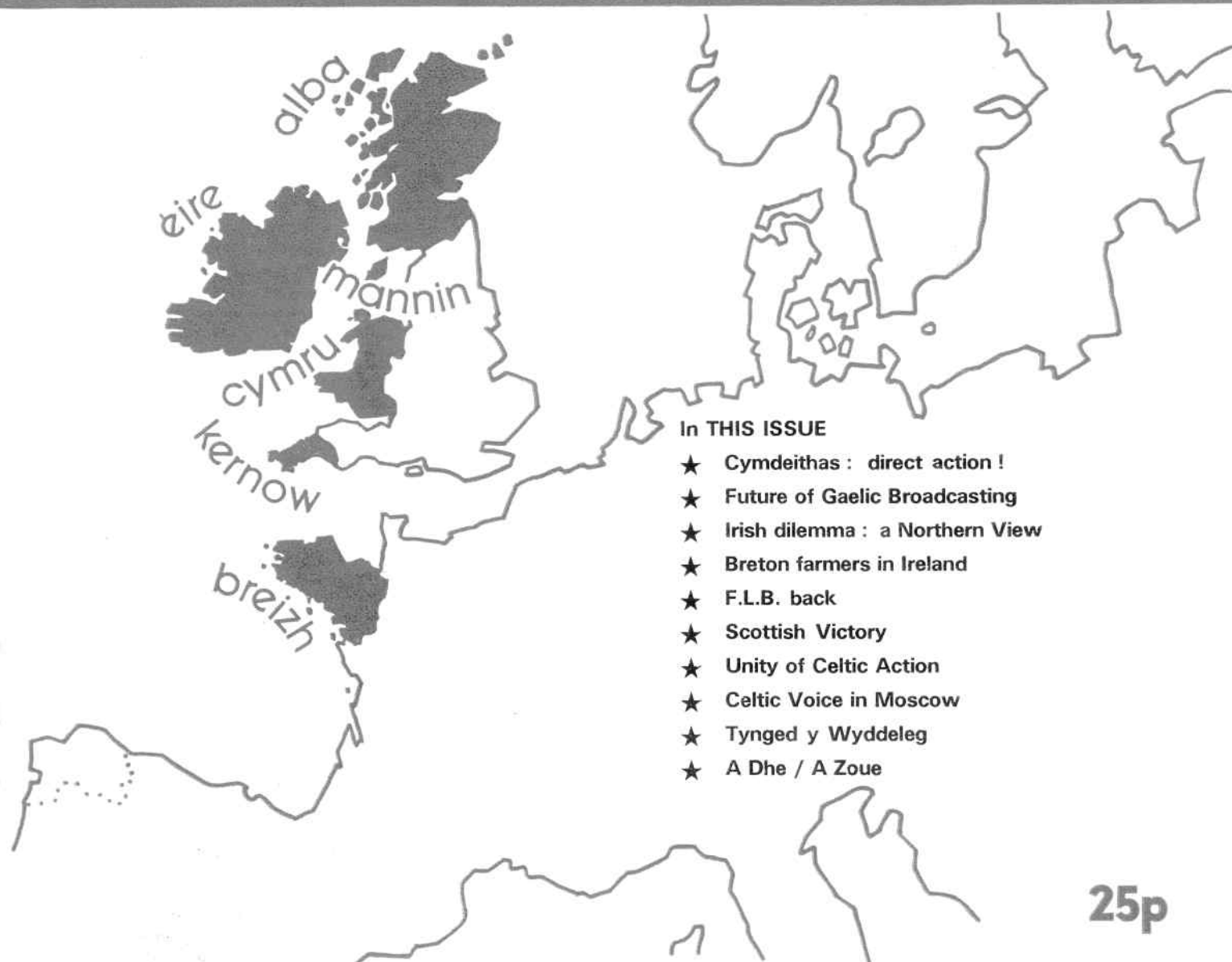


coypn

Spring
1974
No. 5

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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25p

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

ALBA SCOTTISH VICTORY

The General Election in Britain brought the Scottish National Party and Plaid Cymru right into the forefront of British political life and, in view of the indecisiveness of the vote for the two major parties, into positions of much greater influence than would derive from the number of their M.P.s alone.

In Scotland the results were as follows:

Parties	Seats	Change	Votes received	Percentage
Labour	40	net loss 3 seats	1,053,524	36.83
Conservative	21	net loss 2 seats	938,412	32.80
S.N.P.	7	net gain 5 seats	630,000	22.03
Liberal	3	no change	223,520	7.81
Comm.	0	no change	15,071	0.53

As in the "United Kingdom" generally, the support is not reflected in the number of seats gained but in the percentage of the poll received. To gauge the real support for the S.N.P. the other results have also to be considered: the party candidates came second in 16 and third in 30 constituencies.

The Seven M.P.s. We indicate how they scored by comparison with their strongest competitors:

Constituency	S.N.P.	Vote		
Dundee East	Gordon Wilson	20,066	Labour	(17,000)
Aberdeenshire				
East	Douglas Henderson	18,332	Con.	(12,634)
Banff	Hamish Watt	11,037	Con.	(8,252)
Moray & Nairn	Mrs. W. Ewing	16,046	Con.	(14,229)
Stirlingshire E and				
Clackmannin	George Reid	22,289	Lab.	(18,679)
Western				
Isles	Donald J. Steward	10,779	Lab.	(2,879)
Argyll	I. MacCormick	15,646	Con.	(12,358)

The first and fifth seats were gained from Labour, the others, apart from W. Isles, from the Conservatives. D. Steward was re-elected.

Gordon Wilson is the Party's expert on oil, had prepared the programme on the subject; gained a very substantial personal following since the by-election in Dundee East in March 1973.

In the days of Robert Boothby, Aberdeen East was a "safe" Tory seat, rising to majorities of 25,000! A very able candidate and a campaign of imagination and concentration on local issues — fishing, oil, closure of rural schools, poor transports, etc. . . . have had results.

Mr. Watt is a local farmer well-grounded in issues of fishing, farming and EEC matters.

It is very significant that Dundee, Aberdeen and Banff are in the "oil belt".

It was a remarkable achievement for Mrs. Ewing — taking the seat from Mr. Heath's Secretary of State for Scotland, Mr. G. Campbell. She has already shown her calibre in Westminster.

For Labour, the loss of the "safe" Stirling E-Clackmannin seat has been a traumatic experience, their candidate R. C. Douglas being one of their ablest members. The new member is no less able and intelligent, and has the advantage of T.V. experience to take to the public life of parliament.

In the W. Isles, where there was no boundary changes, the will of the electorate towards a sitting SNP member for the last term is expressed by a fantastic increase in his majority from 700 to 7,000.

In Argyll, the gain was made by the son of a founder-member of the SNP presently head history teacher in Oban High School. It is not a surprise as the 1970 result was pointing this way.

One of the headings in the *Scotsman* on March 2nd was "Home Rule Movement here to stay", and that is no more than simple fact. Both Labour and Conservative parties will be doing a great deal of analysis on what went wrong and we await their pronouncements — the Labour Party are having their A.G.M. in Ayr at the end of this month. Mr. Wilson is Premier again. He has certainly not shown any imagination by bringing Mr. William Ross back to his former position as Secretary of State for Scotland, despite the fact that many young members of the party with the tide of S.N.P. votes creeping in to engulf them are being much more realistic. Four of them have published their own ideas on devolution which include monetary arrangements going much further than Kilbrandon.

Mr. William MacEwan Younger chairman of the Tory party in Scotland said during the election campaign that he expected they would gain ten seats in Scotland and Mr. Taylor another Scottish spokesman for the Tories said that no matter what happened south of the border they knew Mr. Heath would be delighted with what they would report from Scotland! WE have not heard the post-mortem report.

That ALL the three "major" parties will co-operate in attempts to hinder the progress of the S.N.P. and Plaid Cymru was shown during the campaign by the way they combined in the disgraceful operation of bringing the television broadcast for the national parties forward from the Tuesday evening before polling to Children's Hour time on March 23rd, and that at a day's notice. In the end however this seemed to have worked against them and gained the national parties more votes.

Also during the campaign a Labour candidate delivered himself of a truly hysterical attack on the S.N.P. throwing about wild references to racism and Hitler and claiming that the slogan "Scotland's Oil" was reminiscent of "Guns or Butter". This sort of smear continues, for immediately after the election a debate on S.T.V. in which the new member for Aberdeen East, Douglas Henderson, took part was completely spoiled by the representatives of the Labour, Tory and Liberal parties all taking the opportunity of airing their fears about "certain aspects" of this National awakening and roaming time and space from Hitler to South Africa for their analogies. Mr. Henderson dealt with this very ably, protested at the level to which the others had sunk, and was supported by the chairman. All this is of course a very great change from last year and it is worth giving a few quotes: From the Liberals — "The S.N.P. are Keepers of the nation's inferiority complex" — "a rag-bag of extremists in Scotland".

From the Tories — "the S.N.P. are the polluters of politics" — "the S.N.P. are a group of irresponsible mediocrities". Labour are not so free with comment; with much more to lose, one can see why.

One television programme put out by the B.B.C. in Scotland is the weekly debate on current affairs "Current Account" and it maintains a fairly consistent high standard. Anyone who missed it on Thursday, March 7th missed a historic occasion. It featured our seven new M.P.s with Donald Stewart as their chairman and Gordon Wilson as vice-chairman, answering questions put by Donald MacCormack as chairman of the debate. They showed themselves articulate, intelligent, well-informed, enthusiastic and confi-

dent. That confidence they are now justified in taking to Westminster with the hopes and support of the Scottish people, who will be behind them in their "three pronged attack" — constant pressure to accelerate the movement for devolution, to bring about a referendum on the E.E.C. and to secure measures against inflation.

AT STIRLING CASTLE

No more, thanks heaven, within these greystone walls,
The royal intrigue, and the deadly pact,
Nor blood and sorrow of that lustful queen
Who wanted more from men than they could give.
(We plot for power in different fashion now,
And no one starves or dies to further ends
No less despicable than Bruce or Stuart killed for.)
Quiet stands the castle; tourists view the lawns
And flower-beds kept up now by the Department.
Inside, the swords and trophies shine, the flags
Hang sombre (and half-rotted) on the walls.
Scotland the Brave and Scots Wha Hae sound out
From pipe bands in the night; Mad Mitch
Is now M.P. at Westminster (Tory of course):
The Nationalists, they say, filched Wallace's sword
But tamely gave it back.

Who Stirling holds

Scotland commands; or so they used to say.
Now Darnley, Mary, James the Bloody Fifth,
Butchered Douglas, Edward the Hammer, fade away
And hardly seem to haunt this well-kept place.
Who's in charge here now? Who calls
The piper's tune and sends him to what wars?

Donald R. Rawe

THE FUTURE OF GAELIC BROADCASTING

The under-privileged position that Gaelic finds itself in today is in no small measure due to the inadequate treatment of Gaelic on radio and television. Yet Section 10(4) of the BBC Charter, in setting up a National Broadcasting Council for Scotland to share responsibility in Scotland with BBC London, says, "Each National Broadcasting Council shall be charged with the following functions which shall be exercised with full regard to the distinctive culture, language, interests and tastes of Our People in the country for which the Council is established." As we read this Royal Command we see clearly that Gaelic is not the only distinctive Scottish feature which is neglected in broadcasting, but it happens to be the most obvious one.

A glance at one week's *Radio Times* will show that during the week (a typical one) 2 hours 35 minutes is in Gaelic on radio out of a total 475 broadcast hours which are provided for us in Scotland and which we pay for entirely out of our licence fees. Even if the time which should be devoted to a living developing language were decided merely by counting tongues, then we in Scotland are entitled to 7½ hours in Gaelic each week, since there are 1.6 per cent of Gaelic speakers in Scotland.

The BBC Charter is disregarded even more blatantly on television, for out of 141 hours of television each week only half an hour every MONTH is in Gaelic. Again counting tongues we are entitled to 2¼ hours of Gaelic every week; in other words we are receiving only one-twentieth of the

Gaelic television to which we are entitled. It is difficult to see how this kind of treatment can be described as paying full regard to Gaelic as the Charter demands.

If we examine the balance of Gaelic output the treatment begins to look even worse. Thus on radio 20 per cent of the output concerns religion. If this policy were applied to our radio output as a whole there would be a total of 13 broadcast hours per day of religion on radio. Not that we suggest cutting down on the Gaelic services on radio to right the balance; rather must the amount of time devoted to other subjects be raised. We must be clear too that the imbalance is due to central BBC policy and not to its Gaelic Department. Indeed Fred MacAulay and his team do admirably in the tiny time and mean budget allowed them and one is continually surprised that the BBC has been able to attract and retain the able Gaelic broadcasters that it has.

How then could the BBC develop so as to fulfil its obligations to Gaelic and provide a modern service to Gaelic speaking communities? The obvious solution is to run a local Gaelic speaking radio station such as the 20 local stations already operating in England. Each of them broadcasts on VHF and produces nine to 13 hours of locally produced programmes every day. The total operating costs for each station is only £85,000 per year and operating costs plus depreciation come to £110,000 a year.

Clearly nine to 13 hours of Gaelic radio each day could be produced from a local radio station situated in the Gaelic speaking area and could initially be broadcast from the Melvaig, Penifiler and Scraig transmitters, although extra transmitters would have to be installed to cover the present black areas. Some of this Gaelic output could also be broadcast to the whole of Scotland and to England and this would help to reduce the financial burden on the Gaelic station. The above calculations assume that the output of such a Gaelic station would be similar to the output from the English local radio stations. Much of this is parochial and trivial, but Gaelic speakers urgently require some of this "disposable" material especially when we consider the poor physical communications of the Gaelic speaking areas and the ridiculous rivalry between different Gaelic dialects which continues into modern times largely because of the failure of broadcasting to bring these dialects into contact with one another.

Of course, in keeping with the nature of Gaelic culture, we would expect material of a more serious, a more cultural and a more international nature than the English radio stations produce and this would inevitably cost more. However, even if it was twice as expensive the same budget would still permit five to seven hours of Gaelic radio each day.

The £110,000 operating and depreciation costs would represent 3.7 per cent of the £2.00 million which we in Scotland spent to provide our radio services in the financial year 1971-72 (BBC Handbook 1973). This is indeed slightly above the proportion of Gaelic tongues in Scotland, but on the other hand the main Gaelic speaking areas do not receive BBC2 television although they are charged for it in the licence fee. Gaelic communities would certainly be better served by a Gaelic radio station than by introducing another disruptive element in the form of BBC2 (at this stage anyway) although if they were asked their views on this just now, many might well opt for BBC2; and of course the reason would be that they are so accustomed to hearing only English on radio and television that they can have no idea what a Gaelic service could be like and may even be beginning to believe that their language is not capable of being effective in these situations.

Then there is the question of the initial capital investment to set up a Gaelic radio station. This, of course, should be largely carried by the Highlands and Islands Development Board. If the Board can with a clear conscience encourage the tourist industry, then it can encourage the educational, entertainment and engineering industries associated with a Gaelic radio station, and of course, to put it as crudely as possible, the existence of Gaelic is an immense tourist attraction, scarcely yet tapped. Besides the Board has a social responsibility to Gaelic.

Thus economics and the numbers of Gaelic speakers would justify a local radio producing about five to seven hours of Gaelic per day (30-50 hours per week) and what is more important than either of these two considerations, it would permit a balanced treatment in Gaelic of topics like current affairs, culture, sport, entertainment, education and religion all at the local and international level; for the Gaelic speaking Scot has as much right to receive his information in his preferred language as does any other Scot. With another 65 hours of English language material to choose from each day there could be no claims by monoglot English speakers that Gaelic was crowding out their favourite English programmes.

A much more urgent situation, however, than radio is the position of Gaelic on television, for children and adults are being deprived of their Gaelic heritage as a way of creative thinking by the box in the corner, and the chance of participating to their fullest in the versatile medium of television is being denied them. "But they've got the choice of switching off, haven't they?", we hear often. Switching off, however, does not increase participation. Nor by any stretch of the imagination could anyone claim that the BBC is overspending on Gaelic television for the once monthly "Bonn Comhraidh" is the cheapest of cheap television —, and it is doubtful whether the quasi-Gaelic "Se ur Beatha" should be counted. Even if we do count it we still come nowhere near the two to three hours per week which numbers of Gaelic speakers alone demand. As with radio the time to be devoted to Gaelic must include consideration of how much is necessary to give a balanced treatment in Gaelic.

Clearly then Gaelic is not getting a fair crack of the whip now or in the past 50 years of Scottish broadcasting. Symptomatic of the past contempt of the BBC for Gaelic is the fact that although the BBC has just celebrated its 50th anniversary of broadcasting in Scotland, the Gaelic Department is celebrating only its 37th anniversary. Unless the study of Scottish broadcasting recently commissioned by the Government produces some 35 to 50 hours weekly of Gaelic radio and some two to three hours weekly of Gaelic television, then only the most cynical could regard the BBC's actions towards Gaelic as anything other than cultural vandalism.

Dr Gordon Barr

BREIZH

BRETON MUSIC : GOLD MINE OR NATIONAL TREASURE?

This article deals with two new publications concerning Breton music. The first is a book "La Nouvelle Chanson Bretonne" by Jacques Vassal, the second a magazine, "DASTUM, magnetheque nationale bretonne — Cahiers de musique traditionnelle".

In the field of music, we Bretons are not lagging: we have now at least five recording companies, Mouezh Breizh,

Iroise, Kelenn, Noe, Arfolk. But that does not mean that the Breton movement controls its own affairs in this field. Vassal's book proves the contrary.

It is an anthology and history of Breton music and present day singers. But it is written by a Frenchman for the French. Being published by a French firm it can expect a wide circulation, a thing which a Breton publisher could not have achieved. The French author does not confine himself to writing a best-seller. He does what no Breton has done yet: he reveals the roots of the fantastic revival of Breton music and its political significance. In the first 60 pages he gives a summary of the history of Brittany and of its conquest by France. The colonisation, the relentless hostility to the language and the uninterrupted drive to frenchify Brittany are bluntly exposed. It is the most important aspect of the book. Having grown interested in his subject, Vassal became more Breton in his thinking than the Bretons themselves. He set about to depict the link that exists between the hidden soul of a people and the music which evokes their everyday life. He succeeded! The thousands who were getting acquainted with Brittany's problems thanks to the revival of Celtic music needed more substantial information. La Nouvelle Chanson Bretonne prepares the newcomers to a more rational and political approach to these problems. It will have a deep influence.

What Vassal says in the second part of the book, where he deals precisely with the music and the singers, will be hotly disputed by those, including the singers themselves, who are engaged in the Breton struggle. I prefer not to relate it. Whatever beneficial repercussions the rise of some singers to international fame may have in the Breton psyche many sense the danger of a new form of exploitation. Can Stivell resist the lure of money, will it not divert him from his aim (See *Carn* 3)? Is Kelenn, the recording company, getting caught in the web of the capitalist Philips firm? Why has the great poet Glenmor, the first Breton singer who dared to denounce the colonialists and their acolytes in our country, been devoted so few pages in the book? Many other questions arise.

If a Breton could have written it, it would have been perfect. But it often seems that the Breton patriots need the French "frogs" ("ar C'Hallaoued"), and the "colonialist pigs" to win their freedom! It is what the French government calls cooperation with the under-developed countries!

DASTUM, which I mentioned above, differs from La Nouvelle Chanson Bretonne in two respects: it is not a book but a magazine-cum-magnetheque, published for the purpose of collecting and disseminating the traditional spoken culture — DASTUM means "to gather". Moreover it is run by Bretons, and expressly for Bretons. In a press release, they advert to the progressive disappearance of the bearers of the singing tradition, and to the inability of the young people not brought up in the country to hand on this wealth, with the result that our music is being depersonalised. It is stated also that those concerned with prospecting and collecting are generally working on their own, without any attempt at analysis, synthesis or comparison.

Faced with the danger of irretrievably losing this national legacy there is an urgent need to collect the songs and tunes in every district, by organising teams of prospectors, and then to classify the material and make it available in a coherent way, that it might become our common property, accessible to anyone wishing to increase his stock of songs, to carry out linguistic, musical, sociological studies or even to understand the Breton struggle.

The aim of DASTUM is not to preserve the musical tradition as something fixed, but to enable us to immerse ourselves in it and understand its evolution. If as a people we have still enough personality to commit our music to memory, if we know how to make it evolve on an ethnical basis, then we are not definitely assimilated. It remains to be seen.

A *magnetotheque* is thus being constituted, a) by tape-recording tunes and words, district by district, adding information concerning them, their players or singers, dates and places of recording, with code figures for identification; b) the transcription of the material, comparisons between various versions, their classification under different headings (history, daily life, love, lullabies, etc.)

It will be possible for subscribers to consult DASTUM or to obtain copies. It is hoped that the users will help to build up and disseminate the heritage.

It is a huge undertaking. DASTUM expects to study an average of 6000 tunes a year.

Subscribers will get three issues a year of DASTUM each accompanied by a record; that is, in addition to the annotation of tunes, the Breton and French words, a short critical and linguistic assessment, they will have the sound recording which will enable them to thoroughly familiarise themselves with the style, rhythm and all the qualities which could not be conveyed by means of conventional signs.

An achievement. With the trifling means at their disposal, DASTUM was able to gather 2500 tunes during 1973. A first issue had been published before the end of the Summer, a second one should be out by now.

Here are Bretons who have made up their minds not to beg from the French government in order to save their own cultural wealth. DASTUM is perhaps the most important step in the revival of the Celtic heritage of Brittany since the publication of *Barzaz Breiz*, a miscellaneous collection of songs, ballads and laments in 1841.

Their aim is not to make profits. A set, record and magazine, is available for £2.50. Write to Mr Michel Premorvan, 8 rue du Rouergue, 29200 BREST, Brittany.

Gw.D.

F.L.B. BACK IN ACTION

The Breton Liberation Front (FLB) was supposed to have been dismantled in 1969 and again in 1972, but it was active again during the last months of 1973 and the first of 1974. Up to its spectacular wrecking of the Roc'h Tredudon TV aerial it is said to have enjoyed widespread sympathy, due to the fact that the cheque-book conquest of Breton land, the bad employment situation and the linguistic oppression continued. But the destruction at Roc'h Tredudon affected a large number of people who did not realise its meaning. Was it counter-productive?

One of the chief obstacles to a greater awareness of the colonial situation of Brittany is the State propaganda pouring daily through the State-controlled TV. The Breton-minded organisations have not the machinery and financing to undo the harm on a large scale. It is not surprising, in view of this handicap, that some will not rely on legal and parliamentary means alone to reverse the destructive tide.

The 10 or 12 bomb attacks carried out since October 1973 were directed against police stations, tax offices, military installations, offices of property speculators and industrial exploiters. They underlined real grievances and did not disturb the people's life.

Government reaction: flash in the pan?

On January 30 the French government "dissolved" the illegal FLB-ARB, FLB-LNS, the Corsican FPLC and the open Basque organisation ENBATA. This decision was taken "to safeguard the inviolability of the French-State territory".

The FLB-ARB shrugged it off — it never owed its existence to the French authorities. "The struggle to end the centralist rule which is ruining the Breton culture and economy will continue".

Of twenty young leftists detained for questioning, only four admitted belonging to the FLB-LNS (Liberation nationale et Socialisme) and these were transferred to Paris where a State Security court is to try them.* The FLB-LNS in mid-January had claimed attacks on a military barracks office in Nantes and a speculator office in Konkernev; but otherwise it was known only from statements advocating revolutionary socialism and opposing "narrow nationalism". If it is true that its members were recruited partly by means of circulars and engaged in open as well as clandestine activities the police had an easy task. But it did not put them on the track of the FLB-ARB.

Censorship of an announcement in the 90-second Breton language TV broadcast on February 12, that committees to support the 4 men imprisoned were being set up in many towns, caused the highly esteemed producer Charlez ar Gall to resign.

* 24-4-74: now out on bail.

Beacon of French Light Toppled. La Patrie en danger

Next day the 213 meter high TV aerial on Roc'h Tredudon lay on the ground expertly blown-up. A windfall. Some 300,000 TV sets (one million viewers) would not be receiving the "voice of France" for two to six months. Not only the State-controlled TV but also the radio broadcasts of France Inter, France Musique, France Culture were obliterated in N. and W. Brittany. The attack was signed "Evit ar brezhoneg (= for the Breton language). FLB-ARB". "The attack," it was stated later, "was directed against the exclusive control by the French State of information media which are paid for with our taxes and licences". And they warned that if no change occurred "The Voice of France" would be silenced completely in Brittany.

These events have provoked French dignitaries into issuing threats. Police minister Marcellin, "parachutist" M.P. for the most under-developed department of (Breton) Morbihan, said that separatist agitation would lead nowhere but to the courts of State Security. The renegade Corsican Sanguinetti who recently admitted there were several "civilisations" in France, heaped abuse on those who would tamper with the principle of national unity. M. Debre was for striking hard at the dividers. Messmer would not permit cross-border organic co-operation between French and foreign regions, understand! between the Flemings on the northern, the Alsations and their Alemanic kinsmen on the eastern, the Catalans and the Basques on the Southern border, and presumably between the Bretons and the other Celts to the Northwest: **that is not part of the French scheme for European unity.** A debate on national minorities is TABOU. France cannot evolve by legal means into a federation. State security rules that out.

ENBATA, who never engaged in violence, was the first to be hit by the new wave of centralistic intolerance: they had to stop publication. But already last Summer, Dr. M. Iffrig, an outspoken Alsatian, was expelled from a court of "justice" when he insisted on speaking, "wie ihm der Schnabel

gewachsen ist", in his native German. And two Occitans are awaiting trial for having written on street walls in their own language.

Remember Pompidou as the man who said "there is no room for 'regional languages' in an Europe which it is the destiny of France to mark with her seal". Will Danish, Dutch, not to speak of Irish or Welsh, become regional languages in the Europe which the French Statesmen are bent on shaping to suit their interests? Is it not Messmer who scorns "l'Europe des Regions"?

Hardly had the new French regional councils held their first timorous impotent meetings that Pompidou was warning (Poitiers, 24-1-74) against the risk of their becoming a force opposed to the State.

Repercussions from Roc'h Tredudon

Needless to say, all the opponents of the Breton liberation struggle, from the Party Communiste Français to the Gaullists were infuriated by the blow against the high symbol and effective instrument of French influence. L'Humanité hissed "fascists!" and L'Aurore urged shooting "a few of them".

Opinions expressed in Breton publications varied from condemnation by the U.D.B. who "refused the adventure and irresponsibility of terrorism when other forms of struggle are possible" to rejection of the blame on the French government by the Breton Communist Party and hesitation mixed with joy in the more traditional organisations.

The first reaction of those who suffer from the destruction of their language by the French Murder Machine will have been a sense of elation. But personal satisfaction must come second to political considerations. The act will be judged by the answers given to such questions as, a) are the people in general sufficiently informed to understand the motives behind it? b) will it stimulate their sympathy or the reverse? c) is it sound to interpret explosively a widespread discontent and risk a stiff repression when, for the first time, Breton ideas are becoming accepted by the people?

According to the magazine AL LIAMM, "for the moment it is a bad blow to the spread of these ideas". People are so hooked on to television that its entertainment value outweighs the unpleasantness of the propaganda pervading the programmes. After a while it seems however that many have taken a sober view and can enjoy life again without the magic box. The UDB a few inches above the ground bemoans the plight of the old and sick. The old . . . they had in all 20 minutes a fortnight in Breton and for the rest highly civilising Parisian light and noise to stuff their heads with. What society is that which provides them with nothing better for distraction? The U.D.B.'s monthly carries however the clearest indictment of ORTF-Rennes. If their analysis of its methods and programmes could be widely disseminated more popular methods of attack could perhaps be effectively substituted for those of the FLB. "The situation of the journalists working for the Breton language broadcasts — two weekly 90 second identical announcements and a fortnightly 15 minute report "Breizh O Vevañ" — is most precarious. They are considered as "journalistes occasionels". They are paid only $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{5}$ the average wages. The filming and preparing of the broadcasts is continually sabotaged. BREIZH O VEVAN exists only thanks to the dedication of its reporter FLAO, despite stingy means and a war of attrition: the technicians supposed to be at his

disposal are not there when expected; the photographers are despatched on other jobs at times reserved for him; he gets $\frac{1}{2}$ hour for the "mixage" (editing) of films normally requiring two hours; his films come last for developing, etc.

"WHAT USE IS RADIO-ARMORIQUE? It is certainly not informing the Bretons: its information is distorted, censored, interfered with. IT IS USED AS AN INSTRUMENT OF FRENCH GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA AND CULTURAL OPPRESSION. A "VOICE OF FRANCE FOR THE SAVAGES OF BRITTANY" (Le Peuple Breton).

Other forms of Struggle? Hundreds of resolutions, petitions, bills of law have been and could yet be presented to the French government with the possible result that another hour on radio and a $\frac{1}{2}$ hour on television would be granted in another twenty years. That would "decently" bury the Breton language. The latest hint is that "it is not opportune to permit the teaching of Breton in technical and vocational schools: "it would interfere with the proper learning of French" (Minister's reply to three Breton députés). Should we rather try the methods of Cymdeithas Yr Iaith? Try to get 100,000 people on the street as Conrath na Gaeilge did in 1909? 150,000 people signed one of the petitions: small effort for them! To mobilise masses, your voice must carry far and not be jammed. Can a few monthlies with a limited circulation (Le Peuple Breton prints 7,500 copies after 10 years) hope to counteract the persistent and loud voice speaking all day long in every house of Brittany?

It's a vicious circle. If the people, lured and dazed by entertainment, cannot obtain a clear realisation of the damage, will those who see it have to concede defeat? Or as in other nations threatened in their existence, try different ways to galvanise the will to resist?

Of course such a resistance movement must be extremely careful not to give the enemy more chances than it already has. It must carefully observe the effects of its actions to avoid being too much out of step with the people whose support it requires if it is to succeed. Its actions must be explained in detail, avoiding verbiage. But a few slogans are not enough. If it is true that a large number of Bretons turn their anger against their fighting countrymen instead of against the French State, there is a serious defect for the whole national movement to remedy by coordinated effort: to inform the people more effectively, by supplying such facts as exemplified about ORTF-Rennes. It is when the "Breton ideas" are made more controversial that the opportunity for the open organisations arises: they have the facts, let the people judge. The task is more arduous? It is a struggle, involving a painful re-examination in alienated minds of the equation of Breton with inferior.

A. H.

CYMRU

CYMDEITHAS : DIRECT ACTION TO CONTINUE

Despite the decision by Dafydd Iwan, a prominent member of Cymdeithas yr Iaith, to concentrate his activities from now on within Plaid Cymru, and despite the success of the party in Caernarfon and Meirionnydd, the society will not give up its direct action campaigns as some would wish, for obvious reasons. Perhaps the most important single event recently has been the release of Ffred Ffrancis from

Walton prison on St. David's Day, as determined as ever to continue the struggle. In his book (*Daw Dydd — The Day will come*), published on the same day, and in various meetings held all over Wales, he emphasized the importance of constant communication with our people on a local level. The main task ahead is to build a solid base of popular support for the various campaigns.

Within three weeks of his release, Ffred Ffrancis addressed a rally in London, along with Tom Ellis (Labour M.P. for Wrexham) and Emrys Roberts of Plaid Cymru, calling for a speedy decision by the London government in favour of a Welsh-language television channel. This well-attended rally as well as the 60 arrests following a sit down demonstration near Downing Street, showed the determination and solidarity of the Welsh people behind this campaign.

Members and supporters continue to be fined for refusing to buy a T.V. licence. More recently there have been several cases involving the anti-second home campaign, the more notable case being in Pwllheli in February, involving 33 members. Several local rallies have been held during which action has been taken against holiday homes in broad daylight.

In January two rallies were held in Caernarfon and Caerfyrddin as part of the campaign to secure full status for the Welsh language in the new local councils. A petition with 20,000 signatures has been presented to all District and County Councils in Wales, and deputations have met several councils to discuss the matter.

Impatience is increasing rapidly over the ridiculous delay in the government decision over bilingual road-signs. Already the campaign of removing English-only road-signs has re-started, activities being concentrated at present on one area at a time.

The address of Swyddfa Cymdeithas yr Iaith now is Tanrallt, Machynlleth, Maldwyn (phone: 2329).

PLAID CYMRU

The Westminster elections have been and gone. PLAID CYMRU gained two seats and was within four votes of winning another. The two elected—one from CAERNARFON and the other for MEIRIOYDD are among the ablest in the ranks of Plaid. Mrs. Ewing said after her victory that the SNP proposed to work very closely with Plaid. That's good news. Only too often has it been said in the past that the Celtic people are so much happier quarrelling amongst themselves than with the enemy. Let us hope that we have now signalled in a new dawn.

As for Wales as a nation, the English Labour Party avoided the previous mistake of giving the post of 'secretary of state for Wales' to one George Thomas. It went this time to John Morris. George Thomas, it may be remembered defended English policies in our country with a determination that bordered on fanaticism. In the end the rope hanged him. Even Welsh members within his own party were often acutely embarrassed by his compulsive outbursts against the language, Plaid Cymru, Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, and, indeed, everything that was remotely connected with our aspirations as a nation.

But so much for that geneleman. It is important now that we build upon what we have so far gained. Plaid (many would say, with all its faults) is the only party that is sincerely concerned with the interests of Wales and the Welsh people — present and future.

KILBRANDON will undoubtedly occupy the thoughts of Plaid and S.N.P. members. Whatever Westminster will concede will be with the usual reluctance and, if the past history of English colonialism is to go by, there will be the determination to retain all things considered 'important' in that establishment.

However, a foot is in the door and we have every confidence that when the next Westminster elections are held Plaid Cymru will consolidate its position.

The diehards will always be with us. Even one Welsh language weekly newspaper stated that Kilbrandon was as far away as Kilimanjaro. We can only assume that the writer himself exists in some political Kilimanjaro.

CYMDEITHAS EMRYS AP IWAN — The Welsh International Society. This society was formed to encourage all forms of direct interchange between the people of Wales and the peoples of other countries — by promoting translation about Wales, exchanging families or school groups, language crash-courses, lectures, etc. In the near future it is hoped to organize specialist groups to concentrate on certain subjects. Welsh is the official language of the society, but learners who accept this basic principle are very welcome, as are of course friends of Wales in other countries.

With support from Cyngor Celfyddydau Cymru (The Welsh Arts Council), the society held its first conference at Coleg Prifysgol Dewi Sant, Llanbedr Pont Steffan between the 5th and 7th of April. Among those who addressed the conference were Mr. W. Gareth Jones (Coleg y Brifysgol, Bangor), Gareth Alban Davies (Leeds University), Yves Person (Sorbonne, Paris), and the Scottish poet Hugh MacDiarmid.

Further details of the society and membership forms are available from one of the secretaries, Elin Garlick, Hen Ysgoldy, Llansteffan, Sir Gaerfyrddin.

CELTIC CONCERT IN BANGOR. A highly successful Celtic Concert was held as part of the Bangor Arts Festival this year. Artists from three of the Celtic countries took part. Éire was represented by Rakish Paddy (B.A.C.) and the well known Birmingham Céilí Band! Kikael Madec sung folk songs from Brittany; and amongst other artists from Wales, Ann Hopcyn charmed the audience with her renditions of Welsh folk songs on her Celtic harp. In view of the unquestionable success of this first Celtic concert to be held in Bangor, it is hoped to hold another similar event in the autumn.

ANTUR AELHAEARN

Every now and again one hears some encouraging news from rural Wales, and lately the village of Llanaelhaearn in South Caernarfonshire, Gwynedd, has been the source of much news of this nature. One name which is particularly connected with recent developments in the area is that of Dr. Carl Clowes, a young doctor in the village who was born in Manchester, England, his mother being Welsh. During the past year he has learnt Welsh fluently and has become a member of Plaid Cymru, Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg and Cymdeithas Tai Gwynedd (the Gwynedd Housing Association). But it is as one of the leaders in the fight to keep Llanaelhaearn school open, and of Cynllun Dysgwyr Gwrtheyrn (a project to develop the deserted Nant Gwrtheyrn into a center for the teaching of Welsh) and more recently as chairman of Cymdeithas Gydweithredol

Llanaelhaearn (Llanaelhaearn Co-operative Society), that he has come to the fore. His wife Dorothy comes from Ireland, she too is learning Welsh and is one of the founders of the area's Ysgol Feithrin (nursery school).

The recent revival in the village started in 1970, when villagers fought off attempts to close Cwmcoryn Welsh Presbyterian chapel. In 1971 a Parents' Association was formed to fight the threatened closure of the village school, and they succeeded in reserving the Education Committee's decision. Since then several cultural societies have been established along with a Villagers' Society which has so far been active in many directions including a campaign to open a new social center and bringing pressure to bear on local authorities to build new houses and at the same time to legislate against holiday houses. But work is scarce in the area and prospects are not good since many young people are forced to leave to seek work elsewhere. Having realised this, Dr. Clowes and Mr. Emrys Roberts, another village leader, went to Ceann Cléire in West Cork to see if there was anything they could learn from the successful Co-operative Society which had been established there.

The Cape Clear Co-operative has succeeded in bringing employment to the island by opening a small light metal factory and pottery works. A fishing boat has also been bought to be rented to islanders. It has published colourful picture postcards, which are bilingual, to sell to tourists and is encouraging the home crafts industry. The Society also hopes to extend the Summer School for Irish learners held on the island. The Co-operative is run by the islanders for the islanders, and the value of a body like this, centered on one locality and run by people who are very conscious of their responsibility to their area, was immediately obvious to Dr. Clowes and Mr. Roberts. By now, the Cape Clear Co-operative under the leadership of Father Tomás O Murchú grown not only to give life to the island, but is also a strong voice for the island's rights. Dr. Clowes and Mr. Roberts were impressed with the obvious change in Cape Clear and were sure that a similar scheme in Llanaelhaearn would work and be of great benefit to the area, and to any other area of rural Wales with enough enterprise to undertake such a venture.

In April 1973, Llanaelhaearn launched its own co-operative society with an appeal for funds. Since then it has developed and is currently engaged in securing tenants for its factory. Like the Cape Clear Co-operative and the Houad Island development in Brittany, Antur Aelhaearn (the Aelhaearn Venture) has shown how much we can achieve in our rural areas for ourselves, without the aid of central government. Hopefully, many more similar ventures can be launched in the future to transform the economic outlook in those parts of our countries where our native Celtic cultures are at their strongest.

Further information can be obtained from the following address: ANTUR AELHAEARN, BRYN MEDDYG, LLANAELHAEARN, GWYNEDD, CYMRU.

M.P.

EIRE

THE IRISH DILEMMA : A NORTHERN VIEW

The results in the recent British General Elections are intriguing and instructive. For as England enters a period of weak government, the successes of the Scottish nationalists, Plaid Cymru, and even of the Ulster Protestant Loyalists,

clearly indicate the burgeoning growth of Celtic separatism.

The Ulster Loyalists, intent upon the maintenance of a Protestant supremacist statelet in a portion of the ancient province of Ulster, are certainly Irishmen. Paisley and his friends, if they so wish, are as entitled to travel on an Irish passport, for example, as any other inhabitant of Ireland, north or south. And as for their alleged 'loyalty' to Britain, the post Sunningdale Boal plan for a federated Ireland, has been the most recent indication of their separatist thinking, evincing approval from both the UVF and the IRA. At this moment, however, with eleven Loyalist representatives returned to a Westminster where neither of the major parties have sufficient seats to form a government, they are hopeful of bargaining their support for a return to the bad days of pre-1969 Stormont. But not even the English Tories could perform such an anti-Sunningdale volte face, in the light of world scrutiny of the Northern problem. The Loyalists' plenipotentiary powers of negotiation, therefore, may well ultimately be employed in setting up, with their fellow Irishmen, an independent federated Ireland!

Meanwhile in the South of Ireland, the home of the separatist tradition, little is stirring in the way of national spirit, and anglicised sophisticates, like Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, work early and late to eradicate everything distinctively Irish. Their latest target is the Irish language, but plans are well under way for the total anglicising of Radio Telefis Eireann. Ireland is also the only member of the European Community whose official language is not a working language of the community. As a recent writer puts it "Fine, but what is left? When the emperor is seen to have no clothes, it is time to depose him; when a nation has no particular distinguishing marks, it is time for it to merge itself in a larger entity. The logic of Dr. O'Brien leads us right back into the United Kingdom." This is a far cry, indeed, from the aspirations of the generality of the Irish people. In proof of this, a little-publicised poll taken only a year ago, revealed, to the Irish government's surprise, that the people in the South were strongly against any tampering with the constitution, in respect of de jure recognition of Northern Ireland. The South as a whole, then, will finally have to decide whether the shoddy values of the consumer society adequately compensate for the erosion of the country's cultural heritage, and its uniqueness in the comity of nations.

When the pogroms and burnings broke out again in Belfast, in August, 1969, following the bludgeoning of the civil rights marchers, and the RUC attack on the Bogside community in Derry, many in the long suffering Northern Irish Catholic community felt that this time the Southern Irish government would have to intervene actively in their defence. For the rest of the world, through television, now knew of Stormont's corruption. There was talk of the Irish army taking over Derry and the border town of Newry, and then a direct appeal for UN intervention. The precipitate arrival of British troops on the ground in Derry and Belfast pre-empted all this, but the then Taoiseach, Jack Lynch's "We shall not stand idly by" speech, had sent a thrill of joy and hope through Northern Irish hearts. At last, the Irish nation was taking serious note of the sufferings of their Northern fellow countrymen. Those were days of dignity and joy for the Northern Irish Catholic community, even in the midst of their ordeal. For they were not being forgotten.

It soon became obvious, however, that Lynch's brave words were so much hot air, and with the return to power of the Tories, in England, in July, 1970, events again began

to take a distinct turn for the worse. The notorious two day curfew clamped on the whole Lower Falls area in Belfast, only a few days later, was an example of what was to come. A continuous series of military raids on Catholic homes, massive arrests, repeated remands in custody on trumped-up charges, excessive and unjust sentences accompanied by sectarian remarks by members of the judiciary, finally culminated in a jackboot imposition of one-sided internment on August 9th, 1971. Throughout all of this, the Irish Government stood idly by.

Apologists for the Southern Government make the point that many representations were being made to the British behind the scenes. If so, they had absolutely no effect, as the internment operation gained momentum, and false arrests, interrogations, beatings, and finally, sophisticated torture techniques were employed on a stricken people. Another excuse was that any expression of sympathy would only result in even greater suffering being inflicted on them. But from the imposition of Direct Rule in March, 1972, the Protestant extremist backlash, as well, had come into full swing, since when, well over two hundred innocent Catholics have been killed by assassins, countless Catholic families have been driven from their homes, and many Catholic churches and schools attacked.

We come, then, to the third excuse for the Southern Government's abandonment of its duty to protect the Northern Irish Catholic community from the suffering being inflicted on it both by British government forces and Protestant extremists. This was, and presumably still is, that, following the fall of Stormont, a "low keyed" approach to the Northern Protestants might persuade them finally to take their proper place in a new Ireland. But the massive Loyalist anti-Sunningdale vote of February 28th, should now convince Southern politicians that their virtual betrayal of everything distinctively Irish, from the language itself to a clear statement of Irish nationhood, has in no way impressed the hard headed Northern Protestant.

Nevertheless, when the British interest finally withdraws from the Northern conflict, the two Irish traditions, Ulster Protestant and Irish Catholic, could settle their differences in a new emerging pan-Ireland context, to the detriment of neither and the honour of both. Then, finally, a true, and therefore lasting peace will prevail.

Seán Mac Cana

BRETON FARMERS ON TOUR OF IRELAND

On Monday 25th September, 1973 a busload of Bretons arrived in Rosslare on a week long study tour of Ireland. Their guide was Jean Yves Chalm and the tour was organised by the Committee to Develop Mid West Brittany, a voluntary organisation. The party included agricultural advisers, teachers, students and working farmers (members of Les Paysans Travailleurs). They were guests of the Farmers Defence Association which represents Irish Working (small) Farmers. The Bretons were mainly interested in Tourism Development, Beef Farming and Cattle Marts.

The bus, complete with amplification equipment, headed off for Limerick where the party was to stay in a Youth Hostel. On the way they paid a short visit to the Glen of Aherlow Pig Coop — the biggest in the South of Ireland. Early on Tuesday morning they headed for Athenry, East Galway, where they were taken on a conducted tour of the

mart by its manager. About 800 cattle were on offer and the party watched the auctioneers in action.

In Brittany most cattle are still sold at fairs as was the case in Ireland in most areas until recently. But because cattle dealers are promoting the idea of marts, Breton farmers are naturally sceptical. And most members of the party felt that a Cooperative Mart would be no great improvement because in Brittany — as in Ireland — most co-ops are controlled by and run in the interests of the large farmers.

In Galway, two Garda were harassing some of "the travelling people." When they saw the battery of cameras pointed at them by our visitors, they quickly drove off in their squad cars. In Uachtar Ard, the group met members of the local 90-man-strong Land League and visited the Willis Estate where "gombeen men" (business people) have built a golf course despite strong objections from the small farmers.

The Bretons were amazed that the golf greens had not been ploughed up, as is often done in Brittany. A visit was also paid to Brid Fahey's cottage in Millionaire's Row, but she was not at home.

The highlight of the day was a visit to Radio na Gaeltachta, in an Cheathrú Rua where J. Y. Chalm presented a selection of Breton records to Aingeal Ní Chriothaid. Michel Bournot sang "Tra la la la leno" and this was broadcast the following evening.

Next day, on (through Conamara and beautiful West Mayo) to Balla. Here we met Tom Kilroy, general secretary of the Farmers' Defence Association, who farms nearby, in Kiltimagh. Tom explained the problems presently facing Ireland's small farmers. The EEC would make matters worse. The present system, allocating huge tax free subsidies to large farmers, actively discriminated against small farmers.

The next stop was at a dairy farm and poultry unit in Killala. The group were impressed by the high stocking rate, the Ayrshire cross cows and various innovations practised by the farmer. On the way to Sligo, we saw the large estate owned by John Farr, the English Conservative M.P., who has 12,000 acres in Rhodesia as well as his other interests in England.

The Bretons were amazed that our "independent" Irish Government had taken no action against this M.P. despite the demands of local farmers.

On to Donegal, through Ballyshannon . . . we passed convoys of Irish Army trucks and armoured cars going nowhere. Inside the bus, a sing song started up, a welcome change from the fierce debates which took place everyday on political and agricultural topics. In Donegal town: Where was the Youth Hostel? — Just up the road! — It was two miles in fact.

Thursday. A visit to Glen Colmcille. Everybody was interested in the Folk Village and the thatched cottages for visitors, the cooperative shop, the Errigal Coop where we saw celery and fish being processed. In the factory canteen Breton songs were sang and several bottles of wine presented to a solitary Irish speaker from Teelin as a gesture of solidarity between Breton and the Irish people. In Killybegs we visited the trawler fleet and later had a very interesting discussion with the local agricultural adviser.

Friday. Across into the "Six Counties," driving slowly over the ramps at Pettigo border post. In Kesh the phones were out of order because of Provo bombs. In Omagh we were to meet local farmers, but failed, due to a breakdown in communications. On the road to Pomeroy to visit the recently attacked R.U.C. station, we saw a British Army

helicopter flying about aimlessly, presumably in search of "the terrorists." Outside Coalisland a British Army/R.U.C. roadblock reminded us of John Pat Mullan and Hugh Herron who were gunned down in cold blood in Ardboe only a few weeks ago.

The British troops in their heavily armed Saracens were amazed to see a number of Bretons — complete with black berets — emerge from the bus and proceeds to "shoot" at them with their cameras, but took no action except to become much more polite to the motorists they were stopping.

In Armagh, the group enjoyed a pub lunch and a political discussion with some local "Officials". Shortly afterwards we were on our way to the Border, passing by the heavily fortified R.U.C. station at Keady.

On through Monaghan and the Wee County until we reached Royal Meath — and our destination, the Agricultural Research Institute in Grange. The Bretons were delighted to discover that some of the Research staff were going on a study tour of Brittany the following week, with the Grassland Society.

Some of the farmers were particularly interested in beef research: in the EEC dairy farming is fast becoming uneconomic, so they wish to switch to beef. Even farmers with 70 cows were doing this; they claimed that dairy farmers were only working for the banks.

The group were shown the fine herds of bull beef — Charollais, Simmenthal and various crosses. They were very interested in calf rearing experiments where one cow can rear up to 16 calves per season, and very successfully too. Of course, the calves are weaned off the cow every six weeks. It was pointed out that this labour-saving system was ideal for utilising 3-4 cows, in a herd of 30-40 cows, to rear all the calves. The farmers present also showed a keen interest in the outdoor cubicles and kennels used to house the animals. It was only after prolonged blasts of the horn that they eventually boarded the bus for Dublin.

Here we proceeded to Club an Chonarthá where we met the president of Conradh na Gaeilge. We planned also to meet the secretary general of the Celtic League, but he had to leave for work before we arrived. One of the party discussed the tour with him in Breton on the telephone.

Later we had a very interesting discussion with some Dublin trade unionists, including Eamonn Smullen recently released from prison in England. It was agreed that working farmers and industrial workers had common problems and class interests and should not allow themselves to be divided in the interest of a few.

The group were delighted to meet a Dublin girl who spoke some Breton — and also many people who spoke French. Michel was much in demand for his songs. Around 1 a.m. we all had to leave, to a more sober world outside.

Next day, the Bretons departed from Rosslare for Le Harve, having very much enjoyed their stay.

Liam de Paor

CONTRACEPTION

The recent Supreme Court ruling that married couples (in any case) have a constitutional right to the availability of contraceptives have forced the Irish Government to introduce legislation permitting the buying of contraceptives by married couples. They are to be made available in chemist shops only. Curiously enough although it will be an offence

for unmarried persons to buy them, there will, according to the Minister for Justice, Mr. Cooney, be no necessity to produce evidence of marital status. One wonders in fact, whether this and similar anomalies are designed to let the party men off the hook in the free vote under which the Bill will be taken. The not-so-obvious conservatives would always be able to explain that although not wishing to deny married people their constitutional rights they had to vote against the Bill because it had too many loopholes etc. They could of course tell others that they voted against it on principle. With Fianna Fáil apparently going to vote it (on grounds of the loopholes again) and the Government allowing a free vote it looks as if this particular pill will be hard for the Dáil to swallow! The debate on the subject has shown again that many parliamentarians still believe that the law of the Catholic Church should be the law of the land. Needless to say this debate as it continues will also involve the question of the North (Six Counties) and whether people like the above are really prepared to legislate towards a non-sectarian society.

THE LITTLEJOHN ESCAPE

To give the various accounts of the Littlejohn escape (including his own) and to examine them in detail would take more space than is available here. Suffice it to say that the ease with which access to the outer prison wall was gained makes it seem that aid of one form or another was given. Add this to the fact that the Littlejohns were supposed to be high security prisoners and should have been under close supervision and the suspicion gets stronger. Many odd things about the escape still remain unexplained. One thing, however, is clear. The main beneficiary of the escape is the British Government whose ministers in the last government were severely embarrassed by Littlejohn's account of operating as an agent provocateur for its Secret Service. All too embarrassing at a time when it was pressing for stronger action and more cooperation from the Dublin Government and the Sunningdale agreement is still unratified. With freedom gained would not the matter die quietly? However, with one Littlejohn recaptured almost immediately the show must go on for yet a while. The security-conscious Dublin politicians were extremely embarrassed themselves by this further escape from Mountjoy almost on the heels of the Provo helicopter escape and attempted to camouflage their loss of face by diverting attention with a series of well-publicised arms' searches of ships which only revealed further blundering and come to naught.

S.A.S.

Confirmation from the British Army that units of the Special Air Services were operating in the Six Counties come as no surprise to anyone who followed daily events there over the last few years. Reports of assassinations and bombings carried out by civilians from cars which passed unhindered through British Army check points have been catalogued frequently. Special squads such as these have been used in all of England's imperialist wars — in Malaya, Kenya and Aden — to mention but a few — and of course in Ireland during the 1919-21 period.

THE COALITION AND IRISH

Many Irish speakers were prepared to give the benefit of the doubt to the Coalition Government on taking office in view of their promises to replace the policy of hypocrisy and lip-service towards the language with a more constructive one. One of the first steps taken was the removal of the pass in Irish as a requirement for a pass in the Department of Education exams. Since the old policy was counter-productive anyway, relegating as it did the language to the classroom only where enthusiasm and good teaching methods were more the exception than the rule this move received a cautious welcome from most in anticipation of a comprehensive and imaginative policy to come. Fifteen months later many people feel sorely disappointed and taken in. The Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien, indicated in a recent speech his intention to replace the clause governing the use of Irish in RTE (Irish Television), which states that it is the duty of the authority to promote the use of Irish, by one stating only that it should have due regard for it as part of the national culture. He then gave his thoughts on national culture as he saw it (an Anglo-American-Irish cultural conglomerate of some type) and let us know in no uncertain terms that far from regarding Irish as the cornerstone of our culture he saw it as a very minor unessential part of it. He also used the occasion to berate what he called the powerful Irish lobby in RTE and to warn it that it would no longer get its own way. The amusing part is that this "powerful lobby" can only get 2% of the total television time for Irish programmes. Dr. O'Brien favours a second channel for RTE — to be used to relay British TV to those parts of Éire now deprived of it by their unfortunate location! Meanwhile the Minister for the Gaeltacht, Tomás Ó Domhnaill promises great things for the Gaeltacht including some sort of local authority. Whether the form and scope of the proposed authority satisfy the demands of the reorganised Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta (Gaeltacht Civil Rights Movement) is another matter. Whatever is planned for the Gaeltacht it would seem in the light of O'Brien's opinions and the absence of constructive policies for Irish in the rest of the country that the language has not much to hope for. How long will the Gaeltacht survive the internal and external pressures of anglicisation without positive plans to promote Irish throughout the country?

REGIONAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND

The Association for the Advancement of Self-Government was set up recently in the Galway area. It aims to promote the idea of greater local self-control in all spheres of life. That this demand within the Irish Republic — the only self-governing Celtic state — should come from the Western part of the country is not surprising. Of the four provinces, Ulster suffered most from alien control: its division between the Republic and the U.K. led in turn to bitter division within the six of the nine Ulster counties which remained under U.K. control. But the neglect of the Western province of Connacht by the centralised Dublin administration is also tragic; witness the resulting undevelopment, population decline and erosion of the use of Irish as a vernacular.

The Association was founded because it has become obvious that the major task of restoring the status of

Connacht can only be achieved by Connachtmen living in Connacht and those who, having settled there, will throw in their lot with the people of the area. But it holds that what is valid for the West is valid for all regions.

The Association feels it has as much in common with the "outlying" Celtic communities striving to retrieve control of their affairs from Brussels, Paris and London as it has with the people of the Conamara Gaeltacht, whose Gluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta was in 1969 the first in Ireland to demand local self-government from Dublin since the Free State was set up in 1922. The Association views the community problem which one associates with large cities, as basically connected with that of rural decay, declining population in "outlying" regions and the break-up of community and language in the "peripheral" areas of Europe. Now that the centralising effects of the E.E.C. are being brought to bear on all these it is felt that a common approach, and a common stand, must be taken to ensure that power is restored or retained for the "outlying communities."

The first venture by AASG was to publish *Sketches of the New Ireland*, by one of its founders. In this book (A.A.S.G., 24 University Road, Galway) Mr. Fennell, outlines a restructural federal system of government for Ireland.

Their second was a conference in Athlone, last October, to discuss Mr. Fennell's proposals.

The conference attracted a wide spectrum of opinion and interest, from the North and the South — from Provisional Republicans to members of Northern Ireland official Commissions on Local Government reform. It included academic voices from Belfast as well as Dublin and Galway, representatives from rural communities in the West (Irish speaking and non-Irish speaking) as well as community associations from Dublin. Some colourful personalities — John Arden, the English playwright for example — also attended as well as persons who had experience of governmental structures in the U.S., Germany, Greece, and Switzerland. The panel were equally mixed and included Mr. Fennell; Mr. Tom Barrington of the Institute of Public Administration; Ivor Brown, the psychiatrist who is especially concerned with the damage modern suburbia is doing to mental health; and Derry Architect Frank Corr, a member of the Local Government Boundaries Commission, who is especially aware of the problems which the partition of Ireland has created in the North-West.

We cannot give a full account of the main points discussed. Suffice it to say here that, despite the potential for disagreement, there was an amazing degree of agreement of the fundamentals: that government in Ireland, North and South, is inadequate; that no progress can be made under the present system which needs radical reform and that something needs to be done urgently in time for the Republic's Local Elections next year. There was also general agreement that action for the Gaeltacht is urgently needed and that local self-government should be given to these areas at once. Though not everybody agreed with the various reform proposals it was conceded that Mr Fennell had made a good start in his *Sketches*, and that it was better that concerned citizens draw up their own blue-prints for the New Ireland rather than wait for some official agency to do it for them. In fact the degree of consensus achieved around the Athlone table by persons from North and South was amazing. It will strengthen the theory that the only way to get the island moving towards sanity is for all groups to come together in conference to discuss their future, independent of any British involvement.

What was not so satisfactory was the discussion of what to do next. The question of how to restore power to people, from whom it had been taken by powers who will not relinquish it without a struggle, needs much more attention.

In the meantime a start has been made: Irishmen have begun to sketch their future Ireland.

Nollaig Ó Gadhra

KERNOW

ELECTION '74 IN KERNOW

The General Election in Kernow followed the same trend as in England. The electorate, disillusioned by the two major parties, was prepared to vote for any other party that was at hand; in Kernow this was the Liberal Party which consequently greatly increased its vote. In 1970 it won only one of the five seats from the Tories, this time it won two and came second in two other constituencies. The Mebyon Kernow candidate got only 850 votes — this was due to inadequate preparation and campaign organization.

The next Election will be vastly more important to Kernow. Success of nationalism in Scotland and Wales will encourage the nationalist vote here and the presence of a group of nationalists already in parliament will make the election of one or two Cornish nationalists effective and worthwhile.

The nationalist movement of Kernow must immediately start to plan a determined election campaign and get its candidates before the public as soon as possible so that they will be fully prepared when the next election is called.

— R. C. B.

WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT

Now as the two most powerful parties in Britain are tearing the country to pieces in a struggle for the largest share of the national loot, Celtic people should seize the opportunity to shake this exploiting nation off their backs.

Britain's internal conflict will not end with one or two elections or in one or two generations for it is built into its two-party political system and so must continue until this system is changed or one or both parties are destroyed.

This conflict and the consequent weakening of Britain's political strength provide the ideal conditions for a stepping-up of Celtic pressure against English domination. Three conditions which must be fulfilled before the subject people can liberate themselves are:

- (1) The exploiting power must be in an untenable position.
- (2) The people must be clearly conscious of oppression.
- (3) The "revolutionaries" must have completed their organization.

Of these conditions, the first is fulfilling itself speedily. The second is well advanced but still needs more work put into it. The third condition is the one that needs the most attention.

If we are to get the most advantage from dis-unity in England we ourselves must be united. To unite is therefore the first step that we must take in perfecting our organization. Scotland, Éire, Wales, Cornwall and Mann can no longer afford to speak and act individually. They must learn to speak with one voice and act together as one people. Though of course they have their differences there is one

plot of common ground upon which they all can stand, that is their right to be free, on this we can unite at once and confidently support each other.

When any Celtic country protests to any English authority it should simultaneously inform the other Celtic League branches and nationalist bodies who should add their protest in support. In this way we will be more likely to be heard and what is more important we will be forming the habit of pulling together.

Having established the practice of supporting each other's protests and demands we should next very carefully explore the possibility of still further co-operation. We should invite the leaders of the different Celtic national bodies to state their opinions on this subject in the pages of *Carn* and discussions should follow.

The mood in which we all must approach such discussion is the mood of determination to achieve and preserve unity. This is crucial. Any attempt by one nation to pass judgement on another would not only be uncalled for but would damage our hopes of unity.

Our prospect should be broad not narrow. In each of our Celtic countries there are many who are not aware of their Celtic origin and also many who are not Celts at all but who live with us happily as good neighbours and who share our way of life and desire for freedom. We must carry these with us. Our union must not be a narrow unity of kinsmen only, it must be a unity of both kith and kin if it is to be strong enough to impress the three self important W's — Windsor, Westminster and Whitehall and make them willy-nilly pay attention to us.

Now is the time to "gang up" and press our claim and press it we must for it is only when the Celtic people get justice that Celt and Saxon will be able to live together in these islands in proper peace and harmony.

R.C.B.

MANNIN

Mec Vannin Makes Progress

The most significant news from Mann in recent months is the steady gain in support for Mec Vannin, the Manx nationalist party. This increase in support has shown itself in local elections and in good attendances at the functions of Mec Vannin. Mec Vannin is now the largest political party in Mann. This development is not all that spectacular, perhaps: the remarkable stagnation of political life in Mann in the last couple of generations plus the associated view that no true Manxman was interested in political parties has left a vacuum which any group of reasonably determined people could begin to fill. Mec Vannin's recent growth, nevertheless, remains significant.

Recently, there were local elections to appoint members to the Board of Education (central and local government in Mann operates through boards). Mec Vannin gained seats in two out of the three elections, topping the poll in one case. 2,535 votes out of a total of 6,557 were for Mec Vannin candidates. It seems very likely that the party will win seats at the next general election (for Tynwald). This prospect has alarmed many people in Mann, among them the leader writer of the determinedly anti-nationalist *Isle of Mann Weekly Times*. This writer headed his most recent outburst "Beware of the nationalists" and takes Mec Vannin to task for attacking merchant banks and their activities in Mann. A lurid picture is presented of the "ruin" which will follow if Mec Vannin is voted into power. A regular feature

of attacks on Mec Vannin has been the allegation that the party has no coherent policies. The party has replied in a recent newsheet that recent legislation recommended in Tynwald has been inspired by nationalist pressure. An example of this is the proposed Landlord-Tenant Protection Bill.

— Brian Mac Stoyll.

Buala noigh Paris

(The recent blowing-up of a French television pylon in Brittany highlighted the ludicrously small time allocated to Breton by the French radio and TV services).

Sheid an FLB (Front comhar Saora an Bhriotain) tur teiliuis suas san ath mhi ec Roc'h Tredudon sa Bhriotain Thiar. Se polt mur bh'ann as bi an staisiun teiliuis as iomad son miothan. Tra thaghair an polt, bha'n radio as an sirbheis teilbhean as iomad do sealadach. Bha'n tur fhin, ta 600 troigh er airdead, brist anns da phis. D'fhag lucht an FLB fogra soillseacha mach do sheid ad an tur suas son an teine Bhriotanach.

Ga do bi tomhsanan do 'laigh sa Bhriotain Thiar feaguis an teiliuis, bi ad feaguis propaganda Frangach nios. Ga do bheil iomadaid slaigh Briotanach loirt an Bhriotainis, cha nel ad gaodainn ach mionad na dha anndi er an teiliuis gach seachtain. Ta'n scial bunus cho olc as sein er an raidio nios. Ba mhaith leis Paris an Bhriotainis a ghaodainn bas do slan.

Gheobhmaid mach nis bhios lucht stiura na teiliuis as nan mainstearan poiliotacach araltach na's mu tra a chur da'n teine.

(Manannais)

(15-3-74) Brian Mac Stoyll

CELTICA

Gaelic In Nova Scotia

Gaelic speaking Highlanders settled in many parts of North America during the major migrations to the New World. Nowadays of course Gaelic names are everywhere and their bearers vary in their consciousness of what they are from complete ignorance to an almost anachronistic intimacy with the old language and the old way of life.

In Canada, Highlanders settled in significant concentrations in Glengarry County (late 18th century) in Eastern Ontario, in various parts of Quebec (land grants after the Wolfe/Montcalm episode as well as a migration in the 1840's to Stornoway, Quebec) and especially in the Maritime provinces, in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island (Glenaladale MacDonalds). From all of these areas they spread over the continent.

In 1840, 1860, 1880, and 1900 Gaelic was without question a common language in this country, both the Scots and the Irish dialects, although today one would be hard pressed to deduce the same. Gaelic books were published in Toronto and in the Maritimes, some original and others Canadian editions of familiar works. Gaelic newspapers were available from Alba Nuadh to Ontario and in the U.S.A. as far South as the Carolinas where Gaelic was spoken until the 1860's. The old way of life continued in many a place much as it always had, only with a Canadian slant.

Today, although there are still Gaelic speakers all over Canada the one place where children, unfortunately in decreasing numbers, still learn Gaelic naturally, is in Nova Scotia and within that Province perhaps only in Cape Breton, and there again only in the very rural places. Gaelic

has been beating a retreat and there is doubt that the present revival of interest will stem the rout.

In it surprising to learn that even as early as 1852 in Antigonish County, the main market town serving a predominantly Catholic Highland community, Gaelic was being threatened. The old **Gaelic Tourist** gave way to the **Antigonish Casket** which later was only fifty per cent in Gaelic where as **Tourist** had been an all-Gaelic paper (sianach a' Ghaidhlig).

"Thà sinn duilich," bha Iain Boid ag ràdh, "gu'm feum sinn aideach gu'm bheil a' Ghaidhlig a' tarruing air ais a h-uile latha agus a' Bheurla a' deanamh a bonnaibh na's treasa us na's treasa a h-uile car; air chor 's gu'm bheil a h-uile coltas air gu'n cuir i 'Ghaelig bho chd an cuil chumhann mur faigh i 'chobhair ach mar thà i faotainn."

Today, every Thursday, the **Casket** is devoutly English, although there are still not a few Gaelic speakers in both Antigonish and Pictou Counties. 'Anns a' chuil gu dearbh'.

Where Gaelic is still spoken and where the present effort to re-establish it is strongest is on Cape Breton. At the moment there are an estimated four thousand speakers on the island. Gaelic appears in print regularly although not in any great quantity. Private radio produces a Gaelic programme and the C.B.C. until recently ran a weekly Gaelic hour called Mac talla an Eilean. When this was rather abruptly changed owing to 'policy' dictating that only English or French be the language of the national radio, there was a howl from coast to coast. The matter of minority linguistic rights and the C.B.C., three thousand miles wide and often insensitive over such matters (though really not a bad English service), is still raging. Gaelic will win but why? Because it isn't a serious linguistic threat or for other reasons?

In Inverness County, Cape Breton, Gaelic is being taught in a number of schools, the teachers being imported from Scotland. What real effect this will have I doubt; what is undoubted is the genuine spirit of revival which exists in Eastern Nova Scotia. To dwell only on the language is to give a bleakish picture of things. Cape Breton is Highland and Celtic in many more ways than language; there is spontaneous, uninstitutionalised, highly danced-to Fiddle music and some composition of Scots music (dwindled too but, naturally, picking up now); there is still here and there a rural pace and way of life which has made it through other excesses of history.

Getting back to Gaelic though, and this is where the Celtic consciousness is really contained, it seems to this observer that more and more the speakers of the language are older people. Their children, if bi-lingual have not passed it on and now the youth of Cape Breton, for the most part, are English speaking. Many heard Gaelic spoken by their parents and probably understand a bit but not enough to divine the secrets of their parents who used the language to hide things from their offspring.

As a spoken tongue it reflects still truly the areas from which the original settlers came 150 years ago. Lewis and Harris and Skye, and the Uists, Invernesshire and Argyll are still to be heard in Cape Breton and for a Northern person the Glug Eiggeach comes as a surprise. However among those speakers there is a sad lack of literacy in Gaelic, the product of a hostile educational system and other factors.

Nowadays you don't hear many children speaking Gaelic and correspondingly as the spoken language is threatened with extinction so the number of adults taking it up, much as they did French at school, is increasing. Maybe the

revival will be a last goodbye to the old tongue. It is hard to tell. The shame attached to 'the language of the cow byre' has diminished but diminished too is the old home of Gaelic, the way of life. Every day the modern world encroaches, via the usual channels and with the same blindness and that is what is eroding both the language and the character and the culture, alive and thriving of the Celt in Nova Scotia.

Develop or die might aptly be re-arranged to "develop and die." Still keep hope, current crises may cause the realisation that other outlooks on the world are very valuable.

J. G. G.

* Following protests, MacTalla an Eilean was returned to its original share (55 minutes a week) on CBI Radio Station, Sidney, pending investigation by a Canadian Commission. A letter urging the continuation of Gaelic Broadcasts on a permanent basis was sent on behalf of the Celtic League to the Canadian authorities concerned.

A. H.

Celtic Voice in Moscow

The world Congress of Peace Forces meeting in Moscow at the end of October condemned discrimination against ethnic and lingual minorities. It called on the Peace Forces of the world to work for the eradication of this and other forms of discrimination. The Human Rights Commission of the Congress was addressed by Mícheál Mac Aonghusa, representing the Celtic League and Conradh na Gaeilge. He said that the existing International Covenants were grossly inadequate when dealing with lingual and cultural minorities and that a recognised charter of rights for such groups was long overdue. As a contribution towards the drafting of such a charter he proposed a list of 15 fundamental rights for lingual minorities. In order to focus attention on the needs of minority cultures he suggested that an "International Minority Cultures Year" be held. He also proposed that a world congress of non-governmental organisations engaged in the protection of lingual and cultural minorities on an international, national or regional level be held. "These steps," he said, "would not only provide for the protection of small lingual and cultural groups but would strengthen freedom, justice and peace in the world." In addition to his oral statement he also submitted a detailed memorandum on the question.

An tUas. Mac Aonghusa made a written submission to the Commission on Co-operation in Education and Culture. In it he condemned the ethnocentrism of large lingual groups and said: "It is essential to international peace that majority language communities respect the rights of the small groups and assist them to develop their own cultures." He also claimed it was necessary that the educational system of the majority should foster peace and goodwill and understanding towards the minority and ensure that a sufficient number of majority language speakers become proficient in the minority language so as to protect the right of the smaller group to use its language in dealings with the state. The Conradh representative made two submissions to the Commission on National Liberation, Colonialism and Racism. The first dealt with lingual imperialism and the challenge of culture decolonisation. The policy of imperial powers, he said, was always one of genocide, domination or assimilation: "Lingual assimilation of the neo-colony in the case of the neo-colonial power." He condemned the "powerful commercial and trading interests who gain from the creation of

a world-wide cosmopolitan dehumanising mass culture which has little respect for personal or communal values."

In his second memorandum to this commission he asked for recognition of the National Liberation question in Ireland and also in the other Celtic countries. The world congress of Peace Forces was attended by over 3,000 delegates representing more than 150 countries and 1,000 organisations. The work of the Congress was divided into 14 Commissions which dealt with subjects ranging from Peaceful Co-Existence and International Security to the Protection of the Environment and the Middle East.

The Congress was attended by 30 delegates from Ireland representing such diverse organisations as Sinn Féin, Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, United Nations Association, Amnesty, Union of Students in Ireland, Prisoner's Aid Society, the Labour Party and a number of trade unions and peace groups. The absence of national delegations from the other Celtic countries was noted with disappointment.

In contrast with the Anglo-American liberal concept of peace the Congress in all its reports stressed the need for justice and freedom as an essential component of peace. The highlight of the Congress for many was the moving address by Señora Allende, widow of the murdered President of Chile.

PROSPECTS FOR THINGS CELTIC : A REPLY BY R. C. BOYD

Some say as early as 5074 years ago, intellectuals seeking for the meaning of life developed the theory that it was controlled by the interaction of two opposing forces.

Different people had different ideas about what these forces were and so gave them different names. The Hindus had Rajas (energy) and Tamas (inertia), the Chinese had Yang and Yin (the male and female principles), the Religionists had Good & Evil and the Magicians had Force and Form.

Now Mr Henaff comes up with two more which he has culled from our Druidic past, he calls these Giam and Sam and equates them with Permanence and Brilliance respectively.

So long as it is realised that these two different forces (whatever one may call them) are united in opposition within every creature the theory can be a help to understanding, but if they are regarded as different categories into which people can be separated, the theory becomes dangerous and misleading and this is exactly what I consider Mr Henaff has done.

Into the category of Giam which he considers to represent dullness as well as permanence, he, may heaven preserve us, crams the whole of the ebullient Celtic race and into Sam (brilliance and impermanence) he bundles the whole of dim, plodding Saxony, and then out of the misinformation acquired from this jugglery he proceeds to prophesy our future.

It is true that the Celts have a quality of survival but so have other races for example the Greeks and the Chinese and there is as yet no evidence that the French and the Saxons haven't got it too. As every race sooner or later has been struck by some catastrophe it does not require any prophetic insight to foretell that this will ultimately happen to the Saxons and the French. But Mr Henaff does not stop here, he goes to tell us what will happen to Celtica

when the calamity occurs. It is at this point that his feet leave the ground and his head enters the clouds.

If we let our leaning towards occultism lure our minds into the ghostly mists of Celtic mythology we will indeed get lost, we must keep them firmly fixed on earthly reality the laws of which we are equipped to understand. It may well be that we can be set free only by some upheaval but to tell us to sit idly by and wait for it, as he seems to do, is a "gospel" of defeat which if followed will not bring us freedom but only a different master, and if there is no upheaval then we will have wasted valuable time and sunk deeper into subjection.

FORCE FEEDING. Early in the Winter, a letter was sent on behalf of the Celtic League to the English Minister of Home Affairs supporting the demand for the transfer of the four Irish prisoners (on hunger strike after the Winchester trial) to a prison in Northern Ireland. They have now been subject to force-feeding for about four months. At a public meeting in the Liberty Hall, Dublin, five speakers gave impressive arguments showing that it is morally wrong to feed these prisoners against their will. (1/4/74). The C.L. has given a contribution towards the cost of publishing a full page appeal in the Irish Post (20/4/74), supported by 43 other organisations, for an end to this barbarous treatment.

CELTIC LANGUAGES ON DISPLAY — IN GERMANY

At Eschweiler High School (near Aachen), West Germany, over 500 townspeople visited an extraordinary exhibition from the 8th to the 17th of March 1974. The theme of the exhibition was: Linguistic minorities in Europe. Plenty of material represented the Celtic family of nations.

At the official opening, which was attended by the Mayor of Eschweiler, the school's principal, and the director of the local further education centre, Uwe Joachim Moritz (organizer of the exhibition) drew attention to the problems faced by small nations. He mentioned the successes of Plaid Cymru and the SNP in the British elections, and of the German-speakers in Belgium, and the declaration made by the Bishop of Bilbao in favour of cultural liberty for the Basques.

The organizer spoke of the attitude of diplomatic representatives concerning the minorities in their states, when asked for help in the preparation of this exhibition. While the Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Finnish, Swiss, Irish and other representatives gladly contributed material, the French*, British and Spanish embassies attempted to show there were no problems in their states; others e.g. the Soviet embassy, did not reply at all.

Demands in many parts of Europe for the free use of the ethnic language in private and public eye (administration, parliaments, courts, press, television, radio, traffic signs, the arts, etc.) were justifiable, said Herr Moritz. Minority languages must be protected, because they carry part of the world's culture, which is enriched by great variety.

Documents on the Celtic language situation were sent by Esperantists in Bangor (Arfon), Edinburgh and Dublin.

H. C.

MINORITY RIGHTS

The English (including British, i.e. Celtic or other assimilated) pride themselves on their fair-mindedness. This pride might have some validity, but where the English ethos is concerned the great majority are incorrigibly convinced that views different to their own are the height of perversion. According to this conviction the individual from, say, South Wales, who is brought up as a monoglot English speaker, has not been deprived of his Welsh heritage, but has rather been lucky enough to have the inestimable boon of the English language conferred upon him or her. There are exceptions to every rule, but its general application is demonstrated by the Minority Rights Group.

The group has been in existence for some four years. Its very existence is evidence that unlike the average English person its members realise that at least there are problems associated with minority cultures. Since its inception the Group has not been idle. Its publications to date include:

Religious Minorities in the Soviet Union;

Japan's Outcasts — The problem of the Burakumin;

The Asian Minorities of East and Central Africa;

The Southern Sudan and Eritrea: aspects of wider African problems;

The Crimean Tartars and Volga Germans: Soviet treatment of two national minorities;

The position of Blacks in Brazilian society;

The Africans' predicament in Rhodesia;

The Basques;

The Chinese in Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia;

The Biharis in Bangladesh;

Israel's Oriental Immigrants and Druzes;

East Indians of Trinidad and Guyana;

The Romanies: The Gypsies of Europe;

What future for the Amerindians of South America?;

Problems of a displaced minority: the new position of East Africa's Asians.

While congratulating the Group on its efforts on behalf of oppressed minorities, the naive Celt is likely to question: "What about us?" The British or arguably Celtic Isles do not comprise a homogenous population. Nevertheless, the only language in evidence is English. Even where there appears to be a different vernacular, be it Irish, Scottish Gaelic or Welsh the people have been conditioned to switch to the dominant English as soon as an English speaker comes within earshot. Such situations clearly have a strong Minority Rights Aspect but these particular minority rights watchdogs have clearly failed to pick up the scent.

Presumably the Group's investigations are largely limited by the funds at its disposal. In most cases an investigation will include at least an element of research on the spot. Generally speaking, the further afield the study is the higher will be the cost of research. This seems to rule out any financial argument against Celtic investigations being commissioned.

It could be argued that the foregoing complaint is not entirely justified. The second study published by the Group was "The Two Irelands — a dual study of inter-group tensions" by Harold Jackson of the "Guardian". When published, in 1971, the 6-Counties had well exploded after 50 years of English bolstering if not of English implemented rule. Accordingly, it was too late to fit in with one of the Group's terms of reference:

"To help prevent, through such publicity, minority problems from developing into dangerous and destructive conflicts which, when polarised are very difficult to resolve."

A DHE

Ní fuil na feoil é
a Dhé
t'iomhá bréige
— blas liath na cré —
ach fáiscim chugham é
go bpléascann go beatha.

Ní faoiseamh ceist
(ná freagra).

An amhlaidh a ghráim
an iomhá chiúin
nach bhfreagróidh ar ais mé
agus go
dtuigeann Tusa m'fhulaing dhian
mar tuigimse é?

Bhféidir nach í an cheist
(ná an freagra)
an fhadhb
(ná an freagra).

Ní hí a Dhé.
Ní thuigim.
Ní heol dom.
Ní dheimhním faic — fós
ach sin.

Bí ann nó as
táimse ag triall Ort

agus má tá
cuirim geasa Ort
mé a shábháil
ón dream
a deir
gur fear fuar
sa spéir Thú.

A Dhé,
tá m'eiriceachtaí gan teora —
ach nárbh fhearr Leat sin
ná leannán theas-bhainne-na-bó
nach mbreathnódh siar Ort
ó cheann ceann na bliana?

A Dhé,
Ní hé réiteach na faidhbe an réiteach.
Níl aon draíocht nua ar tairiscint.
Caithfeadsa an deilgeanach a thaisteal.
Níl scíth ná aimsiú ar ghrinneall.
Bfhearr liom an t-uisce fuar san éadan anois
ná níos deireanaí.
Táim réidh mo phátrún caoch a shníomh
ar chanbhás streilleach.

Ionsaím ceisteanna cantalacha an lae
(corp, croí agus intinn).
Deireann an cathú liom
"Ná déin,

A ZOUE

N'eo na gwad na kig
a Zoue
da fals-skeudenn
— blaz louet an douar —
met m'he gwask war m'askre
ken e tarz buhez enni.

Ne zivec'h goulenn
(na respont).

Hag eñ e karan
ar skeudenn sioul
na eilger ket
hag e
komprenez-Te va gouzañv lemm
peogwir en komprenan?

Marteze n'eo ket ar goulenn
(nag ar respont)

ar gudenn
(nag ar respont).

N'eo ket a Zoue.
Ne gomprenan.
N'ouzon ket.
Ne ziegelan tra — c'hoazh
met se.

Bez pe na vez
me 'n em dro Ouzhit

ha ma vezez
e kemennan Dit
va diwall
diouzh ar re
a ra Ganit
ur gour yen
en oabl.

A Zoue
diniver eo va falskredennoù —
ha n'eo ket se gwell Ganit
eget ur c'hariad klouar-laezh-buoc'h
na daolfe evezh Ouzhit
eus 'n eil penn-bloaz d'egile?

A Zoue
N'eo ket diskoulm ar gudenn an diskoulm.
Ne ginniger hud nevez ebet.
Ret din kerzhout war an drein.
N'eus diskuizh na strad da gavout.

Gwell ganin dour yen war va zal bremañ
eget diwezhatoo'h.
Prest on da wiañ va fatrom dall
war al lien krizet.

Ma tagin goulennnoù tagnous an deiz
(korf, kalon ha spered).
An temptadur a lavar:
"Rabat dit,

Cén mhaith áilleacht dhuthain?
 Cén mhaith?
 Ach cuimhnigh
 ní hé an freagra an réiteach
 Ach an t-iarmhar gránna —
 luaithe mharbh na hoíche —
 gréithre salacha ar maidin —
 comharthaí mo bháis fhéin
 agus
 mé de shíor á nglanadh
 (gréithre, croí agus intinn).
 Dearmad tamall a Dhé
 ar bhlas liath na cré.
 (Measa an dearmad).
 Céard a dhéanfainn
 ach go n-adhraim
 an bheatha dhuairc seo?
 Fáiscim chugam an mallacht.
 Ní fhéadaim rá cén fhad a mhairfeas.

Ach a Dhé
 slíocaim, cíoraim, freastalaim.
 Folaím san éadach cumhra
 na créachta gránna.
 Dallamullóg mo cheardsa.
 Meangaim,
 sínim,
 Pógaim do thaobh dheas.
 Tá gealladh in earrach.
 Santuím a bhíogadh.

Caitlín Maude

Níl cead an dán seo a fhoilsiú in áit ar bith eile gan cead
 ón údar.

Petra 'dalv kened verbad?'
 Petra'dalv?
 Kouna'vat
 n'eo ket ar respont an diskoulm.
 Met an dilerc'h divalav —
 ludu marv an noz —
 listri louan er beure —
 arouezioù va marv-me
 ha
 me dibaouez ouzh o glanañ
 (listri, kalon ha spered).
 Ankoua ur pennad a Zoue
 blaz louet an douar.
 (Gwashoc'h an ankouaat).
 Petra 'rajen
 pa n'azeulfen
 ar vuhez-mañ disked?
 Ar vallozh a waskan war m'askre.
 N'hellan lavarout pegeit e pado.

Met a Zoue
 kompezañ, kribañ, servij a ran.
 Ha kuzhat en dilhad frondus
 ar goulloù divalav.
 Emdouellerez on a-vicher.
 Minc'hoarzhin,
 en em astenn,
 pokat a ran d'Az tu brav*
 Mat an diougan en nev'amzer.
 E vividigezh a c'haontaan.

Caitlín Maude
 Troidigezh gant A. Heusaff

(Pep gwir miret-strizh gant an aozerez)
 * deas = dehou, brav.

IRELAND A PROVINCE AGAIN

M. Mac Aonghusa

The first of a series of meetings to protest against the proposal of the 26 County Minister for Post and Telegraphs to relay BBC programme throughout Ireland was held in March in Liberty Hall, Dublin. The meeting was organised by Conradh na Gaeilge under the title "Ireland a province again — Cruise O'Brien's plans for Irish Television." Over 400 people attended and passed a resolution urging the government "to refuse to proceed with this proposal of Dr. O'Brien's and to establish instead a second RTE channel, as recommended by the Broadcasting Review Committee. This second channel should select the best programmes from all sources for rebroadcasting in Ireland and should seek to raise rather than lower broadcasting standards.

"It should provide extensive coverage of Northern Ireland and regional material and the Government should enable it to establish studios for this purpose which would employ the best Northern Ireland and regional broadcasting talent. Furthermore the Government should ensure that all RTE channels are broadcast to the whole of Northern Ireland and should not wait upon the permission of the British Government before doing this."

A Welsh guest speaker, Dr. Harry Pritchard Jones, re-

minded the gathering that every political party in Wales was committed to the setting up of a Welsh-medium television channel. (This, of course, was the result of a vigorous campaign led by Cymdeithas yr Ilaith, a campaign which stands as an example to us in Ireland — M. MacA.).

Other speakers were Prof. David Green (President of the Royal Irish Academy and Director of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies), Prof. Alan Bliss (Associate Professor of Old English and the History of the English Language, University College, Dublin) and Donnchadh O Suilleabhain (Secretary of the Oireachtas, the National Festival and a member of the 1958/'59 Commission on Television). Maolsheachlainn O Caollai, President of Conradh na Gaeilge, chaired the meeting. A similar meeting was held in Galway on 9th April.

Dr. O'Brien has again and again gone out of his way to belittle Irish and the community which uses it. He proposes using the resources of the state to relay daily in their entirety the programme of the television Network of another state — a proposal surely unique in the history of broadcasting. He has threatened to reduce the 2.2 per cent of RTE television programmes in Irish. Even very moderate people are becoming alarmed by Dr. O'Brien's intolerance. Without realising it he has given the language movement a useful shot in the arm.

ARFAU

Dywedodd Brendan Behan unwaith "Mae'r Saeson yn bobl ddigon clên, ond cedwch hwy yn ddigon pell oddiwrth arfau a brenhiniaeth". Beth bynag am frenhiniaeth — gan y buasai y mwyafrif yn cytuno fod y teulu, fel teulu, yn ddigon diniwed ac, mae'n debyg, dymunol ac hwyrach yn fwy felly nac aml i deulu — peth arall yw arfau. Neu hwyrach yn fwy cywir y defnydd a wneir o honynt. Ac mae'r Saeson wedi gwneud defnydd helaeth ohonynt dros y canrifoedd. Ac nid yn unig arfau a all wneud niwed corphorol ond arfau a all wneud niwed meddyliol hefyd.

Mae'r ddau fath yn wir amlwg yn y gwledydd Celtaidd heddiw. Yn yr Iwerddon mae'r ddau fath yn rhedeg yn gyd-ochrog. Yng Nghymru prynir tai haf gan ganoedd o Saeson, a dywedir fod mwy nag un pentref wedi troi yn hollol Saesneg ei iaith.

A chyn belled a fod pob gwlad Geltaidd yn y cwestiwn, mae'n debyg mai ym mysg addysg y gwneir y niwed mwyafrif.

Er hynny ni ellir dweud fod arfau Lloegr yn waeth nac arfau unrhyw wlad arall. Nid oes ddwywaith fod arfau Rwseg a'i chyfelliion yn llawer mwy peryglus.

Ond arfau Lloegr sydd yn bwysig i ni. Mae yn rhaid eu hadnabod a'i difa cyn iddynt hwy ein difa ni.

J Rhyd Humphreys.

Tynged Y Wyddeleg?

Cafodd y Wyddeleg ergyd arall ar ddydd Sadwrn, 23ydd Chwefror pan gyhoeddodd Gweinidog Pyst a Thelegraffau, y Dr. Conchúir Cruise O Briain, ei fod am newid y rhan o gyfansoddiad R.T.E. sy'n dweud bod blaenoriaeth arbennig i'w roi i'r iaith Wyddeleg. Camgymeriad, yn ei farn ef, yw rhoi **gormod** o bwyslais ar yr iaith, gan nad yw hi ond yn rhan yn unig o ddiwylliant Iwerddon, ynghyd a llawer o elfennau diwylliannol eraill.

Fel y dangosodd Maolsheachlainn O Caollaí, llywydd Conradh na Gaeilge, ar y radio y diwrnod wedyn, mae'n anodd deall ystyr y '**gormod**' uchod, gan nad yw R.T.E. ond yn rhoi 2.3% o'i hamser i raglenni Gwyddeleg beth bynnag!

Mewn erthygl pwysig yn *Hibernia*, 1af Mawrth, (cylchgrawn Saesneg sy'n ymddangos bob pythefnos) mae'r Athro Daithí O hUaithne yn ymosod ar boili's Dr. O Briain. Fel mae'r Athro yn dweud, byddai unrhyw lleihad ar yr amser sy'n cael ei roi i'r Wyddeleg ar R.T.E. yn golygu na fyddai'r iaith yn cael mwy o amser ganddi na mae Urdu yn cael gan y BBC. A ymlaen:

"Ar ôl clirio'r llawr felly, mae Dr. O Briain yn bwriadu trefnu i BBC i ddarlledu trwy'r wlad i gyd . . . Diddymir ymdrechion y Gweinidog Addysg i gadw rhywfaint o Wyddeleg yn yr ysgolion, gan y bydd plant yn dod i'r casgliad, ac yn hollol gywir, nad oes gan iaith, y gwedir iddi y statws o gael ei defnyddio ar y teledu, o unrhyw arwyddocâd iddyn nhw. Gwelir y cam terfynol, sef newid yn y Cyfansoddiad, fel dim byd mwy na chydabod sefyllfa sy'n bod yn barod.

"Ond bellach, fe fydd 'Unionists' y Gogledd yn gofyn: 'Pam mae rhaid cael cyfansoddiad newydd? Pam na ellir derbyn realiti'r sefyllfa ac ymuno â ffederasiwn Prydeinig tu mewn i fframwaith ehangach y Cyfundeb Ewropeidd?' . . . Maer rhesymeg y Dr. O Briain y ein harwain ni'n syth yn ôl i'r Deyrnas Unedig . . . Ni allaf gredu ei fod yn ymwybodol o arwyddocâd ei bolisi.

"Ni allaf ei gefnogi. Un sy'n hannu o gefndir hoiol 'Unionist' ydwyf i, ond deuthum, pan oeddwn yn ifanc, i

dderbyn gwirionedd cenedl Pobl Iwerddon, yn y traddodiad a ddatblygwyd gan Tone ac a goethwyd gan Hyde; derbyniais fod hyn yn golygu bod rhaid i mi ddysgu'r iaith Wyddeleg . . . Derbyniais fod problem y Gogledd yn un drefedigaethol, ac nad oedd gan y lleiafrif Protestanaidd yno unrhyw hawl i ymeilltuo o'r mwyafrif yn yr ynys: fel yr oeddwn i wedi penderfynu ymuno â phobal Iwerddon, ni welais i ddim reswm pam na allasen nhw wneud yr un peth; . . . Mae gen i wlad.

"Meddyliais fod gen i genedl hefyd ond mae pethau'n dechrau edrych yn ddrwg . . . Ac eto mae gen i ffydd mawr yn ystythrwedd pobl Iwerddon. Rwyn's argyhoeddiedig ei bod hi'n bosibl o hyd adeiladu cenedl . . . a rwy'n crefu ar fy narllennwyr i gyd ymgyrchu yn erbyn cynllyn O Briain i ddadwneud cenedl Iwerddon a dileu'r iaith Wyddeleg."

Nid dyma 'r tro cyntaf i'r Athro O hUaithne ddangos nad yw yn perthyn i'r traddodiad yna o ysgolheigion Llên Geltaidd sy'n cyfyngu eu diddordeb yn yr iaith i'r hen llawysgrifau. Dim ond yr haf diwetha, yn Ysgol Haf Cumann Merriman, (cymdeithas lenyddol ddwyieithol) rhoddodd ddaddansoddiad ar sefyllfa'r iaith Wyddeleg o oes de Valera ymlaen, gan ddangos pam y methodd polisi adfywio'r iaith hyd yn hyn. Dyfynnaf rannau o'r ddarlith honno a roddwyd yn y Wyddeleg:

"Ymddolodd de Valera o Lywyddiaeth Iwerddon eleni, 'meddai'r Athro O hUaithne, 'yn yr un flwyddyn ag yr aeth Iwerddon i mewn i'r Farchnad Gyffredin, cyfundeb sydd ddim yn rhoi'r un adnabyddiaeth i'r Wyddeleg. Nid oedd neb yn Iwerddon yn fwy brwdfrydig dros yr iaith na de Valera; pam na lwyddodd e i'w rhoi yn ôl i'w lle priodol?'"

Dywedodd yr Athro nad oedd yr hen Sinn Féin wedi bod yn ffyddlon i'r Wyddeleg. Er i'r blaid honno dyfu allan o Conradh na Gaeilge, byddai hyd yn oed ei harweinwyr, Pádraig Mac Piarais, Eoin Mac Néill, Eamon de Valera yn gohebu yn Saesneg â'i gilydd ar faterion milwrol. Nid oes dim syndod, felly, mai Saesneg oedd iaith y Dáil pan sefydlwyd. Gwelodd de Valera pwysicrwydd adfywio'r iaith pan oedd yn y carchar, ond anghofiodd hynny pan aeth yn ôl i mewn i fyd gwleidyddiaeth. Deallodd y byddai syniadau O'Higgins a Hogan yn disodli syniadau Mac Néill a Mulcahy yn Cumann na nGael. Mae'n ymddangos nad oedd yn deall, nes i Erskine Childers gael ei ethol yn etifedd iddo, y byddai syniaddu Lemass a Mac Entee yn disodli rhai de Valera ac Aiken yn Fianna Fail.

"Ond deallodd pobl eraill hyn." meddai'r Athro, "Yn y flwyddyn 1926, sefydlodd Saunders Lewis Plaid Cymru . . . I ddechrau, roedd yn credu bod rhaid wrth lywodraeth annibynnol i achub cenedlaethodol a iaith ei wlad. Ond ar ôl iddo astudio datblygiad pethau yn Iwerddon, a phan welodd bobl heb air o Gymraeg yn ymgeiswyr seneddol dros y Blaid, gwaeth ailfeddwl, a mai ffrwyth ei ailfeddwl i'w gael yn ei ddarlith 'Tynged yr iaith' a gyfieithwyd i'r Wyddeleg gan Máirtín Ó Cadhain . . . 'Mae'r iaith yn bwysicach na hunan-lywodraeth.'"

"Mae hunan-lywodraeth gennym, ond ni ddaeth a'r iaith yn ôl gyda hi; ni ddaeth, am na fwriadwyd chwyldro o gwbl. Nid yw chwyldro yn golygu defnyddio gynnew; bydd y ddau beth yn mynd â'i gilydd yn aml, ond digon aml hefyd y chwaraer a gynnew heb yr un chwyldro yn dilyn, a dyna a ddigwyddodd yn Iwerddon. Ystyr chwyldro yw troi'r rhod, rhoi hwnnw a fu isel yn uchel; yn achos Iwerddon canlyniad hyn fuasai rhoi'r Wyddeleg yn lle'r Saesneg o safbwynt yn gyfraith, a dweud yn blwmp ac yn blaen y byddai blaenoriaeth bob amser i Wyddel Gwyddeleg ac na fyddai

neb nac oedd yn medru Gwyddeleg byth yn cael hawliau dinesig llawn.

"Wedi'r cyfan mae'n syfrdanol bod pobl Iwerddon wedi bod mor ffyddlon i'r Wyddeleg. Yn y flwyddyn 1851, dyweddod 29.1% o bobl Iwerddon eu bod yn medru Gwyddeleg: nid oes llawer o wahan iaeth rhwng hynny a'r 27.2%, yng Nghyfrifiad 1961, a mae'r Gaeltacht yn fân iawn erbyn hyn. Ond re ellir casglu rhywbeth arall o'r ffigurau hyn: sef teyrngarwch. Nid oedd y fath beth yn codi yn 1851; mater o siawns oedd hi bod Gwyddeleg gan y bobl hynny. Yn 1961, neu hyd yn oed heddiw, mae un o bob pump yn dweud ei fod yn medru Gwyddeleg a gwyddom mai'r un peth yw hynny â dweud eu bod yn frwdfrydig drosti. Mae eisiau chwyldro o hyd er mwyn rhoi Eire yn lle Ireland, ac ni fyddai'r un chwyldrowr yn ddigalon pe wyddai fod un o bob pump o'r bobl ar ei ochr."

Cymdeithas yr Iaith

Yn dilyn Cyfarfod Cyffredinol y Gymdeithas ar Hydref 13eg cychwynnodd y mudiad ar flwyddyn arall o weithgarwch gydag ysbryd newydd — a swyddogion newydd hefyd. Etholwyd Emyr Hywel, o Aberteifi, yn Gadeirydd, gyda Wynfford James yn Is-Gadeirydd, a chyhoeddwyd fod tri Ysgrifennydd amser llawn wedi eu penodi am y flwyddyn 1973/74 — Siôn Myrddin, Terwyn Tomos, a Marged Elis. Trafodwyd nifer helaeth o benderfyniadau — mae'n resyn na chafwyd mwy o amser i drafod poh un yn llawn — ar faterion megis Addysg, Darlledu, Cefn Gwlad a'r Fro Gymraeg, Tai Haf, Llywodraeth Leol, Coleg Gymraeg, di-Gymraeg, ac un penderfyniad yn galw am drosglwyddo John Jenkins, y carcharor gwleidyddol, o Gategori A.

Ar fater darlledu pwysleisiwyd unwaith eto mai nod y Gymdeithas oedd sefydlu sianel deledu Gymraeg (er nad oedd gwrthwynebiad i weld Cymraeg ar sianeli eraill hefyd yr un pryd) a bod angen penderfyniad buan yn 1974 ar ran y Gweinidig Post yn Llundain. Ond y penderfyniad a dynnodd fwyaf o sylw, fodd bynnag, oedd y penderfyniad i fynd ati i 'beri anghyfleustra' i berchnogion tai haf yng Nghymru drwy ddulliau megis llenwi tyllau clo a phaentio ffenestri'r tai. Gwnaethwyd hyn yn gyhoeddus, liw-dydd, ym mhentref Nefyn ym Mhen Llyn, ardal sy'n dioddef yn arbennig o'r pla hwn, a bwriedir gweithredu yn yr un modd eto.

Parhau y mae'r erlid yn y llysoedd barn ar aelodau'r Gymdeithas. Ym mis Tachwedd carcharwyd Terwyn Tomos, un o Ysgrifenyddion y Gymdeithas, am bedwar mis yn Llys y Goron, Caerdydd, am dorri rhyddhad amodol a roed arno ddeunaw mis ynghynt yn y Llys Apêl yn Llundain. Ar ddechrau mis Rhagfyr fe garcharwyd tri aelod arall — Wayne Williams, Owain Wyn, a Rhodri Tomos — yn Llys Ynadon Manceinion, am wrthod talu dirwyon a chostau o dros £250 yn un. Edrychir ymlaen at ryddhad yr aelodau hyn yn 1974, ac yn arbennig at ryddhad Ffred Ffrancis ar Ddydd Gwyl Ddewi, ar ôl blwyddyn yng ngharchar Walton, Lerpwl. Mae'r Gymdeithas yn bwriadu trefnu rali yn Llundain ar Fawrth 17eg i ddwyn pwysau ar y Gweinidog Post ar fater sianel Gymraeg a rhoi gwahoddiad i nifer fawr o wahanol fudiadau ac unigolion a fu ynglyn â'r ymgyrch yng Nghymru.

Bu'r Gymdeithas yn weithredol iawn yn ei chefnogaeth i frwydr y Dderwen Gam, penteef bychan yng Ngheredigion sy'n prysur gael ei brynu fel pentref gwyliau. Ac fel rhan o'r un ymgyrch yn erbyn tai haf meddiannwyd yn barhaol dy ym mhentref Bont Goch, ger Aberystwyth, gan Siôn Myrddin a'i deulu — ei wraig a'i ddau blentyn. Defnyddid y ty yma fel ty gwyliau gan Saesnes o Lundain.

ONEN HAG OLL

Pypynak a-vo gwyr yn-kever gwlasow Keltek erel, Kernow a-ve dullys gans ystory.

Y-fe-hy synsys kens es bos dhedhy cowethasow Kernewek, dygepar ha Alba. Myghtern Pow-Saws a-gafas re vur a dūs Sawsnek, hag y ow-mynness usya Kernow-oll, a wül Kernow tegyn yn y goron, dygepar ha Mannin. Nyns-esa gensy-hy tir efan rak bew lyen mur, dygepar ha Kembry. Nyns-esa yntra Pow Kernow ha Pow Saws mor may kyllens Kernewyon gul breselyow erbyn an escar cans ha cans, dygepar ha Ywerdhon. Ny-gan-be ambos — gwan y gowlwül kyn fe ef — dhe leverel hy bos tybyans whath — dygepar ha Breten Vyghan.

Nyns-üs dhe Gernow mes hy dūs hag a-leverons "Ny vynnons-ny bos Sawsnek!!!"

Hem y'honen a-varwo. A-wren-ny, ytho, gül hemma, gül henna, hep towl oll-ughel?

Res yu dhe Gernow yn-certain gul moy cowethasow rak Kernow-gowl yn-kever pup ran hy bew. Pup gwryans a-dal cafos an gwelva-ma. Yndella y-hyller gothvos pup gwryans byghan avel ran a lef Kernow-gowl. Yndella y-hyllen-ny tulla ystory gans bos gothvedhys avel kenethel ha dedhy-hy mur a rannow.

(Cornwall, unlike the other Celtic nations, had neither institutions, treaties or natural defenses', only her people's sense of community to keep her identity. She must now build up institutions so that every Cornish action be seen as part of a national voice).

The title means "One and all": it is the motto of Cornwall and of its County Council.

KEMBREADEZ YAOUANK 21 bloaz, o komz kembraeg, saozneg, un tammig galleg, aotreadez Skol Veur Gembre, a glask labour en un tiegezh vrezhonegerien evit ur bloaz adalek 1-9-74, evit gwellaat he galleg ha deskin un tammig brezhoneg. Skrivan da Gaynor Davies . . .

(Jeune Galloise, 21 ans, parlant gallois, anglais, un peu de francais, cherche travail dans famille bretonnante pour un an apprx. a partir 1-9-74. But ameliorer francais et apprendre un peu de breton. Ecrire a). Gaynor Davies, 4 Fountain Mall, Caerfyrddin, S. Wales, Grande-Bretagne.

PANCELTIC FESTIVAL. This annual event will be held in Killarney from May 11 to 19. It will include the Celtavision Song Contest (new songs in Celtic languages), traditional singing and music competitions, dances, lectures, a hurling-shinty match, Breton-Cornish wrestling, races. Write to An Oifig Pan-Cheilteach, Halla an Bhaile, Cill Áirne, Co. Charraí, Éire.

THE CELTIC CONGRESS will be held in Nantes from August 13th to 18th August, 1974. Its theme, Cultural Rights of Human Communities. Discussions will aim at wording an international declaration of cultural rights. Further information from Kendalc'h Keltiek Etrevroadel, Chateau des Ducs de Bretagne, Nantes 44000.

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg is considering organizing a trip to Brittany after the Eisteddfod, for the Congress. Anyone interested in joining should contact Arfon Gwilym, "Llys Madian", Rhydymain, Dolgellau, Meirion, Cymru, or one of the Welsh secretaries of the C.L. as soon as possible.

Science, Technology and the 'Celtic Fringe'

Observers of the scientific scene have often drawn attention to the effect of centralisation of economic life on the structure of scientific research.

This consists in the proliferation of specialist disciplines. The greater the urban complex, the more people are concerned with specialist departments in universities and colleges of technology; enough people are found within one specialist discipline to enable mutual exchange of ideas and inter-actions to take place. By this means, the frontiers of specialist knowledge are pushed back.

This is a positive process, but it has an adverse side-effect, in that people who work in science and technology remote from the metropolitan centre tend to despair about the local development of their own specialist discipline, and to aspire to work in the 'glamour' research areas of 'big science', these being found only at the metropolis. Thus the peripheral areas, and in particular the Celtic nations, are stripped of their brain-power.

The same process, incidentally, has been observed as between the United Kingdom and the United States (being identified in the mid-sixties as the 'brain drain' phenomenon); it caused considerable concern at U.K. government level and generated much hard thinking about science policy.

There are embryonic centres of more or less influence within the Celtic nations where science policy can be formulated. I commend the following philosophy to their attention, whereby the 'brain-drain' process can be checked and possibly even reversed, thus retaining within the Celtic nations a core of technologically competent people who may be expected, by their presence, to contribute to the development of a national consciousness.

The central practical principle of this philosophy is to **look across the boundaries of the discipline instead of towards the specialist frontier**; to think in terms of an **interdisciplinary team** tackling a problem in a co-ordinated way.

By this means, an interactive team of scientists and technologists can be built up above the 'critical mass' necessary for self-sustaining creative work, despite the fact that it may be located in what the metropolitan elite would regard as a provincial backwater.

For example, in University College, Galway, there is emerging a School of Marine Science, which offers masters-degree programmes, owns the basic resources necessary as a service to marine research, and co-ordinates work in six specialist departments. This development is only in its initial stages, but it represents what could become a recognised strategy for countering the centripetal forces at work in the EEC.

To get even more specific, I know of a particular research-project which is sponsored by a regional development authority having investment capital available, and which involves the co-ordinated use of specialists in statistics, computer science, civil engineering and marine biology to evaluate quantitatively the economic potential of a number of small ports as centres for investment in fisheries.

By this means, academic scientists and technologists can be drawn into the development of local and regional resources.

Sometimes, despite a remote and 'provincial' location, a specialist discipline, by collecting good people, can assume some world standing at the specialist frontier. The Galway

biochemistry department has achieved this distinction. This has, however, not prevented it from developing a strong interaction with the process engineers, and contributing to the development of an industrial system for the production of various enzymes in bulk, for use in the food industry.

The development of this approach involves a conscious change in attitude: one should look first to the problem, then draw on such techniques as are necessary. The role of the specialist is to be aware of the techniques available at the frontier of his speciality, and to be prepared to draw on them if necessary. But he should not feel upset if in practice he finds he rarely needs to. The gulf between the level of industrial technology in a 'provincial' centre and the frontiers of human knowledge is generally rather wide. Academic scientists need to learn not to disdain contributing knowledge of what to them is obsolete knowledge into an industrial environment which needs it. Indeed, if they approach their problem as an interdisciplinary team they will find that they discover qualitatively new things, despite the fact that no single discipline is working 'at its frontier'.

A possible organisational form for an interdisciplinary approach to local industrial consultancy or problem-solving is for academic staff members to form themselves into a co-operative, for the purpose of business. Some of us are experimenting with this in Dublin; this was suggested by the fact that an appreciable amount of our business has been with agricultural co-operatives.

In England there is a long-standing tradition of university problem-solving for local industry. This in the sixties developed into the form of consultant 'operations research' units in Lancaster, Sussex and elsewhere. It is now crossing the boundaries into general technology; Bath university has 'spun off' a contract research organisation called SWIRL (South Western Industrial Research Limited) to serve the local problem-solving market.

The point of this is that it confirms my argument that there is scope for positive creative university-based technology remote from the metropolitan centres.

I would welcome an exchange of ideas with anyone reading this article who is concerned specifically with developing a viable technology in a Celtic nation, and who sees this as a necessary brick in the edifice of a developing national consciousness.

I can be contacted at the Industrial Liaison Office, Trinity College, Dublin 2, Ireland.

Roy Johnston, Ph.D.

ON THE UNITY OF CELTIC ACTION :

LEONARD TRURAN (Secretary Mebyon Kernow)

It is galling to be considered to be too small to be a viable force by some among our brothers, particularly by some in Wales and in Scotland. It is frustrating to hear the Welsh and Scots speaking of "two Celtic countries" in the United Kingdom. To join issue one could point that, whereas Scotland and Wales do not legally exist as they were finally incorporated into England in the 18th century, there is one Celtic country that was never so absorbed, one whose constitutional position seems to give it an identity that neither of the two larger Celtic nations have. I am referring, of course, to Kernow. But to follow this line of argument we would require to do much constitutional research and the end-product might well be O.K. for Cornwall but to hell with the rest of the Celts. We would, I suppose, be following a line of approach that has,

by and large, shaped the destinies of the Celtic nations and has contributed more than all other factors combined to play the divide and rule game of our English neighbours. It is not certain that "divide and rule" was a deliberate policy of England in the first place — what is certain is that we divided and were ruled and presented our conquerors with a policy on a plate.

1951 saw Kernow maturing as a politically-aware unit with the formation of our own national movement — Mebyon Kernow (the Sons of Cornwall). Decades behind the Welsh, the Irish, the Bretons, the Manx and the Scots, we eased ourselves into the political arena, became the champions of our own people after overcoming the initial ridicule of many of them, and only a few days ago received mention in that grand English cultural programme, "Till Death do us Part"! Our course can now be considered to have been successfully completed, thanks to the efforts of a growing group of dedicated members.

Being the latest to emerge on the Celtic national scene, other nations might do well to look at our experience to review their own progress and to chart a course ahead. We are still vividly aware that in the first flush of campaigning it is easy to be all things to all men and to progress in this manner for a time without challenge. Challenge, when it comes, is from supporters who want something better to bite on than a vague promise of a Better Celtic Tomorrow. They quickly progress to the point where a statement of general aims is needed and then move on to a demand for a mature political policy that will give them self-confidence, the means of preserving and enhancing the value that they hold to be dear in their community — namely, self-government, prosperity and freedom from exploitation together with the freedoms enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

Developing a policy with this in mind has in the past led the Celtic nations along separate paths, striving with limited success in the political field to formulate a political standpoint suited to the exigencies of their own particular position — but always arriving at similar conclusions to one another. The differences are differences only of accent arising from the differing political traditions of the Celtic countries. As we grope our way forward, all of us are realising to varying degrees that as small nations our philosophy is bound to be one that steers its way between the monoliths of monopoly Capitalism and centralist Communism. There is a feeling that the salvation of our countries lies in the direction of politics that recognises that greatness is in regarding the details of life, the protection of individuals and of small units, of the right to agreement and the right to dissent. Our road lies along the way of Co-operation, the banding together of individuals and small concerns in every sphere to protect and enhance their ability to contribute to the common good, as integral units.

As a nationalist, I am stirred by the love of my native land, I am saddened by the threat of destruction to our nation and our national identity by outside forces. I am hurt by the feelingless and senseless exploitation of my country by those from beyond our borders—speculators, politicians, immigrants — but with an increasing maturity in political outlook I find the greatest agony in the knowledge that six nations seek a common goal without consultation, without coordination and without knowledge of each other's struggles.

There can be but one solution and that in cooperation in the political field, beginning with a consultative body that can become a Celtic 'think-tank'. From this could well

evolve a Celtic Party fighting on a common social and economic platform, seeking in each country the degree of self-determination demanded by the national body in each country. There are already many within our countries who seek this coordination and identity of effort. Our peoples deserve this consideration from us — patriotism is only valid when it seeks not only the glorification of country but also the greater good of all of our compatriots.

A THUILLEADH FAOI KEROUAC

Tá sé thar a bheith soiléir go raibh Kerouac' ag cinntiú, agus é ag druidim le deireadh a shaoil, nach mbeifí ag lorg a chúlra san saol Laidneach: ag dearbhú nach Francach a bhí an, beagnach. Nílím ag gairm "náisiúnach Briotánach" de: de bharr nach raibh Stát ag an náisiún Briotánach bhí meascán in a chuid tagairtí go minic. Ach sna leabhair dheireannacha is léir go raibh sé ag triail an cuntas a thabhairt go beacht.

Sa leabhar "Vanity of Dulouez" deireann sé mar shampla "The father line of Dulouez, it isn't French, it's Cornish, it's Cornish Celtic (the name of the language is Kernuak)² nó 'the trouble with us Dulouezes is that we're Bretons and Cornishmen' nó arís "So what's Kerouac? Kern being Cairn and 'uak': language of, then Ker, house, ouac, language of . . ."

Sin an saghas poirt aige san leabhar ar fad, beagnach: "Being a descendant of Cornish sea-mongers and Breton after that . . ."; "he can see what's behind all that, going back beyond the potatoes and Canada to, yes, Scotland and Ireland and Cornwall and Wales and Isle of Man and Brittany. Celts can spot each other. Pronounce that"; "I was really one, one of Briton blood"; "broody melancholy philosophic Celtic unexpected depth"; my ancestors were Breton barons"; "Breton French, ancient Irish actually" (an déscaradh gnáthach nuair ná bíonn stáit ag an náisiún, sa chéad ghiota sin); "at least the Dulouezes had fields of green in Cornwall and Brittany, horses and mutton chops, barks and rigging and salt spray, shields and lances and saddles, and trees to look at. Who ever they were them Dulouezes (Kerouac's), their name meant 'language of the house' and you know that's an old name, and that's Celtic (cé gur dóigh nach raibh a chuid eolais ar an dteanga Briotánach ro-bheacht fáilteofar roimh tuairimí faoi seo);² "he made a Breton Gallic shrug at the empty blue sky"; "drive the Celtic ghosts out" agus mar sin de.

Is mó atá sa téama seo dáiríre ó thaobh na litríochta de agus is beag aird atá dírithe air go nuige seo. Tagtar ar chodanna, splancanna nuair nach mbítear aq súil leo: san leabhar is déanaí ó Han Suyin, abair **The Four Faces** :

"The co-pilot stood in the narrow gangway behind them. He was a taciturn Brittany man, faithful to his wife. He had not crashed in war, his tranquil nerves did not need to reassure him that he was alive. He did not feel the shame of defeat eating up his insides (Dien-Bien-Phu a bhí i gceist). 'Every man must be free' he would say. Lederer would retort: 'You don't know what France means.' The co-pilot would shrug: Don't excite yourself and go back to his silent nourishing dream of a little town on the North Sea and a wife who did not wear lipstick."

Thuigfeadh Han Suyin na difríochtaí — is leath-Eorpach agus leath-Aiseach í féin. Ach tá an téama seo, an choimhlint náisiúnta, an iomráil aithne le braith agus le meas i litríocht lucht iarrtha ár gcomhshamhlaithe.

Annamh go leor, ámh, an céiliúradh, mar atá ag Kerouac :

"And lo! one morning the sun rose plaintiff to the accosting mists of the Firth of Clyde and the ships came into a bright part of the sea where on the left you could see cliffs of Scotland, on the right flat green meadows of Ireland itself with thatched huts and cows. Imagine having a thatched hut right by the sea! A farm by the sea! I stood there crying, my eyes were pouring tears, I said to myself: 'Ireland? Can it be? James Joyce's country?' But also way back I remembered what my father and my uncles told me, that we were descendants of Cornish Celts, who had come to Cornwall from Ireland in the olden days long before Jesus and the calendar they start Him from, Kerouach'h ('Duluo'z')³ being they said, an ancient Gaelic name. The cry was always "Cornwall, Cornwall, from Ireland, and then Brittany." No secret to that, all these places being tided up by the Irish sea more or less, including Wales and Scotland over there on the port side with her lairdy cliffs. But the bosun rasps at me:

"Come on, Du Louse, ain't you ever seen Ireland, get busy with these hawsers you doddle brain!" (Ker-roac'h they really called me).⁴

Still with tears in my eyes I worked on, but can anybody tell me why? It was just the sight of the little thatched huts on the green meadows by the softly breaking waves, and the cows lending their long shadows to early morning sun and the wind at my back'.

Padraig Ó Snodaigh

Note to 1, 2, 3, 4, Kernewek is now the right form for "Cornish." The oldest forms have the root "Corn" akin to "carn". **Kerouac** could be interpreted by means of 'Kêr,' common to place and family names, meaning "farm, town, home," and **gwrac'h**, old woman, or **gwazh** (pron./gwax/in Gwenedeg). The Breton surname **Kerwazh** exists. There is also gwak = soft. The forms **Ker-roac'h**, **kerouac'h** suggests respectively the first and second. Kerouac is said to have been "pally" with Youenn Gwernig. How much did Youenn help him in his quest for Celtice roots?

A.H.

"It is quite clear" says P. Ó Snodaigh, "that Kerouac wanted towards the end of his life to make sure that nobody should attribute a "Latin" or French background to him."

The Nursery School Movement

An important meeting of managers and teachers of Irish-medium nursery schools was held in Dublin under the auspices of Conradh na Gaeilge on the morning and afternoon of 23rd February, 1974.

The gathering was addressed by Mrs. Bethan Roberts, General Secretary, National Association of Welsh medium Nursery Schools and Playgrounds, who described the organisation and development of Welsh-medium Nursery Schools. Another Welsh speaker was Mr. Dan L. James, Faculty of Education, U.C.W., Aberystwyth, who discussed teaching methods for nursery school teachers. Máire Nic Ghiolla Phádraig dealt with the problems involved in teaching young children a second language and Maolsheachlainn Ó Caollaí, president, Conradh na Gaeilge, spoke on the development of Irish-medium nursery schools. The formal talks were followed in each case by an enthusiastic and impassioned discussion.

At the end of the day it was decided to set up an association of Irish-medium Nursery Schools and a working party was elected to lay the foundation for such a body. The

working party includes representatives from places as far apart as Athlone, Belfast, Galway, Cork and Dublin. Its first meeting was held on 9th March under the Chairmanship of Máire Nic Ghiolla Phádraig. It is proposed to launch the organisation formally at a conference to be held early in the Summer. The nursery school idea came to Ireland from Wales about five years ago and there are now over twenty in existence. The emergence of an association to co-ordinate and develop the work of these groups is a most important step for the Irish language movement. It also provides a valuable object-lesson in inter-Celtic co-operation.

Mícheál Mac Aonghusa.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING — CELTIC LEAGUE SEMINAR

A Seminar including an introduction to the Breton language, lectures and discussions about Brittany will be held immediately after the Celtic Congress, from August 19th to 22nd or 23rd, in Menez Kamm, Spezet, near Gourin (N.W. Morbihan). Meals and accommodation 24F per person per day. If possible bring sleeping bag. The C.L. AGM will be held during the same period. All C.L. members are invited. Those planning to attend should write to Jakez Derouet (address on back cover) without delay. He would also like to contact C.L. members who may otherwise travel to Brittany during the summer.

BRETON FILMS

Arrangements are being made for the Breton association "Torr-e-benn" to show their films on the Joint-Français and Kaolins de Ploemez strikes, on the demonstrations against the sale of Breton land to alien tycoons, in Cornwall, Cork, Dublin, Belfast, Liverpool and London. Torr-e-benn would like to show in Brittany similar socially concerned films made in the other Celtic countries, but do such exist?

A Breton film-show week in Gwened was highly successful. Marcellin's police tried to prevent Torr-e-benn from showing their films but failed. Audiovisual evidence of the growing Breton sense of community should not benefit from the freedom of expression? (10/4/74).

FOR A BALANCED CARN

In this issue we have made good the deficiencies in the Welsh section of CARN 4, but we have still no Gaidhlig contribution in spite of requests in four directions. Has any of our Scottish readers the ability and time to help remedy this? We would also welcome articles in both Welsh and English from Wales and articles from Brittany provided they are well written, and relevant to our aims. Contributors should endeavour to supply **typed** material, with double spacing, and keep a carbon copy. We regret the many printing errors in CARN 4.

TO MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS. We are endeavouring to further improve CARN, but needless to say we need a minimum number of subscribers to keep solvent. **WE ARE SENDING THIS ISSUE TO A NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE SUPPORTED US FAITHFULLY OVER THE YEARS OR WHO SUBSCRIBED ONLY IN THE COURSE OF 1973 BUT WHO HAVE NOT YET RENEWED THEIR SUBSCRIPTION FOR 1974. MAY WE URGENTLY REQUEST THEM NOT TO DELAY FURTHER AND TO NOTE THE NEW RATES ON THE BACK COVER.** If you have criticism to make, write to us. We want to know what you think of the magazine.

TORR E BENN

Two of the films made by the Torr-e-benn Breton group were shown in Cork, Dublin, Belfast and Liverpool (April 22-26): the first about the strike at "Joint Francais" (1972) and the support given to it all over Brittany; the second about the 3-day demonstration-festival against the cheque-book conquest of Brittany in Gwern (1973). In each of the Irish centres, 80-100 persons watched the films and heard kan-ha-diskan songs. The Breton team was very satisfied with the response they got, particularly in Belfast. As the organiser of the tour, I must confess to disappointment that so few among those living in Dublin and interested in inter-Celtic relations came to see the films. Some among those who did were probably shocked by the harsh stand of the Joint workers, and the co-existence of the Breton and red flags in the demonstrations. But the facts were there, and many other reports indicate that the Breton workers are exploited in the "pirat-factories" recently set up in Brittany. The Breton culture will not live if the people emigrate, they will emigrate if they get better working conditions elsewhere. The "Joint" film could be reduced by half for a non-Breton audience, which is not unfamiliar with French and could not understand the un-dubbed speeches of trade union leaders. But Torr e Benn are doing pioneer work! They deserved bigger attendances.

The struggle of the Breton workers and farmers for wages and conditions which will enable them to live in their own country was exemplified in recent months by prolonged strikes and demonstrations. In Pederdeg, in the Doux chicken-slaughter factory, the strikers were supported by the population, as happened 2 years ago in the Joint Francais strike. After three months however, Doux has put the workers on "technical unemployment". Farmers demonstrated violently in December, January and February against the EEC agricultural policy, in particular against meat imports (Fougeres, Collinee, Pontivi, St-Brieg, Kemperle). Shopkeepers in many towns of West Brittany (Kemper, Montroulez, etc.) were severely hit by floods, attributed to the wreckless destruction of the earthen walls built in wiser ages all over hilly Brittany. It is suggested that compensation should be claimed from the authorities which has for the past 20 years pursued a policy of levelling hedges without proper preliminary studies.

Three socialist M.P.s (Pensec, Allainmat, Josselin) representing constituencies in the W. half of Brittany, have tabled a bill in Paris which would give some powers to the regional Councils and democratise them.

Correspondence: Our expenditure on postage is considerable. Replies to the numerous enquiries we receive would be facilitated if correspondents enclosed international postal reply coupons.

Blow to F.U.E.N. We greatly regret to announce the death, on February 2, of Mrs. J. Skadegard, at the age of 55. She worked patiently, untiringly, unremunerated, at her husband's side, to promote the aims of the Federal Union of European Nationalities.

Police Provocation? An inquiry is being held into allegations made against the Cornish police of perjury, conspiracy to pervert the course of justice and planning evidence. This arises from complaints made by Mr. Kevin Kavanagh, the Irish gunsmith. The inquiry is being held at Cambrone Police headquarters and was ordered by the Director of Public Prosecutions.

Since then, the statement made by Kenneth Lennon to the National Council for Civil Liberties in England confirms already strong suspicions that people engaged in purely political activities, such as the "Luton Three", are being goaded to resort to violence by agents of the English Special Branch. This reminds us of three Scotsmen jailed about 2 years ago for having planned to rob a bank; they also claimed they had been provoked.

L.F.M. in Manx Pub. Early in April four Manxmen were ordered to leave a public house in Peel because they were talking in Manx. The owner, Mr. Ernest Wright, said other customers had complained. One of the men however said they were alone in the lounge, and the other customers were in the bar. Mr. Wright did not mind people speaking Manx "BUT IT HAS TO BE KEPT IN PROPORTION."

385 students enrolled for Breton/Celtic studies at Rennes University this year, in spite of all the obstacles put in their way (dearth of teachers, lack of room, no academic sanction). They have now started to publish a periodical in Breton, SKRID.

The Gwengamp Cultural Centre (Place de Verdun) runs 5 Breton classes in mid-week. Since March they have also a course of Celtic history, given by Y. Gailhareg-Glevareg and an Irish class given by Clíodhna Ní Dhiomsa.

If you have started learning Breton and want to improve its practice, you can join various summer courses which provide tuition as well as entertainment. We recommend in particular K.E.A.V. c/o Mme V. de Bellaing, 28 rue des 3 Frères Le Goff, 22 St-Brieuc. Let us also mention the courses organised by An Ao. Ollivier, Glazvezenn, Lividig, 29238, Brignogan (the spelling they use is in our view defective, but by endeavouring to put learners in contact with native speakers they help them to acquire a good accent).

Recommended reading:

Gaelic Literature Surveyed — by Aodh de Blacám, Talbot Press £3.60. No better proof that a cultural unit extends from the N. of Scotland to Mizen Head. Strongest on the Irish aspect.

An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry — by Derick Thomson, Gollancz. £4.00. "Speaks with the authority of a native Scottish-Gaelic speaker, poet and scholar of considerable achievement. Book written for an English-speaking and international audience."

Fransez Debauvais de Breiz Atao et les siens (Memoires du chef breton, commented by his widow). First volume, just published, 412 pages. 36F from Mme Debauvais, 20 Place des Lices, Rennes-35.

Alan Stivell gave a concert in the Hunter College, New York, on April 23. It was organised by our friend Mickey Burke and the Hunter Celtic Club. The Club publishes a magazine "Poet on a Rock". M. Burke will now reconstitute a branch of the Celtic League in New York.



MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

All who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are entitled to membership. The membership fee (entitling to CARN) and the subscription rates should now be raised to £1.50 for Ireland and Britain; 17F for Brittany and continental Europe in general; £2 (\$5 U.S.) for non-European countries (including airmailing). For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the secretaries :

Alba : Mrs. M. Denovan, 9 Dalgleish Road, Dundee
Cymru : Antwn ab Osborn, 89 Whitchurch Road, Chester, England
Assistant secretary: Meic Pattison, Neuadd Reichel, Ffordd Ffriddoedd, Bangor, Arfon, N. Wales
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London : J. Rh. Humphreys, 113 Loveday Road, Ealing, London W.13
General Secretary : A. Heusaff, 9 Cnoc Sion, Ath Cliath 9, Eire.

All payments are to be made **to the Celtic League**, if possible by Bankers' Order and sent to the above address, or directly to Allied Irish Banks, 2 Dolphin's Barn, Dublin 8, Eire, or to our treasurer Caitlin Ni Chaomhanaigh, 17 Pairc Heberton, Ath Cliath 8, Eire. When paying through the bank, do **not** indicate **CELTIC LEAGUE on the envelope**, but **inside**. In any case, notify your branch secretary of the payment, to avoid delays in mailing.

Application for Membership

I wish to join the Celtic League and to receive its quarterly CARN. Please also send me a copy of the C.L. Constitution. I enclose £..... and (optional) contribution towards C.L. expenses £.....

Name

Address

Help us to sell **CARN**, by finding booksellers to stock it (5p allowance per copy, sale or return), or by selling copies to friends, at gatherings; by advertising it ...

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