was the first Highland area, along with the Black Isle, to become English-speaking as long as a century ago or before. With the influx of people from other parts, especially the Central Belt, i.e. Glasgow overspill, one might have thought that parents of the children attending the new Academy at Alness would be completely uninterested in having Gaelic taught. This is not so. In answer to the question "I do/do not wish my child to be taught some Gaelic" 217 replies were received. Of these 109 (50%) were from parents of pupils in S1, 80 (37%) in S2 and 28 (13%) in S3. In total, 8 (4%) made ambiguous replies, 129 (59%) were not interested and 80 (37%) said they were in favour of having their child taught Gàidhlig. By year-groups, however, the change was striking. In S1 48% were in favour, in S2 30% and in S3 only 14%. However, this still meant that there were enough positive replies to form two classes in S1 and one class in S2. We consider that this constitutes a demand for the teaching of Gàidhlig in Alness Academy.

Norman Malcolm Macdonald, Calum Tod, Club Leabhar, Inverness. 1976. 106pp.

The Scottish bilingual author, Norman Malcolm Macdonald, has written a fine book. One is hard put to categorize it. It would be safe to say that it reads like an allegorical poem, reminds this reader of another book about a Highlander (Fionn MacColla, The Albannach, 1932; repr. 1971) and echoes cadences and styles of earlier literary experimentalism which presently has few adherents (Virginia Woolf and James Joyce).

For this Gaelic Bilingualist the choice of an allegorical title could not have been accidental. Macdonald has given us an Everyman drama in a Gaelic setting. He has called the protagonist "Calum Tod" with an eye to John Bunyan. These two Gaelic words are aptly chosen. Calum means 'callus' and Tod means 'clod' or 'sod'. Macdonald's protagonist is made tough and solid through the rugged experiences of his life. His progress through the stations of his life should temper and harden him against the Gael's lot in the British Isles. Like the biblical first man Adam, Tod is made of dust and is of this world and of this earth.

It is in the Judaic-Christian tradition, seachadas nan daoine, that this book has its origin. There are thirteen chapters, each bearing the name of a major experience in the chain of events directly affecting the physical and apiritual development of the main character. Here one must automatically associate this structure of the tale with the 'thirteen attributes' of the Judaic tradition (cf. Exodus, 34: 6-7). These thirteen attributes refer of course to the multifariousness of God's mercy for those who sin. God's punishment may well extend into the third or fourth generation for sins committed against him. Calum Tod begins in the 'first generation' with the paternal grandparents and extends into Calum Tod's own generation, the third one.

The 'Sin of Adam' permeates the book and its course of action. Perhaps for this reason there is a preponderance

of important female characters in Calum Tod's life. Although each is to be a step toward redemption, all save one seem to be pit-falls. The enumeration of these characters will illustrate this point: Ann (pp. 5-9), Martha (14-16), Widow Alex (21-27), Shona (28-30), Anne (40-44), Hina (45-50), Monica (49), Christina (51-57), Helen (58-73, passim thereafter), Beatrice (74; 79). etc. These women are of all races, localities, shapes and dispositions. Mostly they are intimates of Calum Tod. Sometimes they are present in the book to point up a particular social condition or problem, as in the case of Shona in her betrayal by her husband, her loneliness and destitution.

The intimates of Calum Tod are either his relatives or his lovers. The lovers are mother-substitutes or rather maternal women like Helen (cf. page 81). Helen predominates his life, even after he has broken with her. In a way he flees from her much as a young man breaks out from the confines of his home. "Helen" is for "Paris-Calum" what "Penelope" is for Joyce's "Ulysses". Indeed this is all the more true when a comparison of Macdonald's "Helen"-segment is made with Joyce's "Penelope"-chapter. Stylistically, thematically and visually the influence is undeniable. Macdonald himself leaves no doubt about what he is about. On page 65 he refers to Daedalus after having described Helen picking up something of Virginia Woolf's. From the masters of "stream of consciousness" he has learnt well and thanks the teachers of his craft unmistakably (cf. p. 74).

Aside from Calum Tod there are interestingly few male characters in the book. They somehow have a shadow existence. They are men who go out to sea and live dangerous foreign lives. Their women remain at-home, care for the croft and raise the kids. In his relationship with other men Calum Tod has little good fortune. His early disappointment with his father Fin, the cruelty of his school-mates, the brutality of the other sailors - all this alienates him from his fellows. Macdonald draws the portraits of his female characters more warmly and understandingly.

Yet, he seems to need a break in the sequence of the story. A friend, Seán, interrupts the essentially historical and linear development of the story. Shortly after the intricately woven tale about Helen, there is an "Entfremdungseffekt". Seán interprets the relationship between Calum Tod and Helen for the reader. In a way this is rather shocking. But we do get a sort of gossip depiction of Calum, his college, his alcoholism, his religious fear of losing personal independence in the maternal care of his house-mate Helen. Seán informs us without prevarication that it was Mother-Helen who turns out writer-Calum and not Man-Calum who chooses to retain his intellectual and spiritual self by changing his pad. Was Macdonald really afraid that the reader wouldn't have been perceptive enough to understand that.

Calum Tod by Norman Malcolm Macdonald is a refreshing book that awakens new hopes in modern Scottish literature. It is consciously indebted to major writers of the past, but it is no carbon copy of these authors. Let us hope that the beginning has been made and that there will be more of the same to come from Macdonald.

L. MacEwen.

AN COMUNN ALBANNACH: "For a Gàidhlig Scotland":-
Join An Comunn Albannach and work for the restoration of the Scottish Language. All enquiries will be answered. Write to A.C.A., c/o Busby, 48 Summerhill Road, Glasgow, G15 7JJ, Alba - Scotland.

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BREIZH

GOUEL AR BREZHONEG

"Disul tremenet, deiz ar Pantekost, e oa Gouel ar Brezhoneg e Zinzag-Lokrist e-kichen an Henbont. Dalc'het eo bet ur wech e Bro-Dreger, ur wech e Leon hag ur wech all e Kernev. Hag hevlene e Bro-Wened eta. N'em eus kemeret perzh er gouel nemet d'ar sul met aozet e oa bet abadennoù ivez en daou zevezh a-raok.

Da sul Pantekost neuze, goude un emvod gant un nebeut tud all diouzh ar beure evit prientiñ Kamp ar Vrezhonegerien ez omp en em gavet e Lokrist war un dachenn vras e-kichen ur goadeg pin. Dindan un deltenn vras e oa bet aozet stalioùigoù evit AL LIAMM, SKOL AN EMSAV, WANIG HA WENIG, AR FALZ, OALD SANT-ER-WAN, PLIJADUR O LENN, EVIT AR BREZHONEG, RADIO-TELE-BREZHONEG, U.D.B., ha re all c'hoazh... Bez'e oa ivez arzourien hag artizaned o labourat (en o zouez ur botaouer). Ur mil den bennak a zo deuet en endervezh, tud eus ar vro, kozh ha yaouank, met dreist-holl emsave-rien deuet eus pevar c'horn ar vro. GOUEL AR BREZHONEG a zo an deiz nemetañ e-pad an bloaz ma c'heller kejañ gant kement a dud hag a stourm a-hed an bloaz evit ar brezhoneg.

Deuet e oa ur bagad sonerien eus Bubri (Bagad Sant-Erwan) hag arzourien o deus kanet ivez: Gweltaz ar Fur, Manu Lannhuel, h. a. . . hag ivez tud kozh, eus ar c'hornbro pe eus lec'h all . . . Siwazh n'eo ket bet brav-brav an amzer hag ouzhpenn barradoù avel hon eus bet glav meur a wech e-pad an endervezh. . .

Da 6 eur, ez eo en em gavet ul lodenn vras eus an dud er fiñvskeudenndi e-kreiz kêr evit arvestiñ ouzh An Ostaj, pezh-c'hoari bet savet gant studieren Vrest (Strollad c'hoariva Penn-ar-bed) diwar oberenn Brendan Behan. Setu dija pevar bloaz abaoe m'o deus staget da c'hoari pezhioù e brezhoneg ha tizhet o deus, d'am soñj, ul live uhel-tre evit tud ha n'int ket c'hoarierien a-vicher. . . Rebechet e vez outo a-wechoù bezañ re glasel, re yen, re bell diouzh kudennoù Breizh a-vremañ. Gwir eo marteze met klasket o deus tec'hout diouzh ar c'hoariva "Patronaj", ha diskouez a reont en un doare splann ez eus tu d'ober traoù uhel e brezhoneg war dachenn ar c'hoariva ivez.

Pedet hon eus ar bagad da zont d'an Naoned e miz Mezheven ha c'hoariet e vo An Ostaj er sal Boris Vian, e Ti ar Sevenadur! Ar wech kentañ e vo moarvat, abaoe pell, d'ur pezh-c'hoari e brezhoneg bezañ diskouezet en Naoned ha, pezh a zo mat ivez, e-barzh Ti an Sevenadur ha ne ra peurliesañ nemet kinnig traoù gall-put degaset eus Paris . . . Spi am eus e vo tud evit ar pezh-c'hoari-mañ . . .

Diouzh an noz e oa ur fest-noz vras e Zinzag-Lokrist met n'on ket chomet rak me'felle din bezañ distro en Naoned a-raok hanternoz. Diwar ar pezh am eus klevet goude, e oa ur bern tud mezv er fest-noz, siwazh . . . Se a vez gwelet alies e Breizh (hag ivez en Iwerzhon hag e Kembre, hervez tud 'zo) . . .

Dimeurzh e oa un darvoud a-bouez en Naoned: ur sonadeg vras evit Diwan. Asantet o doa meur a soner hag a ganer kemer perzh enni evit ur bennozh Doue, evit dastum arc'hant evit Diwan. Ouzhpenn 1500 den o deus asantet paeañ 30 lur gall evit heuliañ an abaden-mañ . . . Goude an Naoned ez ae ar arzourien da ganañ e Roazhon, Sant-Brieg, Kemper hag an Oriant.

Emaomp e sonj digeriñ ur skol-vugaligoù e miz Gwengolo. Ur strollad tud a labour evit prientiñ an dra-mañ abaoe ur bloaz. Gwelet hon eus un eil-maer ha prometet eo bet deomp skoazell an ti-kêr. C'hwech'ha bugel a zo bet kavet ha pezh a zo ar pep pouezusañ evel-just unan d'ober war-dro ar skol: Marsel Gorje, genidik

eus korn-bro Banaleg, me 'gav din. Dister-tre eo digeriñ ur skol-vugaligoù evit 6 bugel hepken met pouezus-kenañ eo ivez evel skouer evit an holl. Re bell hon eus gortozet e gwirionez evit digeriñ seurt skolioù e Breizh. Ret eo bet deomp heuliañ skouer an Euskariz. N'eo ket un dra aes da ober ha skolioù a bep seurt a vo degaset hep mar ebet gant ar gouarnamant gall met fiziañs hon eus en trec'h da zont. Ha goude ar skolioù-mañ e vo ret mont pelloc'h.

B. N.

[The annual Breton Language Festival was held during the Whit week-end near Henbont, and drew well over 1000 people, mainly those involved in the language struggle.]

DRE WALLEGEZH AR STAD

Al lizher da heul a voe kaset en anv ar C'Hevrec Keltiek, e brezhoneg hag e galleg, da brezidanted ar pemp kuzul-meur breizhat: "Aotrounez, An enor hon eus da skrivañ deoc'h-c'hwi hag a zo dilennet gant tud Vreizh evit lavarout pegen mantret omp gant an drouziwezh a zo o paouez c'hoarvezout a-hed aochoù gwalarn ha hanternoz ar vro.

Ar vignoned niverus o deus ar Vretoned er 5 bro geltiek all zo prederiet gant al lanv du - se, dreist-holl en abeg da dud an arvor. O c'houzout e tremen muioc'h a varc'hadourezh tost da'n aod-se eget dre hent all ebet er bed, e kounnaront gant ar soñj ne zegas kement-se nemet nebeut a c'hounid da Vreizh, er c'hontrol trubuilhoù e-leizh.

Gwir eo ez eo dreist-holl ar c'hompagnunezhioù eoulmaen (petrol) a zo kablus dre o gwalllegezh, met ar gouarnamantoù hepken eo a zo gouest da rediañ ar c'hompagnunezhioù - se da baeañ evit an droug, hag -- ar pezh zo pouezusoc'h -- da ziwall muioc'h. Gouarn zo rakwelout, a lavarar; neuze ar gouarnamant gall a zo kiriek evit un darn vras eus ar reuz. N'en deus ket tennet kentel eus gwallzarvoud an Torrey Canyon na kennebeut eus ar pezh a c'hoarvezas daou vloaz'zo war reier Enez Eusañ, a oa fall awalc'h evit ma vije lakaet an dud-e-karg war evezh.

Ne gredomp ket e vo roet digoll a-walc'h, na tost, d'an dud a zo bet tizhet gant ar reuz; ha ne vo ket graet diarbennoù mat a-walc'h, na ne vez ket harpet tud an arvor gant an holl e Breizh. Ho pediñ a reomp start, c'hwi hag a c'hall komz en anv poblañs an departamantoù breizhat, ma n'eo ket en anv Breizh, da bouezañ war c'houarnamant Bro-C'Hall evit ma vo dic'haouet gantañ, hep gortoz ma vo graet gant ar gompagnunezh SHell, ar Vretoned eus an droug a zo bet graet e-keñver arboellerezh hag ekologiezh d'o bro; da bouezañ ivez evit ma c'houl- enno groñs gouarnamant Bro-C'Hall ouzh re ar broioù all kemmefi ar buanañ ar gwellañ Lezenn ar Mor, e doare ma vo rediet ar c'hompagnunezhioù-eoul-mor da ober diarbennoù kalz strishoc'h evit diwall diouzh gwallzarvoudoù all; diouzh ret (ha setu ar pezh a hetomp) ra vo difennet ober gant listri-da-zegas-eoul ken bras petra bennak ma ve keroc'h an esañs goude-se.

Hag e rank an darn vrasañ eus an dud chom dic'hal-loud keit ma tistrujer anevaled ha plant ar mor en-dro da Vreizh? En ur c'houlenn ouzhoc'h pouezañ kement ha ma c'hellit war ar renerien-Stad evel m'hon eus lavaret, e fell deomp kemer perzh en ul luskad - pobl a dleo dont da vout ken kreñv ma vo kastizet gant ar broioù sivilizet, evel un torfed eus ar grevusañ, ar re a vo kablus eus saotradur ar bed en-dro-deomp en un doare ken spontus. [In this letter, sent on behalf of the C. L., the Breton Depart. Councils are urged, amongst other things, to put pressure on the French government to obtain full immediate compensation for the victims of the Amoco Cadiz disaster.]

ELECTIONS: WHAT CHANCES OF WINNING?

In the March elections to the French National Assembly, the UDB put up candidates in 17 of the 33 constituencies in Brittany, twelve of them being in the Western, traditionally Breton-speaking half of the country. In spite of the hard work of its members, it achieved no more than a 1.9% support on the average. The highest percentages, ranging from 2.5% to 3.5%, were achieved in 4 constituencies in the N. and NW, around Brest and Lannuon-Pempoull. On the other hand, 4 out of the 5 lowest were in the Eastern half of Brittany. In all almost 20,600 votes went to the UDB. 3 or 4 other candidates in Eastern Brittany had some form of self-government as one of the points in their programmes. Their results were equally disappointing.

For the UDB it was an anti-climax, after the encouraging results achieved a year ago in the municipal elections when 37 of their candidates were successful, and some of these received support from a high percentage of the voters; also in 1976 their 9 candidates had got 6% of the votes expressed. But in this general election there was no progress compared to 1973. This lack of progress is due in my opinion to the following factors:

a) the issues at stake were undoubtedly felt by the great majority as transcending, as more momentous than, the purely Breton issues. Self-government was not as important in their mind as the question of whether the franc was going to slump or as important as the introduction of higher wages; voters were more passionately interested in defeating either the Left or the Right than in anything of a "regional" nature. [Percentage of votes cast for the Left in Brittany: 31% in 1967; 37.6% in 1973; 44.5% in 1978.] The UDB itself had stuck to the principle that no change would be brought about in the Breton prospects unless the Right were defeated, and therefore advised its supporters to vote in the 2nd round for whichever, Socialist or Communist, would get the higher vote in the first round of elections, if its own candidates failed. Obviously, many of its sympathisers, sceptical of the UDB candidates chances, thought it better to do what they could immediately to secure a lead for what might be otherwise their second preference. I believe that by giving such advice to its supporters the UDB was defeating itself; that it entertained in the people's mind the idea that it was an unimportant party. It is not the way to impress people....

b) Like everybody else in the French State, the Breton electorate was subjected over the previous 12 months to a constant "barrage" of propaganda by the French parties, on TV, radio, in the press, on every possible occasion. They had every access to the media. Any party contesting 75 seats or more was given TV time during the campaign. From all this the UDB was excluded (they could not have put up more than 33 candidates, unless they had had the money for 43 extra sham ones outside Brittany, but that is a stunt which the UDB is too honest to indulge in...) The system is well geared to defend itself against fissiparous tendencies. A pre-election debate was staged in the ¼ hour Breton language TV programme: spokesmen for the 4 French main parties were invited, but nobody for the UDB, though it is the only party using Breton in its daily activity and publishing a monthly in Breton (12 pages). In the 14 years of its existence, the UDB was once, for 14 minutes, on TV. It was a time when there was no election near.

c) As for financing their campaign, Pobl Vreizh reckons that the 2 main French Rightist parties disposed per candidate of 25 and 40 times more money

than the UDB, while the two main French Leftist parties had 10 and 15 times more. Money tells, it buys votes!

d) Reference to the 1973 election when Strollad Ar Vro, a kind of nationalist-regionalist party not committed to any specific social policy, had 5 of its candidates running in the same constituencies as the UDB, shows that the latter got on the average a lower percentage of votes than SAV. It is likely that because of its socialist stand the UDB did not attract more than half of the people who see self-government as a priority issue. This can also be assumed by comparing with the 3-4% figures obtained by the two candidates of an Alsatian organisation and the two of a North-Basque organisation standing also for autonomy.

e) The UDB is a young party with no powerful string-pullers such as the French parties have throughout the State, on local councils and associations through which electoral support is canvassed over long years of spider-like spinning, and "service" to the people. Should the UDB (or any other Breton group or party that might emerge) not concentrate on local or district council elections but contest only 3 or 4 constituencies in general elections where all their means would be brought into operation?

f) Since its foundation the UDB has worked hard to overcome the prejudices existing among Leftists against Breton ideas. In recent years, they have become more receptive to these ideas. The French Socialist Party has thus decided to adopt many of them in a mild form. How genuine that is would have perhaps been seen had they come to power. In any case, in a manifesto adopted in January by the party's "Regional Co-ordination Committee", official recognition was given to the Bretons' need, "violently expressed to-day", to live and work in their home country; to restore to the Breton region its historic limits; to give it the means for its economic and cultural development. The "Cultural Charter" is rejected as an electoral plank, a law being needed to ensure the proper teaching of Breton. These positions are very close to those of the UDB. So much the better for the spread of its ideas, but there is a risk for its identity. Immediately after the election, a P.S. spokesman, no doubt exploiting the relatively more favourable results obtained by his party, asked what was the point in having a specifically Breton party. In other words, the PS will look after you now lads...

UDB Congress reaffirms need for a Breton Party.

The danger inherent in the adoption by the PS of a "regionalist" policy for Brittany was recognised at the 14th Annual Congress of the UDB held in Brest on 29th-30th April and 1st May. A report prepared by the Political Bureau and adopted by 100 against 30 (and 18 abstaining) commits the party to: (a) stressing the need for a party campaigning henceforth more openly for Breton autonomy; (b) giving increased attention to the daily preoccupations of the Breton people; (c) improving the party's organisation.

Points (a) amounts to a rejection of the PS's siren call. A French party cannot be relied upon to campaign for the freedom our people needs for self-preservation.

A. Heusaff.

BLACK TIDE

230,000 tons of crude oil gushed forth from the tanker Amoco Cadiz during the second half of March, and spread from Porsall, NW of Brest, to Brehat 125 miles to the East, without anything worthwhile being done to stop it. The scale of the disaster, the ineptitude of the "authorities", the strange appearance of the sea - waves hitting the rocks

without foaming, black strands, an overwhelming stench from the oil and soon from the rotting sea weed and dead birds - drove people to despair and anger. The damage done to the flora and fauna and the loss of jobs in an area already acutely suffering from acute unemployment is estimated to be about one billion Francs, but the insurance is said to cover at most 150 millions. When and to what extent are the 1000 seaweed gatherers, the fishermen, the small business people and the seasonal workers depending on tourism - in all 4000 - going to get compensation for their loss? And what value attaches in this consumer society to a country's ecological balance? It may be 20 years before it is restored on the coasts of Leon and Treger, if it is ever indeed. It will be two or three years, before work opportunities return to the pre-1978 level.

This disaster highlighted the frightful messing that is going on all around the world, wherever a high density of tankers movement exist. Yearly 10 to 15 times the amount of oil lost by the Amoco Cadiz is spilled into the sea, either because of accidents or due to the dumping of residues. The "English" Channel is perhaps the most affected area. Tankers flying flags of convenience are the ones most involved in accidents. Their overriding concern is to make money by hiring inexperienced crews, evading tax and neglecting ship repairs.

The Amoco Cadiz, though flying the Liberian flag, was relatively new and had a good crew. But its captain had to refer back to his company head office in the USA while discussing with the captain of the German tug how much he would have to pay for being towed. Before this horse trading, which lasted 12 hours, was over, storm winds arose, and the situation got out of hand. Priority to profit had already obliged the tanker to leave Bordeaux for Rotterdam without repairing the defect in its steering mechanism which was to be the immediate cause of the disaster. For similar financial reasons, tankers pass as close as possible to Ushant, instead of steering well clear of the rock-girded island.

More generally, it is the failure to appreciate that the capacity of the oceans to absorb repeated massive injections of toxic substances is limited and that man may depend largely on the plankton for the oxygen he breathes which allows hugh unmanageable tankers to be built without double, or triple safety mechanisms - the objection is "it would be too costly". What use are the big profits made in the oil trade being put to? 5 of the 7 giant US oil companies made profits equivalent to £13 Billions for a turnover of £83 Billions.

There was no French tug near the scene; had there been one, would it have been better equipped than the German to deal with the huge ship and the stormy conditions? Yet, it is surely not beyond human ingenuity and technology to solve such a problem in an age when hundreds of £ millions are squandered on space flights? There is plenty of money for developing weapons of mass destruction, but not enough for protecting life and its environment. Two sides of the same coin!

There will be protracted wrangling before it can be determined which of the two, the tanker's company or Royal Dutch Shell, for whom the oil was being transported, bears legal responsibility for the damage done. In the case of accidents in transporting nuclear wastes, it is the owner of the stuff who is liable. It should be the same for the oil. That was the view of the French Consumers' Federation when they called for a boycott of Shell-France products. Legally they were wrong, Shell-France making the case that they were independent of the Dutch branch, so the Federation has to pay immediately a crushing fine. Not for SHELL the long delays in getting compensation! And don't dare to attack them again!

But the French government bears an equal share of responsibility in the catastrophe. As pointed out in a letter addressed on March 29th on behalf of the Celtic League expressing the concern of the numerous friends of Brittany abroad, governing means foreseeing. A State which claims sovereignty over Brittany ipso facto is bound to ensure its people's security. The only action taken after the oil spill from the Torrey Canyon (1967) and in spite of two other serious ones since then was the setting up of a Polmar Plan from which, apart from a few exceptions, Breton associations and scientists were systematically barred: an administrative organ without means of action (the mayor of Brest dixit). There were to be floating barrages to keep the oil away from the rocks, the beaches, the inlets, but only 1½km of such barrages was available in Brittany last March. They were ineffective against strong winds anyway.

The failure of the French government to take adequate preventive and emergency measures for the safeguard of the Breton environment and employment strengthens the case for entrusting to a Breton authority, the coastal watch on dangerous cargo movements and the decision to intervene to forestall impending disasters. This is a point which should have been raised more clearly in the numerous demonstrations in protest against government neglect and in autonomist statements.

Official reaction during the first 5-7 days was confused. Government representatives made up for their ineptitude with soothing speeches. It goes to show how little faith can be placed in the assurances of the proponents of nuclear energy. The slogan used in demonstrations "Coated with crude oil to-day, radioactive to-morrow" was quite appropriate.

Help for cleaning the shores was forthcoming from thousands of volunteers as far away as Alsace, Belgium, Germany. The Paris government played on this generosity by appealing for "national solidarity" (both in the form of work and money contributions): a cheap way to discharge part of its obligations, assuming that the volunteers need not receive any remuneration for the dirty, unhealthy work. There were difficulties in organising usefully so many ill-equipped people. For weeks, the farmers' liquid manure pumps proved to be the best suited means for sucking up the oil, better than the gadgets of the 12,000 soldiers commandeered into the area.

Assurances that the beaches would be clean again by June may have helped in reducing the number of cancelled tourists' reservations. The main preoccupation seems to have been to "sweep the dirt under the carpet" as quickly as possible, leading some fools to bury the mess in the sand dunes. The oil will long remain present down in the sand, among the rocks and particularly in the inlets and the grassy marshes where the waves make little or no impact. Lorryloads of a mixture of oil, pebbles and sand are being ferried as far away as Rennes, for treatment with quick lime and burying in sites deemed safe. Every part of Brittany may now have its share of the amucko! Or as the Canard Enchaîné writes: "Put a Brittany into your engine!" As for the oil remaining mixed with the water out in the sea, it may be twenty months before bio degradation will have broken it down.

French government propaganda did its best to present the catastrophe as an "act of God", information from the ecologists was censured in the media, the argument was made that France alone could not impose better security regulations. She could certainly have pressed more actively for them in the international field.

A list of recommendations has been sent on behalf of the Conference of the European Maritime Peripheral Regions to R. Jenkins (EEC Commission) urging immediate

measures to protect the most threatened areas (Cap Finisterre, Western Brittany, Cornwall; forbidden zones for dangerous cargoes, enhanced security in building tankers and choosing crews; traffic control involving a constant watch, a duty to report any navigation difficulties; a drastic overhauling and updating of the Law of the Sea.

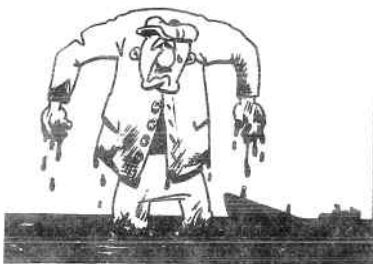
Can governments in need of never-ending GROWTH and headed by people who are more attentive to the pressures of industrial and commercial magnates than to the warnings of ecologists and the fears of the media-manipulated, consumption-conditioned, "for-2-days-in-4-years. sovereign people endorse and enforce such recommendations? Will the polluters be made to pay?

But then another question arises: are we prepared to reduce drastically our dependence on oil without going for much greater hazards of nuclear energy? The main lesson to be drawn from the Amoco Cadiz tragedy is that we all must urge investments in developing renewable energy technology and gearing society to a considerably reduced consumption of energy. This requires international co-operation and detente. Unfortunately such a necessity will not be recognised by those in power without other major shocks. A. Heusaff.

Aid is requested for a disaster fund set up by Secours Populaire Inceltique. Monies should be sent to S.P.I., 2 Rue Frederic Plessis, 29200 Brest, or by bank draft made out to S.P.I., Compte Bancaire No. 11623, Banque de Bretagne, 36100 Lorient, with "Operation Mazout 1978" written on the back.

amoko-kaoc'hdiz
16.3.78

dilennadegou
19.3.78



Sh...! but still voting French, conservative, for underdevelopment.

FLB

Since the beginning of the year, several attacks have been carried out by Breton clandestine organisations. In mid January they were directed against a military barracks in Kemper, administrative buildings in Redon, Ploermel, Lorient, the offices of contractors (in Kemper and Paris) involved in building the Ti-Vougered military barracks. They were denounced as tending to deprive workers of their jobs, and to reinforce the State's repressive machine. Building contractor Ducassou claimed he was a good Breton.

On February 12, 10 people were arrested and 8 detained after weapons and ammunition were discovered in a car search. The 8 were transferred to three different jails in the Paris area, kept isolated for more than 2 months and may not be brought to trial before September

or October. Indications are that they will be dealt with more harshly than in previous FLB trials. This time the UDB, which denounces the use of violence as counter-productive but hitherto joined in protests against the protracted detention without trial of the FLB prisoners, has abstained from any gesture of that kind. The FLB itself refrained from any action during the general election campaign, possible to avoid being blamed for spoiling the UDB's chances, but as soon as the election results were announced, they blew up the office of the Board of Public Works and another agency in Rennes as well as the "Société Générale" in Fougères, causing considerable damage. Again, condemnations, but the Socialist Party added that "responsibility must be shared by those who, for many years, have done nothing to improve things in Brittany, although they had the means thereto". They felt free to say so much. The corollary however should also be spelt out: if the French government shares the blame, its courts cannot be the right place for judging FLB prisoners. Or can one be judge and party at the same time? As far as Brittany is concerned, the democratic separation in the French constitution of legislative, executive and judiciary powers is a fiction. What is a State security court?

An attack was directed against a Shell petrol station at the height of the Black Tide and early in May bombs went off in the central police station in Rennes and in another in St-Brieg. On the 16th May, an explosion rocked the Regional Prefecture in Rennes, causing one million francs of damage and another occurred in Ti-Vougered, near Kastellin. On May 18-19 the FLB blew up the Radio House in Rennes, the office of Y. Bourges (minister of Defense) in Dinard and a police vehicle. Now of course most people prefer a peaceful life and may not care terribly if the Breton language dies while they wait for a nationalist majority to materialize. On the other hand, seeing how unequal the electoral contests are, many of those who are passionately concerned with the survival of Brittany will not be persuaded to give up the use of other means by the denunciations and condemnations of those who may be less concerned and less determined than they. They will be told that all their violence has achieved nothing positive and they may ask for a magnifying glass to see if any progress is being made otherwise. They may perhaps ask what is the difference between them and the guerillas in Rhodesia, Namibia, the Polisario for whom sympathy is forthcoming. I guess they all have little popular backing. That in Brittany more than anywhere else popular backing is vital for any real change seems to be implied in the advice given them in a statement issued by the clandestine "Kuzul Broadel Breizh" to concentrate on objectives least likely to concern the people directly.

ANOTHER BRETON'S NO TO FRENCH ARMY

Alan Coraud, from Nantes, ignored the call to serve in the French Army, received a request to appear in court on June 9th. He replied that, as a Breton who does not consider himself bound by the laws of the French Republic, an occupying power in Brittany, he would not recognise the competence of the court to deal with his case; the only institutions to which he would be answerable being those which the Breton people will eventually be free to give themselves. He would therefore consider as void and unacceptable any decision the court might come to concerning him.

In a further statement, he, like Yann Ber at Mat a year ago, refers to the numerous wars in which Breton conscripts were uselessly sacrificed by a France which

[Continued on page 16]

CYMRU

THE WALES BILL - AN ABSURD LITTLE MOUSE?

On 9th May the Wales Bill passed its Third Reading in the House of Commons by a majority of 28. That does not mean it has become law, the Bill still has to get through the House of Lords, an interesting legislative assembly composed of octogenarian retired politicians and the descendants of great men of the past, though some, even among "the British", have forgotten about that bit of the Constitution, for according to the Sunday Times of London (7 May) one reason for the check to the Scottish National Party advance in the Garscadden by-election was that the voters thought that, having passed the Commons, the Scottish Assembly was now Law. Not at all! For thirteen days the Lords have been passing amendments to reduce its powers (clipping away forestry, civil aviation, etc.) and before this is published they will have started the same process with the Wales Bill. The Commons can of course remove the amendments, but if the Lords stick their heels in, there is no prospect of passing these bills against their veto, though such a veto is now unlikely.

Some will say that the Welsh Assembly is already to be given so little power that there is nothing for the Lords to take away. Not only is it to have no taxation powers and no civil service of its own, as is true of the Scottish Assembly; it is also to have no legislative power. The Wales Bill is not, on the face of it, to do with devolution at all. Virtually all it does is to transfer administrative powers, which have already been devolved to the Welsh Office in Cardiff since 1964, from the Secretary of State for Wales (i.e. the civil servants) to an elected assembly of 80 members. No powers of the Westminster Parliament are to be devolved to Wales, though there is an utterly illogical argument that Welsh representation at Westminster should be reduced if the Bill goes into effect.

So why all the fuss? One would expect general approval from both the Labour Party, which says it favours greater democracy, and the Tories, who, if their prating against an over-centralised, irresponsible bureaucracy had any meaning, should be recommending the grant of similar powers to those of the Welsh Assembly to every county council in England. Why were there passionate debates in which members of both those parties made statements about the stupidity and incapacity of the Welsh people and those they might elect, which if they had been made about a collection of African tribes about to receive their independence would be branded by all as "racist!": and why is there now to be a referendum before control of the administration of housing, education, health and social services, road traffic, town planning, ancient monuments and the registration of births and deaths can be handed over to the Welsh Assembly? Should Celts just say "Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus" (The mountains are in child-birth but they'll bring forth an absurd little mouse) and regard it as further evidence of the folly of English politicians, but of no relevance to our future?

There is no doubt that the Assembly will, if set up, be much more important than any outline of its powers suggests, and that the English politicians were right to smell, not a mouse, but a rat. Up to now devolution has been a facade rather than a reality. The "Welsh" civil servants re-issue the regulations and circulars containing advice to local authorities, which the London ministries have issued, with a different Welsh Office reference no. They are devoted to boot-licking uniformity. Obviously

if the Assembly does anything at all, it will tend to reduce this uniformity and increase the individuality of Welsh affairs. It should be noted that it was not the imposition of English Law on Wales (in 1536) which destroyed the Welsh language; it was the introduction of centralised English administration starting with the New Poor Law (1834), the Bank Charter Act, The Public Health Act, etc., in the 1840's which did.

Whatever party dominates the Assembly (and it will almost certainly be Labour to start with), it will try to acquire further powers for there is too little to occupy 80 full-time assemblymen. The Bill foresees the transfer of them of the powers of the Welsh Development Agency, which subsidises industry, and of other boards whose members are at present nominated by the English government which thus causes much of the political corruption to be found in Wales. Many powers, even in the fields granted to the Assembly, are reserved to ministers in Westminster; for instance, the Assembly will confirm county council plans that an area should be used for industry, but before anyone builds more than the smallest size of factory on it he'll have to get permission from London. Surely the Assembly will try to reduce this kind of interference.

It is also feared that the Assembly will try to increase its power downwards by getting rid of the county councils in Wales and annexing their duties. In the short term this might harm chances of restoring the Welsh language, by making everything go at the speed of the slowest, and it would extend, instead of reducing, English civil service rule, which is generally more incompetent and wasteful than local authority services because it is protected by the savage Official Secrets Acts. In the long term it would make Wales look like a rather large English county, which is just what her enemies would like her to become. But this possibility may be prevented by the fact that the Assembly is to be the confirming authority for many county council actions, so if it tried to centralise the latter, it would risk the confirming authority being taken back by Westminster.

So whether the Assembly is to be the means for the restoration or the destruction of what remains of the Welsh nation; whether it is to be a mouse, or a rat, or perhaps a dragon; depends on how it develops and that will depend on seemingly irrelevant details in the Wales Bill, as well as on who gets elected to the Assembly. For reasons which I suggested in CARN 21 it is unlikely that Plaid Cymru will have much power in it, so while the SNP will be strong enough in the Scottish Assembly to put further national advance continuously on its agenda, what should become the forum of the Welsh people will probably be used for the ding-dong battle of English class-politics between Socialists and Conservatives. Some such machiavellian thought, that the Assembly may be no use until Plaid is better able to profit from it, may explain the otherwise extraordinary news that the Plaid dominated Cwm Rhymni district council intends to oppose its establishment.

What is the prospect that the Wales Bill will be approved in the Referendum both by a majority of those who do vote and by 40% of those entitled to vote? The most recent opinion poll published on 12 May (commissioned by the BBC using a large sample of 1,000) shows a swing in opinion towards the Assembly: 41% were in favour, 41% against, and 18% don't know. But the Confederation of British Industry is already organising businessmen to throw their money and their influence into the campaign to keep Wales as a completely subservient colony for English exploitation; and many will remember how powerful was the effect of the CBI on the referendum on Common Market

membership. Those in the Labour and Liberal Parties, in Plaid Cymru and in the trade unions who support the Assembly, have as yet shown few signs that they can co-ordinate their members and their arguments in an enthusiastic campaign for the Assembly. Ifan Lloyd.

THE NATIONALIST ROAD TO SOCIALISM with supplementary **Welsh Road to Socialism** by I. Dyer. Published by Plaid Gwerin Cymru (The Socialist Republican Party of Wales.)

Revolutionary Nationalism is the result of the dialectic of State - manoeuvres and formal nationalism. Nationalism, as opposed to the jingoistic nation state nationalism, is rooted in the folk communities which will be the constituent parts of a global socialist society. This Society, whose map will be drawn with respect to ethnic community rather than State will be attained through a bloodless transition by politically motivated Union.

Capitalism is analysed and is described as Anti-Social using overproduction as a cause of crisis. The capitalist state is examined and Parliament's control is questioned. The author examines the constitutionality of the major Left Wing parties and calls into question the notion of attaining Socialism from within the State.

In the supplementary "Welsh Road to Socialism", Wales is examined in some detail. Pre-Norman Wales was democratic and what State existed was embryonic. Welsh identity was cemented around the time of Owain Glyndwr. The peculiarly Welsh tradition of radicalism (as opposed to English Toryism) was transformed from Liberal to Labour. The Labour Party's dream of transforming Capitalism to Socialism from within the State was accepted by the Welsh working class. The lack of Socialist dreams of Labour governments has successively transferred the mantle of radicalism to Plaid Cymru which has become the legitimate representative of formal nationalism in Wales. The author says that successive state manoeuvres and repressions will transform formal nationalism into revolutionary nationalism.

This is an important contribution to Wales and Mr. Dyer's work should be read as a very welcome addition to the analyses on Wales. J. Llewelyn.

WELSH TEACHING SUCCESS

Over the years regular cries have gone out from one or other of the Celtic nations calling on the particular government dealing with its affairs to provide facilities for the teaching of the appropriate Celtic language in the schools of the Celtic country concerned.

The proposals put forth not long ago by those who wished to see promises of Breton lessons in schools included in the Cultural Charter for Brittany are an example of this. To these Bretons I suppose that even this concession would be a big step forward, but I wonder if they realise just how little they are asking for. What each Celtic nation should demand is not that its language should be taught as a school subject but that it should be used as a medium for teaching other subjects.

Recent surveys in Wales have shown that teaching Welsh as a school subject to English monoglots seldom results in these children becoming efficient Welsh speakers. The only effective method of teaching the language is to use it as a medium of instruction.

In 1967 a comprehensive report on primary education in Wales (known as the Gittins Report) was published. Amongst its many recommendations was the revolutionary suggestion that experiments should be made in using Welsh as a medium of instruction in certain anglicised areas of

the country where practically all the children were monoglot English speakers.

The Welsh Committee of the Schools Council lost no time in implementing the suggestions and prepared suitable material for a project of this nature. This is how the scheme was put into practice: Instead of Welsh being taught as a subject on the timetable to 7-9 year olds in certain anglicised schools, the day was divided into 2 parts. During the morning session English, the children's mother tongue, was used as the medium of instruction, but during the greater part of the afternoon Welsh alone was used to teach a variety of other subjects.

The scheme of course met with a certain amount of opposition at first from parents and from some headmasters, but after the experiment had been fully explained by well disposed H. M. Inspectors of Schools fears were usually allayed.

The effectiveness of the scheme depended to a great extent of course on the good-will of teachers, parents and children and also on the competence of the teachers concerned, but on the whole it proved an outstanding success. A detailed study was made of the effect of the scheme on the development of each child and results showed that by the end of the 3 year project not only were the majority of the pupils well on the way to becoming thoroughly bi-lingual but no evidence at all was produced from any of the schools concerned to show that the children's academic attainment in any of the other school subjects had suffered in any way.

Of course most bi-lingual Welshmen did not need this experiment to demonstrate the effectiveness of teaching a second language by using it as a medium of instruction. Have not they themselves quickly and effectively acquired English by this method?

However, let us hope that the experiment will not end there, and that other Celtic nations will in future press not merely for their languages to be taught in schools, but for them to be used as mediums of instruction in all other subjects. Zonia Bowen.

CARN 21 - A SPECIAL ISSUE

The 21st issue of CARN contains 9 pages of poetry in all the Celtic languages with accompanying translations into English. It also contains reviews of the national situation in each of the Celtic countries viewed over the last 10 to 15 years. These should be useful for all those seeking knowledge on the Celtic countries as they provide a synopsis of how the national movement stands in each country. Copies are still available at 30p, plus postage, from any of the secretaries listed on the back page.

● A Breton Cultural Charter has been signed by the French government and the Breton Regional and Department councils. Its provisions are very disappointing for those who, in the Breton Cultural organisations, worked on the draft proposals. It is clear that French policy regarding the Breton language remains inspired by the will to let it die, (credit starvation, practical exclusion from TV-radio, no teachers' training). We shall later analyse that document. A. H.

● The Philadelphia Group of the C. L. is primarily interested in the cultural aspect at a regional level, whereas in New York the interest is in a political role for a branch organised on an U. S. territorial basis.

● The address of one of the 8 Bretons detained in Paris has been communicated to us: J. Bernhard 672243- 2/151C, 1 Avenue de la Division le Clerc, 94261 Fresnes-Cedex, France. He would welcome periodicals in English, Breton, French or German.

AN POSADH MEASCTHA AGUS CÚLÚ TEANGAN

Dúinne atá buartha mar gheall ar chúlu na Gaeilge sa nGaeiltacht agus an dlús atá curtha leis an gcúlú seo le blianta beaga anuas de bhrí go bhfuil tuismitheoirí óga na Gaeiltachta ag éirí as Gaeilge a labhairt sa teaghlach, is díol speise an plé atá déanta in uimhir 40 den iris Breatnach 'Planet' ar chúlu na Breatnaise agus an pósadh measctha. Dar ndóigh is pósadh measctha ó thaobh na teangan de atá i gceist sa gcás seo, rud a chiallaíonn go hionduil pósadh chainteoirí dúchais Breatnaise agus Béarlóirí, bíodh siad seo ina Bhreatnaigh nó ina eachtrannaigh; ach is é an pósadh chainteora dúchais Breatnach agus Béarlóir Breatnach an pósadh measctha is coitianta. Rinne Harri Pritchard Jones iniúchadh ar bhonn neamheolaíoch ar leathchead postaí measctha agus cíorann sé na fadhbanna a bhaineann leo. Imeach na bhfadhbanna ba gnathach a d'aithin sé bhí an caidreamh teaghlach agus oideachas na bpáistí. Bíonn na fadhbanna céanna le sonru fiú nuair a fhoghlaimíonn céile an chainteora dúchais an Bhreatnaise, agus cé nach luann H. Pritchard Jones an point airithe dearfhainn gur déine an fhadhb i gcás na mathar de sa mhéid is go mbíonn caidreamh níos dlúithe aici leis na páistí de gnáth. Mar sin féin is féidir na fadhbanna a sháru nuair a bhíonn oideachas cuíosach maith ag na lánúin, agus tacaíocht le fáil acu ón bpobal Breatnaise agus cabhair ó na meáin cumarsáide chun cur len a stór focal ar chúrsaí na linne agus ar chúrsaí teicneolaíochta; is cinnte go bhfuil buntáiste ag lucht na Breatnaise anseo nach bhfuil ag lucht na Gaeilge ó tharla i bhfad níos mó bheith a scríobh agus a chraoladh i mBreatnaise ná mar atá i nGaeilge. Dar leis an áit is mó a bhfuil baol don teanga sa phósadh measctha nuair is ionann aicme sóisialta agus aicme teangan agus an cainteoir dúchais Breatnaise ar an leibhéal is ísle. Dalta an Ghaeilgeora ó dhúchas bíonn an cainteoir Breatnaise go minic ar easba litearthachta, a chumas sa teanga teoranta don teanga labhartha canúnach, gan aon chleachtadh i labhairt na Breatnaise lasmuigh den teaghlach. If fusa dona leitheid an teaghlach a thógáil le Béarla.

San eagrán céanna deánann D. B. Scully léiriú staitistiúil ar chúlu na Breatnaise mar theanga labhartha ag éirí as an bpósadh measctha, ag glacadh leis nach dtógar clann na lánúin measctha le Breatnaise. Chuige seo tógann sé samhail staitistiúil ag tosú le pobal a bhfuil an teanga dúchais a labhairt ag 95% agus an líon sin scaipthe go cothrom imeasc an daonra. Ag an bpointe seo a thosaíonn an pósadh measctha, agus de réir an tsamhail staitistiúil bíonn titim in aghaidh na bliana sa choibhneas idir an líon cainteoirí dúchais a fhaigheann bás agus na páistí a rugtar do na lánúin iomlán Breatnaise. Má leanantar leis an gnáth nós pósta seo .i. an céile a roghnú ar seans agus ní ar bhonn teangan, bheadh líon na gcainteoirí dúchais Breatnaise titithe go neamhní in imeacht dhá chéad agus daichead bliain. Ní deireann sé cé mhéad den treimhse atá caite cheana féin, ach bé 20.8% an líon cainteoirí dúchais Breatnaise de réir daonairimh 1971 agus b'shin titim ó 49.9% i 1901. Cúis éadóchais d'fheadfá a rá.

Mas eá cá háit a fhágann sin cás na Gaeilge? De réir an tsamhail chéanna ní bheadh cainteoir dúchais ar bith fágtha fén am seo. B'fhéidir gurb é an tábhar dóchais is mó nach bhfuil an staid sin scroicte againn go fóill. Ach is cinnte gur measa i bhfad staid na Gaeilge sa nGaeiltacht ná mar atá staid na Breatnaise i Cymru. Má ghlactar leis gur níos lú ná 2% líon na bhfíor chainteoirí dúchais in Éirinn agus go bhfuil an coibhneas idir labhairt na Gaeilge

agus an Bhéarla sa nGaeiltacht go hiomlán níos gaire do 60% in aghaidh 40% ba shanta an mhaise dúinn dul i muinín an dóchais.

Dar ndóigh tá cúiseanna seachas an pósadh measctha le cúlú teangan, cé go leanann an pósadh measctha óna chúinsí eile: ar na gnáth chúiseanna tá bás agus imirce, daoine ón dtaobh amuigh ag teacht isteach ag cur futhú sa cheantar, brú chun chinn na teangan eile tríd institiúidí an Stáit, tríd an chórais oideachais, tríd na nEaglaisí, agus ar na saolta deireanacha tríd na meáin cumarsáide; an toradh orthu seo uilig neamhshuim nó naimhdeas an phobail. Is féidir a rá go bhfuil na cúiseanna ar fad le fáil in Éirinn agus i Cymru cé is moite den eaglais i gcás na Breatnaise, ach tá cuid de na cúiseanna níos treise i dtír amháin seachas sa cheann eile. I gcás Cymru is fadhb ar leith an líon mór áitritheoirí samhraidh agus deireadh seachtaine a bhfuil tithe ceannaithe acu sa tír. I gcondae Gwynedd mar shampla is teach da leithéid ceann as gach trí cinn. Cé nach mbíonn dlúth bhaint ag na daoine seo leis an bpobal agus gur lú an cur isteach a dhéanann siad ar nósanna sóisialta agus cultúrtha an phobail ná dá mbeidís ina mbuan áitritheoirí, fós féin tá tionchar áirithe acu ó thaobh cúlú na teangan. Os a choinne sin tá an ghluaiseacht ADFER ag iarraidh cosc a chur le ceannach na dtithe ag Sasanaigh-tharla gurb iad is mó atá a gceannach faoi láthair: aon áit gur féidir leo tá cainteoirí Breatnaise ag ceannach na sean tithe iad féin, ag cur caoi orthu, ag cur futhú iontu in ainneoin go mbíonn turas fada acu chun an obair a shroisint. Le freastal ar chlann na bpóstaí measctha a bunaíodh na naíscoileanna Breatnaise, an gné is tairbhí ar fad de ghluaiseacht na teangan i Cymru. Chomh maith le sin tá na cúrsaí ULPAN, bunaithe ar mhúineadh na hEabhraise in Iosrael d'fhonn an teanga a thabhairt do na daoine fásta, gan trácht ar an 12-15 uair a chloig Breatnaise ar an dTeileifís gach seachtain. Agus an méid seo uilig a dhéanamh gan tacaíocht rialtais. Cuirtear i gcomparáid é lena a bhfuil a dhéanamh in Éirinn le cúlú na Gaeilge sa nGaeiltacht a stopadh agus níl aon chúis maoimh againn. Cé go bhfuil maolú tagtha ar an imirce agus roinnt áirithe tionscail bunaithe sa nGaeiltacht is ar éigin go ndeacha se chun tairbhe na teangan, ach a mhalairt go minic. Níl aon scéim ag Gaeltarra Éireann nó ag Roinn na Gaeiltachta le cúrsaí Gaeilge a chur ar fáil do na daoine - nó a gcéill pósta - a tháinig abhaile ó Shasana agus ó Albain ag obair ins na monarchain; níl aon naíscoil-eanna bunaithe chun freastal ar chlann na bpóstaí measctha seo. Ní hé sin amháin ach an naíscoil amháin atá i gCois Fhairge is i mBéarla atá sí a reachtáil - cúis náire muna scannal dearg! B'fhéidir gurb é an teist is fearr ar staid an dhá theanga an méid seo leanas: an deireadh seachtaine seo caite casadh i mBala mé, baile beag ach ionad mór saoire i dtuaisceart Cymru; bhí na céadta cuairteoirí ar an mbaile-Béarlóirí a bhfurmhór; ní raibh siopa dá ndeachas isteach ann nár chuala mé Breatnaise a labhairt ann, agus an lucht freastal, idir óg agus aosta, ag labhairt Breatnaise eatorthu féin. Cá bhfaighfeá a leithéid in Éirinn? Bríd Heusaff.

[The above article refers to articles in a recent issue of 'Planet', the English language Welsh magazine, which deals with mixed (language) marriage as a factor in the decline of Welsh as a spoken language. B.H. compares the situation with that in Ireland and considers the measures being adopted in both countries to reverse the process. The address of Planet is: Llangeitho, Tregaron, Dyfed, Cymru/Wales. In Ireland the magazine is available at An Siopa Leabhar, 6 Sráid Fhearchair, BÁC 2, and at Kenny's Bookshop in Galway.] Price 50p.

● MEMBERS and SUBSCRIBERS who have not yet renewed are asked to do so immediately. (See page 21).

'A Black Paper on Irish Education' 'The Decline of Irish as a school subject in the Republic of Ireland 1966-1977.' by Liam S. Andrews, M.A.

Published by the Irish Branch of the Celtic League and Craobh na Teicneolaithe of Conradh na Gaeilge. Price £1.00 + 15p postage, available from the Irish Secretary. Reviewed by Pádraig Ó Cléirigh.

Over the past few years pamphlets such as 'Cúlú' (Retreat) and 'Gearcheim na Gaeilge' (The Irish Language Crisis) published by Conradh na Gaeilge showed how the drive for independence in the 26 county state lost momentum roughly around 1940. Whilst it had lasted there was an interesting parallel, though one to be expected, in the improvement in the position of Irish in the schools and in the increase in the number of all-Irish schools (A schools). But from 1940 a decline set in.

The accelerated erosion of the freedom-wish on the part of the state is evidenced in the last two decades, by such decisions as entry into the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement (1966) and entry into the Common Market (1972). The state's supine role in Anglo-Irish relations, especially in connection with the continuing occupation of north-east Ireland, shows how far the rot has gone.

In the sixties certain changes took place in the educational area which tended towards a considerable overall improvement in the position of Irish. Whether what occurred in fact in that decade which could be described as the Indian Summer of Irish in Education only posterity will be in a position to decide. Nevertheless, certain developments took place in respect to the teaching of the language which generally augured well for the future.

These achievements and the calamities that followed in their wake are the subject of Mr. Andrew's 'Black Paper'.

One of the major faults in the system of teaching Irish in the schools since the 1920's was the lack of attention to spoken Irish. One obstacle in the way of greater emphasis on the oral side of teaching the language was the entirely written character of all the major state examinations: the Primary Certificate Examination at the age of 12/13; the Intermediate Certificate Examination at the age of 15/16; and the final Leaving Certificate at the age of 17/18.

Yet all agreed that there was a need to emphasize the spoken side of teaching the language, especially as thousands were passing through the system and were coming out at the end of it unable to converse in Irish.

In the sixties these matters were slightly improved but only to a degree which was still hardly effectual in turning out Irish speakers.

But overall improvements were heralded when the state employed the services of Dr. Ó Huallacháin who worked out in a most scientifically reliable manner a basis for all courses from school entry up to the Intermediate Certificate level. This basis (Buntús Gaeilge I) was carefully graded to cover about eleven years schooling. It facilitated, as well, an easy transfer from Primary School classes to Post Primary School.

Next a centre was opened for inservice training of teachers in modern language techniques and then Dr. Ó Huallacháin was appointed director of the newly opened Irish Linguistic Institute. He had already started work on the follow up to Buntús Gaeilge I which was to carry the course as far as Leaving Certificate and he was co-operating in important research in the field of phonetics.

But the seventies, alas, were to see all this work virtually come to nought. The examinations, despite the oral reorientation of the course remained, on the whole, rigidly written. Few teachers were trained in modern methods and of those trained fewer still were trained adequately. The equipping of schools with the essential

tape-recorders, projectors, dark-rooms, etc., was administered so utterly inefficiently that Mr. Andrews considers it to have been deliberate sabotage.

Meanwhile the standards of new teachers fell to a disturbingly low competence in the language. There was and still is a population explosion. The number of children in the schools shot rapidly upwards and the Department of Education failed to adequately train the increase in teachers suddenly required. Standards of Irish in the training colleges dropped alarmingly.

There was the sudden freezing of the Government's enthusiasm for the Irish Linguistic Institute and Dr. Ó Huallacháin's work. Dr. Joshua Fishman, a very eminent linguist, was brought to Ireland to advise the Government with regard to long term language planning, especially in connection with the restoration of Irish. He concluded after some time that he was being 'used not as a consultant but as an unwitting participant in a master plan to do nothing'.

This he said in a letter to Dr. Ó Huallacháin in 1971. Dr. Ó Huallacháin published the contents of the letter and was of course removed from his position as Director of the Institute, a post not filled again until December 1973.

Mr. Andrews draws on the various reports of commissions and bodies set up by the state to pinpoint three major facts:

- 1) That again and again it was pointed out that it was necessary to switch from the traditional written emphasis of the courses and exams. to an oral one.
- 2) That there was a very great need for overall planning, organisation and research. It was pointed out in fact that not merely was there no department of Government responsible for organising towards a restoration of the language but there was not even one person in charge.
- 3) That the majority of the people supported the idea of restoration, that they agreed that children should be required to learn Irish in schools and that they were dissatisfied with the results of the education system in this connection, to date.

He writes: "... there is still no evidence to suggest that any radical changes have taken place in the approach of the Department of Education towards planning and co-ordination in the teaching of Irish. Regardless of the dire necessity for speedy developments in this area as a major step towards the creation of an efficient and modern language teaching system for Irish".

As said before, Mr. Andrews views the chaos made of the arrangements to equip the schools for modern methods as something other than more ineptitude. He claims that the Government were aware of the critical situation of Irish in the schools. What measures did they take to deal with it?

He puts the situation which confronted the Department at the end of the sixties as follows: "it had to cope with four major teaching problems:

- 1) It had to reverse falling standards in the teaching of Irish in Vocational schools.
- 2) It had to ensure that teaching standards and the levels of pupil achievement in Irish improved in the expanding post-primary system of the seventies, or failing that, it had to make certain that standards did not fall.
- 3) It had to ensure that all post-primary teachers of Irish were retrained in modern language teaching methods.
- 4) Finally, in order to make sure that the effort in post-primary schools was not undermined by failures at primary level the Department had to make certain that the teaching of Irish in national (primary) schools remained at a very high standard. ---- the Department of Education had to see to it that all primary and post-primary Irish teachers were:- (a) highly competent in the language; (b) adequately qualified; (c) and properly trained in modern

language teaching techniques."

Mr. Andrews comments: "It would seem from the evidence available in the following years that the Department of Education failed to achieve success in any of these areas".

In 1973 the Minister for Education Dick Burke announced the abolition of the necessity to pass Irish in order to obtain the Leaving Certificate, the Intermediate Certificate or the Group Certificate.

He stated: "The policy of selective compulsion that has proved so disastrous for the Irish language over the past fifty years will be replaced by a genuine policy based on respect for and promotion of the Irish language and culture".

Yet there was not a scrap of scientific evidence that (1) the policy had been disastrous or (2) that to abolish it would not itself be disastrous.

He introduced a new course "Nuachúrsa Gaeilge". Mr. Andrews entertains no doubt as to the purpose of the new course. It would be one with lower standards and of a mixed approach (rather than the audio-visual courses it replaces). Thus there will be no need to raise the competence of teachers in respect of Irish. The new low levels in that area would be accommodated. Further the mixed approach will remove the need to properly equip the schools for audio-visual approaches. In fact all the major problems instead of being faced squarely will be bypassed.

Mr. Andrews concludes from this overall picture, "It would seem therefore, as though the Department of Education is promoting the present decline in the teaching of Irish... it can only be concluded that the Irish language no longer plays an important part in the education policy of the Republic of Ireland. Anything of great importance to State educators would not be allowed to sink to such an enfeebled condition in schools through ineffective administration, inadequate research, ineffectual decision making and poor planning."

In a postscript Mr. Andrews adds: "Since forming the new Government Fianna Fail has kept unswervingly to the Coalition's policy towards the teaching of Irish with no change. Now it only remains for Fianna Fail to oversee the final demise of Irish as a subject of any significance in State Education."

NUCLEAR DEBATE CONTINUES

The calls for a public inquiry to be set up by the government of the Republic to investigate the Electricity Supply Board's (ESB) proposal to build a nuclear power station at Carnsore, Co. Wexford (near Rosslare) have to date been ignored. The debate on the issue has, however, multiplied and in addition to regular correspondence in the daily papers (the majority of it anti-nuclear) a number of seminars and conferences on the topic or related to it were held in recent months.

Amongst points made by correspondents were; the lack of reliability of the E.S.B.'s forecasts based on an exponential growth curve - such arguments used in the North of Ireland resulted in a present over-capacity of 32%, with another large power station still to come on stream, and an over-capacity of some 50% in Britain; the lack of logic in switching from dependence on oil to uranium which also has to be imported and which doubled in price in the last two years; that when the massive capital cost of a nuclear station and its short life span of only 30 years is taken into account the myth that nuclear fuel is a cheap energy source is dispelled; the problem of de-commissioning such a station and of course the problem of disposal of radio-active waste products (see below); the risk of accidents and the fact that the Rasmussen Report used by the nuclear lobby to predict an extremely low possibility of any did not allow for sabotage or war; that alternative energy sources can be developed on a much

quicker scale than envisaged, and that conservation could do away with the need for such a station as well as providing more employment.

At a Wind-Wave-Water conference organised by the Solar Energy Society of Ireland, the Industrial Development Authority, and the Institute of Industrial Research and Standards in late April guidelines for the development of alternative energy sources for Ireland were presented and improved conservation urged. It was stated at the conference that energy was being wasted with 'gay abandon'. A report, commissioned after the oil crisis, on ways to conserve energy has not been acted on. The report concluded that at least 20% of the State's total energy consumption could be saved by reasonable conservation methods and it recommended a programme of spending - starting at about £3 million a year - to bring this about. Legislation is being prepared to make certain measures compulsory for the private sector but this will take at least a year to prepare and there is no guarantee that the political will be to implement it will then be forthcoming.

An energy symposium was held by the Irish Transport and General Workers Union in mid May. One contribution which raised some controversy came from Dr. E. Sternglass of the University of Pittsburgh Medical School who claimed that 250,000 people died prematurely as a result of the nuclear reactor accident in Windscale, England in 1957. Of these 6,400 died in Scotland, 31,000 in Ireland and 50,000 in Wales and England. The data, based on a study carried out in Japan, showed, he said, that the nearer the country was to Windscale the greater the mortality rate. Dr. Sternglass attacked the World Health Organisation and the International Energy Commission for failing to carry out intensive studies into the effects of such accidents.

Sister Rosalie Bertell of the State University of New York in a well documented speech linked the increase in Leukemia to radiation. Sister Bertell stated that, while the difficulty was that the right kind of data, related to environmental causes of health hazards, was not being collected, when the patterns of evidence were as consistent as was the case in instances of ill effects of nuclear testing and radiation, there was clearly cause for alarm. Reports on cancer related to radiation among workers in Hanford, (given by Dr. Alice Stewart of the University of Birmingham) and on genetic hazards from radiation (given by Dr. Peter Weish of the Institute of Environmental Sciences and Conservation in Vienna) appeared as conclusive evidence that nuclear energy presents grave health hazards for this and future generations. Dr. Petra Kelly, of the Economic and Social Committee in Brussels raised questions on the possibility of preventing disaster and accidents and a trade union view against nuclear energy was given by Professor Paul Blau of the Chamber of Workers in Vienna.

The Minister of State for Industry, Commerce and Energy, Mr. R. Burke, told the symposium that a public inquiry is not necessary as the technology involved has been in widespread use for many years and is already well tried and tested! However, he said that what was involved at present was merely to ask for Government approval in principle and as final contractual commitments would not be entered into for two or three years any decision taken now is by no means the final decision on the matter. In his concluding remarks, Mr. John Carroll, the Vice-President of the ITGWU (who attended the anti-Windscale demonstration in London on his unions behalf) said there was still an overwhelming case for an inquiry and for all information to be put before the public.

Can the Ministers remarks on any decision not being final be believed? It seems unlikely that they can

be in view of the stubborn refusal to hold an inquiry in the face of widespread public disquiet on the issue. The real implication of those remarks must be viewed in the light of the search for oil and gas which will continue this year and next year with increased intensity of the Irish coast. Obviously location of the much hoped for major find of oil or gas would alter the energy scene in Ireland considerably and would probably defer the final decision on nuclear for many years.

CONRADH NA GAELIGE A. G. M.

This year's Ardfeis of Conradh na Gaeilge in Drogheda attracted nearly 300 delegates and other participants and was one of the biggest in the eighty five years of the organisation's history.

The re-election of Pádraig Ó Snodaigh (former editor of CARN and long time member of the Celtic League) as Uachtarán for a fifth term was widely interpreted as a vote for unity and this view was confirmed by the general trend of the election results for an Coiste Gnó (Executive) and the National Standing Committee.

Delegates gave Pádraig Ó Snodaigh a standing oration following his Presidential Address in which he attacked the attitude that an Conradh should confine itself to the language and ignore other vital areas. He quoted Myles na Gopaleen approvingly in this connection. An tUachtarán warned of the serious straits Irish-language publishing found itself in and drew unfavourable comparisons with the situation in Wales where the Welsh Books Council received £86,000 per annum from public funds. The President called for a response to "A Black Paper on Irish Education" by Liam S. Andrews, published by Craobh na dTeicneolaithe in association with the Celtic League.

An Ardfeis censured County Councils for their inefficiency in Gaeltacht areas and also for forcing English on people. It mentioned in particular, the dangerous conditions of the roads, lack of sewerage in some districts, the misuse of planning permission and poor public services. The gathering called for a new system of local government in the Gaeltacht in place of governments plans to delegate Roinn na Gaeltachta functions to Gaeltarra Eireann.

Delegates called on the Department of Education to play an active role in establishing and fostering Irish-medium schools, promoting bilingual education and the teaching of Irish as a school subject and for a campaign among parents to explain the importance and benefits of the language in education.

A resolution was passed opposing commercial radio stations on the grounds that they are run by gombeen elements and do not exist to provide a public service. Also in the section on the media an Ardfeis called for realistic financial support to Irish language newspapers to enable "Amárach" to be republished and "Inniu" to provide a better service. It demanded that Radio na Gaeltachta be made available on the medium wave throughout the country and that a full television service be provided in Irish. Passed by a substantial majority was a resolution which declared: "Go ndearbhaíonn an Ardfeis seo gurb í bun-aidhm Chonradh na Gaeilge Éire Shaor Ghaelach a bhaint amach; go ndearbhaímid freisin nach bhfuil áit ar bith san eagraíocht dóibh siúd nach nglacann leis an aidhm seo."

In a comprehensive and well-arranged Report to an Ardfeis an Rúnaí (Sec.), Seán Mac Mathúna drew attention to the varied nature of the organisation's work. Twenty four new branches were established during the year bringing the total to 204. There are sixteen district committees. A report on the work of Oireachtas na Gaeilge (the organisations cultural festival) was presented

by Donnchadh Ó Súilleabháin, Rúnaí an Oireachtais, who retires later this year after twenty three year's service.

Features of this year's Ardfeis apart from the magnificent attendance were the large number of young enthusiastic delegates, the high level of discussion and the excellence of the social aspect of the gathering.

INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL ON BRITAIN'S PRESENCE IN IRELAND

An International Tribunal on Britain's presence in Ireland will be held in London in the Autumn of this year. The Tribunal has over 100 sponsors in Britain, Ireland, other European countries, the U.S.A. and Australia and includes many representatives of the trade union movements in Britain. A statement of support endorsed by the sponsors states "For those concerned to uphold human rights, Britain's exercise of military, judicial and political control in the Northern Six Counties of Ireland has disturbing implications We believe an open investigation into the implications of British involvement is now overdue . . ."

A panel of figures of international repute will review the evidence in its various forms and the Tribunal will hold its major sessions before the largest and most representative possible body of delegates elected from trade unions and other labour movement organisations which support the aims of the Tribunal. This body will act as a 'jury' reaching a judgement on the basis of evidence placed before it.

The International Tribunal will take evidence in spoken, written and photographic form from any person with relevant experience, whether expert or lay. These will include internees, relatives and friends of prisoners, community representatives, lawyers, churchmen, doctors and scientists and politicians. To represent the British Government, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and Home Secretary is invited, to appear, or to appoint, representatives to appear and make submissions to the Tribunal.

An Exhaustive Investigation:

The Tribunal will investigate in particular, but not solely:-

- * The role and activities of the British army, and the British security forces in Northern Ireland - the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR).
- * allegations of torture at interrogation centres.
- * allegations of abuse and assault on Irish prisoners in British, including English, jails.
- * the operation of no-jury courts in N. Ireland.
- * the operation of the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act and the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act.
- * charges of discrimination in many fields.
- * the imposition of solitary confinement - lasting over a year in a growing number of cases - on prisoners in the Maze Prison (Long Kesh).
- * the question of freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

The Committee for the International Tribunal is seeking further sponsors. Any organisation in sympathy with the aims of the Tribunal is entitled to affiliate to the Committee and send two delegates to meetings of the planning committee. The Committee also asks for donations to cover costs of publicity, running the Tribunal, witnesses expenses, etc. The Committee would welcome assistance in gathering evidence from people and organisations with experience of any of the points listed above.

Address: 182 Upper Street, London N.1.

● Musicians from other Celtic countries are invited to take part in a one day festival of Celtic music in East Kilbride, Glasgow, at the end of August. Contact, John Graham, 194 Eider Place, Greenhills, East Kilbride, 67S 8AD.

KERNOW

TIN MINE CLOSURES

Late in April the directors of Mt. Wellington tin mine, near Truro, met to discuss the financial position of the mine. These five gentlemen, three of whom live in Switzerland and two in North America, decided to close the mine immediately.

The resultant 400 or so redundancies, although a severe blow in an area where unemployment, even in summer, is over 10%, were hardly a shock. Although the supposed 'representatives' of Kernow in the Westminster Parliament were still in the dark over the intention of the Mt. Wellington owners as late as the closure decision, it was well known locally that the mine had poor ore reserves and was running at a large operating deficit. Indeed the only question was why the mine had been opened in the first place; the exact motives of the rather mysterious owners being open to speculation.

But within a week an economic blow was turned into a disaster by the news that the neighbouring Wheal Jane mine, owned by Consolidated Goldfields, was also closing, throwing at least another 500 out of work. Thus in a week the number of our operating mines had fallen by 40% and 1978 was added to 1921 as a black year in the history of tin mining.

As late as September of last year London stock-brokers had predicted a rosy future for Wheal Jane and the management of that mine had promised "lifetime employment" to its workers four years ago in return for wage restraint. And unlike Mt. Wellington, recent reports from Wheal Jane indicate fairly good ore prospects. Consolidated Goldfields claimed the closure was a direct result of flooding difficulties caused by the closure of Mt. Wellington but this is generally regarded as a slight bending of the truth as is the ludicrous claim that the two managements were ignorant of each other's intentions. It seems clear that, for whatever reason, Consolidated Goldfields are jumping at the chance of pulling out of mining operations in Kernow.

This latest by-product of mining company policies led to an upsurge of despair and even anger from local

communities on a scale unseen in recent years. There was widespread sympathy for the lobby of the Westminster Parliament by 400 miners and their supporters in early May, organised by their trade union. Despite this demonstration, where the Cornish flag was well in evidence, Consolidated Goldfields have stuck to their decision to pull out and most of the miners have been laid off.

As we write talks are still continuing with the London Government and unnamed third parties to try and save Wheal Jane. Nevertheless those of us here on the ground (and under it) in Kernow are none the wiser. Discussions take place and decisions are made which make or break our community many miles away from our land. Whether as a result of the faceless bureaucracies of central government or big business, in the final analysis it is Cornish men and women who pay the price for our colonial condition.
B. D.

PERIODICALS FROM THE CORNISH MOVEMENT

Only 18 months ago An Lef Kernewek (The Cornish Voice) could boast that it was the only all-Cornish periodical in the world. Now there are 3 publications in the Cornish language, issued regularly. 'An Gannas' (The Messenger) one of the new papers is published monthly containing 6 pages of news about Cornish gatherings, and Conferences, crosswords and cartoons for beginners plus articles on recent Cornish history and a serial story. An Gannas costs 8p each from Graham Sandercock, Trewyn Lodge Hill, Liskeard, Kernow.

The other new publication, 'Eythen' (Prickle) is a double challenge to the student of the Cornish language as a satirical paper. To understand the jokes you must first be able to read the Cornish. Eythen from Tony Snell at present exiled in England, St. Edward's College, Oxford, at 15p a copy, plus post.

An Lef Kernewek is now only published twice a year. It is a general cultural paper and can be bought from E. G. Retallack-Hooper, 93 Mount Pleasant Road, Camborne, Kernow, at 60p for 2 issues, plus post.

The only non-cultural publications from the national movement issued on a regular basis are 'An Baner Kernew Kernewek', a Cornish Nationalist Party paper at 30p each
[Continued on page 16]

AN MOR KERNEWEK

Gans John King.

Geseugh den war garrek ughel
Myras orth an mor gwyls tonnek
Ewon gwyn ha morlewgh lonek
A darth a-van yn un sevel
Pols stak, kepar ha pellennow
Dehen coth dhe'n awel tewlys.
Enef Kernow yma defry
Adheraghtho y'n mordonnow.

Pella es an als, Pella es
An carryg a wyth an treth,
Bro Kernow dres an lan a heth
Yn-dan dewesynnow anes
Yma dhyn tytel tyrethek,
Eskern cannys agan meskys,
Scommow keynow lystyry budhys
Ormeyn dh'agan tyryw morek,

Ormeyn gesys dhe wrowetha
Cansbledhen wosa cansbledhen,
Gwrek war wreck mayth ynna lemmyn
Namoy ny wra awel whetha,
Saw puskes arghansek kepar
Ha launow kellyn mon a bych
An dowrow du gans aga nyj
An prenyer tewl ha tryst yntra.

THE CORNISH SEA

By John King.

Let a man on a high rock
Look on the wild-waved sea
White spume and bushy sea-mist
Burst above him, standing
A moment still, like globules
of old cream thrown to the wind.
The soul of Cornwall is surely
Before him in the waves.

Further than the cliff, further than
The rocks guarding the beach,
The land of Cornwall stretches beyond the shore.
Under restless grains of sand
We have a territorial title,
Bleached bones our marks,
The wreckage of sunken keels
Boundstones of our maritime lands,

Boundstones laid down
Century after century,
Wreck upon wreck in which now
No longer blows the gale,
But silvery fishes like
Thin knife-blades stab
The black waters with their flight
Among the dark, sad timbers.

[Continued from page 15]

plus post, from Trelispen, Gorran, nr. St. Austell, Kernow, and a new independent radical/socialist paper 'An Weryn' at 20p each (includes postage) or £1 for six issues. The latest issue of 'An Weryn' (The People) contains articles on the scandal of the closure of two Cornish tin mines, news from Breizh and Mannin and Kernow's forgotten history - a brief coverage of the rise of trade unionism in the china clay industry. From 23 Basset St., Redruth, Kernow.

Mebyon Kernow's 'shop window', the quarterly, 'An Kenethel Gernewek' has not been published for over 6 months and prior to that they were becoming more infrequent (certainly not quarterly). However the 3rd issue of 'An Forth' (The Way) a Mebyon Kernow policy discussion publication is now being printed says the National Secretary. Details of both M. K. publications from Trewolsta, Trewirgie Hill, Redruth, Kernow.

KERNOW PAN-CELTIC

It is planned to hold a Pan-Celtic Festival on the lines of the one held in Killarney in Perranporth, Kernow, in the latter half of this year. Details from: The Secretary, Kernow Pan-Celtic, c/o Crowshensy, Clifton Road, Park Bottom, Illogan, Kernow.

Euro Constituency

Strong protest is being made by all groups in the Cornish National Movement and others including 'Cornish' Tories at the amalgamation of the city of Plymouth with Kernow to make up the population needed for one of the recently announced Euro-constituencies.

THE CORNISH BANNER: organ of the Cornish National Party, quarterly, 40pp. Price 30p. Subscription £1.50p (Overseas £2.00). Trelispen, Gorran, St. Austell, Cornwall. Articles outlining the Party's policies, about life in Cornwall, book reviews, letters, etc.

[Continued from page 8]

despised them, by a State which was bent on destroying the Breton identity, and systematically neglected the Breton economy and instead of promoting our industry was busy extending its military installations in our country. He called therefore on others to refuse service in the army of that State. Accepting military service for a Breton to serve in the French Army is like underwriting the death sentence on his country. I'd rather be a rebel than a renegade."

Alan Coraud will probably be arrested and tried by a military tribunal. He risks being given two years jail for insubordination.

We call to our readers to support him. As in Y. B. ar Mat's case, he is engaged in non-violent resistance. Send him a message of solidarity, to the address: M. I. B. (Ariel Piou), 2 Bd des Poilus, 44200 Nantes.

Yann Ber is due to be released from jail this month (June). He usefully spent his year of imprisonment studying, a. o. Breton and biology.

Celtic League Flags: size 3 x 1½ft, representing a Celtic knot (La Tene style), colour gold on green background, can be ordered for £7.50 from the general secretary, postage with registration included. For airmail overseas, add a further £0.50p. Quotations are to be obtained for pennants with the same symbol and colours, in two sizes.

There will again be a "Celtic Tent" at the Eisteddfod this year (5-12 August). Any member of the C. L. going to the Eisteddfod and prepared to give some of his or her time in attendance at this tent should contact Mrs. Zonia Bowen, Tremlyn, Tal-y-Llyn, Machynlleth, Powys, Wales.

MANNIN

JEAN YN SNP COWRAL? - HAMILTON BY-ELECTION

The SNP has suffered disappointment through not winning the Garscadden and Hamilton by-elections. But it is far too early to write off the SNP.

Nagh mooar ta'n caghlaa ta er jeet er yn SNP er y gherrit. Paart dy veeghyn er dy henney va'n cheshaght pholiticagh shoh lane dy vree as dy hreist. V'ee gaarlaghey da seyrnsys ny hAlbey lesh boggey as daanys. Agh nish ta reddyng er chaghlaa. Ta mee shickyr nagh vel yn SNP cho trimshagh as brisht as ta ny pabyryn Sostnagh gra. Agh son shickyr ta'n SNP heese ec y tra a t'ayn.

Va'n chooid smoo dy leih sheiltyn dy voghe yn SNP yn varriaght er yn Cheshaght-Obbree ayns Garscadden. As va dy chooilley pheiaagh (bunnys) shickyr dy voghe Margo MacDonald yn varriaght sy fo-reihys ayns Hamilton. Agh hooar yn Cheshaght-Obbree yn varriaght ayns gagh fo-reihys. Cre'n fa? Veagh eh symoil bun ny cooishyn shoh y 'eddyn magh er y fa dy nee cooishyn feer hymoil t'ayn.

Foddee dy row yn SNP goll sheese y liargagh hannah, agh s'cosoylagh dy dreill yn Cheshaght-Obbree yn daa hoieag shoh er y fa dy row Albinee dy liooar goaill aggle rosiih seyrnsys nyn jeer hene. Ec y tra cheddin, foddee nagh row ny voteyrn coontey yn brock ayns Lunnin y ve cho olk as oddagh eh ve. Son shickyr, ren fer ny Sheshaght-Obbree ayns Garscadden red croutagh tra hoie eh er yn SNP myr sheshaght ta gearree scoltey Nalbin dy bollagh voish ny cherraghyn elley sy Reeriaght Unnaneyssit. Surrys enn dy vel ymmodee Albinee gearree geddyn reiltys dauesyn hene, as hoig ny sheshaghtyn pholiticagh ayns Sostyn yn chooish shoh fy yerrey hoal wass. Ec y tra cheddin, hoig ny Sostnee as nyn gumraagyn Albinagh, dy vel Albinee dy liooar goaill aggle atchimagh roish seyrnsy kiart. Ta lught ny Sheshaght-Obbree gra shoh car y tra nish. T'ad gra dy vel yn SNP gearree brishey Nalbin ayns eab keoi ee y scoltey dy bollagh voish Sostyn as Bretain. T'eh feer ghoillee dy hoilshaghey magh y chooish shoh da sleih ta laccal freggyrt tappee as aashagh.

Myr shen, t'eh jeeaghyn dy vel Albinee dy liooar er ve agglit ass kyndagh rish mian yn SNP Nalbin y ve seyr dy kiart sy jerrey.

Ny yeih shen as oolley, cha ren Margo MacDonald ro olk ayns fo-reihys Hamilton. Hooar ee ny smoo na daa housane vote jeig: hooar ee bunnys hoght thousane vote ny smoo na ny Thoreyn. Cha nel yn SNP brisht foast.

Ta sleih ennagh syn SNP gra nish nagh lhisagh yn cheshaght er hirrey pooar ayns reiltys ynnydagh. Lhisagh yn SNP er dannaghtyn erskyn lheid ny reddyng shen, t'ad gra. S'feer dy vel yn SNP er hollaghey e laueyn ayns reiltys ynnydagh ayns baljyn ennagh.

Ga dy vel yn SNP ayns stayd lhag ec y tra a t'ayn, ta Lunnin foast goaill aggle roish. As eer dy jinnagh yn SNP lheid ersooyl mairagh, t'eh er chaghlaa yn pholitic-kaght Ghoaldagh dy bollagh. Brian Mac Stoyll.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS GROUP ESTABLISHED IN MANNIN

After consultation, initiated by the secretary of the Manx Branch (C.L.), with the Manx Labour Party's secretary, a women's rights group was formed here in Mannin earlier this year. Calling itself EVE: Equality Versus Exploitation this new organization's aims are to investigate Society's attitude to women here on the Island and to publicise the consequences of such attitudes. At the first meeting the members of this group decided that EVE would not be affiliated to any political party or

organization.

The Women's Liberation movement, born in Britain in 1968 and in Éire a few years later, went unnoticed, and indeed ignored, here in Mannin. The Sex Discrimination and Equal Pay Acts were deemed unnecessary for Manx women and rejected by Tynwald, without being discussed. These acts by themselves will not bring about equal pay or an end to sex discrimination, but they are better than nothing, their very existence will encourage many women to fight for their rights, as opposed to accepting discrimination as inevitable.

ANTI MILITARY ALLIANCE - ONE YEAR ON

The idea of organised opposition to the use by British armed services of facilities in Mann was first formulated last June '77, so June '78 can possibly be termed the first birthday of the Anti-Militarist Alliance.

The A.M.A. was formed from a small group within the Celtic League (Mann) and the Western Branch of Mec Vannin. Subsequently the ties with Mec Vannin were loosened, but unfortunately this did not prevent the party split (previously reported in Carn) which came late last year.

A.M.A., co-ordinated a peaceful campaign which included a counter demonstration and the handing out of leaflets at a British Military Exhibition, petitioning the then newly elected members of the Keys (M.H.K.'s) and general distribution of information to the public.

The established reaction was at first muted, but eventually a prosecution was brought against an A.M.A. supporter for handing out Anti-recruiting leaflets under the pretext, that he had broken a Douglas corporation by-law. A civil rights group which included A.M.A. members subsequently protested against this by-law and were fined (3 refused to pay and went to prison).

It has become difficult to get unbiased media coverage. The "Examiner", a local paper, was at first delighted by the leaflet prosecution although now they say it 'might have been' a mistake. Interviews with the BBC TV and an article in the U.K. press inferred sinister and subversive connections although appreciating U.K. media sensationalism A.M.A. expected no better.

It was undeniably obvious to those closely concerned that the main reason for the over reaction to our policy was the outspoken attitude of the A.M.A. to Mann's unwitting involvement in Britain's occupation of North-East Ireland and the direct reference to atrocities committed in the maintenance of that occupation by Crown Forces.

Despite attempts by individuals and the press to promote opposition to A.M.A., its views if not accepted deliriously by the indigenous community at least seem to command some support. When one sifts through the recent evidence A.M.A. is simply offering a concentration of policies that individuals and organisations have produced before, enlarging on these and also publicizing military abuses in the other Celtic countries.

The first fruits of our campaign were seen recently when a member of the Keys summoned up enough courage to ask a question about abuses at the Military camp at Jurby which were answered evasively as usual by the local colonial agent (Governor).

A.M.A. will move into its second year continuing the fight by picketing all military "side-show's" which come to Mann, demanding the same opportunity to put our case to the nations youth, in the schools, as the British Armed forces are offered and publicizing our demands for a complete break with the Crown.

A.M.A. will also continue its support for those organisations and individuals in our Celtic neighbours who

suffer from the pressures of neo-colonial militarism.

J.B. Moffatt.

More details including a policy statement can be obtained by writing to J.B. Moffatt, Sec. A.M.A., 24 St. Germain's Place, Peel, Isle of Mann.

NUCLEAR THREAT

I wish to appeal to all Celtic nations to stand firm in opposition to all nuclear development and expansion. Apart from the physical dangers a nuclear power based economy will lead to even greater centralization and inevitably, a severe restriction of individual freedom. I believe there exists already in Britain an armed nuclear police force with sweeping powers.

Mannin is geographically 40 miles from Windscale. Radio-active waste is poured into the Celtic Sea which surrounds our entire country. Any expansion of Windscale will seriously increase risks of accident and ecological damage caused by radio-active and thermal pollution. Mannin has, so far, no independent testing of levels of radio-activity. Kernow and Alba have been considered suitable places to 'dump' radio-active waste, so I was very pleased to see many people from those countries at the anti-Windscale rally, held in Trafalgar Square, London, on the 29th April.

I attended the demonstration, which was organised by the Friends of the Earth, as a representative of Mec Vannin. To the shame of our Nation Mec Vannin was the only Manx organization represented. I was joined by my good Celtic League friend Pádraig Ó Conchúir, and we were very pleased to meet a large party from Kernow.

Culturalists are sometimes accused of being politically unaware and the political animal is accused of being unsympathetic. There is, of course, room for greater co-operation but this is not completely true. In Trafalgar Square I saw again one of the Cornishmen I had first met in Mannin at the Celtic-Congress Conference. A week later, at the Pan-Celtic Festival in Cill Airne I met an M.K. Member who was taking part as a representative of Kernow, who had also attended the anti-Windscale demonstration.

During my brief stay in London I was pleased to have the opportunity of visiting the Irish Club for their monthly evening of poetry, music and dance and afterwards met many other members who were very interested in language matters in particular. What a pity we had to use English to avoid being misunderstood. Cristl Jerry

Radio Voice of Scotland

The R.V.S. now operating in the West of Scotland has been set up to COUNTER the political bias against the independence movement in Scotland. "For too long", says a statement, "the English and capitalist controlled the media have monopolised the air waves, spewing out their anti-Scottish propaganda to confuse and frighten the Scottish electorate into believing that self-government is a bad thing. Tune in to RVS, 225 meters, medium wave, Mondays 22.00 to 23.00 hrs. RVS plays pop, folk and easy listening music with a 5 min. news spot and independence propaganda. It will also give news from the other 5 Celtic nations which the "National" stations care not to broadcast.

To help finance the unit, a special decorative stamp is now available which sells at 20p per sheet of 32 stamps, and will be available at the Bannockburn rally on June 24th. The unit is completely independent of party ties. It is hoped that other groups will set up similar stations.

AL LIAMM: bimonthly, approx. 90pp. The most important Breton language periodical. 50F Breizh and France, 60F other countries, 80F airmail. To P. Le Bihan, 16 rue des Fours a chauds, St. Servan, St. Malo. Money orders to CCP 5349-06 Paris.

ROIMH EROPA, NEART AGUS 'CELTIA' - III

Summary

Andrew MacKillop.

The economic and then political collapse of European pan-nationalism is made to appear impossible and fantastic by its propaganda machine. But that future is increasingly possible and likely. Not only for this reason, but for reasons of environment quality, employment opportunity and rational development we should plan for a 'low energy / high renewables' future.

The main planks of this are: conservation through eliminating artificial energy 'needs', as well as by improving energy efficiency; decentralising energy production and use; rapidly developing the most regionally appropriate and least environmentally damaging renewable energy sources.

These changes have no real chance of success without political, economic, and social change. At the social-cultural level the required change will be towards a 'conservator society', which stresses reduced metals and energy consumption; greater social concern for nature; more accentuation of the extended family and small groups, rather than individual people and the State. The culture of a 'conservator society' in fact relates more closely to the real (pre-acculturation) traditions and values of Celtic people than to those of the Sasunnach, the Frangach and the other mechanistic-utilitarian-totalitarian 'cultures' of Europe. Getting from the today of flat-out greed, consumerism and privatisation to a future decentralised, resource-saving, less materialistic society will not be easy. It may well be impossible, as being too great a loss of face, for the urban core nations of Europe - but for Celtia it can be part and parcel of our decoupling from the European megamachine.

De-escalation: Energy conservation has even been 'recognised' by such growth fans as the Westminster Dept. of Energy (DOEN), the EEC Energy Commission, and the International Energy Agency - an OECD energy organisation set up by Kissinger in 1973 to, unsuccessfully, attempt cartelbusting deals with individual OPEC nations. Conservation is seen by these organisations as little more than a useful, but very short term 'band aid' method for buying some time. The various technical fixes that their conservation agencies propose and carry out are such that they in no way attempt to play with 'sacrosanct' lifestyles, production or profits. Examples of their technical fixes include tuning car engines and heating boilers and fitting heat exchangers in factories: their net effect is officially seen to be capable of cutting national energy growth rates to 'only' 2% - 3% a year from the 'historic' (i.e. 1950-73) rate of 7%+. But behind the scenes in energy and planning agencies there is already alarm over the success of conservation programs - with, for example, very fast growing insulation of older houses - because the combination of even the laughably tiny conservation projects, the still fast-rising energy prices, and the continuing economic slump has prevented Europe's energy consumption rising above the 1973 level. That year's consumption has even created its own mystique, with the Westminster DoEn referring to it as "The Year of Peak Energy". In the insane logic of 'big is best - more is heaven' European energy planners must bring about vast quantum leaps in energy use for there to be any hope of achieving their plastic and plutonium nirvana: a high energy megasociety for which literally hundreds of nuclear reactors must be built by 2025. Just in the Westminster-dominated nations, for example, some 25 new reactors by 2000 are planned. Interestingly, none are planned for Béal Feirste.

But despite pathetic funding, energy conservation programs in most European nations have had - in some

cases quite large - effects. In the 'UK', its Save It project has received just £7½ Millions over three years, but has saved, according to the Westminster Government (Jan. '78) some £1800M worth of fuel. While the mere nuclear research programs of the 'UK' have received more than £170 Millions in those three years, the £7½ Millions spent on conservation has saved about 195 Billion kWh, or about 3% of 'UK' total energy. Put another way, this is equivalent to 7300 MW of power running non-stop for three years being obtained for capital spending - at State level - of £7½M. This is a cost per kilowatt of under £1 - our nuclear friends say their reactors cost about £500 per kilowatt.

Jobs and Conservation: So the economic case for conservation is not hard to make.

As one more reinforcement of that, the Chairman of Canada's Science Council, Dr. Kates, has concluded from a number of studies he commissioned through 1975-77 (one of which I undertook) that energy conservation, on a kilowatt by kilowatt base, was always at least 10 times cheaper than building power plants, drilling for oil, digging coal, and so on. But the Big Energy lobby, especially in Europe, then comes back with its seemingly plausible rhetoric that "more energy equals more jobs" and that conservationists and solar energy freaks are trying to destroy any chance of an economic 'recovery' which will 'save' jobs. In fact it's more likely that the Big Energy lobby's fantasy future, constructed by a few extremely high paid centralist bureaucrats and their tame, small, unionised labour friends, will ensure that the present process of ever-rising unemployment will just go on!

The reason is that building more energy facilities of conventional types (especially nuclear) is extremely capital intensive. Projects like the French 'Phenix' breeder reactor, the Cap de la Hague and Windscale reprocessing plant expansions, and the deranged nightmare of the Dounreay 'atom park', are all multi-billion (£, EEC Units of Account, etc) projects. A few chromium plated engineers and the happy gang of 'international' construction workers will descend on 'isolated' places - many in coastal Alba, Breizh and Cymru - construct their energy plant, and disappear.

And while the Westminster energy think tank, the ETSU, has concluded that 'UK' energy plant spending, as a proportion of all capital spending, will double by comparison with the 1960's, jobs certainly will not. In a study for MIT of the regional economic impact of a nuclear plant project in rural New England, Alice Shurcliff ('Technology Review' 10/77) found that the \$500M project produced only about 120 permanent jobs, of which about a quarter were in really uplifting roles as cleaners and security guards. As a neat twist, her study showed how local authorities, under the US system, received a massive funding input that of course greased their palms: but when State and Federal Government found out this massive payment to tiny local bureaucracies, it immediately invented new laws to cream it off.

In the non-energy sectors of the economy the drain of capital and other resources to building vast new, high technology, energy plants and facilities will suck away capital for creating jobs in less complex, cheaper job, industries. But conservation - which includes making and maintaining better heating plant, making and installing insulation, and improving energy efficient (and labour intensive) transport such as rail and coastal shipping - cannot help but create more jobs per unit of investment.

Thus even the more technical fix end of conservation will produce more jobs, more safely. But to go further, conservation technology is not as important - in virtually all cases - as a simple de-escalation. The urge to go

faster, consume more, live in hotter houses, work in brighter offices is one that sets up a technology bandwagon, that proceeds towards almost open-ended complexity. To reduce effects and energy use the bandwagon must be turned around, which is delightfully simple in concept, but political dynamite.

Elimination: 'Technical fix' conservation programs could very simply be summarised as doing the same with less. But to have the same 70mph car, that does 3.5% more miles per gallon after its technical fix is high symptomatic of the technocratic-totalitarian mind. Who says that this present materialist state, which obligatorily demands the economic and even physical enslavement of millions of people in the 3rd World, must or can be frozen for all time as a benchmark for 'civilised' society? Our leaders do, but do the people?

In the grey concrete and yellow sodium lit wastelands of the megacity people are still fleshy, naked creatures seeking community, identity and humanity. When they don't get it violence breaks out. This 'voting with the first' is a typical product of the alienated, privatised and pointless existence of a growing number of millions of people. To generate this syndrome the breakdown of the extended family - or even nuclear families - is a precondition. But the goal is sacrosanct: hundreds of millions of often single-person 'families' all pursuing the PVC fantasy life, packed out with individual cars, T.V., washing machine, central heating and so on. This process of 'growth' (cancers also grow without limit) sets up an endless spiral of growth in energy and resource demands, and damage or even destruction of environment. Likewise, for each urban 'family' in the megacity to eat their sterilised, deodorised and poisoned convenience food, giant energy gulping industries must tear down millions of trees and suck in millions of barrels of oil to provide packaging, chemicals, transport and some vague 'civilised' attempt at tarting up the riddled natural environment around cities, which receive a constant hard rain of toxic detritus.

In a word, lifestyle change holds out the biggest promise of a real downward shift in energy use. This can eliminate a million unnecessary journeys, a billion unnecessary products or packages, and on a worldwide basis trillions of kiloWatt hours of energy 'need'. In a very real way there is already a constant and hot war 'on' concerning lifestyle. The mega-fascistic bureaucrats, well worthy of being called Hitlers, who will stop at nothing to achieve their vision of a European supersociety living in one continuous city, where all economic and social decisions are formalities because of the one goal of achieving identical lifestyles of super-consumption, are alive (as far as they can be), well, and shooting from the hip. An example is in France or Germany, where people have their hands and feet blown off, and are then fined for violence (!) in protesting against nuclear power.

As our leaders well know, especially after the OPEC oil panic of 1973, nothing is possible without energy. Yet their refusal to believe in the possibility of social or cultural progress without massive growths in energy and resource consumption - much of it imported - is relentlessly forcing us into a cul de sac, a high energy version of Orwell's '1984'. Many of the Celtic peoples can do little to achieve the goal for humanity of decisively destroying this lunatic vision while achieving their own freedom and independence. But while some have to give their lives even for the lesser goal, in their own lands and territories, this is not the case in Alba. Independence for Alba, still theoretically possible through a simple majority vote, can give the power to decide whether Europe's biggest oil and gas resource will - or will not - be sucked dry in a generation to feed the supra-

national fantasy.

New Energy - New Society. It is not, theoretically, necessary for the EEC to collapse to allow a new social-economic order - based on energy efficiency and stability - to emerge. But whatever energy depletion policies finally affect Celtia there will be an inevitable need to develop the renewable energy sources. Conservation is, in a way, an 'in situ' renewable, because it can be applied right away, to even this society and its economy. But we should clearly understand that without big changes in urban geography, economic structure, and lifestyle the renewables will be very difficult, slow and costly to develop, and the very most that 'technical fix' conservation programs will be able to achieve is a 25% - 30% reduction in national energy use. (A high target conservation plan, plus rapid renewable energy development forms the basis of my study: *Non Nuclear Futures for Scotland*, Ecologist Publications, Kernow 1978.)

Simply and merely trimming back energy use will only buy time, though much more than our energy mandarins foresee with their 'conservationist' targets of 2% energy growth per year. The result will be the same: a massive energy crunch, beginning anywhere from 1985 onward, with really rapid economic disintegration. Anyone who disbelieves this should look at even the most rosy nuclear energy forecasts for the EEC in 2000; these propose no more than 30% or so of all electricity coming from the atom. This is less than 10% of national energy. With oil and gas gone, where is the other 50% - 60% to come from? If we choose to believe that whatever new oil or gas fields found in the 3rd World can be picked up in the oil colonial way we should understand that by 1990 the nuclear weapons club - countess of US, British, French, German etc. nuclear power sales to developing nations - will contain a lot of brown faces.

But there is an alternative scenario to the plutonium economy plus world economic collapse. Of course it does involve 'hardship' for the present rich nations, who got that way by making others poor. Conservation programs involving physical and economic decentralisation, and de-urbanisation, could cut energy use by perhaps 75% from 1973-2000 in the 'UK', and by perhaps 50% in Eire and Breizh. If this looks 'extreme' we should remember that a 50% cut for 'UK' turns the energy clock back to 1964, not 1800. And that 2000 energy consumption level would reduce our energy use per capita, assuming population stability, to 'only' two or three times the current world average per capita use of energy. Significant numbers of people would still have to have significantly less energy than each Ceilteach.

Of course it would be difficult to easily cut energy use by this magnitude, and the 75% figure for 'UK', and 50% for Eire and Breizh would only be outline targets. But for such goals to emerge, be discussed, understood in world context, and acted upon would be a real social breakthrough. It would then make developing renewable energy much more easy, because one of the main renewable energy problems is that they do not fit with a concentrated, urban, industrial society, conditioned to - and demanding - constant supplies of concentrated energy.

In my paper on neart slàn in Alba, and in hundreds of books, papers, studies, and speeches by dozens of energy analysts in virtually every urban-industrial nation the renewables have been evaluated, costed and related to current and possible energy demands for various nations and blocs. Of course potentials vary from region to region, and the kinds and quantities of energy that can be produced have differing qualities of match with the econo-

mic and social infrastructures in each region. But in general the development of renewable energy sources is most easy in regions of low population density, without massive urbanisation, and with significant relief features and high quality-high productivity biomass.

Thus the area per capita of land, or 'collecting surface' has an important primary effect on how much energy is available - and Celtia generally has much lower population densities than the rest of Europe. Relief and climate control hydro energy potentials, with hilly rainy country always better off than opposite types (e.g. Alba has 75% of 'UK' hydro capacity; Cymru provides a significant chunk of Sasunnach water demand). Latitude is against good solar energy regimes in Celtia, but the latitude dilution factor (in winter) is modified by the local extent of cloud and rain, and is offset by long day lengths - favouring biomass energy - in summer. Secondary biomass energy, via animal and human wastes, is favoured in agricultural-rural regions, such as most of Celtia. Tidal power has best potential where there are many funnel-shaped estuaries along highly-indented coast, for example as at Rance in Breizh, location of the world's second biggest tide power plant (for providing cheap electricity to Paris). Wind power potentials are best along western continental edges, especially where there is relief that encourages channelling and streamlining (acceleration) of winds - a fair description of a good part of much of Western Celtia. Geothermal energy potentials are highest in old rocks and at the junction between old and new geological blocks, such as the N. Sea Basin - Armorica Caledonian Hercynian Block line that runs through Alba and Eire. And wave power, off Leodhas and Uibhist, has become the new go-go energy source for 'UK' energy planners wondering what next to destroy when the North Sea fields are sucked dry.

Conclusions: Energy conservation, of a radical kind, will need to take off rapidly from the 'support vehicle' of today's official technical fix conservation programs if there is to be any chance of major downturns in energy use, without hardship. At the same time as radical energy conservation begins to grip, effort will have to go in large quantities towards developing the renewable energy sources. As in the example of Rance in Breizh, renewable energy can be environmentally and socially negative - with Rance energy requiring the virtual sterilisation of a whole estuary for most non-energy uses, and the energy produced being sucked away to run Giscard's dildo. Scale, and social control are therefore equally important to the realisation of renewable energy for long term, stable-society, development. Local control, local construction, and local distribution and use of regionally unique mixes of renewables, plus some coal where needed - with oil and gas reserved for its best uses, in chemicals and plastics - is the ideal, utopian future for Celtia. But today we live with the Falls Road, the dying gasp of a high energy 'civilisation' that can do little else but mindlessly destroy as it thrashes about.

CELTIC FESTIVAL

by Ron Stewart.

Montreal, - 13 May - was the venue of, for Canada at least, a unique festival, a veritable feast of pan-Celtic cultural activity. This was organised by the Canadian Celtic Congress. Well advertised in the press, on radio, and TV, it attracted the attention of Celt and Celtophile alike. The auditorium with seating capacity of 800 was sold out the day before the event and with another hundred enthusiasts standing there was still a disappointed crowd turned back at the entrance.

We have a lot to offer, and a tremendous variety at

that, and this was proven by the performance at the Festival. With over 200 performers the feast of song and dance went on from 8p. m. until 11.30 p. m. and the audience was still there at the end to hear Mannin Veen played by the Black Watch Concert Band and followed by the heady stuff of the Pipes and Drums of the Black Watch to bring the Festival to a close. It was the hottest evening of the year so far but the enthusiastic audience sang and hummed along to the music and song.

All songs by choirs and soloists were in the Celtic languages as were the introductions to the Gaelic Choir (by John Maclean), the Welsh Male Choir (by Twm Edmund), the Songs of Ireland (by Pádraig Ó Laighin) and the Triskell Group (by Erwan Konan). Kenneth MacKenzie gave all other introductions in French & English. Oh yes - Gaelic solos and the Clachan Ceilidh Band were introduced in Gaelic too; all parts of the program were traditionally Celtic from the lively fiddle of Dennis Moroney, the flute of Toby Cinnsealeach to the Welsh Choir and Pipes and Drums. Performers came from as far away as Quebec City - 200 miles (Pierick and Ghislaine Houdy) and Toronto (350 miles) (the Gaelic Choir, soloists and Clachan Band). All performers (except Ghislaine, bound by strict union) gave their time freely, and the Toronto Gaels even offered to chip in to pay for the auditorium rental, had it been necessary. All for the sake of their common heritage - although of course they will all receive honoraria from the proceeds. What a spirit, what good will and what cultural resources begging to be tapped and utilized! (And I might point out that the Black Watch Concert Band (35 strong) could ask union wages as could Toby who is a professional musician.)

Already Toronto has caught the spirit - very much so and the Gaelic Society Choir there is hoping to try the same thing in the fall at Toronto with participation from Montreal. As for us, well we intend to make the event an annual one.

Our experience with this concert gives the lie to the claims of the Comhaltas Ceoltoirí Éireann group that comes annually from Ireland that people do not want Irish. The last two of their concerts that I saw here were entirely in English. What a pity! Murdering their own culture. For the sake of what I ask? A lot of our performers were our own members, but non-Celtic speakers in the audience were delighted that things were in Celtic languages.

For further information about the Canadian Celtic Congress write to Ron Stewart, 265 Sanford, St. Lambert, P.Q.

PAN-GAELIC

It hardly seems necessary to point out the desirability of a common Celtic language. It is uplifting to see the six languages represented in the pages of "Carn" but again so disappointing that a summary must be given in English. That English should be the chief means of communication at such an important event as the Pan-Celtic Congress in Killarney casts a dismal shadow on the whole proceedings and raises doubts as to the seriousness of the whole Celtic Movement.

The difficulties of providing a Celtic lingua franca are of course colossal but, I believe, not entirely insurmountable. There is firstly the problem of those who speak no Celtic language at all.

Secondly, there is the problem of the two distinct branches of the Celtic Tongue - the "Q-Celts" (Éire, Alba, Mannin) on one hand and the "P-Celts" (Cymru, Kernow, Breizh) on the other.

Thirdly, there is the problem of the three dialects in each of these two branches.

At the moment, I see no possibility at all of pro-

viding a Celtic Esperanto derived from the six existing forms. However, it seems quite possible to provide a basic Gaelic language which would provide a lingua franca for the "Q-Celtic" Group and no doubt the same is possible for the "P-Celtic" areas.

There is no wish whatever to eliminate the dialects but surely it is appalling that an Irish speaker and a Manx speaker have to resort to English to communicate. I find that even when reading the Gaidhlig and Manx sections in "Carn" that I miss quite a few of the words. Surely it is an ideal to be hoped for that the day would come when books and magazines could be read easily and with pleasure in a common Celtic Tongue by the people of Éire, Alba and Mannin. And not only to read but to communicate and perhaps have a common Radio Station.

Before any of these things can happen we must have a common or Pan-Gaelic language.

Without wishing to digress from the main subject I think it is useful to point out that the success of the teaching of Irish in Éire is very modest indeed despite the time, effort and money given to it during the past 50 years. This must be attributed in large part to the inherent difficulty of the language. The complexity of the grammar and the archaisms puts it outside the range of many people who have a sincere love of the language but who haven't the time nor the linguistic ability to master a language so literary, archaic and "pure". Irish Missionaries to South America can speak Spanish after a few months while they cannot carry on the simplest conversation in Irish after years of study in school. It is my opinion, anyway, and I believe it to be the opinion of many others, that the complex literary language of the "Caighdeán Oifigiúil" can never become a popular spoken language. Much of the Irish spoken by non-academics on Raidió and Teilifís Éireann and in ordinary social life bears this out. I maintain that if Irish is ever to become a "street language" to any extent outside the Gaeltachts then it will be in a much more popular and simplified form. In other words, right within Éire herself there is a need for a very simplified colloquial form of Irish. Such a form would, no doubt, have developed of its own accord if Irish had not been confined through historical circumstances to the poorest areas of the land for so many centuries. Its development was retarded by its exclusion from areas such as the law courts, medicine, the learned professions, trade and commerce. If English had retained the complex grammar of Anglo-Saxon would it be the universal language it is today? The type of language I am suggesting would certainly be influenced by English but surely it is better to give a respectful bow of recognition than the almost total submission we are showing today - "Ní fás go caillteanas" - there is no growth without some loss.

What I am suggesting, then, is to take the simplest, most direct forms from the various dialects past and present: e.g. the elimination of the prefix "t" after the article in masculine singular nouns beginning with a vowel - "an éan" (the bird) instead of "an t-éan". (Cf. Manx usage).

Elimination of special Genitive form - in other words one basic form of the noun in the singular and one basic form for the plural: "hata an Fhear", "hata an bhean". (Cf. Dialect of Arran) The employment of the Auxiliary Verbs "to be" and "to do" linked to the Verbal Noun of the appropriate verb to form the various tenses: "Tá mé ag siúl" (I walk, I am walking); "Dhein é dul" (he went). (Manx.)

Separatist forms for prepositions and personal pronouns - "le mé", "le tú", etc., instead of "liom", "leat", etc. The simplification resulting from this would be

simply enormous. The plurals of nouns could also be made more regular following the Scottish and Manx custom.

A vocabulary of 1000 words from the Caighdeán should be sufficient for a beginning. The whole outline of the language could be contained in less than one edition of "Carn". A start could be made by a "Letters Section". To those who speak Gaelic this new form would present no problem while to those who do not, the language could be acquired with very little difficulty. At any rate, on my own account, I propose this scheme to the readers of "Carn". I realize that to many purists any tampering with the language is a kind of desecration. I do not, however, wish to interfere in any way with the existing literary form but only to suggest a common language for international purposes. If the Editor be good enough to publish this article I would be glad to hear the views of readers - after all, the problem of a common Celtic language must be faced if we are serious about the future of our culture.

Seán Ó Duinn.



Delegates at Celtic League Council Meeting in Bala, Cymru.

CELTIC LEAGUE COUNCIL MEETING

A meeting of the General Council of the Celtic League was held in Y Bala, Cymru, during the 27-28 May weekend. It was attended by 14 people representing five of our branches. It was convened to try to resolve problems arising from the increase in the cost of printing CARN which will take effect as from this issue (an increase in the ratio of 7 to 12!), to consider ways of improving our organisation, to discuss matters of C.L. policy. It was decided to raise the price of CARN from 30p to 40p as from Nr. 23 and to recommend to our Annual General Meeting an increase of the basic subscription from £2 to £3, applicable to Ireland and Britain, from 1-1-79 onwards. We decided also to ask our members to take a more active part in selling CARN at gatherings, as one of the best ways to counteract the effect of the steep increase in printing costs; and to urge all branch secretaries to ensure that by the middle of every quarter, the editor of CARN would receive an adequate quota of material for their respective countries. It was recommended that CARN should publish articles from regular as well as from occasional contributors.

The status of the New York branch was the object of a report, based on recent communications from its new secretary, Miss Sheila Dwyer; her plea that the branch, which had suffered a decline during 1976 and 1977 but has now regained strength, (they organised a weekend symposium in April), be recognised as the U.S.A. branch of the Celtic League, was discussed in detail. (see p.10). It was decided to put the arguments which she had presented to those interested in developing local branches throughout the States, with the aim of achieving co-ordination and regular representation at AGM's and Council meetings.

The meeting decided that the C.L. will give support to the international trial of the "British" presence in Ireland due to take place in the Autumn, and that CARN will recommend its readers to seek maximum publicity, in particular through their national periodicals for the report on the inhuman and degrading conditions to which prisoners, protesting against the denial of status as political prisoners, are subjected to in the H-Block in Long Kesh, Northern Ireland.

We decided also to recommend our readers to support Radio Voice of Scotland by buying the stamps they are issuing as part of the effort to finance this service.

A.G.M.

The Annual General Meeting of the Celtic League will be held this year in Edinburgh, either during the 3-4-5 November weekend (first choice) or on Sept. 30-October 1 weekend. A decision will be taken after further consultations with the Scottish branch secretary. Arrangements for cheap fares from London to Edinburgh, via Chester (and perhaps Bristol) will be made. Members intending to participate are invited to contact their branch secretary or the secretary general as early as possible. Proposals for the agenda will be welcome up to a month before the meeting.

LETTER - CONDITIONS IN H-BLOCK

Cage 10, Long Kesh P.O.W. Camp, Listurn, Co. Antrim.

A chara, As you can see from my address I am at present incarcerated in Long Kesh P.O.W. Camp.

I am writing to you, not for myself or my comrades in the Cages of Long Kesh, but on behalf of my comrades enduring a subhuman existence in the "H" block of Long Kesh.

A lot of propaganda has been spewed out by the Northern Ireland Office and Whitehall recently, regarding these cells that are called "H" Block. Newsreel film has been shown on TV enlightening the media as to the utopian conditions that they would have the media believe exist in "H" Block.

They show a cell that is kept clean daily for the specific purpose of showing to the public, just like a model house or a new housing estate.

I will try and list the grievances of our comrades in the "H" Block and let you, as a freedom-loving Celtic Nation decide for yourselves who is right and who is wrong.

In the Spring of 1972, Republican Prisoners in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast, went on hunger-strike to be recognised as P.O.W.'s. After a thirty-five day period of fasting their demands were conceded to by the then Secretary of State, William Whitelaw (Conservative), and a written document was drawn up recognising those persons convicted of political offences as P.O.W.'s; they in turn were held in the Cages of Long Kesh. Such were the circumstances until November 1975, when it was announced by the then Secretary of State, Merlyn Rees (Labour), that from March 1st, 1976, all political offenders would no longer be recognised as Political prisoners, but termed as "criminals" and sentenced to the "H" Blocks of Long Kesh. Those persons convicted after March 1st, 1976 are members of the same organisations, hold the same political philosophies and are actuated by the same political motives as were their comrades convicted prior to March 1st, 1976. To prove this point and to be recognised as Political Prisoners, Republicans have once again engaged in passive protests against the arbitrary decision of an English Parliament. Refusing to wear prison uniforms they are therefore kept naked in their cells with only a blanket.

The Response Of The Authorities To The Passive Protest Of The Republican Prisoners.

The N.I.O., via the Prison Administration, have responded with a brutal systematic campaign of punishment, in breach of all International agreements on the treatment and welfare of prisoners.

The facts are:-

- 1) Confined to the cells twenty-four hours per day, the exception being the Sunday Service, to attend which they must wear the prison uniform or forfeit the right to attend.
 - 2) These men have not seen daylight nor breathed fresh air in as much as eighteen months, resulting in yellowish colouring of their skin, sunken drawn appearances of face, serious damage to teeth and hair, not to mention long-term psychological damage.
 - 3) Every fourteen days each man is paraded in front of the Governor and is sentenced to:-
 - a) Loss of remission.
 - b) Loss of all prison privileges.
 - c) A three day punishment "on the boards": that is in a punishment cell.
 - d) One of five possible "restrictive diets", ranging from black tea to the special "Number One Diet", of dry bread and water.
 - 4) No contact with their families since:- letters are stopped at will by the authorities.
 - 5) No visits are permitted without wearing the prison uniform.
 - 6) Prison food, already poor in quantity and quality is served cold leading to deterioration in health.
 - 7) No medical or dental treatment whatsoever, without wearing the prison uniform.
 - 8) Originally a wash was allowed every two days, and one shower per week, which came at a cost of a constant barrage of humiliating and degrading treatment. Having been denied such basic and human rights as toilet and washing facilities without having to suffer degrading treatment at the hands of the prison administration, the men have now escalated their protest to the extent that since March 20th, 1978, they have not washed themselves or cleaned out their cells.
- On the 19th April, 1978, the N.I.O. ordered that the "H" Blocks be hosed out. This will certainly lead to many prisoners being taken seriously ill with pneumonia.
- 9) The numbers engaging in this passive protest is steadily increasing.

The risks to health are now approaching danger level, and to quote a leading specialist in infectious diseases at the Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast, "If dirt gets under the skin, or if it finds its way into a cut, then these men face the possibility of serious illness".

As this campaign reaches crisis point, International protest and condemnation of the British Government becomes more valuable. All or any help is needed now.

I cannot stress the importance of some or any form of protest from your country. We, in occupied Ireland, are already putting the British Government under pressure daily. That pressure is growing through street protests, etc., which receives little or no coverage from national or international press.

I would ask you now, if you would, to begin writing to your local papers etc., informing them of the plight of our comrades in the "H" Blocks of Long Kesh.

If you are prepared to help further in this, and are in need of any further information or ideas, you can reach me through my home address.

Is mise, le meas, Seamus Mc Riada,
15 Newtownkenedy Street, Strabane, Co. Tyrone,
Ireland.

CANADA: A CELTIC COUNTRY? By Ron Stewart.

The impact of the Celt on Canada's history and lifestyle is such that one is confronted with it at every turn. The most obvious Celtic presence is that of the Scot - particularly the Highlander - who explored and mapped a great deal of the country. Traded in it, settled in it and fought and died for it (the most common surname in Canada's First World War armies was Macdonald). Today, as yesterday, Highland names are as predominant among politicians and the Canadian dollar aristocracy as they are among poor fishermen and miners.

The outsider often knows of the Scot in Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, but little about their settlement elsewhere in Canada. When Fraser's Highlanders were disbanded in Quebec after the Seven Year's War, they married French girls, were granted land and stayed on to settle in the Quebec area. Their names still abound among French Canadians. Scots were already settling in Nova Scotia and continued to do so. Prised from their homes by Clearances, unemployment and crop failure they came to Canada in droves. (What Samuel Johnson described in 1773 as an "epidemic fury of emigration".)

More military settlements followed with disbanded men of the King's Royal Regiment of New York (mostly Catholics from Glengarry) and the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment being granted land that formed a buffer between Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec) on the banks of the St. Lawrence River. They were quickly joined by a regiment of veterans of the French wars, the Glengarry Fencibles, and the new country took its name from the homeland of its settlers - Glengarry. Many of these Highlanders deserted the land to become, along with Scots from Prince Edward Island, prominent in the fur trading companies that eventually amalgamated into the Northwest Company. Their big rival, the Hudson Bay Company, already were using Scotsmen as traders in their Northern outposts. Partners and employees in the former company, in particular, did much to open up Western Canada and their names abound on river and lake.

Lord Selkirk, not content with his settlements of Highlanders in Prince Edward Island and Upper Canada (where he brought also some Irish immigrants) persisted, against overwhelming obstacles, in establishing his colony of Highlanders in what was to become Manitoba.

Further clearances and deprivation in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland brought more and more emigrants to settle in the "Townships" of Southern Quebec, in the Ottawa Valley and all over Southern Ontario. Lowlanders and Irish too, both Catholics (particularly after the Rebellion of 1798 and the famine of 1822) and Protestants from Ulster formed settlements in Ontario and the migration continues to this day. As the West opened there too, it was largely the Scots who were its pioneers.

The massive infusion of Irish immigrants as a result of the Potato Famine in the 1840's left its mark, particularly in Montreal, where thousands of their descendants still live. Irish Catholic migration had neither direction nor wealthy Irish patrons to look after its interests so many of those who survived "ship's fever" in Quebec and Montreal warehouses worked as labourers on the canals and railways that were being built. Many stayed, many moved on to Upper Canada and to the United States which had formerly refused them as immigrants because of their poor health and condition. In Canada the descendants of some of these wretchedly poor arrivals have also percolated to the top of Canadian society.

The prominence of Highland Scots in the fur trade led to intermarriage with native Indians in the West forming a

numerous race of people - the Scotch half-breed. Today they are usually lumped together with another numerous race - the French half-breed - and the less discriminatory term Metis is now used to refer to both. Over the past century and a half the Hudson Bay Company has controlled the fur trade in the North (after joining with the Northwest Company in 1821) and until recently its post factors and clerks were encouraged to marry native girls, ensuring their stay in the North and the success of the Company's trade. Many northern Indians have names such as Cromerty, Mackay, Lawson, Tate and Munro, and can trace an acknowledged Scots ancestor.

In politics, Scots, in particular among the Celts, have taken a leading part. The first Prime Minister of Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald, was a Scot. Today Scottish and Irish names abound among leading Canadian politicians; Douglas, Macdonald, Mackasey, Munro, MacEachern, [ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, now President of the Privy Council, and deputy Prime Minister], [and a Gaelic speaker from Cape Breton]. Even non-Celtic names can hide a Celt: Diefenbaker's mother was a Bannerman and Trudeau's an Elliot. In Quebec, too, there are French Canadian politicians with the names Burns, Johnson, Ryan and O'Neill.

Welsh and Cornishmen were conspicuous as mine workers earlier in this century, but, together with the Manx, have not been as numerous and have kept a lower profile than the Scots and Irish. All these groups, however, were here from earliest times and there were enough Welshmen in Montreal in 1832 to hold a St. David's Day Banquet. An interesting adjunct to Welsh migration to Canada was the establishment of settlements of Patagonian Welsh on the Prairies earlier in this century.

Bretons have also participated in Canada's settlement - to a lesser degree, but gaining a large amount of credit for it.

The Celtic sentiment remains strong in Canadian society. Apart from present day migrants there are many Canadian born Celts who speak one or another of the Celtic languages. (14,000 people gave Gaelic as their language in the last census, 6,000 of them in Cape Breton Island.)

It is interesting to note that, with the impending division of Canada into Francophone and Anglophone countries, the common tie of a Celtic heritage is only now dawning as a cultural and possibly a political link between the two factions.

To this end, perhaps, an ambitious symposium, entitled "Canada and the Celtic Consciousness", was held at the University of Toronto, February 5-12 this year, presented by a group formed for the purpose - Celtic Arts - and the tab picked up by the Ontario Government, aided by the governments of Canada, Ireland and Japan as well as by private corporations. It would appear that no expense was spared to bring in well-known Celtic artists and scholars to grace the stage and rostrum.

This belated acknowledgement of their presence and contribution to the development of the country has created a great deal of surprise as well as satisfaction among Canadian Celts. It will be interesting to see if the Celtic identity will continue to be encouraged at official government level.

A commemoration stone bearing a carved verse by Angela Duval, is to be erected on the grave of Yann Kel Kernalegern, who died on 29th Sept. 1976 on the French Army site in Ti Vougered. An appeal is being made for contributions to be addressed to Committee Yann Kel, Talbodec 29130, Baye, Brittany.

THE ALWYN D. REES AND JAC L. WILLIAMS MEMORIAL FUND

With the deaths of Alwyn D. Rees and Jac L. Williams the University of Wales and the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, have suffered a particularly grievous loss. The scholarly work of Alwyn Rees anticipated by many years the greater recognition now given by anthropological studies to the fact that human cultures, far from being merely functional and adaptive structures, are meaning systems. In his capacity as Director of Extra-Mural Studies his over-riding concern over a period of twenty-five years was to maintain and foster the old bond of affection and respect which has for so long united the College and the people of its natural hinterland. Moreover, the work of Jac L. Williams as the ever increasing proportion of overseas students working for postgraduate degrees in Education at Aberystwyth clearly testifies, has assured the College world-wide recognition as a centre of advanced study in the educational problems of complete linguistic situations, which are the rule rather than the exception in the sovereign states of the world.

These are some of the considerations which weighed with the College Council in deciding to lend its support to an appeal for a fund to commemorate Alwyn Rees and Jac L. Williams. The Council has been swayed too by this further consideration. So closely identified with those of the College were the personal aspirations of these two men that in their case no recognition of their achievements from

any source could have meant as much to them or to their families and friends as that bestowed by their alma mater and, through her, by the people of Wales.

It would be idle to pretend that the intensity of the conviction of these two men did not, on a number of issues, national and academic, morally impel them to go beyond the role of observers and analysts. They fought hard for those things which they valued highest. But even among those who honestly reached conclusions opposed to theirs, there can be few who would fail to salute the courage and chivalry with which they fought their battles.

In Alwyn Rees and Jac L. Williams the College has had, during a period of rapid and difficult change, two faithful servants of exceptional loyalty and enlightenment whose memory it will do well to honour.

The memorial fund has in view two objects. First, the making of sculptured heads to be cast in bronze and given suitable location in the College. Second, the annual award of a suitable prize at the National Eisteddfod for a treatise concerning those fields of study which were of special interest to Alwyn Rees and Jac L. Williams, thus affording a wider forum than can be provided by the College itself.

If you would like to contribute, please make you cheque or postal order payable to 'The Alwyn D. Rees and Jac L. Williams Memorial Fund', and send it, with your name and address, to: Mrs. M. Auriol Watkin, Dept. of Education, Cambrian Chambers, Aberystwyth.

MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

All who agree with the constitution and aims of the **Celtic League** are entitled to membership. The membership fee (entitling to **CARN**) and the subscription rates are £2.00 for Ireland and Britain; 20F (or equivalent) for Brittany and Continental Europe in general; \$6.00 (or equivalent for non-European countries (this includes airmailing). For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the secretaries:

<u>Alba:</u>	Mrs. Maire Denovan, 9 Dalglish Road, Dundee DD4 7JN.
<u>Cymru:</u>	Gwyn ap Thomas, Tyn y Wern, Rhosygwallia, Y Bala, Gwynedd.
<u>Breizh:</u>	Correspondence to Mikael Baudu, 1 Chemin Des Peupliers, Redon 35600. Treasurer: Jakez Derouet, Hent Kemper, Bourc'h (Bourg) Pluguffan, 29000 Kemper. (CCP 3264-47 Nantes).
<u>Éire:</u>	Cathal Ó Luain, 37 Dún an Óir, Tamhlacht, Co. Átha Cliath.
<u>Kernow:</u>	Ian J. Williams, Crowshensy, Clifton Road, Park Bottom, Nr. Illogan.
<u>Mannin:</u>	Miss Patricia Bridson, Bell Cottage, Derby Road, Peel.
<u>London:</u>	Micheal Ó Laoire, 5 Belton Road, Berkhamsted, Herts.
<u>New York:</u>	Miss Sheila Dwyer, 168 State St., Apt. 4C, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201.
<u>Philadelphia:</u>	Eoghan Ballard, 504 So. 22nd St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19146, U.S.A.

General Secretary: Alan Heusaff, 9 Bóthar Cnoc Sion, Áth Cliath, 9, Éire.

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