

# coyfn

SPRING  
1982  
No. 37

## A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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50p

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

## Editorial

The Celtic countries were the first colonial acquisitions of their present day rulers and remain amongst the last of their possessions. Over the centuries not alone have they been exploited economically, their cultures and languages suppressed but their manpower has been drafted to fight the imperial wars at grievous cost to themselves and their nations.

Today the Celtic countries suffer from the same ills as ever and in some cases their lands are used to provide bases and arsenals for the imperial powers. In the nuclear age this has a special significance of course. Much emphasis is placed in Super Power strategy on the preemptive strike against missile bases, strategic harbours, early warning stations, etc. many of which are located in the Celtic countries and which would in itself ensure their destruction in the event of a nuclear holocaust. Independence, self-government or progress towards it means little in such a scenario.

The Celtic League has on many occasions expressed its opposition to the use of the Celtic countries as weapon sites, as dumps for radioactive waste and as convenient locations for nuclear power stations. We have also expressed our support for the campaign for a nuclear free Europe. In this regard it is heartening to see that the last Welsh region has voted to confirm that Cymru should be a nuclear (weapon) free zone.

In addition to doing our best to aid efforts to highlight the situation of countries like Alba, which are saturated in nuclear and military bases and facilities and to fight for their removal we must also seek to assist in preventing the spread of such zones to those of our countries or parts of our countries still free of them. In this regard it is important that efforts continually being made by certain interests to end the military neutrality of the Irish Republic be resisted as strongly as possible.

## Appeal to Members and Subscribers

I wish to thank those who have been prompt to renew for 1982 and particularly those who have sent more than the required amounts. Every week has brought a quota of cheques and postal orders, but as the time approaches when the copies have to be distributed, I expect that many will still not have renewed. Our "production" and postage costs have risen so steeply — and will continue to do so with increases in Value Added Tax and postage "promised" in the forthcoming Irish budget — that they are bringing our reserves under strain. Many shops are reporting a fall in sales, or cancelling their orders, or leaving the invoices unpaid, in spite of our repeated requests for payment. Maybe they too are feeling the pinch but we cannot give indefinite credit. We shall have to reduce the number of copies printed and keep the waste to a minimum, but obviously this means a higher cost per copy of CARN. To

compensate for the loss, I appeal to anyone who is in a position to add a donation to the minimum fee or subscription to do so. Other periodicals publish a donor's list. Perhaps we should do the same. Those of us who do the voluntary work for CARN and the C.L. are known, it would only be fair that we acknowledge the contributions of others who help to keep the C.L. going. In any case, IF YOU RECEIVE A REMINDER OF RENEWAL WITH THIS ISSUE, PLEASE DON'T PUT IT ON THE LONG FINGER IF YOU, as we hope, WISH TO CONTINUE RECEIVING CARN REGULARLY.

Also help us to find new subscribers, to sell the quarterly, to make the Celtic League more widely known!

A. HEUSAFF.

## THE CELTIC LEAGUE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

As we go to press, answers to our question regarding the date proposed by the Irish branch of the C.L., namely the 14-15 August weekend, have been received from four other branches' secretaries — three of them agreeing, the fourth preferring an alternative weekend. There is a small chance that this might be found to be convenient to the largest number and then agreed, but till further notice, it must be assumed that the date for the AGM is MID-AUGUST. This has the advantage that participants could then also attend the Irish-language Summer Course for beginners in Connemara during the following fortnight, or the National Fleá Cheoil the following weekend. It seems preferable to have our AGM before rather than after those events. We shall decide before April 30 in any case.

The meetings will be at the *Cultúrlann*, the Irish Musicians Association Centre, 32 Belgrave Square, Monkstown, near Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin. This is about five miles from the centre of Dublin, there are good bus connections. It can be assumed that bed and breakfast for about IR£5.50 and meals for IR£3 will be available there, and traditional music entertainment also!

The time being so close to the great Fleá Cheoil, there could be a strong demand for accommodation. It is important therefore that intending participants should book as early as possible. Phone Dublin 800295, or write direct to Irish Sec. immediately. All members are invited but must notify their branch secretary well beforehand of their intention to come.

● **Solidarity** — The following telegram was sent on behalf of the Celtic League in support of Wayne Williams, who, having served a term of 12 months imprisonment for alleged (Cymdeithas yr Iaith) illegal actions, was suspended and threatened with dismissal from his teaching post in Llanidloes last January: "To Chairman, County Council, Llandrindod Wells, Powys. Celtic League urges reinstatement Wayne Williams whose commitment to community is beyond dispute".

EN RAISON DES COÛTS POSTAUX LES PRIX DE VENTE DE LA REVUE AU NUMÉRO EST PLUS ÉLEVÉ EN BRETAGNE.

# ALBA

## Seallamaid Air A' Chuimrigh

Bithidh an ath Mhòd Naiseanta air a chumail anns an Eilean Sgitheanach an ath Dhamhair 1982 agus cuiridh An Comunn Gaidhealach, Abertarff House, Inverness, Alba, fios chugad, mas math leat sin. Agus tha *car-stickers* de'n Mhòd 1982 ri fhaighinn bhuapa cuideachd.

Glé mhath, canaidh sinn. Tha am Mòd Naiseanta agus na Mòdan Ionadail cuideachd uamhasach feumail — mar a tha fios againn.

Thòisich am Mòd anns an Oban Lathurna ceud bliadhna seo chaidh — nuair a bha a' Bhan-rìgh Victoria air a' Chathair rioghail agus bha ar sinnseanairean beò. Theagaisg na Cuimrich dhuinn doigh a chumail nan Mòd.

Ach tha sinn a' tighinn beò anns an fhicheadamh linn, agus tha naimhdean na Gàidhlig fada nas treasa a nise; oir tha T.V. agus rèidio aca 'nan laithean seo.

Tre ceud bliadhna rinn na Cuimrich ro mhór a thaobh a' chàin aca, cha d'rinn sinne ach beag. Mharbh Achd an Fhoghlaim 1872 ar sgoiltean Gàidhlig far an robh ar càin Albannach 'na mheadhon-teagaisg. Ach tha ioma sgoiltean, colaistean agus oilthighean far am bheil cuspairean air an teagaisg tre na Cuimris.

Ach an diugh, ceud bliadhna an deigh, chan eil sgoil no colaiste no oilthigh ann an Alba far nach eil iad a' treagaisg a h-uile cail troimh'n Bheurla. Bha sinn fada nas fheàrr dheth corr is ceud bliadhna seo chaidh, nuair a bha iad a' teagaisg troimh'n Seann Chànain Albannach.

Ach dé an difir eadar na h-Albannaich agus na Cuimrich a thaobh nan càin aca? Car-son a tha na h-Albannaich cho fad air ais an coimeas ris na Cuimrich?

Tha sinn ro mhodhail agus chan eil sin ri sabaid idir a thaobh na Gàidhlig mar na Cuimrich. Chan eil ar luchd-riaghlaidh ann an Dun Eideann, no ann an Lunnain a tuigsinn ach neart. Chan eil na Gàidheal agus luchd-ionnsachaidh na Gàidhlig fhathast a' brosnachadh nan Goill cus, ar ràdh. "Tha càin Albannach beò againn, mar chàineann aig dùthchannan eile agus chan eil càin eile aig na h-Albannaich."

Tha an luchd-Beurla uamhasach làidir ann an Alba ach rinn na Gàidheal còmhlag air son nan co-harradh agus nan post-seòlaidh dà-chànaineach anns an Eilean Sgitheanach, mar a rinn na Cuimrich 'sa Chuimrigh agus tha feadhainn ri fhaicinn 'sa Ghàidhlig agus 'sa Bheurla; ach tha an corr againn ri dheanamh 'san Eileann fhathast agus feadh na h-Albainn gu leir.

Anns a' ghairm-fhollaiseach (manifesto) aig Magaidh Thatcher agus aig a' phàrtaidh Tòraidh, gheall iad T.V. 'sa Chuimris nuair a bha iad buadhmhor. Mata, ged a bhuannaich iad dhùilt iad an cumhnant aca. Chòmhraig na Cuimrich air ais, agus bhagair Gwynfos Evans B.P. ceannard a' phàrtaidh Chuimrich (Plaid Cymru) gun trasgadh e gu bàs mur eil T.V. 'sa Chuimris.

Ghèill Magaidh agus thug i £25 muillean (£25,000,000) a steidhich amar T.V. 'sa Chuimris. Nach mòr an difir eadar a' Chuimrich agus Alba far nach eil ach uair no dhà a thide 'sa Ghàidhlig gach seachdain air T.V. agus gu tric faisg air meadhon oidhche! Ach tha sinn fada ro mhodhail. Tha teisean rèidio 'sa Chuimris fad an latha, seachd laithean a h-uile seachdain. Ach thionndaidh iad a' Ghàidhlig gu V.H.F. fad beagan uairean a thide a h-uile latha. Ach, mar a thuir sinn cheana, tha na h-Albannaich ro mhodhail.

Thàinig an dà latha oirnn le Achd an Fhoghlaim 1872 — fada nas miosa na Murt Ghlinn Chaomhain ann an 1692 bho'n a bha Murt nan sgoiltean Gàidhlig ann an Achd 1872. Bho 1872 chan eil sgoil ann an Alba gu léir far am bheil iad a' teagaisg a h-uile cuspair troimh na Gàidhlig.

Ach seallamaid air a' chuimrich. Tha sgoiltean agus colaistean far am bheil iad a h-uile rud troimh' na Cuimris. Tha e comasach inbhe oilthigh (university degree) fhaighinn far am bheil iad a' toirt a h-uile òraid agus a h-uile ceasnachadh 'sa Chuimris.

Tòisich am Mòd le bunait nan sgoil is nan colaiste Cuimrich, 'se sin ri ràdh na Croileagan (Play groups) far nach eil a' chlann còig bliadhnaich a dh'aois. 'Sna Croileagan cleachdaidh iad a' chàin gu simplidh agus le gairdeachas. Is e an t-ionsachadh òg an t-ionsachadh bòidheach.

Sgrìobh Iain MacIlle Chair deagh iomradh air Croileagan na Cuimrich anns an "Oban Times" de'n 15 Dàmhair 1981 d'am b'ainm "Solus Ur". Taing do'n Chomunn Gaidhealach, Roinn Earraghaidheal, Albany Street, Oban, Alba. Sgrìobh Iain còir gun robh ach 70 Croileagan ann an 1971 agus tha 355 ann an diugh agus tha a' mhòrchuid de'n chloinn ud a' dachaidhean Gallda!

Abair gum bheil moran againn ri ionnsachadh bho na Cuimrich agus ma tha leughadair sam bith ag iarraidh tuilleadh fios:

- (a) mu Croileagan na Cuimrich sgrìobhadh e/i gu B. Jones, Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin, 89 Heol Llanishen Fach, Rhwbeina, Caerdydd CF4 6HX. Cymru.
- (b) neo mu Croileagan a chur air chois ann an Albainn, gu Fionnlagh MacLeod, 4 Charlotte Street, Ceann Phàdruig (Peterhead), Alba.

**GILLEASBUIG MacMHURICH.**

*(Practical suggestions are put forward to further inter-Celtic co-operation).*

## Ard-Rìgh nan Leabhar

It has always been accepted that every clan chief was Rìgh or king of his own kinsmen, yet the national king of the country was the Ard Rìgh or high king.

So in the kingdom of books; no one can use a library to its fullest potential without a bibliography, the king of books. Even if the local library which serves you does not hold a particular book, it will be able to get a loan of it for you through its inter-library lending service or your request.

Since 1915 the only bibliography covering Scottish language and literature has been Donald MacLean's "TYPOGRAPHIA SCOTO-GADELICA or Books printed in the Gaelic of Scotland from the year 1567 to the year 1914". It is still obtainable in a 1972 reprint from Irish University Reprints: Dublin (ISBN 7165-2058-3).

Now Dr. Donald John MacLeod has brought out an up-to-date bibliography in the language called "20th Century Publications in Scottish Gaelic" published by the Scottish Academic Press: Edinburgh (ISBN 0-7073-0266-8).

The only item omitted that the "Stornoway Gazette" could detect is that of the Royal Academy Inverness School Magazine. So the feast is laid and there can but be few dishes missing. The entire menu covering four centuries is laid before you in two books — good appetite — slàinte mhath!!

Gilleasbuig Mac Mhuirich.

## Smelter Closure Threat

Though well conditioned to the stable news diet of closures and redundancies the country was shocked, when in the week between Christmas and New Year, 850 workers at the aluminium smelter at Invergordon in the north east of Scotland were told that they were being made redundant and that the smelter was closing. The situation has been in the headlines ever since and many interesting facts about the establishment of the smelter have come to light. In the late sixties during the term of Harold Wilson three smelters were established — British Aluminium at Invergordon, RTZ (Rio Tinto Zinc) in Anglesea and the third at Blyth, Northumberland. The last mentioned is powered from coal fired electricity.

The first two were to be powered by nuclear electricity (and as Anglesey's source is still hypothetical, from Dungeness, we will no doubt hear more of it). Invergordon was to be powered from the nuclear power station at Hunterston on the Ayrshire coast and with generous government loans (i.e. the taxpayers money). The firm bought a 21% share in the power station so that they could have their share of very cheap power until the end of the century. However things came apart when the station failed to live up to expectations, was late in delivering, broke down and finally had to have its expected output reduced. The ensuing arrangements with the two Hydro boards would take some unravelling but there were various reports in the press as to how much of the taxpayers money BA were to take with them as they left. What makes this whole sorry business so reprehensible is that the workers had come to the area with their families and settled down and made new homes for themselves. This was to have been the beginning of the regeneration of the Highlands and the workers commitment to it was shown in the record of trouble free service they gave.

The situation at the moment is that the firm are committed to keeping the plant in a viable state for 6 months . . . a very determined workforce are organising a "sit-in" supported by most sections of the community, political parties and regional authority. The

much published claim that Invergordon had to go, to safeguard BA jobs at other plants has been proved false with the threats to jobs at their Falkirk plant.

This closure will not be forgotten and the events at Invergordon will be followed closely. By way of post scrip one cannot help contrasting the behaviour of the SSEB (South of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board) who on the one hand enter into deals with firms and governments which the public are not allowed to know about and on the other hand, after the most severe winter experienced by all and certainly the poor and old, they act with such Dickensian rectitude in cutting of supplies of electricity to those having difficulty in meeting payments.

*Une fonderie sur laquelle on comptait pour raviver l'économie de l'est des Highlands est menacée de fermeture.*

## Bye Election on the Way

The Conservative member of parliament for the Hillhead district of Glasgow died early this year and the announcement of the date for the bye-election is eagerly awaited. The candidates have all been chosen including the SNP one — Mr. George Leslie a veteran campaigner who should do well. There will be more than usual interest in this battle as the SDP will be staging their first contest in Scotland and fielding no less a candidate than Mr. Roy Jenkins himself. The constituency has a wide mix of voters and though traditionally conservative their lead had been whittled down to a mere 2,000 over the Labour candidate at the last general election.

Mr. Jenkins is getting plenty of free publicity from all the media who hang on his every move, shower him with advice and us the readers with endless photographic studies. Not that the readers don't get advice too. The editorial of the now not quite so new Sunday Standard for 10/1/82 was — "Why Hillhead should welcome Jenkins". Well time will tell. It was thought originally that the date would be set as early as possible in case of dwindling Tory support but speculation now (mid February) is that it will not be until April. The SNP candidate, Mr. Leslie, was the candidate in the bye-election in Pollock, Glasgow in 1967 and it was the huge support he gained then which started the SNP upsurge that led to Hamilton and the successes of the seventies.

Let us hope the wheel is turning that way again.

## The Break-Up of Britain

**TOM NAIRN**, *The Break-up of Britain — Crisis and neo-nationalism*, New Left Books, £7.50.

The failure of Western philosophy, the Idealists, the German Social Democrats and Marxists is most marked in their misunderstanding of the central role of nationalism and how it became the prime force in world development in the last 150 years. Tom Nairn sets out the huge task to create order out of the chaos and conflicting views which apologists for these various outlooks make, in particular, looking



closely at the way "uneven development" of the capitalist system is the vehicle for its spread and the awkward squad of Scotland, Wales, N. Ireland, Brittany, Euzkadi, Catalunya, Israel and S. Africa are the most outstanding areas for study since they stand between the core nations of the advanced world and the underdeveloped nations of the Third World.

The underdeveloped world should look to these countries to see how their future development may go as the place these countries find in the world order is crucial to the very way that order itself will develop. They are the neo-nationalists who largely missed the emergence of classical nationalism in the 19th century. Mr. Nairn homes in on the particular predicaments of the "British" nations where the Scots, in particular, displayed all the symptoms of a nation state, except a bourgeoisie so dissatisfied with the economic system that they would try to create a new state. Indeed the very absorption of the Scots bourgeoisie in the government, imperial drive and Ox-bridge dominated English civil society of the British state precluded the emergence of Scotland in the classical phase of nationalism. This British state, the birthplace of the modern nation was imbued with a patrician and conservative ethos in which government and business were largely orientated to foreign investment and trade during the great bulk of the last three centuries. While Britain ruled a quarter of the world's surface and elbowed aside its rivals some slow liberal tinged concessions could be made at home to keep society cohesive as no other European nation has been able to do.

The collaboration between various classes in English society Mr. Nairn finds remarkable right up to this day. Intellectuals and Labour politicians being the worst culprits in support of the patrician, conservative status quo.

Marxists, and others have to recognise that nationalism is Janus-like, embodying regress and progress. One face fosters the spread of capitalism in the core areas first, like England and France, but on the other hand fostering a socialist response not as Marx himself expected in the former, but in the peripheral nations like Scotland etc. perhaps embracing socialism more radically than in the core nations in this reaction.

If you think Marxism is the last "ism" to offer anything relevant to the Celtic countries reading Tom Nairn should be an eyeopener. His fascinating insight into what happened to Scotland when it failed to join in the classical 19th century nationalism leads him to highlight the rise of the Kailyard school of literature — the county, parochial outpourings of which the *Sunday Post* is the present day standard bearer. He sees in the writings of J. M. Barrie (*Peter Pan*) and a high proportion of other exiles this surrogate, a sublimation of true nationalism into a cultural sub-nationalist response to see Scotland as an idealised Ruritania. Scotland, a willing partner, in the British Empire, failed to question on any wide scale its national position till after the holocaust of the First World War, the last major nation building process in Europe.

That there is no certain course for incipient nations emerges strongly from this study, but the need to pursue self-determination is no less a force in today's world than in the past, so Tom Nairn's essays on Welsh, Northern Irish, Scottish and English

nationalism are very stimulating. The contrast of the well formed Scottish and Welsh examples with the bloody struggles of N. Ireland and the racist aberrant nationalism of Enoch Powell in the England re-emerging from imperialism is well made.

This book has so much to offer for both the student and activist — it does not claim to be a bible — it has much evidence of thorough scholarship — the brilliance of the offering may leap ahead of the mundane reality but as an attempt to come to terms with nationalism today it focuses on the dilemma of the Celtic nations when England's political leaders are desperate to use "every single barrel of North Sea oil . . . to get the Crown Jewels back from the pawn shop". Should England succeed our future will be ominous indeed.

**ROB GIBSON.**

*(The above review has been on hand for quite some time. It had been hoped the references to N. Ireland and N. Irish nationalism could be clarified for the benefit of our readers. However in the absence of that clarification it is still worth publishing, particularly in relation to its comments on Scotland. It would appear from writings of Tom Nairn elsewhere that what is referred to in the review is Loyalism or "Unionism" when references are made to N. Irish nationalism as he would appear to accept the "two nations" theory in relation to the conflict in the North. The book would indeed be of interest to our readers and no doubt they will clarify Mr. Nairn's theories on the North for themselves if they are interested enough to buy and read the book).*

## Some Major Cultural Events

Kan ar Bobl, (Breton Folksong Festival), 10-11 April, Lorient.

International Celtic Congress, 12-17 April, Ponsandene Hotel, Penzance, Cornwall.

Gouel ar Brezhoneg (Breton Language Festival), 23-30 May, Gwengamp/Guingamp area.

3rd International Festival of Film and Television in the Celtic countries, 28 March-2nd April, Talbot Hotel, Wexford, Ireland.

Fleá Nua (Music Festival), 28-30 May, Ennis, Co. Clare, Ireland.

Gorseth Kernow, (normally in September) — Cornwall.

Yn Chruinnaght, 17-24 July, Ramsey, Isle of Man.

Eisteddfod Genedlaethol, 1-7 August, Swansea University, Wales.

Interceltic Festival, 7-14 August, Lorient, Brittany.

Fleá Cheoil Náisiúnta (National Music Festival), 21-22 August, Listowel, Kerry, Ireland.

An Mod, 10-17 October, Isle of Skye, Scotland.

Oireachtas na Gaeilge, 22-31 October, Tralee, Kerry, Ireland.

For further details, write to the Celtic League national secretaries, BUT MAKE SURE TO ENCLOSE **THREE** INTERNATIONAL COUPONS-RESPONSES (so that they may forward your queries). We don't know their exact dates.

However don't let any of these events prevent you from attending the Celtic League A.G.M.!

# BREIZH

## Steuñverezh-arc'hant ar pennadurezhioù-kêr ha -rannvro

En ur studiaden embannet warlene gant Kuzul-Europa e vez keñveriet doareoù ar pennadurezhioù "lec'hel" (kuzulioù-kêr ha kuzulioù departamant pe c'hoazh -rannvro), e nav bro- ezel eus ar C'Huzul-se, da embreger o steuñverezh-arc'hant. Sonjet em eus e talvezfe d'am lennerien kaout un alberz eus disoc'hoù ar studiaden-se. Emic'hañs ne vo ket kavet re zisasun an danvez! Breizh he deus ezhomm eus kalz muioc'h frankiz da ren he steuñverezh-arc'hant eget na vez aotreet da rannbarzhioù ar stadoù zo kaoz anezho, forzh pegen brokus e ve darn anezho. Kentel zo da dennañ koulskoude eus disheñvelder o doareoù-ober.

Gant ar gouarnamantoù e vez aozet steuñvoù liesvloaz evit hennañ o renerezh: merkañ a reont an amkanioù a garfent tizhout e-pad prantad ar steuñv, an dispignoù a vo en abeg dezho ma reer diouto, pegement a arc'hant emaint en gortoz da zastum en o c'hefioù pe a vo ret amprestañ, h.a. Diouzh un tu e vo evel-se ur prizadur eus ar c'horvoder ha diouzh an tu all ur prizadur eus ar pezh a gousto ar servijoù foran da vout pourchaset hag ar raklunioù da vout sevenet.

Ar seurt steuñvou-liesvloaz, adreizhet diouzh ret, a c'hall neuze ar gouarnamantoù diazezañ o arc'hantrolloù-bloaz warno.

Aze em eus komzet eus steuñvoù broadel. Steuñverezh-arc'hant a vez graet ivez, en un doare start pe laosk, hervez ar Stadoù, evit kêrioù bras, departamantoù, rannvroioù. Ar garg-se a vez sammet gant ar gouarnamant-Kreiz pe gant ar benadurezh lec'hel hec'h-unan, gant pe hep kuzuliadur kenetrezo. Evel ma'v eo kaer gortoz, pavez ar penadurezhioù e dalc'h ar gouarnamant evit an darn vrasañ eus o c'horvoder ne c'hallont ket steuñviñ evel ma karfent pe ne vo ket dalc'het kont eus o steuñvoù — evel ma c'hoarvezas gant al lezenn-stur kinniget gant ar C.E.L.I.B. da c'houarnamant Bro-C'Hall e 1963.

Studiaden ar C'Huzul Europat zo anezhi ur c'henvel eus ar respontoù roet gant an nav Stad d'ur rummad goulennou. Darn eus ar Stadoù -se zo kreizennet-start e-lec'h re all, da skouer Kornogalamagn hag Italia, a lez an tamm mat a frankiz gant o rannvroioù. E respontoù Bro-C'Hall n'eus anv nemet eus steuñverezh un nebeut pennadurezhioù-meurgêr. Hervêz doare e vo dieub ar rannvroioù da emellout eus ar seurt kefridi da heul an adreizhadur a dle bout graet heylene.

Teusk pe founnus, ar steuñvoù a vez graet evit tri pe bemp vloaz hag e broioù zo war hiroc'h termen ivez. An hevelep meizad zo dezho holl da diazeze:

- a) ober ur rakjed eus an holl gorvoder, an holl arc'hant a ziaweler o tont e kef ar benadurezh diwar dailhoù lec'hel pe digant ar gouarnamant-kreiz (skoaziadoù);

- b) ober ur rakjed eus dispignoù a vezo o seveniñ disentezioù graet dija gant ar benadurezh pe da ober c'hoazh evit pourchas ha diorren servijoù kevredik (dour, hentoù, kenlurzhoù, dilastezañ, h.a.).

N'eo ket gwall sklaer peseurt pouez a vez roet d'ar steuñvoù liesvloaz-se en darn vrasañ eus ar broioù. N'eus ket galloud lezenn ganto. Gant Aostria e vez displeget mat e talvezont da sterna da vreutadegoù diwar-benn an arc'hantrolloù-bloaz, da linennou-heñchañ evit divizout ar benngadouriezh politikel ha gwelout pere eus ar c'hinnigoù dirak ar benadurezh a zellez bout sevenet da gentañ. Daoust ma ne vez ket graet strizh diouzh ar steuñvoù-arc'hant e vezont talvoudus-tre evit ar breutadur politikel hag er pleustr ivez evit kempouezañ arc'hantroll ar benadurezh.

Gant harp ar steuñvoù-arc'hant e oar evel-se ar c'huzulioù-kêr pe-rannvro diogelaat ar c'hemblac'h etre korvoder ha dispign evit an toullad bloavezhioù da zont. Talvout a reont dezho da zivizout peseurt gronnadurioù zo an difraeusañ hag, e broioù zo, da atizañ ar c'henbrezeg etre ar boblañs hag ar penadurezhioù: d'an dilennidi pe da gargidi da c'houzont penaos e vo degemeret o c'hinnigoù pe o disentezioù gant an dud (da skouer a-zivout an doare da zaspazhañ arc'hant etre ar servijoù foran). Hag eff a dalvez ar steuñverezh-arc'hant ivez da ober goulakadoù ha da zastum stlenn evit ul leviadur armerzhel berrdermen war dachenn-oberiañ ar benadurezh pe zoken evit harpañ ar gouarnamant-kreiz da zarbariañ leviadur armerzhel ar Stad a-bezh? Bro-C'Hall, Bro-Spagn hag an Izelvroioù a respont nann. Ar "Rouantelezh Unanet" ha Denmark a lavar e reont tamm pe damm diouzh at steuñvoù lec'hel. E Sveden, Kornogalamagn hag Italia e reer avat a-zevri diouto. Adreizhet e vezont a vloaz da vloaz hervez ma kemm ar stlenn, ar ezhommoù, ar plegennoù hollek armerzhel hag arc'hantel. En Alamagn e vez graet diouzh reolennoù start divizet a-berzh Stad hag e vez kenurzhiat al labour gant ur C'Huzul ar Steuñverezh-Arc'hant o hanterañ etre ar gouarnamant-kreiz hag ar pennadurezhioù lec'hel. Ar C'Huzul-se a ranker derc'hel kont eus e erbedoù, diazezet ma'z int war c'houlakadoù a-zivout emdroadur hollek an armerzh. Met ne gemer ensavadur kevreadel ebet perzh en aozadur ar steuñvoù lec'hel end-eeun. Ar re-mañ d'o zro a vez dalc'het kont anezho er c'henbrezegoù en devez ar C'Huzul gant ar gouarnamant-Kreiz ha gant ar pennadurezhioù lec'hel pa vez ezhomm da gempouezañ o lodennoù ketep eus an arc'hant en arempred. An arc'hantrolloù-bloaz a rank bout diazezet war ar steuñvou pempvloaziat. Dalc'hmat e taoler evezh da ziwall ur c'hemblac'h peuz-strizh etre sifroù ar steuñv ha sifroù ar c'hoarvoud.

N'eo ket tamm evel-se e reer e Bro-C'Hall betek-hen: gwall zister eo roll ar steuñviñ lec'hel. N'eus anezhañ nemet evit un nebeut kêrioù bras. Kontrollet e vez dre reizhennoù eus gouarnamant Paris, n'eus ket a wir genbrezeg etre hemañ hag ar c'huzulioù-kêr. Er sterna lakaet gant ar reizhennoù-se e c'hall ar steuñvoù bout danzeet gant dilennidi ar bobl pe gant kargidi, met ne vez koulz lavaret tamm kenober etre an daou rumm-se. Forzh penaos ar gouarnamant ne zalc'h ket kont eus ar steuñvoù lec'hel-se en e steuñvoù-en nag en e leviadur hollek. Gwelet e vo peseurt diforc'h a zeuio gant ar C'Huzulioù-Rannvro nevez. . . .

An Alamaned o devez diaesteriou o kas lakaat ar steuñvoù rannvroel hag ar steuñvoù kevreadel da genglotañ, rak diforc'hoù a vez er goulakadoù-diazez a vez graet e Bonn hag e kêrbennou al "Laender". Da vihanañ e c'hall pep rannvro difenn he lazoù en un doare efedus. Ha tud barrek a-walc'h zo evit kenurzhiañ ha kompezañ diaesteriou!

Doareoù-ober ha meizadoù a bep seurt a ziskouez bout degemeret hag implijet en o steuñverezh-arc'hant lec'hel gant an nav stad meneget er studiaden. Estreget Kornogalamagn, ar re a lez ar muiañ a frankiz gant o fehnadurezhioù lec'hel eo Italia, Sveden ha, betek ur poent, ar Rouantelezh Unanet. E Danmark emeur o tegas gwellaennoù ivêz. Hag e Bro-C'Hall?

Evit kaout munodoù all goulenn an destenn digant Kuzul Europa, Strasbourg. Unan c'hallek a dle bezañ. Ma hini zo e saozneg. He zitl: Local Authority Financial Planning Techniques and Budgetary Processes, 1981.

#### A. HEUSAFF.

A comparison is made between nine member-States of the Council of Europe regarding the importance and role given by their local and, as the case may be, their regional authorities to financial planning. The Federal German Republic sets an example by consulting Laender about their share of the country's budget and allowing them great latitude in deciding how they use that share. It remains to be seen whether decentralisation will bring as much freedom to Brittany.

**DIFFICULT TERMS** (those not in R. Hemon's Nouveau Dictionnaire (1980) are in italics:

steuñverezh: planning; *amkan*: objective, aim; Korvoder: profit; *raklun*: project; *kenwel*: synopsis; Dael: elected assembly; *Skoaziad*: subvention; *gronnadur*: investment; *stlenn*: information; *leviadur*: policy; *kevreadel*: federal; *ketep*: respective; *en arempred*: available; *lazoù*: interests.

## Who wants a "Special Status" for Brittany?

A law adopted in the Autumn by the French Parliament instituted the regions as "territorial collectivities" to be administered by regional councils which will be elected by direct universal suffrage. The first of such elections will take place in the Spring of 1983.

Each council will elect a president who will take over the executive functions hitherto held by the government-appointed regional *prefet*. He will prepare agendas and carry out the council's decisions. He will exercise direct control over the regional expenditure and over any regional services that may be set up. An Economic and Social Committee will advise the Council in the preparation of the regional planning and budget and also submit its views regar-

ding the overall French planning. Council decisions will have force of law provided their legality is not challenged by the representative of the State, the Commissar of the Republic, or if being challenged it is upheld by the administrative court. There is no doubt about the direction in which two of the horses will pull this troika. . . . The commissar (sounds pretty authoritarian) will speak in the name of the State in the Council and will coordinate jointly with the president the action of the regional and State services. A regional accounts chamber will be presided over by a councillor appointed by decree of the French Republic president: he will check how the region's finances are administered.

All this amounts not to regional autonomy but to a deconcentration of power. Nothing is said about the kind of decisions which the regional council will be empowered to take. Will it be authorised, like its Corsican counterpart, to take any initiative in organising the teaching of the regional language where such exists? Not a word about that so far.

Brittany, unlike Corsica, is to be treated like the most ordinary French province, although her cultural personality was officially recognised, three years before that of the Mediterranean island, in a Cultural Charter presented as a step towards the "taking charge by the Region of its own cultural policy".

In advance of the debate that led to the adoption of above-mentioned law a meeting on September 9, 1981 in Lorient brought together representatives of ten Breton organisations: two of them affiliated to the French Left (Socialists, MRG), three involved in work for the Breton language and culture, others active in campaigning for the administrative unity of Brittany or for self-government within a French or a European framework. In their view, government actions since May expressed a change of attitudes towards the Breton reality but more than the planned deconcentration of power towards the regions was required and no uniform treatment could satisfy such well characterised entities as the Basques, the Alsations-Lorrains and, in particular, the Bretons whose community is well attested historically, culturally and socially for more than eleven centuries within limits including the Loire-Atlantique department. They claimed a Special Status for Brittany.

A *Special Status* was granted to Corsica on January 6, 1982. It is hardly a break with the long established principle of unity-and-indivisibility of the French State; it is much less radical than what the Socialists proposed when in opposition. And G. Deferre had to overcome considerable resistance from his own party colleagues to get the law adopted. It officially recognises the cultural identity of the Corsican *people*. The Corsican Assembly will have authority to organise the teaching of Corsican and to borrow money for economic development schemes. It was intended to give it the power to propose changes in the existing French laws so as to adapt them to the local conditions but this was firmly opposed by the Council of State which said that it would require a change in the State Constitution. For that, in turn, a 3/5 majority would be needed in the French Parliament. This could not be achieved at present. The Corsican Assembly is thus precluded from intervening in the legislative process. All the measures introduced by the Paris government are in fact compatible with a policy of closer integration



with the French mainland.

The "special status" may have won acceptance, as a stepping stone, by the legal autonomist parties but it has failed in its real aim: to stop the guerilla activity of the FNLC.

#### **For a Breton Republic.**

One group that was absent from the meetings of the above-mentioned Breton organisations was Strollad Pobl Vreizh which rejects reformism and advocates sovereignty for Brittany. SPV has just published the first issue of a monthly, *Douar Breizh-Republique Bretonne\** in which they square present themselves as separatists not interested in a special status for Brittany.

\*Subscription 50 FF, 2 Villa Bourg Leveque, 35000 Rennes.

#### **What about the UDB?**

They also stayed away from the meetings, as always distancing themselves from what they regard as rightist, conservative or apolitical organisations. As for a "special status", they see the Corsican model as uninspiring and rather designed to strengthen the French Socialist Party on the island.

In preparation for its April AGM, the UDB Political Bureau has submitted a lengthy report for discussion among its branches. This includes an analysis of the crisis in the capitalist world and of its consequences for Brittany as well as a review of the party's position relative to the French political groups. "Ambiguities" on the part of the new government as regards the powers to be given to the regional assemblies are noted. Much though it preached unity among the Leftists and sought cooperation with the French Socialist and Communist Parties, at the risk of turning into a mere satellite, it was never accepted by them as a proponent of the existence of the Breton people, yet it clung to that policy for fear of being isolated from the growing number of those who supported the Left. The report expresses satisfaction with the part played by the UDB in struggles affecting Brittany and its participation in elections. It describes the conquest of power by the French Left as a necessary condition for an improvement in Brittany's chances but not sufficient for a solution of the Breton problem in all its dimensions. The UDB had a role as the only Left party advocating Breton autonomy.

Instead of recriminating against the Socialists for failing to fulfil their promises they should pursue their claims regardless of whatever embarrassment they might cause to those in power. But in order to really interest the people in their proposals they must give the latter an economic and social content, they must take care of the interests of the Breton workers in all domains. Their analysis was correct but they fell short of translating their conclusions into a concrete involvement in the social struggle.

For credibility they had to strive to get as many elected representatives as possible. They would field numerous candidates in the municipal and regional elections in 1983 but also in the department-council elections taking place in March 1982. The French Socialists were out to secure control of the local assemblies and to eliminate small groups or parties such as the UDB which had helped them to win the 1980 general elections. Obviously many are uneasy about the tight-rope walk between cooperation with the French Left and going it alone. One UDB branch

states that nothing has been won by cooperating: the cancellation of the Plogoff nuclear station was a concession to the ecologists; there is not a minute extra of Breton on TV since last May; Diwan is getting no official support; the degree in Breton requires further official decisions to be of practical use. "Putting stress on the Leftist aspects of our proposals is helping a Socialist Party which has now forgotten its Breton programme. We must stress what is specific to us: Autonomy for Brittany. We shall make little impact on the Breton political scene unless we mark ourselves well apart from the French parties".

The UDB leadership may have had no illusions in following their course but now that their credentials are established as a Breton socialist party they would do well to accept as a guideline that jacobinism, the doctrine that France is one, still prevails among the French Socialists and Communists alike. Indeed for all the French parties it is an inseparable ingredient of their State.

## **Death of Anjela Duval**

It sounds like an understatement to say that Anjela Duval was one of the best contemporary Breton poets. She was born on April 3, 1905, the only daughter of a small farmer. Although she never left her native Treger area, she managed to be well informed of what was going on in the world. In fact she had many visitors (even before she gained fame thanks to a television programme), who kept her supplied with books and magazines and she would ask her friends to buy for her the works of writers which the radio had brought to her attention. She was primarily concerned with Brittany and with the problems of our times. She would have agreed with the U.D.P. had it not condemned the Breton Liberation Front. Although she could well comprehend wider social problems, she will be remembered above all for her poems in Breton about the rural life with which she was most familiar, having to toil on her small holding for many years before old age compelled her to give up the animals to which she was very attached. *Kan an Douar* (The Song of the Earth) is the title of a collection of these poems published by Al Liamm.

Anjela Duval had faith in the young generation, that it would win freedom for Brittany. She herself chose those whom she considered the most worthy as Bretons to carry her to her grave. She was never afraid to stand up to those (journalists or lawyers) who would engage in sophisticated arguments, countering them with her earthy common sense and humoristic repartees. She grew somewhat impatient of idlers who wanted to see her out of sheer curiosity. When told by someone: "I understand Breton but unfortunately I can't speak it," she would reply: "So you are like my dog, he too understands Breton but can't speak it."

Anjela, you have redeemed generations of Per Jakez Helias-es (with their Cheval d'Orgueil mal place), of our countrymen who could not or had not the courage to profess their real nationality. It may well be said that you incarnated our concept of *mammvro* (motherland)!

**HERRI LEPELIER.**



## French Curb Rush for Breton Degree

334 students enrolled last Autumn for a Degree in Breton at the Rennes University and 3,000 others took it as a subsidiary subject! The French Department of Education was completely surprised. Suddenly from being a Cinderella the Celtic Section had become the most important in this establishment. Proportionally to the number of its students, it was by law entitled to a total of 1,875 hours to be divided between a main course and 7 "cours dirigés".

Eschewing this obligation the Education authorities calculated the quota of hours on the basis of last year's figures and took account only of the 334 enrolled for the degree: 375 hours! Immediate protests brought 327 extra hours . . . to be shared with sociology.

Three months after the courses has started, with 3 professors and 4 assistants, no additional credits had been freed, the library could open only two hours a week, there was no language laboratory practice. Some of the courses were being given voluntarily. To pay their teachers, students were organising collections.

The French, Socialists and all, are yielding as little ground as they can. Without a CAPES in Breton (a certificate for teaching the language, which does not exist at present), a degree cannot lead to a paid job. So a campaign must now be fought to get that. The students are demanding the right to live in Brittany teaching Breton on a par with any other subject.

## Two Years in Jail the Price of Freedom

Herve Kerrain and Bernard Corbell, who had refused to join the French army because they would not serve a State which is destroying their Breton nationality, were tried by a military court on December 18 last and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Similar cases of insubordination had previously been punished by one year-sentences. Was this increased severity due to their attempt to use Breton and refusal to speak French in a court they did not recognise or does it signify that the new government will not yield in militaristic zeal to its predecessors? France ranks second only to the Soviet Union in the export of arms: an extremely questionable contribution to world security!

Kerrain and Corbell are in prison for political reasons. They wish to thank heartily all those who have expressed support for them. They are disappointed that it was not numerically stronger. They will be in jail for many months to come. They deserve encouragement. Write to them. Their address is: C 220, 56 Blvd J. Cartier, 35100 Rennes. Petitions for their release should be addressed to SKOAZELL VREIZH, chez Per Loquet, Poull ar Feunteun, 29219 Releg Kerhuon, Brittany.

**AL LIAMM:** Bi-monthly, approx. 80 pp. The most important Breton language periodical. 60 FF Breizh and France, 70 FF other countries but 100 FF Air Mail. To Yann Ber d'Haese, Pont Keryau 29190 Pleyhen, Money Orders to CCP 4914-833 Paris.

# CYMRU

## Cynigiadau Dadleuol

Erbyn y gwel y geiriau hyn olau dydd mae'n bur debyg y bydd y rhan fwyaf o'r ymchwiliadau cyhoeddus i fwriadau'r Comisiwn Ffiniau yng Nghymru wedi eu cwblhau. Cynhelir chwech o ymchwiliadau i gyd mewn gwahanol rannau o'r wlad a phob un yn adlewyrchu'r gwrthwynebiad cryf sydd i'r argymhellion hyn — y newidiadau mwyaf chwyldroadol yn ffiniau'r etholaethau seneddol a welwyd ers amser maith.

Nid yw'n syndod o gwbl mai ym Meirionnydd y cafwyd y gwrthwynebiad mwyaf ffyrnig. Dyma etholaeth Aelod Seneddol Plaid Cymru, Dafydd Elis Thomas. Gan ei fod yn gymaint o ddraenen yn ystlys y sefydliad nid yw'n fawr o syndod fod yr awdurdodau am gael ei wared — a'r ffordd symlaf o wneud hynny yw drwy gael gwared a'i etholaeth.

Etholaeth o 27,000 yw Meirionnydd, llawer llai na'r ffigwr "delfrydol" o 58,000. Y bwriad felly yw uno'r etholaeth efo etholaeth Doriaidd Conwy — awgrym sydd wedi codi gwrychyn trigolion Meirionnydd yn ofnadwy. A phwy all eu beio?

Ffurfiwyd mudiad aml-bleidiol, yn cynnwys holl Gynghraau Bro a'r Cyngor Dosbarth a llawer o fudiadau eraill: "Ymgych Meirionnydd yn erbyn y Comisiwn Ffiniau". Aethpwyd ati'n drefnus ac un ofalus i drefnu ymgych a llwyddo i sicrhau gwasanaeth un o'r cyfreithwyr mwyaf profiadol a galluog yn y maes hwn i gyflwyno'u hachos, Dr. Wynne Samuel.

Yn ystod yr wythnos gyntaf yn Chwefror bu'r bargyfreithiwr Mr. Huw Daniel, Cymro Cymraeg sy'n fab i'r cenedlaetholwr, y diweddar J. E. Daniel, yn gwrando tystiolaeth ar ran y Comisiwn Ffiniau yng Nghaernarfon.

Un peth a barodd gryn syndod i rai oedd clywed Prif Weithredwr Cyngor Sir Gwynedd, Mr. Ioan Bowen Rees, yn rhybuddio y gallai awgrymiadau'r Comisiwn arwain at dor-cyfraith a gweithredu anghyfansoddiadol. "Mae o'r pwysigrwydd mwyaf i gyfraith a threfn yn y sir ein bod yn cadw'n llais yr un yn y senedd," meddai.

Pwysleisiwyd droeon fod y Comisiwn Ffiniau yn yr Alban wedi gwyro oddi wrth y cwota os oedd amgylchiadau daearyddol yn mynnu hynny. Ac meddai Cadeirydd Cyngor Tref Dolgellau: "Beth fyddai pobl Lerpwl yn ei ddweud pe byddent yn gorfod teithio i Ddolgellau i weld eu Haelod Seneddol? Yr un pellter fyddai'r daith i etholwyr Aberdyfi i Landudno, pe bai swyddfa'r A.S. yno."

Cyflwynwyd deisel i Mr Daniel yn cynnmys 16,500 o enwau o Meirionnydd — cyfran uchel iawn o'r boblogaeth.

Tua diwedd yr wythnos daeth yn amlwg fod rhyw fath o "gyfaddawd" ar y gweill — sef uno Meirionnydd gyda rhan ddeheuol Dyffryn Conwy, i'r de o Lanrwst, gan greu etholaeth newydd o 33,000 neu 56 y cant o'r ffigwr "delfrydol". Mae'n ymddangos fod rhai o'r gwrthwynebwyr oedd yn bresennol yn barod i dderbyn yr awgrym hwn ac

mae'n bosib iawn mai dyma fydd yr argymhelliad. Ond rhaid i'r Comisiwn ei hun ei dderbyn hefyd yn ogystal a'r Ysgrifennydd Cartref cyn y bydd yn derfynol.

O safbwynt Cymreictod mae'n amlwg mai'r frwydr ym Meirionnydd yw'r bwysicaf. Ond yn dynn ar ei sodlau o ran pwysigrwydd y mae'r bwriad i uno Maldwyn gyda Sir Frycheiniog a rhannau o Sir Gaesyfed, gan greu'r etholaeth fwyaf yng Nghymru. Yn ôl eu harfer bu pobl Maldwyn yn hynod o araf i fynegi eu protest — ni aed ati i ffurfio pwyllgor i ymgyrchu na dim o'r fath — ac er fod yna deimlad cryf mewn llawer cylch yn erbyn y bwriad hwn mae'r Comisiwn yn debycach o lawer o fwrw ymlaen yma. Byddai hynny'n ergyd nid yn unig i falchder pobl yr hen Sir Drefaldwyn ond hefyd i Gymreictod y rhan hon o'r wlad sydd eisoes mor fregus.

*(The Boundary Commission has been holding public inquiries in all parts of Wales following their controversial proposals to alter all but one of the parliamentary constituencies. The most fierce opposition has come from Meirionnydd. Under the Commission's proposals this seat — held by Plaid Cymru's Dafydd Elis Thomas — would disappear completely).*

## High Court Suspends Welsh Language Teacher

Former Cymdeithas yr Iaith Chairman, Wayne Williams, was suspended from his post at Llanidloes High School on January 6 after a High Court injunction banned him temporarily from teaching. A fortnight earlier he had been released from Swansea prison after serving a six month sentence for conspiracy to damage television transmitters as part of the fourth channel campaign.

The injunction was granted to a group of parents from Llanidloes who object to Wayne Williams being employed because, they claim, he is unfit to teach. The group are led by Laurence and Pam Smith, an English couple from Epping in Essex who came to Llanidloes five years ago, and the local Tory M.P., Delwyn Williams. "With vandalism such a problem, how can a man who's been to prison for this teach our children?" they ask.

In fact, Wayne Williams took no active part in any damage to transmitters. He was found guilty of conspiracy on the basis that he released a press statement taking full responsibility for an attack on a TV transmitter on behalf of Gymdeithas yr Iaith.

While in prison he successfully appealed against the original decision by a Powys county council staffing committee to dismiss him for breaking his contract.

Headmaster Mr. Lloyd James and the entire school staff supported his reinstatement and describe him as an excellent teacher who has never attempted to introduce his political opinions in the classroom.

The whole affair has now split the town. Another group of parents who support Wayne Williams has now been formed. They believe that his case should be considered on educational grounds alone and refer to the opposing group of parents as "small and unrepresentative".

At the beginning of January Powys Director of Education assured Wayne that he would be suspended on full pay. A month later, however, he discovered that his wages had not been paid into his bank account. The Powys Treasurer had been told not to pay after "legal advice" — but had "forgotten" to inform him of this decision.

Wayne's case is being fought by the Welsh teachers union, UCAC, and the High Court hearing to decide on an application for a permanent injunction, is expected to take place in March. Meanwhile the Department of Education is conducting its own investigation and the various groups have been presenting their cases to the junior minister, Rhodes Boyson.

On February 13 hundreds of people from all over Wales attended a rally of support organised by Cymdeithas yr Iaith at Machynlleth.

*Les efforts continuent en vue d'obtenir le rétablissement de Wayne Williams qui, à la suite de son emprisonnement pour avoir participé activement à la campagne en faveur d'une chaîne de télévision galloise, a été congédié de son post d'enseignant.*

## Mother Tongue

Last September, a week prior to the opening of classes at the Politechnig Cymru in Treforest, thirty women began a year-long course in Cymraeg. In Carn 35, the article on the STRI tour of Ysgolion Cymraeg in July mentioned the dedication of parents whose children attend these schools. These thirty parents enrolled in the Cwrs Lladfar Cymraeg are a handful who have extended their commitment to their children's education to include a knowledge of the language so that they are better able to help and encourage their children.

Most of the women come from families in which Cymraeg was spoken but ceased to be passed on to the next generation at some point. Many of the women are among the first-generation of their family to have English as their first and only language; and for them, this was the primary reason for sending their children to Ysgolion Cymraeg. "My husband and I are the only members of our families who speak no Welsh, our parents never taught us. We thought by sending our children to Pont Siôn Norton, if nothing else, they would be able to speak their own tongue," said one mother.

A few of the women have pre-school age children and are preparing in advance for the time when their children will be fluent in Cymraeg. Those who have waited until their children have learned the language have found that the transition to Cymraeg in the home as well is resisted; their children have come to think of Cymraeg as the language of education and English as the everyday language — an ironic twist on the situation of the last century. While speaking Cymraeg is encouraged, the children have difficulty making the transition and, though the mothers originally intended to help their children by learning Cymraeg, the opposite has become the case. Younger children are often exceptionally hard on their mother's attempt to speak Cymraeg, correcting pronunciation and grammar with a vengeance. Senior

school age children often refuse to speak the language with their learner-parents at all, saying "I have that all day in school!"

Only a few of the fathers are Cymry Cymraeg, but their support of this effort is evident. Many have taken evening classes and encourage their families to use Cymraeg as much as possible in the home, though their own command of the language is slight.

Since the course meets daily, it is designed to teach Cymraeg at the conversational level as quickly and as effectively as possible. The class is divided into two groups: those who have had at least some instruction in the language, taught by Cennard Davies; and those who have had no formal class, taught by Basil Davies. The method used is bilingual but as the weeks go by, less and less English is used and the women begin to use Cymraeg throughout the morning, before as well as after the class. A few are fortunate enough to be able to use the language at home.

One third of the class also attended a ten-week course in order to qualify to work as helpers in the Meithrin.

Most of the parents found themselves increasingly involved in the affairs of the Ysgol Cymraeg once their children were enrolled — in itself a difficulty because Ysgolion Cymraeg are over-crowded and many are turned away to Unedau Cymraeg in English schools. After joining the Cymdeithas Rhieni Ysgol Cymraeg, they inevitably become embroiled in the effort to prevent the opening of Unedau Cymraeg merely in order to keep the enrollments of English schools from dropping below minimum operational limits when there is a need to open another Ysgol Cymraeg in the area. (Some units which began with 20 students now make up more than half the school's population and others continue to grow beyond pre-set limits while each year more parents are told there are no prospects for their children to find a place in either a school or unit in the future. In some areas governed by the Mid-Glamorgan Educational Authority, the Ysgolion Cymraeg enrollments have more than doubled those of the English schools, the enrollments of which decline steadily).

Becoming involved with the schools' struggles invariably led to an increased interest in the language for their own use. All of the women have realized the important role they play in the acquisition and use of language; without a command of Cymraeg themselves, their children will always think of their native tongue as a language to be used in special circumstances, a second language in fact.

LEIGH VERRILL.

*Souvent les parents des enfants qui fréquentent les écoles où l'enseignement est donné en gallois ne connaissent pas cette langue. Il s'agit ici des effecteurs qu'ils poursuivent en vue de l'apprendre.*

## Who Planted the Bug?

After four weeks of persistent questioning by Plaid Cymru M.P. Dafydd Wigley, the North Wales police have at last admitted that they planted a "bug" in a public telephone kiosk in Talysarn near Caernarfon on January 6.

On that day a Talysarn couple, Mr. and Mrs. Moses Edwards saw two men hiding something behind a panel in the telephone kiosk near their home. After the men had gone the couple investigated and found a small transmitter, which they removed. As they walked back to their house the two men drove up at speed in a car and grabbed the device from Mr. Edwards, claiming they were telephone engineers.

The couple reported the matter to a councillor who took it up with the local postmaster and the police.

British Telecom said they had no engineers in the area at the time and a police check on the car registration number revealed that a Home Office "block" had been placed on it in the police computer, preventing its disclosure.

Dafydd Wigley took the matter up immediately, protesting that the incident represented a dramatic widening of the interpretation of the government's guidelines on telephone tapping. When the Prime Minister refused to make any comment after being challenged by Mr. Wigley during Question Time. "This means that telephone kiosks may have been tapped on other instances as well," he said.

At long last Mr. Wigley secured a meeting with the Home Secretary, Mr. Whitelaw, who told him that this was a bugging incident, not a telephone tapping, and was therefore not covered by the Government's guidelines on the interception of phone calls. Buggings themselves are subject to different guidelines which go out from the Home Office to Chief Constables. This was confirmed by the North Wales acting chief constable: "These devices are used in the investigation of serious crime, but only on the authority of a very senior officer. Mr. Wigley said "What is amazing is that a set of guidelines exists on how the police should conduct their bugging and nobody knew them before. God only knows what checks, if any, are made on all this."

No-one has yet admitted what "serious crime" was being investigated at the time. The general belief is that it was connected with the burning of holiday homes. On the same night that the "bug" was discovered, the police raided the house of a leading member of "Cofiw" (Remember) in the neighbouring estate as well as that of another active nationalist in the next village.

## S4C on Trial

The Government has made clear that the fourth channel in Wales — Sianel 4 Cymru, S4C — will be on trial for its first three years of life. If it fails that trial, it could be scrapped.

In its long-awaited response to the Welsh Select Committee report on the Welsh language broadcasting the Government dismisses any notion that once established, the new channel would continue indefinitely. While stating that every effort should be made to ensure the new Welsh language channel's success, it says that the Government intends to review the single-channel solution in about three years time.

"The Act enables the Secretary of State to repeal or amend these provisions and it allows for the possibility of their replacement by provision designed to implement the two-channel solution."



Mr. Leo Abse, the Chairman of the Committee which conducted the investigation, said: "The Government will insist on the three-year review and therefore Sianel 4 Cymru is on trial — and so in a sense is the Welsh language and those who speak it. If the audiences become derisory it will become impossible for us at Westminster to continue to insist that these large sums should be paid."

## Water Rates Battle

On St. David's Day, March 1, Plaid Cymru will launch a major campaign to get a better deal for Welsh water consumers. Ratepayers will be urged not to pay their water bills in a bid to put pressure on the Welsh Water Authority to increase the price of water exported to England. There will be a massive leaflet publicity campaign to win the support of the public. Demonstrations and confrontations are also being planned on lines similar to a demonstration last autumn outside the Birmingham headquarters of the Severn Trent Water Authority. "Wales is being ripped off and the time has come to put an end to this ridiculous situation," said Plaid Cymru Secretary, Dafydd Williams. It was a scandalous situation when Welsh consumers paid more for water from Wales than people living in places like Birmingham and Liverpool.

Councillors at Rhaeadr Gwy in Mid Wales say the Midlands should pay more for the 80 million gallons of water received daily from the nearby Elan Valley reservoirs and the extra revenue should be used for the benefit of the local community and local water consumers.

The Welsh Water Authority's rate poundage is 30p in the pound compared with 14p in the pound paid in Birmingham. Plaid Cymru believe the current situation is both unjust to Welsh householders and also a serious handicap in efforts to secure more employment in Wales.

## Second Homes "No Problem"

Police in Wales are expecting the arson campaign against holiday homes to be intensified following the Government's point blank refusal to make any moves to alleviate the problem. On February 8, eleven months after Gwynedd County Council had presented a detailed memorandum calling for legislation, the Welsh Office dismissed all the proposals put forward. They even suggested that, over all, second homes are not a significant problem and that they have some beneficial effects.

The proposals put forward by Gwynedd included planning controls, licensing and registration schemes and differential rates, but the Welsh Office stated: "All have serious disadvantages, in some cases, for people living and working in the locality affected, and some would, in the Government's view, impinge directly on rights of personal freedom and property. The Government, for its part, has grave doubts as to

whether such measures would be acceptable to the public at large."

Meanwhile, the arson campaign has continued, bringing the total number of cottages damaged to over 60 in all. The police are still to catch the people responsible, over two years after the campaign started.

During the first week of January HTV received a letter signed by Rhys Gethin, M.G. (Meibion Glyndwr), warning that the campaign was being intensified during 1982 "unless there is a quick and positive response".

## Towards a Welsh National Theatre

*by Dedwydd Jones*

The expression "Welsh National Theatre" mainly commemorates hostilities; the present fact of new theatre buildings in Wales merely serves to intensify those hostilities. The "Welsh National Theatre" is an ever-continuing epic of inter-tribal brawls, recriminations, litigation and debacle.

The idea of a Welsh National Theatre (WNT) was first mooted before 1914, by one, Lord Howerd de Walden, a Celtophile Saxon aristocrat with estates in Cymru. One of de Walden's most passionate advocates was G. B. Shaw. In a long letter to the South Wales Daily Post on June 13, 1914, Shaw wrote, "What Might Wales Not Do with its wealth of artistic faculty . . . on the establishment of a National Theatre . . . ?" In Spite of GB's prestigious and enthusiastic support, de Walden's plans crumbled to nothing.

But native dramatists DID begin to emerge. In 1924, Caradog Evans' "Taffy" opened to riots and police protection. "Taffy" is the best of all indictments of that most repulsive of all Welsh vices, Chapel Hypocrisy. "Taffy" remains Wales' most firmly rejected theatre achievement. The thirties also saw the varied theatre talents of Richard Hughes, Emlyn Williams, J. D. Francis and David Ivor Davies (Ivor Novello). In the late thirties, de Walden again put forward proposals for a WNT. This time they were permanently laid to rest by the second great war to end wars.

Until the fifties, little was heard of Welsh drama and dramatists. Wales, after all, had only one main stage theatre, the Swansea Grand. All the dramatists mentioned above, made their names in the London Theatre, as, indeed, Irish dramatists had to, before the establishment of the Abbey. But in 1952, "Under Milkwood" arrived. It became an instant radio and theatre classic. In the fifties, too, a galaxy of Welsh talent had appeared, with Burton, Baker, Huw Griffiths, etc. These actors, led by Clifford Evans, revived the ghost of de Walden's projects. In 1958, grandiose plans were announced for a WNT. However, ten years later, these plans were a ghastly and ignominious ruin. The bitterness engendered at the time endures to this day. The conflicts involved the rejection of Cardiff as the home of the WNT, the hostility of Welsh speaking theatre, and, most wonderful of all, the definition and use of those three emotive words, "Welsh",

"National" and "Theatre". But where the Welsh failed, the English rushed in to exploit.

By 1975, after a veritable orgy of prestige building, five main stage Arts Complex and Collegiate theatres had been built. In 1970, The Welsh Arts Council had, at last, appointed a Drama Officer. With unbelievable crassness, the Council selected an Oxbridge graduate for this key job. Thereafter, the theatres, too, went Oxbridge. Cardiff's Sherman, Milford's Torch, Swansea's Grand, are still all Saxon-controlled. The enormous Mold Theatre, however, went Hungarian, with a George Roman as Director. These new theatres were built on the grave of a Welsh National Theatre. Heaped, therefore, on the still hot embers of the Great Welsh Theatre War, are these Saxon dominated anti-Welsh outposts of Empire. The Welsh establishment, (Uncle Toms to a man), are directly responsible for this untimely and obscene catastrophe. The degree of anti-Welshness in these theatres staggers and enrages. This discrimination is best summed up by Graham Watkins (NOT a Welshman), the former Director of The Torch, Milford. Between 1965 and 1971, Welsh bomber John Jenkins, was active in Wales. he was captured in 1971 and given 10 years. I wrote a documentary play, "The Drummer", on John's great work. This play I sent to the Torch. The following is a quote from a letter by Mr. Watkins, attacking "The Drummer": "I found it impossible to produce a Dedwydd Jones play because they are often pervaded by a chauvinism of the most bizarre and nauseous kind. Chauvinism which would make the National Front pale into reasonableness." *The Stage, Oct. 1st, 1981.*

The work of all other Welsh dramatists, too, is ignored when it is not being rejected. Dannie Abse, Alun Owen, Peter Gill, Gwyn Thomas, for example, have been performed only once, or not at all in their native land. The Welsh National Theatre, which, ultimately, IS its dramatists, has, therefore, no hope in these awful Saxon Emporiums. (This ugly tale of Imperial take-over is recorded in my Black Book on the Welsh Theatre). However, after years of Saxon insolence and bigotry, the Welsh dramatists have, for the first time, combined to form The Welsh Dramatists Network. The Network is demanding its own Welsh Theatre. It is also, in the press, on the radio and TV, with Equity and the Trade Unions, and through Parliamentary Committees, publicising the rank Saxon-Welsh theatre monopoly. The English White Settlers and the Welsh Uncle Toms have gone into True Blue Tory Alliance, and a most vile alliance it is, a marriage of slavish mediocrity with the Master Race.

But after the defeated hopes of the fifties and sixties, the Saxon degradations of the seventies, the future of a true Welsh National Theatre has at last been publicly shown to be where it should always rightly be, that is, in the hands of the Welsh dramatists themselves. If the WNT comes into being in the next decade, it will be as a result of direct action by the Welsh Dramatists Network. There is no other way left to us now. We ourselves! Sinn Fein!!!

**CENCRASTUS:** A magazine of Scottish and International Literature, Arts and Affairs, 5 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh, EH8 9LW, Scotland. UK and Éire \$3, Europe \$5, N. America (Air Mail) \$7 — for 4 issues.

# ÉIRE

## Alba-Na Náisiúin Aontaithe

Tá trí bliana caite anois ó rinne muintir na hAlban agus muintir Cymru vótáil ar an dílarú cumhachta, agus in aineoin go raibh tromlach in Albain ar son Chomhthionóil Aitiúla, ní raibh an móramh 40% den toghlach iomlán ann, mar a d'éiligh rialtas Shasana le go mbunófaí Dáil i nDún Éidin. Is beag a chualathas ó shoin ar an dílarú chumhachta. Ní hionann sin is a rá go bhfuil dearmad déanta ar an gceist. Ar an lá céanna a cuireadh toil an phobail ar ceal trí diúltú don phobalbhreith sin, 1ú Márta 1979, bunaíodh an grúpa Alba-Na Náisiúin Aontaithe (Scotland-UN) le cás na hAlban ar son féinrialtas a chur os comhair na Náisiúin Aontaithe agus os comhair an domhair. Níor tugadh morán poiblíochta don ghrúpa, cé go bhfuair sé tacaíocht ó bhaill aonair den SNP, agus i 1980 thug an páirtí sin tacaíocht don éileamh ar féin-rialtas a chuir an grúpa chuig an gCoimisiún um Cearta Daonna de na Náisiúin Aontaithe. Dearbhaíonn Alt a hAon de Chairt na Náisiúin Aontaithe ar Chearta Daonna ceart gach náisiúin don féinrialtas. B'fhurust don ghrúpa Albanach thaispeáint go mba náisiún í Alba ó thaobh staire, suíomh tíreolaíochta, cultúir agus reachtaíochta de, maraon leis an gcóras rialtas áitiúil atá aici. Mar thoradh ar an éileamh seo fuair an grúpa cuireadh chun páirt a ghlacadh i gComhdháil de chuid na Náisiúin Aontaithe sa Genéibh an Fómhar seo caite ón 15-18 Meán Fómhair 1981.

Ní mór a mhíniú go gceadaíonn bunreacht na Náisiúint Aontaithe don Comhairle Eacnamaíochta is Soisialta (den N.A.) plé le heagrais "neamh-rialtas" ar cheisteanna a thagann faoi údarás na Comhairle. Tá stad comhairleach ag na heagrais seo, agus ina measc tá Amnesty Idirnáisiúnta, Coimisiún idirnáisiúntana nDlí-eolaithe agus go leor eile nach bhfuil chomh cáiliúil céanna. Sa tslí céanna is féidir glacadh le héilimh a bhaineann le sárú cearta daonna óna "náisiúin dhúchasacha" agus ó eagrais náisiúnta; mar eagrais náisiúnta a glacadh leis an grúpa Albanach. (Go hiondúil ní féidir le dream ar bith acu seasamh polaitiúil a thógáil i gcoinne bhall-stát). Bhí an Chomhdháil sa Genéibh dírithe ar chearta na "náisiúin dhúchasacha". Ar dtús bhí coiste stiúrtha na Comhdhála in amhras ar cheart glacadh le Alba mar "náisiún dúchasach", ach nuair a cuireadh an cheist faoi bhráid na dtoscairí eile a bhí i láthair, bhíodar dearfa de go mba "náisiún dúchasach" í Alba. Triúr toscaire a bhí i láthair ó Albain, an Dr. Shanks Kerr (dochtúir leighis) an Dr. James Wilkie (PhD) agus comhairleoir dlí, Chris Thomson.

Bé ábhar na Comhdhála "Pobail Dhúchasacha agus a gcuid talún". Bhí an tábhar a phlé os comhair ceithre choimisiúin, mar leanas:

1. Cearta talún na bpobal ndúchasach, conarthaí idirnáisiúnta, athshealbhú na talún.
2. Feallsúnacht dhúchasach agus an talamh.

3. Comhlachtaí idirnáisiúnta gus a dtionchar ar acmhainní is talamh na bpobal ndúchasach.
4. Tionchar fhás na narm neithneach ar thalamh is ar bheatha na bpobal sin.

Bhí cás sách láidir ag na hAlbanaigh le cur os comhair na gCoimisiúin eagsúla ach go háirithe uimhreacha a haon is a ceathair. Mar is eol dúinn tá na tiarnaí talún i réim go fóill in Albain, le fearainn fairsinge talún ina seilbh máille le locha is aibhneacha; in aineoin go bhfuil teidil dhúchasacha ag cuid acu, tá na cearta céanna díshealbaithe acu is a bhí ag tiarnaí talún in Éirinn sa chéad seo caite. Ach mar a bheifeá ag súil, i bhfianaise a bhfuil ag tarlú sa domhain faoi láthair, bí ceist tionchar na narm neithneach is mó a tharraing aird na Comhdhála. B'oscailt súile do na toscairí eile fháil amach go bhfuil Alba sa bhearna bhaol mar phríomh thargaid diúracháin san Eoraip. Laistigh de raon dachad míle tá dhá bhunáit d'fhómhuireáin eithneacha, an taisce diúracháin is mó sa Bhreatain Mhór i nGleann Dúghlais, dhá stáisiún ginte eithneach chomh maith le stáisiún ginte ola agus cuid mhór de thionscail na tíre; sin agus iad uilig suite gar go maith do leath de dhaonra na tíre. Mhínigh na toscairí Albanacha caidé mar atá an dlús armála — go speisialta armáil eithneach — i gcoibhneas leis an daonra, níos airde in Albain ná in aon tír eile san Eoraip. Agus dár ndóigh ag an am sin ní raibh an cead tugtha go fóill chun dul ar aghaidh le tógáil bunáit NATO ar Oileán Steòrnobhaigh, mar a d'fhógair Aire Stáit na hAlban (Younger) i dtús mhí na Nollag. Thagair na toscairí freisin do phobalbhreith 1979 agus an vótáil i bParlaimint Shasana a chuir Acht na hAlban ar ceal, cé gur vótáil tromlach na bhfeisirí Albanacha ó gach pháirtí ar a shon. Dhearbhaigh an Chomhdháil go raibh gá le poiblíocht leathan a thabhairt d'fhadhbanna na hAlban is d'fhadhbanna na "náisiúin dhúchasacha" eile, agus dhearbhaigh sé chomh maith nach raibh réiteach le fáil gan féinrialtas bheith ag na náisiúin seo.

B'shin an chéad uair a tugadh éisteacht do ghuth neamhspleách ó Albain ag Comhdháil idirnáisiúnta. Droch mheas is mó a léirigh na preas Gallda sa bhaile air; ní ró shásta a bhí na feisirí ón dá pháirtí mhór chan oiread; shéanadar go raibh an grúpa ionadaíoch do mhuintir na hAlban.

Siad na ceisteanna gur mithid a chur: cad ab fhiú an iarracht? Cén toradh a bheidh air? An fiú grúpaí dá leithéid a bhúnu ins na tíortha Ceilteacha eile? Cinnte ní thabharfaidh na Náisiúin Aontaithe féinrialtas d'Alba ná d'aon tír eile — sa bhaile a caithfear an cath sin a chur is a bhaint. Is beag thig leis na Náisiúin Aontaithe déanamh ar an leibhéal oifigiúil, agus is lú i bhfad a thig leo déanamh ar an leibhéal comhairleach, mar a tharlaíonn i gcás na neagras neamh-rialtas. San am céanna faightear poiblíocht agus aitheantas idirnáisiúnta gur féidir tógáil air, m.sh. fuair na hAlbanaigh cuireadh le dul go Berlin amach anseo len a scéal a insint ansin. Gan amhras bheadh tacaíocht idirnáisiúnta le fáil d'aon fheachtas in Albain chun cur i gcoinne suíomh arm eithneach. Maidir leis na tíortha Ceilteacha eile, b'fhiú dóibh an bealach seo a thriail. Dhearbhaigh an grúpa Albanach prionsabal fíor thabachtach .i. go bhfuil níos mó ná náisiúin amháin sa Bhreatain Mhór

agus nach labhraíonn rialtas Shasana ar son gach náisiún faoi a riail.

## BRÍD HEUSAFF.

The above deals with the SCOTLAND-U.N. group which sent submissions to the United Nations on Scotland's case for self-determination in 1979 and 1980, and was subsequently invited to attend an International Non-Government Organisation Conference in Geneva last Autumn. The Conference discussed the topic of "Indigenous Peoples and their Land", dealing among other things with the effects of transnational corporations on such peoples and the impact of the Nuclear arms build-up on the land and life of indigenous peoples.

## IRISH SUMMER COURSE IN CONNEMARA

Following the success of the last two years, this course this year will be held during the fortnight beginning 15th August. The course will be run by the Comharchumann Cois Fharraige Co-Operative in their college, Coláiste Chonnacht, near An Spidéal, Co. Galway, (ten miles west of Galway City in the Conamara Gaeltacht).

The programme will include Irish classes for beginners, each day, with a total of about 30 hours in the fortnight altogether. There will be lectures on topics such as the Taelacht today, the position of the Irish language in the whole of Ireland, Irish History, and Irish Literature. The participants will be introduced to the Irish song and traditional music in informal sessions with the participation of local people. The course will include a trip to the Aran Islands and a tour of the Conamara area. The cost of the course including accommodation and meals for a fortnight plus the trips will be IR£220.00. The participants would be expected to arrive about tea time on Sunday, 15th August, and the course would finish after lunch on Friday, 27th August.

Those wishing to partake in this course should send a deposit of IR£25 (or equivalent) to the Irish Branch Secretary, Máire Bhreathnach (address on p. 24) before 1st June.

An additional third week would be available as an option. This would involve spending the second weekend (27-29th) on one of the Aran Islands and would give a further 12 hours tuition the following week. This would cost an extra IR£110.00.

## General Election 1982

When the 1982 Coalition Budget was presented to the Dáil (Parliament) in Dublin on January 27th it was so severe that the Government was defeated on the first vote taken. The defeat was brought about by the defection of a number of Independent deputies who had previously either voted for Government measures or abstained. One in particular, the Limerick Independent Socialist (and self declared anti-nationalist) Jim Kemmy had consistently supported them. Readers of CARN (No. 35) will recall that in the 166 seat Dáil (with 2 seats won by non-sitting H-Block candidates, one of whom was on



hunger strike, Kieran Doherty and who died — the bye-election to fill that seat had not yet been held) the balance of power was held by 4 Independents and one Sinn Féin The Workers Party (S.F.W.P.) man.

The Budget which caused the fall of the Government proposed a wide range of increases. The low rate of Value Added Tax (VAT), already increased last year from 10 to 15% in the July supplementary budget (see Carn 35), was to increase further to 18%. Not alone that however, but footwear and clothing which were previously exempt from VAT were now to have an 18% rate. In addition food subsidies on milk and butter were to be removed. All the usual items, such as beer, spirits, petrol were once again to increase and most services such as P&T also. The election promise of Fine Gael, the main Coalition partner, to introduce a basic tax rate of 25% was not kept due, it was stated, to the bad state of the public finances. A system of tax credits was proposed. This would give credits against the amount of tax payable on an income as opposed to the present system of first deducting tax allowances and calculating tax on the remaining taxable income. This it was claimed is a more fair system. However it is clear that with present tax rates most households would end up paying more as was illustrated in analyses of the system by economic correspondents. Health charges were to increase substantially too. As against this there were only to be minor changes in capital and corporation taxes and a levy on bank profits was to be introduced.

Following the defeat of the Government on the Budget vote, the first such in the history of the state, a General Election was declared for the 18th February. The General Election campaign centred on the Budget, on economic matters and on the handling of the economy. The Fine Gael and Labour parties which had comprised the Coalition Government agreed on an election pact and stood by their Budget with the concession that children's shoes and clothes would be exempt from VAT — a concession which a few days earlier the Taoiseach and Fine Gael leader, Dr. Fitzgerald, had claimed would not be possible as adults with small feet might take advantage of it!

The Opposition, Fianna Fáil party and their leader Mr. Haughey said they would aim for the same Budget deficit as catered for in the Coalition Budget but with alternative revenue raising as with the short time available it would be impossible to do otherwise. They would not extend VAT to any clothing and footwear and would retain food subsidies at their present level. They announced a 13 point programme to combat unemployment, and promised a plan within three months to cover jobs, prices and borrowing.

Two days before the election a T.V. debate between Dr. Fitzgerald and Mr. Haughey took place — the first of its kind in an Irish election. As in the campaign most of the debate was taken up with the economic issues though the North, law and order and divorce were touched on. Mr. Haughey probably gained some ground in this in relation to polls which showed Dr. Fitzgerald well ahead in the stakes for personal popularity, but with very little between the parties.

The level of concern in the Irish establishment and political parties in relation to the Irish language may be judged by the fact that the question of the

language was not included as a subject in the great debate. The Irish language organisations put forward demands in relation to Irish in Education, Television and the state of the Gaeltacht and distributed publicity asking people to raise these issues with candidates. At the meeting called by Conradh na Gaeilge to raise these points with all parties the Fine Gael and Labour parties did not bother to send any representatives.

During the campaign much talk was made of the need for a stable government with a comfortable governing majority. In the event however the state of the parties after all the votes were counted was:

Fianna Fáil, 81; Fine Gael, 63; Labour, 15; Independents, 4; Sinn Féin — The Workers Party (SFWP) 3.

With neither Fianna Fáil nor the Coalition parties having a clear majority, the decision on which governs rests once again with a minority of deputies though this time a minority with a rather different make up. Mr. Jim Kemmy the Independent Socialist was returned with a larger vote. S.F.W.P. increased its representation to three seats which they regarded as an important breakthrough. Another of the independents is Mr. Tony Gregory, elected from one of the deprived Inner City areas who stated he would be primarily concerned with the issues affecting them, unemployment and housing, but he is something of a Republican Socialist judging from links previously with other parties. Another is Mr. Neil Blaney, Independent Fianna Fáil who would probably support Mr. Haughey and Fianna Fáil in their bid for power.

There were of course no H-Block candidates this time. Provisional Sinn Féin did contest seven seats but their vote nowhere approached that gained by a H-Block candidate. Mrs. Bernadette McAliskey, contested a Dublin constituency but her vote only came to approximately 2,000.

Mr. Haughey was confident of his ability to form a government on the night of the election count though at the time he probably thought he would have a seat or two more. His confidence has not evaporated since and he is now in a stronger position in his own party following the collapse of a movement to replace him as leader. Mr. J. Kemmy has called for a Socialist alliance in the new Dáil between himself, Mr. Gregory and S.F.W.P. S.F.W.P. have called on the Labour Party not to enter Coalition but to form a left opposition to the two main parties. At the time of writing discussions are taking place or will be taking place between those deputies and also between Mr. Haughey and the independents individually and S.F.W.P. Dr. Fitzgerald, who has not conceded defeat, will no doubt follow the same path. This time however it would seem that either with the support of some or all the Independents and S.F.W.P. or possibly with them abstaining Mr. Haughey is more likely to become Taoiseach and Fianna Fáil to enter government. It is also more probable that whichever Government takes up office it will run closer to the normal term.

In the interim period there will no doubt be much intrigue, bargaining and toing and froing

#### LATE NEWS

Mr. Haughey was elected Taoiseach on March 9th and Fianna Fáil now enter Government once again.

*La campagne électorale récente s'est axée sur les problèmes budgétaires du gouvernement irlandais. Les élections n'ont donné la majorité absolue à aucun des partis principaux. Ceux-ci sont maintenant en train de rechercher l'appui de cinq députés qui tiennent la balance du pouvoir.*

## Irish Neutrality Today

*Daltún Ó Ceallaigh,  
Vice Chairman, Irish Sovereignty Movement,  
Cumann Flaitheasa na hÉireann.*

When the Irish State joined the EEC in 1973, it turned out, that participation in NATO was not a condition of membership. But the overlap between the two institutions still suggests that there are dangers that they will converge in some way. There is a Eurogroup in NATO, which was established in 1968, and reports of the European Parliament in the Seventies, as well as the Tindemans memorandum in 1976, provide some, although by no means exhaustive, examples regarding the concern with defence.

It is also quite unrealistic to think that economics and politics can be compartmentalised. If we do not go along with the West Germans or the French at the United Nations on questions affecting their collaboration with South Africa, for instance, can we seriously expect them to support us when we look for a better deal on sheep-meat or more transfers in the regional policy? That is the substance of what the Irish State has got itself into.

As a result, one thing has definitely changed in foreign policy since we joined the EEC and that is our voting at the United Nations. Now, we tend either to vote with other EEC States where previously we would have abstained or to abstain where formerly we would have voted against them. Likewise, some of our policies on specific issues outside the UN have altered. By way of illustration, would we necessarily have supported the Olympic Boycott or sanctions on Iran, if it had not been for the foreign policy co-ordination of the EEC in the Davignon Committee? We might have preferred other ways of protesting at the situation in Afghanistan or the taking of hostages in Teheran.

While we are allowed to remain outside a military alliance, our leaders are not unaware of the value of neutrality. The present Taoiseach (as of 16/2/82), Garret Fitzgerald, proclaimed, before becoming Foreign Minister in 1973, that Ireland's vote in international affairs could be "imaginative and constructive — all the more so as we are not involved in any military alliance." In 1975, Michael O'Kennedy, Fianna Fáil spokesman on Foreign Affairs, said that "our traditional neutrality in international affairs is a strong foundation on which to build our foreign policy programme." The appeal to the Third World countries is obvious, although this has been put a little less attractively by Johann Galtung, the Norwegian peace expert, as the role of a fig-leaf for the EEC.

On the other hand, as many Irish missionaries become radicalised and returned development workers form themselves into distinctive lobbies, one

wonders if an added source of opposition will grow up to the gradual abandonment of neutrality.

The missions have sometimes been referred to as a possible reinforcing factor in the development of anti-imperialist sentiment in Irish history. They were certainly a major feature of Ireland's contact with the outside world. Yet the effect they have had on Irish political culture is still a matter for common-sense speculation rather than research and measurement.

Today, however, the impact of the Third World on religious missionaries and secular volunteers alike has been more articulated, even among bishops. Moreover, the societies they have encountered are ones not only of exploitation, but of revolt. They are bringing back a message of material deprivation and moral outrage, which is touching the heart and influencing the intellect of modern Ireland. It remains to be seen whether, in the popular imagination, they can cast into global relief the betrayal of their mission, which is daily enacted in Brussels and Washington.

The conclusion about the EEC is that it has led to the demise of political neutrality and put a question mark after military neutrality, the end of which seems more a matter of timing rather than principle.

In this context, we must ask ourselves — is Ireland still of strategic importance, or has this, after centuries suddenly evaporated, as some suggest.

Authoritative voices have certainly been raised in support of this contention. At one stage, the historian Nicholas Mansergh told us that "... the supersession of conventional weapons by a still fortunately unconventional nuclear armament, including intercontinental ballistic missiles, has deprived Ireland, possibly for all time, of her former strategic importance." Another historian, Desmond Williams, wrote that our forces are "so small as to be insignificant and the technology of war rendered inherent in Irish bases nugatory," (my emphases).

This is a case of a popular notion being given academic sanction by people who know as little about military thinking as the generality of us, whatever about their command of political history.

Over the past few years, an attempt has been made to correct this erroneous assumption by quoting from the writings and speeches of military theorists and politicians alike, both about modern war strategy and Ireland's value in particular.

Fortunately, persons of greater distinction than the common run of radicals have come to a new realisation of our strategic significance and herewith a quotation from the Irish political scientist, Patrick Keatinge, in his most recent book "A Place Among the Nations".

"The assumption that the state is strategically altogether irrelevant may be wishful thinking, based on the contingency of an all-out nuclear war and ignoring the preparations continually being made to deter such an eventuality. It could be argued that Ireland's peripheral situation and relative underpopulation make her attractive either as a location for missile bases or as an exemplary target. As for conventional warfare, which is still a significant element in strategic policy, Ireland could provide logistic facilities, such as deep-sea harbourage, or be the location for reserve, training or command units.

"At a more general level," he continues, "there is the question of denying any potentially hostile state the room to develop its position on Irish soil or in Irish waters. This is seen most clearly if the traditional assumption that the British Isles (sic) form a strategic entity is maintained. In 1972, for example, the British Government declared, as one of its three major concerns in Northern Ireland, 'that Northern Ireland should not offer a base for any external threat to the security of the United Kingdom'. The same principle applies to the whole island from the point of view of the alliance of which Britain is a major member. . . ."

Keatinge also remarks that joint-EEC policing of a new fishery zone "would probably lead to reciprocal landing rights" and that in this situation "Irish military neutrality would become increasingly unreal."

The roots of Irish neutrality go back well beyond the foundation of the State, indeed in explicit ideological terms to the eighteenth-century when the father of Irish republicanism, Wolfe Tone, wrote about the subject.

A philosophy has been developed over two centuries that Ireland should remain neutral because of the need:

- (1) to concentrate on national reconstruction;
- (2) to avoid loss without gain in foreign wars;
- (3) to protect our independence against allcomers;
- (4) to develop positive links with all nations;
- (5) to avoid becoming a target through alliances such as Britain and NATO;
- (6) to avoid collaboration with imperialist exploitation; and
- (7) to enable us to make an independent contribution to world peace and brotherhood and the development of global collective security.

Here, surely, is a worthy blend of the pragmatic and the principled, which covers neutrality in both its military and political aspects and is the fruit of the republican and socialist perspectives in Ireland.

The last remaining objection to or doubt about all this is not *should* we but *can* we remain neutral? Is it feasible for Ireland to provide a deterrent to invasion or can we even afford it?

The last war proved that we *can* build up a deterrent. The point is not that Ireland would have been occupied, sometime between 1939 and '45, if it had been vital to the Allies or the Axis powers. Rather is it that it had to be vital before such a move would have been contemplated. If there had not been 250,000 men in arms and the will to resist, the State would have been overrun to eliminate the anxiety which existed about it as a potential threat.

The task is at least to maintain that threshold of deterrence, if not to raise it. Maintaining it is as much a political undertaking as a military one by keeping the spirit of freedom and resistance high. Militarily, a lot could be learned from a country like Switzerland, which enrols the entire population in a people's militia. She appreciates that an initial conventional encounter would not be a sufficient deterrent and that it must be followed by a planned guerilla campaign. Switzerland has even built-in destructive devices in facilities and communications, which might be used by an enemy.

Of course, that country spends much more on

defence than Ireland and is much richer. If our economy were to improve or oil were to be discovered, we should seriously consider spending much more on the right kind of defence ourselves. However, in the meanwhile, an intelligent use of the correct tactics will have to suffice. For example, it presumably wouldn't bankrupt us to mine Shannon Airport and let the world know about it, so that if the Western powers move in that direction, it will be blown to smithereens, and the Eastern bloc, aware of this, will not feel the need for a pre-emptive strike.

At the same time, the words of Wolfe Tone should become the motto of our efforts even today:

"Peace with all the world . . . is *our* object and *our* interest."

*L'Auteur de cet article se préoccupe du danger qui résulte, pour la neutralité de l'Irlande, de son appartenance à la Communauté Economique Européenne et des pressions exercées depuis son entrée à la CEE pour qu'elle abandonne cette position.*



Celtic style, whether for my work, or otherwise includes the following: mask-like (overall appearance, almond-like, bulging "ecstatic" eyes (full of the spirit force), trap-like mouth, wedge-shaped nose, with or without mustash, cap-like hair, sometimes with parts (at times, three parts), rough-hewn wood, mesoleptocephalic vertical dominance). Believe, it is more Celtic than any other style.



# KERNOW

## MARTESEN, MARTESEN (Hungan)

Martesen, martesen, mar' tewyth un polz,  
Y' rov dhyz krib owreug, rag kriba dha wolz:  
Hag yna, hag yna, mar' tewyth polz chwath,  
Y' rov dhyz del wyr' avel dowlagaz kath.

Martesen, martesen, mar' tewyth un eur,  
Y' rov dhyz kylch perlow, dagrennow'n mor meur:  
Hag yna, hag yna, mar' tewyth eur chwath,  
Y' rov dhyz sarf-niza, a owrlin pypm lath.

Martesen, martesen, mar' tewyth un nos,  
Y' rov dhyzo kurun a vleuzyon ros:  
Hag yna, hag yna, mar' tewyth nos chwath,  
Y' rov dhyz karenze' na' welsys hy math.

## PERHAPS, PERHAPS (Lullaby)

Perhaps, perhaps, if you are quiet for one moment, I  
will give you a golden comb, to comb your hair: and  
then, and then, if you are quiet for another moment,  
I will give you a green ball like the eyes of a cat.

Perhaps . . . for one hour, I . . . a circle of pearls, the  
tears of the great sea: and then . . . another hour,  
I . . . a kite, five yards of silk.

Perhaps . . . for one night, I . . . a crown of the  
flowers of the heath: and . . . another night, I . . .  
love whose like you never saw.

*Tadhg MacAlasdair.*

*Lyfer Gwyn ha Du*, published by the Cornish Nationalist Party, 1980 contains 14 black and white original designs by Pieter Huisman and three (presumably also) Dutch artists who are interested in promoting Celtic art styles of decoration. The booklet is the follow-up of a similar one, "Lyfer Mollothow . . . Lyfer Bennothow" (1977) by P. Huisman. The foreword describes it as "another try-out of the possibilities, varieties and symbolism of timeless Celtic art". The page opposite each drawing carries a brief comment on the title or interpretation, in Cornish (translations of English texts printed on the last page).

The C.N.P. has also published three attractive stamps designed by P. Huisman, using the classic work on "Old Cornish Crosses" by A. G. Langdon. One, in green, depicts the cross at St-Buryan, near Land's End; another, in brown, the Lanherne Cross in St. Mawgan, near Newquay. The third, in purple, shows the Doniert Stone, near Liskeard, which commemorates the Cornish king Doniert who died in 872. These stamps, which can be stuck on envelopes as publicity for Cornwall, are a contribution to the campaign for official Cornish postage stamps. Available from the CNP Publications, Trelispen, Gorran, St-Austell, Cornwall, in booklets of 18 (the 3 designs), £1 post free (but for airmail £???)

**THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN CORNWALL**, by Royston Green, 28 pages. £0.80 plus postage.

This is an abridged history of Cornwall, characterised by an analytical approach as befits a man of socialist convictions. It makes for absorbing reading even if at times the need to compress the fruit of considerable research within certain editorial limits results in some angularity in exposition. That however hardly ever detracts from clarity. R. Green is not adverse to making occasional hypotheses where evidence has not come forth yet but his readiness to face checking cannot be in doubt as he gives well over a hundred bibliographical references.

Some readers may be chiefly interested in the way Cornwall emerged from the disintegrating Roman-occupied Britain, in the part it played in the development of the Arthurian legends, in the details about the literature in Cornish. This is the only comprehensive history of Cornwall to have come into my hands. What I found new and most interesting in it is the thesis that the importance and the form taken in the life of the Cornish by the exploitation of tin up to the 16th century played a determinant and favourable role in the preservation of the Cornish language and culture, whereas the change to capitalist methods, backed by religious reformers who were hostile to that culture, led the Cornish gweryn first to rebellion and defeat and quickly to economic impoverishment, real subjection and the loss of their language. R. Green shows how the Cornish miners were unable, under the conditions which bound them to the mine operators, to organise a proper trade union movement whereas when they emigrated they often took a leading role in such movements. He never omits to relate the fate of the specific elements of the Cornish culture to the social and economic factors down to the present day. In considering these relations he criticises a nationalist approach which does not take up more firmly "the demands for social and economic rights for the people of Cornwall, the working class, the fishermen and the small farmers who are today the definite reservoir of the Cornish identity".

These are only a few hints of what the booklet has to say. Order it directly from the author (address: Polmarth, Carnmenellis, Redruth, Cornwall TR16 6NT, Gr. Britain). It is well worth the money.

A.H.

*En peu de pages Roy Green a réussi à écrire une histoire détaillée de la Cornuaille Britannique. Les aspects sociaux y reçoivent une attention particulière.*

**"THE CORNISH NATION"**, Mebyon Kernow's Magazine. From: 11 West St., Liskeard, at 25p. Each Plus Post, or £1.50 for 4 issues (Includes Post).

**"AN WERYN"**, Cornwall's Independent Radical Magazine. From: 23 Basset St., Redruth at £1.20 for 4 issues (includes Post).

**"THE CORNISH BANNER"**, Cornish Nationalist Party's magazine. From Trelispen, Gorran, Nr. St. Austell, 50p Subs. £2.50 (overseas airmail £4.00).

# MANNIN

## Cleayshyn Follit

Recent revelations about bugging by the English government in North Wales indicatge very large scale clandestine activities by government agencies.

Er yn cheyoo laa jeh'n Chied Vee myleeaney, va Mnr Moses Edwards, Bretnagh veih Talysarn ayns Bretin Twoaie, jannoo ymmyd jeh chellvane theayagh ayns thalloo e ghooie. Ayns y bwaane-chellvane, hooar eh greie quaggh goll rish radio-poggaid. Ren daa ghooiney va gimman gleashtan-steat bane goaill y "radio" veih Mnr Edwards er egin as ersooyl lhiu. Ta skeeal goll mygeayrt dy ren yn Oik Thie ayns Lunnin lhiettal eabyn dy 'eddyn magh cre woish haink y gleashtan bane shoh. Ayns y toshaight, ren ny meoirynshee ynnydaggh gobbal dy row fys erbee oc er y chooish. Agh, lurg tammylt, ren ad goaill rish dy row "greie ry hoi eaishtagh" er ve currit sy bwaane-chellvane.

My va'n chleaysh follit shoh currit sy bwaane dyn yss da'n Oik Post Goaldagh, ta turneyryn as sleih elley gra dy row shen jeant noi'n leigh. Red elley, ta'n chooish shoh soilshaghey magh dy vel ram eaishtagh-follit goll er gyn kied erbee veih reiltys Lunnin. Coardail rish reiltys Lunnin, shegin da ny meoiryn-shee as offishearyn elley barrant y gheddyn my t'ad son geaishtagh rish co-loayrtysyn chellvane dy follit as ny chellvaneyn ayns thieyn preevaadjagh. Agh chan jinnagh yn Oik Thie gra dy row barrant ymmyrchagh my va offishearyn-reiltys gymmydey greieyn va faagit ayns bwaane-chellvane. Cha row yn Oik Thie bwooiagh tra haink eh magh dy vel coyrle follit ry gheddyn dauesyn ta son freayll rick orrin coilley!

Bee Mnr Dafydd Wigley, MP Phlaid Cymru son Caernarfon, shirrey er y Scrudeyr Thie Sostnagh dy chur magh yn coyrle shoh dy foshlit. Gyn ourys, bee yn chooish shoh scughit ass shillee y theay cho tappee as oddys reiltys Lunnin shen y jannoo. Ta fys ain ooillee dy vel y lheid goll er car yn traa as dy vel ram sleih oikoil ceau (as jummal) y traa oc chymsaghey fys — y chooid smoo jeh dyn ymmyd erbee. Ta reiltys Lunnin (as reiltyssyn elley, gyn ourys) lhiggey er dy vel ny fir oik oc geaishtagh dy follit rish "kimmee" nyn lomarcen. T'ad lhiggey er dy vel kied oikoil currit da dy chooillee offishear ta buggal peiagh ennagh. Cre'n spotch!

Ta skeeal ayn dy dug sleih follit ennagh y greie ry hoi eaishtagh sy bwaane-chellvane Bretnagh shid er y fa dy row ad laccal eaishtagh rish sleih ynnydaggh loayrt mychione lostey thieyn-source ta lesh Sostnee. Bee sleih dy liooar smooineaghtyn dy vel yn reiltys ayns Lunnin abyl jannoo red erbee, bunnys, dy gheddyn greim orroo shid ren thieyn-source y lostey. Agh red gaueagh t'ayn, reiltys y ve geaishtagh dy follit, speikearagh as chymsaghey fys myr shoh. S'cosoylagh dy vel recortysyn ec reiltys Hostyn mychione ooillee yn sleih ta goaill ayn ayns cooishyn Celtiagh, myr sampleyr.

Paart dy vleeantyn er dy henney, ghow mee yindys tra hooar mee screeuyn veih dooinney ennagh va gra

dy row eh ayns armee Hostyn. Screeu eh (er pabyr oikoil) dy row eh cheet gys Lerpoyll dy jannoo studeyrys Celtiagh ec yn ollooscoill. By vie lesh Yernish ynsaghey. C'raad oddagh eh jannoo cliaghtey, as eh loayrt Yernish, ayns clubbyn Yernagh ayns Lerpoyll? V'eh er ngeddyn yn enmys aym voish Conradh na Gaeilge ayns Divlyn, dooyrt eh. Tammylt lurg shoh, hooar mish magh dy re boghtynid y skeeal mysh Conradh na Gaeilge. Screeu mee er ash huggey as dooyrt mee dy lhisagh eh kionnaghey coorse Linguaphone as nagh row clubbyn ayn raad va Yernish goll er loayrt. Screeu eshyn er ash, foast shirrey fys mychione clubbyn Yernagh. Cha screeu mish er ash. Spotch v'ayn foddee. Agh s'liklee dy row armee Hostyn laccal soilshaghey magh dy row fys oc er my vrastyl Yernish ayns Lerpoyll.

BRIAN MAC STOYLL.

## Manks Nationalism

With the self examination of the aftermath of the Manks General Election behind us, the cause of Manks Nationalism is not going to disappear, though that might suit the establishment (the very best reason why it should remain). Manks Nationalist ideals have been misunderstood and without doubt have been misrepresented. Antagonistic scare-mongering press played a large part in the Nationalist so called rejection; but political success should not be measured by electoral success. If anything communication was the only failure. National consciousness will surface as times get harder, as they surely will. Nationalists must be ready for the challenge.

Almost in the same breath as the Nationalists, Charles Kerruish was swiped at by the Examiner leader-writer (27/11/81) for being deposed from usual top place at the polls "to an Englishman at that". Was it really his quasi nationalist noises or could it be that his new resident policy is now working against him at the hustings?

So the Manks electorate wants a middle of the road, don't rock the boat load of wishy-washy independents? That's largely what it will have for the next five years. Commentator (Examiner) and the Islands free (?) press told the electorate that was what was needed. The term fanatical is not so much applicable to the Nationalists as it is to the above in their desire to misrepresent Nationalism as it exists in Mann.

Many of Mec Vannins ideas, once scorned as ridiculous and impracticable have been adopted by government, without acknowledgement<sup>1</sup>. Independence will come but it is the terms of that independence that will have such far reaching consequences. Soft options of recent Manks Governments will not do when it comes to dealing with hard headed civil servants of the Westminster Home Office (Did the Governor, a crown appointee, seek advice from the elected representatives before he made the equivalent of a Queens speech?). The electorate would do well to keep a close eye on its representatives. We must have our promised rightful share of the revenue from the Continental Shelf

agreement that was exchanged for the right to exploit resources in the Manks/Celtic sea. We should demand payment for the use of the bombing range off our West coast,<sup>2</sup> so invaluable to N.A.T.O.

A far greater degree of foresight than the Keys has shown itself capable of, will be needed in the critical years ahead. Mec Vannin has an undeniable record in the vanguard of political perspicacity.

C.J.K.

<sup>1</sup>Early Mec Vannin policy called for G.P.O. to be run by the Manks Government also — a separate Manks coinage, Manx Radio and many other things since adopted.

<sup>2</sup>Celtic League policy is aimed at the complete removal of the range.

*Cet article analyse la situation à laquelle le Mouvement Nationaliste doit faire face à la suite des élections au Parlement de l'Île de Man à la fin de l'année passée.*

## Merchants of Death!!

Plans have been announced to facilitate greater usage of the NATO sea-bombing range off Manns N.W. coast (Nr. Ballaugh). The range is used to enable fighter-bomber pilots, primarily from the USAF, to practice and perfect the deadly art of low level delivery of *tactical* nuclear weapons. We stress the word tactical because in fact all this training is in preparation for a battlefield nuclear conflict, which most experts now believe will be fought in Europe.

So we help the United States to perfect our own nuclear destruction by providing base facilities in Mann.

The harmful effects of this situation however are not simply restricted to some futuristic European theatre war scenario. The plans announced for the range involve moving the targets used nearer to Manns shore. The targets previously *were* close to the shore and were moved following several incidents in which bombs were dropped onshore close to habitation, (in one incident three bombs were released as far inshore as Cronk-y-Voddy). In another incident an aircraft crashed close to a farmhouse in Maughold! Miraculously nobody was hurt.

This plan then means that Manns citizens along the N.W. coast from K. Michael to Bride are exposed, not only to an environmental nuisance but also to the *real danger* from malfunctioning aircraft and inexperienced pilots.

One of the principal aircraft using the range at present has a notoriously low servcability record.

- On the morning of 2 Jan. the branch held a wreath-laying ceremony at Hango Hill, where Illiam Dhoné was executed on the same date in 1663. Chairperson of Mec Vannin Hazel Hannan gave an oration to begin the proceedings, followed by a speech in Manks Gaelic by George Broderick, Celtic League Chairman. The formal ceremony ended with the laying of the wreath and the Manks flag on the site.

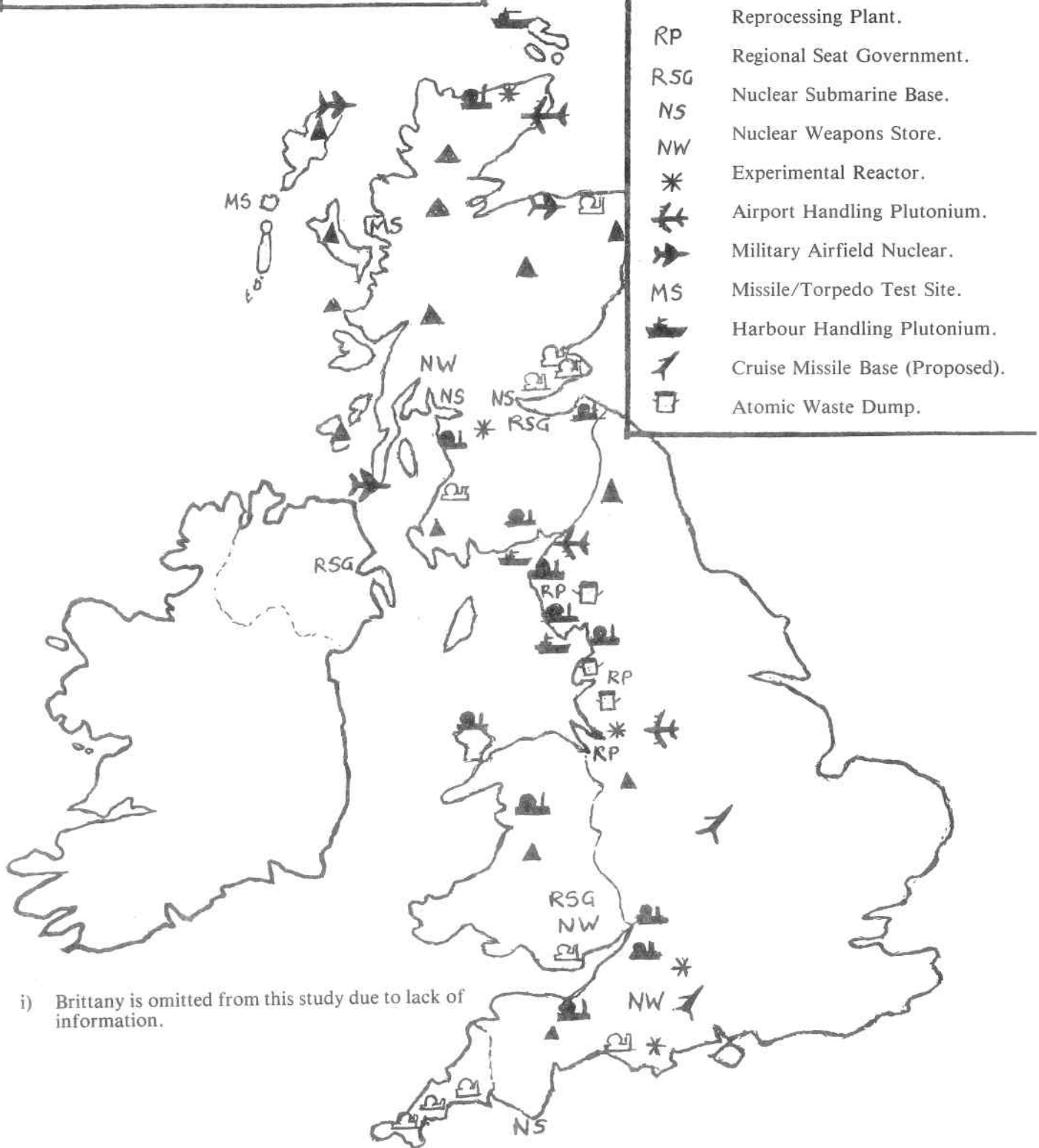
## NUCLEAR THREAT

A map of the main Civil and Military Nuclear installations which threaten the Celtic countries — plus some supplemental notes.

- a) When consulting the map one should not overlook the substantial installations which exist in Eastern and Southern England.
- b) The possibility of accident at any one of the installations is a serious cause for concern. There have already been several serious accidents at Windscale in Cumbria that have involved the release of radioactive material (the most recent being in October 1981). Serious radiation emissions from this site could pollute the whole North Irish Sea area!
- c) Dumping of on-shore waste until now has been restricted to the N.W. England. Most new sites under consideration are in the Celtic countries.
- d) Éire is completely free of nuclear installations at the moment — though Ballykelly airfield in the six counties was rumoured to have nuclear anti-submarine weapons stored, at one time, there is no confirmation of this. Ballykelly is however a logical extension of the N.A.T.O. Anti-Submarine warfare network which links Reykjavik (Iceland) with Stornaway in the Hebrides.
- e) Rumour of possible intergration by Éire into N.A.T.O. which surfaces from time to time seems unlikely in the foreseeable future.
- f) Alba from the nuclear military standpoint is the most utilised of all the Celtic nations — The upper Clyde area is heavily committed as a nuclear weapons storage facility and is also the base area for U.S. and United Kingdom missile submarines. Macrihanish airfield in the west is a stop-over point for U.S. Strategic bombers. Edzell in eastern Scotland (not marked on our map) is an important N.A.T.O. communications centre. Chapelcross, marked on our map as an Atomic Power station also makes Tritium, used in nuclear weapon production.
- g) The Regional Seats of Government (R.S.G.) indicated are nuclear fall-out and blast proof command centres for use by the U.K. authorities to carry on government after serious nuclear accident or atomic war.
  - Alba — Near Edinburgh.
  - Éire — Hollywood near Belfast (Six Counties).
  - Cymru — Brecon.
- h) A map published by CND and also a map which has appeared in a Soviet military magazine both list nuclear targets in Alba, Éire, Mannin, Cymru and Kernow.



**Main Nuclear Installations (Civil and Military) in and around the insular Celtic Countries.**



(Prepared by the Mannin branch of the Celtic League).

## The Assembly of the Fourth World — Nos. 1 and 2

To set up any new organisation is hard work and, one year after getting involved with the Assembly of the Fourth World and still concerned with preparing the record of the First Assembly for the press, I doubt it is worth the trouble for any Celt to join in setting up such an international organisation. Far better would be to look for suitable existing ones and work within them.

Before the Assembly ever met, I had to fight hard to get it accepted that each of the study-groups into which it divided (women's rights, alternative technology, peace, ethnic questions, etc.) should separately elect representatives to the Council and that the decisions of the study-groups should be regarded as decisions of the Assembly in plenary session. Such procedural squabbles seem to too many Celts unimportant. But I suspected the fashionable English lefties would dominate the Assembly and that they have very little sympathy for nationalism. ("Don't you know that nationalism has been quite passé for at least six years? You should take up nuclear disarmament, or animal liberation if you want to be a little eccentric," is the ruling atmosphere of such people nowadays.)

I was right — though I had underestimated both the boredom which I and the other half-dozen members of the Celtic League who attended the plenary sessions on 30 July-1 August would have to suffer for most of the time; and the fanatical uncomprehending frenzy which met the attempt of Dr. Yvo Peeters, a mild Flemish nationalist, to add to the General Declaration of the Assembly (which contained lots of references to fashionable causes such as community revival, ecology, the human scale, opposition to war, etc.) support for "the right to diversity of peoples" and "the respect of ethnic communities". Efforts were made to silence forcibly Ansis Reinhardts, a Latvian, who was speaking in favour of the amendment (the English-speaking audience was extremely intolerant of anyone who didn't speak their language perfectly and of any attempts to provide translation). I merely met a slow hand-clap when I tried to speak, and shouts of "racialist" and "apartheid".

The advantage of the federal organisation of the Assembly was that this behaviour of the English "progressives", outraged that anyone should dare to espouse any cause not at present fashionable in Hampstead, did not stop the study-groups getting on with some useful work. That on ethnic questions, which I attended accepted two valuable proposals: that there should be a World Year of the Peoples without States in 1984 to seek a U.N. statute for these peoples; and the Celtic League proposals on the basic conditions for the survival of small languages. The latter would never have been ratified by the full Assembly, had it come to a vote, but, owing to the procedure adopted, they are decisions of the First Assembly of the Fourth World; and I hope that the Editor of *Carn* may find space to print them sometime, for some Celts defending their languages might find it useful to study them and quote them as such.

Gwynfor Evans presided over a study-group discussing the break-up of Britain. It recommended freedom for all the Celtic nations of Britain, but it also recommended a Confederation of the British Isles (including Ireland!). For at least ten years many members of the Celtic League have been objecting to what Mr. Evans sees as a way of getting some kind of Celtic independence — both because the Bretons are to be abandoned, and because the Confederation would inevitably (whatever legal safeguards were provided) be run by and for England, which would have three-quarters of the population.

### THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE OPPRESSOR

The most interesting part of the study-group on ethnic affairs was a talk by Andrea Cartwright, head of a research and educational institute in Tennessee, which studies ethnic problems. She discussed the reverse side of the problem covered by Dr. Le Drogou's paper summarised in *Carn* 33, p. 23: what psychological problems make the ruling majority group in a state persecute cultural minorities, especially linguistic minorities?

The simplest reason is guilt. If your people has done something terrible to the minority, for instance taken all its land as the Americans took the land of the American Indians, then the minority must be shown to be morally, intellectually and in every way inferior — otherwise the oppressors would be in a intolerable moral position; and this in turn justifies and encourages further attacks on the minority. I felt that, coming nearer home, this explains a lot about English attitudes to the Welsh from the time of the Venerable Bede (673-735) to our own.

Miss Cartwright believes that language develops so as to avoid the feeling of guilt: thoughts and words, emotions and actions part company. Language becomes messy in order to hide things; for example, Americans fighting in Vietnam didn't kill people — they "terminated them with extreme prejudice"! (Communists for that matter have perverted the term "liquidation" in a similar way.) Minorities which do not have such a split in their thought processes are very threatening to those who do.

Another reason for persecuting linguistic minorities is that people hate being unable to understand. This has become much more important since the Enlightenment with its glorification of reason; before the 18th century linguistic persecution in Europe was comparatively rare.

The most important reason for persecution is, however, the often observed psychological mechanism by which people "project" onto an alien group their own characteristics which they regard as evil or otherwise shameful, and therefore have to "repress". ("Projection", as this is called by Freudians, has been adequately demonstrated by experiments in which, for example, unduly aggressive people have been found to have a much higher tendency to believe that foreign groups are aggressive than they have any grounds to.) It is to be expected that the English, a nation whose sexuality was, at least in the past, highly repressed, should have developed some exciting ideas about the sexuality of foreigners. So they have, particularly about negroes, Frenchmen and, to some extent, the Welsh — all of them, very significantly, peoples whom, at one time or another, they set out to

enslave. The point is that, once you have projected your shameful characteristics onto the aliens, they must be civilised and controlled. Indeed, any divergence from English sexual morality seems to disturb them profoundly. During the Middle Ages the excuse they gave for invading Ireland was the immorality of the Irish: they allowed divorce and their priests were married; nowadays Irish Roman Catholic priests are celibate and divorce is not permitted and this, I have read recently in *The New Statesman*, an English left-wing weekly, is the reason the English can't leave Ulster. It seems that, whatever they do, the Irish are wrong!

The Oppressor has, and this is the tragedy, a psychological need for the Oppressed and is not likely to let him go. Mr. Rollo, a Scotsman in our group, explained that Anglo-Canadians are forever telling jokes about the Quebecois in which the French-speakers are represented as hopelessly stupid and incompetent but, as soon as it is suggested that Canada would be well rid of such fools and Quebec should be given its independence, they reply "No, never! Send the tanks in and put them in order". Coming nearer home again, the English attitudes revealed in their Irish jokes are very similar.

Even though the rationalisation which the Oppressor gives for controlling the Oppressed is likely to be, because of the mechanism of "projection", that he is civilising those he is ruling, the ruling group is apt to be less pleased than one might expect by those among the ruled who imitate them with most success. Thus in India official British policy from 1833 on was to turn the Indians into "brown Englishmen", but those natives who set out to achieve this were endlessly mocked by the English soldiers and officials as "babus". If you are ruling a foreign nation, you don't really want it to improve itself; you want it to remain inferior. Sober Irishmen give the English no feeling of self-satisfaction; alcoholic ones, who do something to support the Irish jokes, give their egos a boost.

This analysis did something to explain why the most fanatical opponents of minorities are those who have themselves abandoned the language or other signs of minority cultural identity — this is certainly true of the enemies of the Welsh language, most of whom had parents who spoke it if they didn't speak it themselves. Such traitors are liable to suffer from a combination of all the motives causing persecution of the minority: guilt; irritation at being unable to understand, which they may have felt in their own family; and a great need to identify themselves with the ruling group, including adopting its "projections" in order to ensure that these are not directed against themselves and, above all, to ensure that they do not find themselves in the unhappy situation of the Indian "babus" — in which case one might say that their life's work of assimilating themselves with the ruling group would have been wasted.

Miss Cartwright's talk has too many implications for the Celtic situation to expound here. A simple one concerns the Irish joke. If you happen to hear one, the question to ask is "What are you trying to prove?"; and if, as is likely, the answer is something like "Well, it just goes to show how stupid the Irish are"; don't, don't ever try to prove the opposite (which is what I have in the past tried) with a lecture

on the Irish contribution to European civilisation from the water-mill to the steam-turbine and from the Book of Kells to Yeats. Just ask "Why do you need to demonstrate that?" and carry on with an investigation into the joker's motives. Irish history is not relevant to the Irish joke; the perverted minds of too many Englishmen are.

### The Second Assembly

The main advantage of such conferences seems to me to make friends in other national movements, who may be able to help us or whom we may be able to help. Thus, since the Assembly I have written an article on the Irish language revival and why it has not succeeded, which it is hoped may be published in Basque and Catalan magazines. I was asked to do this during the First Assembly because, while the new autonomous governments of Euskadi and Catalunya are pressing forward enthusiastically with the revival of their national languages, they seem intent on repeating some of the major Irish mistakes (especially is this true of the Basques).

However, it must be clear that I do not see anything useful coming out of contact with the women liberationists, village-life revivers, nuclear disarmers and the rest of the groups present, if only because the English variety of these people were not interested in contact with us. All the same, our study-group on ethnic questions elected a talented group to the Council of the Fourth World, charged with arranging a Second Assembly in 1982. They were Dr. Peeters, Mr. Reinhardt and Miss Cartwright, all mentioned above, Dr. Ismet Vanley, a Kurd, Tom Banyacya, a Hopi from Arizona, and Randall Hayes, a U.S. film-maker on Amerindian peoples. With some reluctance the rest of the Council, which seems to be entirely English, agreed that the Second Assembly should be held in Berlin (the Third may be in Edinburgh) and that not more than twenty-five people should be allowed from any one country. Therefore some of the major difficulties we had with the First Assembly, which was attended by nearly 400 people with over 80% coming from England, should be avoided.

Anyone interesting in attending on 4-11 August 1982 (6 August is the special day for ethnic questions) should get in touch with:

Fabrik Commune für Kultur,  
Sport und Handwerk,  
Viktoriastrasse 13, 1000 Berlin 42,  
West Germany.

Assembly registration will cost DM50, a room in a student hostel DM9 per night, meals DM5 each, and air transport from London about £75 return.

**IFAN LLOYD.**

*Ifan Lloyd donne ici un compte-rendu de la 1ère Assemblée du Quart-Monde qu'il aida à organiser l'été dernier. Malgré le peu de compréhension de la part des nombreux Anglais présents les problèmes ethniques-culturels y recontrèrent une attention favorable. On peut espérer qu'une meilleure procédure permettra à la deuxième assemblée prévue pour Berlin cette année de faire de bons progrès dans le sens que nous désirons.*



It is a pity that Lowender Peran uses Carn to perpetuate the erroneous idea that it is "Kernow's Pan-Celtic Festival". It may be "a" pan Celtic Festival, but (as someone who has been associated with The Pan-Celtic Festival since the Celtic League introduced it to Cornwall in 1972 and its present Organiser in Kernow) I would point out that all the National Committees agreed that we would try to keep this title for the Festival held in Killarney each year to avoid confusion.

Lowender Peran is a festival organised by Cam Kernewek, and like other Celtic Festivals attracts visitors from the other Celtic countries, and in *that* sense is pan-Celtic, but as all other such festivals are content to use the term "Celtic", or "Inter-Celtic", one wonders why Lowender Peran insists on using the term, for it has been pointed out twice before that they are doing Kernow a disservice by confusing the issue in this way. As they are represented on the Pan-Celtic Festival Committee, it seems to me rather dishonest to use another's title.

Let your readers should think we are merely being pedantic, the distinction is important because, in recent years, the effect of the affairs of Pan-Celtic being mainly in the hands of one particular group, has resulted in a narrowing of activity. For instance, would-be participants have been told they cannot compete, because, although they may live and work in Cornwall, they are English. This, in spite of the fact that they are prepared to compete with the Cornish in the Celtic tradition and in Kernewek. Thus cultural activities have been used to divide the people of Kernow instead of uniting them.

This also has an important effect internationally. Other nations will be much more sympathetic to Kernow's claim to nationhood, and identity, if they are encouraged to participate in our traditional activities.

E. Markham's verse seems apposite here:

"He drew a circle that shut Me out,  
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout.  
But Love & I had the wit to win,  
We drew a circle that brought him in."

Narrow Nationalism can never win the day — it must be a case that "One and All" are welcome.  
Dhys yn Iel.

BLANCHE GREEN.

## No to the Union Jack

A Cymdeithas yr Iaith member, Goronwy Fellows, has lost his job at the Llandudno Junction Hotpoint factory after refusing to stick Union Jack labels bearing the words "Made in Britain" on the machines.

The managers refused his request to be moved to another part of the factory and told him he had no choice but to resign. His union supported the management's view! He is now appealing to an industrial tribunal on the grounds of "conductive dismissal".

**DIWAN** — Thanks to an appeal sent out with CARN, Jorj Ab Herve Gwegen, who is devoting much of his free time to the Diwan school in Lesneven, about 4,000 FF were collected last year. This, representing a months salary to the teacher, was very encouraging. Still, this nursery school, like the other 16 and the two primary schools which teaches through the medium of Breton, is short of funds. Too much of the time of those engaged in this vital work is taken up with fund gathering. In February, a show of 530 slides put together by Gervais Gautier and illustrating 1,500 years of Breton history, was organised in Lesneven, the proceeds going to the local nursery school.

We urge our readers to continue their support and send contributions to our Breton branch secretary, clearly marked for DIWAN (address page 24).

● The Irish Branch of the International Committee for the Defence of the Breton language is being reorganised. Its aim: to develop a wider interest in and support for the struggle of the Bretons to save their language. Its secretary, Gráinne Ní Lúbaigh, ("Juanita", Páirc Cois Lochá, Nás, Co. Chill Dara).

## Membership and Subscriptions

All who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership fee (entitling to CARN) and the subscription rates are IR£4 (Ireland), \$US4 (Britain), 40 FF (Continental Europe) and \$9 (US) (non-European countries — air mail). For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscription, write to any of the following C.L. (honorary!) Secretaries:

Alba: Mrs. Mairi Denovan, 9 Dalgleish Rd., Dundee DD4 7JN.  
Cymru: T. Ifor Williams, 2 Ty'n Pwll, Rhosrehwfa, LL77 7AZ Llanelwyl, Gwynedd.  
Breizh: Jorj ab Herve Gwegen, Kerberenes, 29260 Lesneven (Subscriptions to C.C.P.G. Gueguen 2 204 24N Rennes).  
Eire: Máire Bhreathnach, 58, Br. an Bhaibh, Cabrach, Baile Atha Cliath 7.  
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Requests for information will be dealt with only if SAEs or International Reply Coupons are enclosed and if reply needs relatively little time.

CARN is published by the Celtic League, 9 Br. Cnoc Sion, Dromchonnach, Ath Cliath 9. The Editor is Cathal O Luain, 33 Br. Bancroft, Tamhlacht, Co. Atha Cliath. Contributions should be sent to him. Views expressed by contributors, where diverging too much from the general Celtic League policies, should be signed by their authors. Use of the material in CARN is granted free provided the source is acknowledged in which case indication of our address would be greatly appreciated.