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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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25p

QUARTERLY PERIODICAL IN ENGLISH & IN CELTIC LANGUAGES
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EAGARFHOCAL THE DEATH OF SUNNINGDALE

Politicians north and south in Ireland as in England looked on the Sunningdale communique as a sort of *deus-ex-machina*, another magic English formula to solve another English created problem. Few have spelled out clearly what the English strategy was though a careful reading of the document itself, especially the clause retaining to Westminster the right to interfere whenever and wherever their investments were deemed by them to be at risk, reveals its nature. The Tory M.P. for Stratford, Angus Maude has, however, made it clear, in *The Illustrated London News* for July 1974, where he says "The whole experiment was based on the belief that it would be possible to reconcile the Catholic minority to the Union without alienating the Protestant majority."

Going on to make his own dissection of the Irish problem he identifies, quite specifically, English *qua* English attitudes as — in his view — the most significant ones in the issue "there is one major snag which the logical English seem incapable of grasping . . ." He later engages in a piece of crude racialism which ought to be challenged under the Race Relations Act: "What has been going on in Ulster is not a religious conflict . . . it is a racial conflict . . ."

Now the Celtic League is certainly not racist — far be such an evil from us — but we must protest against the ignorance evinced by Maude as well as oppose the horror of the conclusions based on that ignorance. Scots and Irishmen share a common heritage in so much of life and, whether one discusses Irish migration to Scotland or the reverse, we may not ignore the extent to which this occurred within a common cultural ambience. It is the English presence which aggravates and the claim of the English to dominate which exacerbates all our problems.

Perhaps we should in a sense be glad that Maude has isolated the English dimension to the Irish question.

ALBA

40th ANNIVERSARY SNP CONFERENCE ELGIN, MORAYSHIRE

The mood was one of celebration for the achievement of the previous year. The culminating success of returning 7 members of parliament at the February General Election gave the conference a new authority and this was hammered home by the sort of policies discussed. A successful party on the up-swing has to see very clearly the priorities of possible power and also show a confident grasp of fundamentals. The three major themes discussed were energy, poverty and land with an important final session which took a hard look at the needs of Gaelic.

Inevitably a showcase for the new M.P.'s had to be created and a session on the problems primarily affecting N.E. Scotland, where 4 of the 7 sit, concentrated on the threat to fishing by the EEC and threat to the agricultural sector by the same European mammoth. The insensitivity and remoteness of the Brussels bureaucrats and the re-emphasis of the evils of centralism dominated SNP thinking. How can you safeguard the employment of fishermen or farmers by allowing arbitrary decrees totally unsuited to Scottish circumstances to be passed without a Scottish government's agreement or veto? The Tory/Labour axis in London is bent on the sell-out of Scottish fishing and agriculture to keep Britain in the big league.

Perhaps the oil issue above all revealed the SNP's quick-thinking and responsible approach to such a massive problem. The need to control oil revenues which could amount annually to 3 or 4 times more than the spending of the present government agencies in Scotland demand a responsible approach. Norway's method of stiffening control over the international oil companies was much appreciated and desired to be copied. The blunt statements of the British Labour Party's direct nationalisation that was shown to be half baked. Discussion from M.P.'s and more humble spokesmen emphasised the need to extend our plans for tackling basic housing needs, redevelopment of the Glasgow area and a great social programme for the whole nation from the use of the oil revenues. The rejuvenation of our jaded industrial areas were not forgotten by this conference held in the rich farm lands of the Laigh of Moray.

The human attitude to poverty so ably moved by George Reid M.P. for East Stirling and Clackmannanshire laid solid foundations for a radical health service which goes far beyond the makeshift skeleton of the British National Health Service. Again it was pointed out that a healthy Scottish economy could afford and must afford a social policy to end the years of deprivation, high infant mortality rate, early death rate, etc., the macabre companions of proving status in the British state. Mr Reid received a standing ovation. Perhaps the increased maturity of the SNP was shown by the level of debate and concern over this issue and of the basically radical feelings of most delegates.

The final day's debates had started with poverty and then feasted on the riches of Gwynfor Evan's fine message from Plaid Cymru. His humanity and fire lit the hearts up in the more universal call for the rights of small nations to control their limited resources and co-operate voluntarily in their fight to create world democracy. A busload of Welsh tourists sang their national anthem impromptu thereafter and thrilled the Scots audience and attendant press corps with their fervour.

The issues of land and the future of Gaelic were fitting topics to discuss in the packed final session on the Saturday afternoon. The part of the SNP policy for agricultural land and dealing with absentee landowners was revealed. The eloquence of Ross-shire candidate Willie MacRae scythed through the landlord class like a Highland crofter clearing weeds from his garden ground. A Land Use Commission to advise locally elected community councils was the basis of the proposals so that no land could be hoarded for private gain and the concept of the family farm advanced. But the idea of getting all land use interest together i.e. industry, tourism, recreation, forestry, agriculture and housing gave this idea strong appeal and goes a long way to provide the basis for an on the spot policy controlled by local people so much in keeping with the SNP's emphasis on decentralised government.

The SNP's commitments to Gaelic have always been a first principle but under Frang MacThomais's advocacy a fully detailed statement of areas for immediate action was launched. The party showed more than sentiment in its support because the Scotland's centre of gravity has shifted north with oil developments and now all Highland problems are exposed daily in the media through support for the SNP topping the popular vote in the Crofting counties and returning two of its six M.P.'s. Official status was not enough, the determination of individuals to demand the teaching of Gaelic in schools and the eventual provision of Gaelic teachers on a wide scale wherever demanded in

Scotland was his theme. Bilingualism is the transitional goal to reestablish Gaelic as a major language of the Scottish nation again.

The pressures on the SNP will be great in the coming months and the machinations of the London parties will be increasingly underhand, so the high spirits of the delegates were finally directed by Chairman, Billy Wolfe into a summer of very hard work to ram home the SNP message in the possible autumn election.

R. GIBSON

GALLOWAY

Readers of 'CARN' may be interested to hear something about Galloway, which is the Southern part of the South-West peninsula of Scotland, and reaches out until it is less than 22 miles from the north Irish coast. Another peninsula, named "The Machars," points south from the main peninsula towards the Isle of Man until at the end it is less than 15 miles from that island. Galloway is the nearest part of Scotland or Ireland to the Isle of Man and Galloway's main port, Stranraer, is the port closest to Ireland.

When the Romans reached Britain Galloway seems to have been occupied by British-speaking Celtic tribes, like the rest of Britain. After the Romans left the Angles from Northumbria eventually conquered Galloway, as well as other provinces of Southern Scotland. But in the 8th century A.D., after a century of Northumbria rule in Galloway, the Angles were defeated by Vikings and Scots. The Scots united to rule most of what is now the Scottish mainland, but their country did not at first include Galloway. Galloway had been settled everywhere by Gaelic-speaking Celts from West Scotland and Northern Ireland, and it became independent under the native "Lords," or princes, of Galloway.

On the whole independent Galloway was a wild, uncivilized place, but its "Parliament knowe" or hill, survives as a place-name at Kirroughtree near the modern town of Newton Stewart. Alan, last of the Lords of Galloway, built a navy and successfully invaded the Isle of Man, then under Viking rule but died before he could complete his conquest.

Alan left three daughters who married Anglo-Norman aristocrats. One daughter, Dervorgilla, married in 1233 John Balliol (his family came from Baillieu in Normandy) and their son became a claimant to the throne of Scotland. From that time Galloway which was still Gaelic-speaking, was regarded as part of Scotland.

Gaelic was spoken for long afterwards in Galloway and South Ayrshire, dying out late in the 18th century. Even today the place-names and local surnames are mainly of Gaelic origin. The mother of Robert Burns came from Carrick, as South Ayrshire is called; it is believed that several words of Gaelic origin used in his poems were first heard by the poet in the language spoken by his mother.

Modern Galloway consists of two counties, Wigtownshire and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Their population is small (about 58,000 in all). Agriculture is the main industry, with in the East much forestry as well.

Much of Galloway consists of mountain and moorland (Merrick, 2770 feet high, is the highest summit in South Scotland) but the low ground along the Solway Firth is the scene of excellent dairy farming. Local politics, dominated by land-owners, can be described as extremely conservative.

Galloway, unlike neighbouring Ayrshire, has produced few famous men. Its situation is of strategic importance, and

more may be heard of it before long. The landscape is very beautiful, and up to now is unspoiled for the most part. Some see its future mainly as a home for the retired and a holiday area. Yet it is possible that Galloway may play a significant part in the making of a new Scotland.

E.T.H.B.

SINCE THE GENERAL ELECTION

Since the election on the 28th February, with its great advance for the national parties of Scotland and Wales, as predicted things could not ever be the same again. Eventually — Mr. Wilson was asked to form a government and while he was announcing Mr. William Ross as the new Secretary of State for Scotland a group of Labour M.P.'s were producing a pamphlet on devolution for discussion and they hoped for decision at their conference later that month. One of them hoped that the Scottish Labour Party would support devolution and thus bring themselves into line with their colleagues in Wales. However in the event it was a very cautious and qualified approval that they gave to the whole idea of devolution at their annual conference.

In the middle of March they published their statement which — "Followed detailed consideration of the Kilbrandon Commission Report." It began "We welcome Kilbrandon's emphatic rejection of the Nationalist case — we do however accept that there is a need to ensure that decisions affecting Scotland are made in Scotland." Their statement included "a measure of devolution could perhaps give to the people a FEELING of involvement."

By the end of the month the headlines in the daily papers were: "Labour seek a "NO-Sacrifice" devolution formula." Criticism of their decision not to commit themselves on devolution led to promises to have consultations with various bodies. Having in effect rejected the majority recommendations in Kilbrandon on three points — the necessity for reducing the number of Scottish M.P.'s at Westminster — the loss of the office of Secretary of State for Scotland and the acceptance of proportional representation, they had to promise something.

By the next month Mr. Ross felt confident enough despite the precarious situation of his government to break the low key tone which had prevailed till then in his relations with the S.N.P. He chose the occasion of his addressing the conference of the S.T.U.C. to say that the S.N.P. were "an irrelevant and shoddy party who had disgraced the name of Scotland." However his extreme over reaction to the threat which the National Party poses for his plans did not have the desired result. The S.T.U.C. assembly voted overwhelmingly in favour of Kilbrandon and later in the month the Organisation of Scottish Labour Student's voted by a large majority in favour of a resolution calling on the government to introduce proposals for devolved legislative assemblies for Scotland and Wales.

At the beginning of May came the local elections in Scotland the last before the re-organisation of local government next year. One of the reasons for the Labour Party's unwillingness to commit themselves on devolution is their idea that by having control of the larger new regions they will exercise all the power necessary for running the "Scottish region" and no assembly will be needed.

By the middle of March it was obvious to the nationalists that the government was dragging its feet on devolution and they forced a division on the Commons at the end of the Queen's Speech debate. In April the party was

asked to give it's recipe for devolution to the Government's constitutional adviser Lord Crowther-Hunt. Apart from the items which they specified they emphasised that too much administrative change is being pushed through in Scotland at the moment and that the transitional period for the transfer of local government to the reorganised region and district councils should be extended until the Government issue firm proposals for Scottish devolution. At the end of April they announced that they were setting up a Standing Committee to investigate the scale of poverty in Scotland. A policy package on energy, the campaign on poverty and proposals to deal with land speculation were among the many themes dealt with at the S.N.P. Conference at Elgin at the end of May.

At the beginning of June came the much heralded Government document — "Devolution within the United Kingdom — Some alternatives for discussion." In essence a 22 page regurgitation of parts of Kilbrandon. The various suggestions are separated alphabetically from A to G and some would not be worth considering.

On the 3rd of July the S.N.P. published their own reaction to these government devolution schemes in a 3,000 word memorandum. The scheme they favour is one which provides for a legislative parliament, with a Prime Minister, ministers and an exchequer. However missing items which they would insist on coming under the control of that parliament are, radio and television broadcasting, Scottish Universities and complete control of the economy, especially oil. Commenting on these proposals the Chairman of the S.N.P. Mr. William Wolfe said that he envisaged the parliament as having 200 members on the Proportional representation system and that the establishing of this parliament with less than full powers was a step in the direction of a full sovereign parliament — M.D.

A TRADITION OF NEGLECT by William Neill (Reprinted with permission from The Week- End Scotsman, 9/12/1972).

It has been demonstrated quite clearly by many writers and poets in the present day that Gaelic and Scots still remain powerful media of national and international expression. The work of Hugh MacDiarmid in Scots, of Sorley MacLean in Gaelic, and of George Campbell Hay in both tongues are cases very much in point. I am aware also that Scotland has her share of writers who use standard English as their medium, and produce excellent work in it.

It is not my aim to quarrel with anyone about the language in which he chooses to write; the only judgment which can be made here on the quality of the work.

As Scots, however, we must surely be concerned with the languages that are spoken in Scotland, both today and in the past; those languages in which Scottish writers for the most part choose to write. We should, moreover, be concerned about the teaching of our literary past to the young people of Scotland if we desire a distinctly Scottish tradition in literature.

An expression of such a desire often gives rise to accusations of parochialism on the grounds that ART is universal and international. No-one will quarrel with the idea that art is international, but who wishes to dispense with English literature on that score?

It may be something to the point to add my own opinion that the world would have been the poorer had Petrarch,

Shakespeare, and Goethe been obliged to write in a common language; in some sort of esperanto, for instance. Indeed, if the English-speaking opponents of a Scottish literary tradition (and they are many) were at all logical, they would agitate for some new, international poetic language in order to escape from the restrictions of English.

No-one today speaks the English of Shakespeare, the Scots of Dunbar, or the Gaelic of Aithbhreac inghean Coirceadal, but there is no reason why their work should be ignored, for the vigorous descendants of all three languages are with us in Scotland today. In wide areas, English of the standard type is still only the language of officialdom and the mass media, a sort of establishment method of communication which does not in any deep sense touch the hearts or minds of the people. The strong variety of Scots spoken in Buchan is not intelligible to an Englishman who has not lived there for some considerable time, and on the western fringes, and the islands, Gaelic still remains the language of everyday work.

It is not my purpose to advise as to how those languages can be encouraged and fostered in the areas in which they are still spoken, since that is a different problem from that which is discussed here, namely, the suggestion that young Scots, whatever their individual linguistic background, ought to be given the chance to study, from school to university the variegated literary heritage which would contribute a richness to their own creative imaginations.

I think it is just a claim that this background is richer and more variegated in Scotland than in any other area of the British Isles, yet it is almost totally ignored in Scottish schools, and may only be mentioned where the teacher knows and wishes to impart this background without the blessing of the authorities.

Our ancestors used Brittonic, literary Irish, Latin, Scots and vernacular Scottish Gaelic for their compositions, but for the most part young Scots are left in total ignorance of this. Such ground is not even covered in translation. The aim seems in fact to be that as far as self-expression is concerned, our children are to be reduced to a kind of weak pseudo-English cheeping which defeats their efforts to be articulate about their own Scottish environment.

How many Scottish children have ever heard of the Gododdin, which in all probability was composed about 600 AD by a poet of Scotland? Or have read Dunbar or Henryson? How many know the legend of Kentigern and Lailoken or of Merlin and Rhydderch of Stratclyde? Or the tales of Fionn Mac Cumhal which were told not so very long in Kintyre?

These are only a few examples from the rich soil into which our children should be striking their creative roots. When MacDiarmid uses imagery from Celtic mythology in his poems, how many Scots understand the references? How many Scots know the opinion that Ian Lom held about the Keppoch murders, or the opinion of Alexander MacDonald on the linguistic question in Scotland?

We possess a rich heritage of poetry and legend which is completely ignored in favour of a policy which advances the English tradition in all its aspects. Possibly the only Scottish verse that many Scottish children hear are piffling wee verses about "sair fingers" and the like. They are completely deprived of the knowledge of their own roots, and the system seems to be deliberately designed to foster this deprivation. Most of the reasons extended in defence of this barbarism seem to be accepted, although few of them stand up to examination.

Both Gaelic and Scots have suffered from the notion that lexis and phonology can be used to mark the social and intellectual class to which a man belongs. One has to admit that today there is some ground for the social criteria (whatever they may be worth), but the idea that the use of a particular kind of speech is a sign of mental excellence is as absurd as it always was. It is totally forgotten (indeed possibly not known) that less than two centuries ago, both Gaelic and Scots were accepted as the media of conversation in aristocratic establishments and professional institutions.

Scotland, despite the anglicisers, still possesses a variety of linguistic media, and it hardly needs a trained ear to hear them all on a Highland steamer. What we must do is to accept the situation as it is, before we can make any plans for its improvement. It is quite useless to blame anyone for the way he speaks, or the language he speaks as a mother tongue. Children form their speech habits before the age of nine, and up to that age they are, educationally speaking, at the tender mercies of their parents in the schools which are chosen for them.

Speech habits in Scotland vary from "received pronunciation" English through various types of "standard Scottish English" to Scots, as well as the various dialects of Gaelic. What we should aim at in the present situation is some sort of tacit comprehension in children of all the others . . . not as difficult as it may seem. Some Scottish children are fortunate enough to have this already.

The attitude that any adult Scot must adopt if he wishes to understand fully his country's literary and historical background is one of unflagging determination to obtain at least a reading knowledge of all the literary media which are used in Scotland. Those who propose to lecture in Scottish universities on Scottish literary subjects should pursue the matter in even greater depth. Naturally this would be easier if the process were first started in school. We must at all costs rid ourselves of that parochialism which makes people "specialise" (whatever that is) in "one branch" of "Scottish" literature.

It is surely not too much to ask that those who claim to be experts in "Scottish" literature should be able to read both Scots and Gaelic, and have a considerable knowledge of the Celtic, as well as the Germanic aspects of our background. How can one claim to generalise about "literature in Scotland today" if one does not take the trouble to understand its varied facets?

After all, if for some months there were to be a silence from the writers of Scots and English, whilst there was a sudden upsurge of Gaelic creative activity, what would some of the part-of-Scottish-literature experts do? At the present state of the nation in this respect, the non-Gaelic experts would have to remain dumb to avoid embarrassment.

It is indeed encouraging when one reads reviews of books of Scots poetry in a magazine such as "Gairm", which is published in Gaelic, and one can only wish that this were reciprocal in more instances than it is . . . indeed what would be an ideal situation would be the presence of large numbers of critics in Scotland, and a large literate public equally at ease in English, Scots and Gaelic.

We ought to cater within our educational establishment for such an end. This is not done at the moment. To maintain that Gaelic should be encouraged in the Highlands only, and Scots in the Lowlands only, is a patent absurdity in the present situation, where most of Scotland's populace lives in the central belt, and where at least one-quarter of

all Scotland's Gaelic speakers live within that area.

Of course Gaelic must be kept alive in those areas where it is the language of the fireside and of work; but this is scarcely a reason for depriving urban children of their Celtic heritage. The central belt is a great melting pot of linguistic and historical tradition. Gaelic ought to be taught in the schools there, and Scots ought to be read in the schools there, as well as English.

Such a process would NOT be retrograde. It would be an actual advance, both educationally and psychologically, both nationally and internationally.

I am aware that I have laid myself open to attacks by the "Gaelic only" and "Scots only" devotees, and I will most certainly have evoked the ire of the "English alone" faction. This is an attempt to talk about the situation as it exists now, whatever the future may hold.

The linguistic problems of Scotland need not be problems, but could be a source of national enrichment; a source of unity rather than division. The teaching of real facts about the Scottish background could evoke new enthusiasm in the young, and a thorough knowledge of Scottish literature, tradition and legend could be a fountain of Scottish writers, and therefore to the Scottish people and the world at large.

It is natural that we should wish to see such inspiration in our own background; to see creation spreading outwards from our own roots, and to see our own culture contribute to that of the rest of the world, for culture without variety will be as useless as verses written in Morse Code.

BREIZH

WHERE WOULD BRITTANY BE WITHOUT FRANCE

(a shortened version of an article published in LE PEUPLE BRETON, March 1974. The maps are not included. A.H.).

Many Bretons still remain sceptical when the U.D.B. claims that Brittany is under-developed in comparison with wealthy Europe and denounces the colonial situation which is the root cause of this relative under-development. We remember for instance De Poulpique, U.D.R. depute for Finistere, peremptorily dismissing as tendentious, about ten years ago, the statistics according to which Brittany was under-developed in relation to the rest of France. The latest evidence comes from a thorough enquiry — more than 4500 figures — published under the title "Le Palmares du Bien-Etre" by the weekly LE POINT (7th and 14th January, 1974), a paper which is far from being an opponent of the present capitalist regime.

A VERY NEGATIVE RECORD. LE POINT wanted to find out where people were happy in France. No concern with regional entities or culture: the investigations were carried out within the departmental framework which so often conceals reality. 50 basic criteria were chosen and regrouped under five headings: health, medical and psychological balance, social and economic equipment, culture, amenities. Even allowing for the arbitrary way in which co-efficients were attributed the results are surprisingly clear: FOR GENERAL WELFARE THE BEST RANK ACHIEVED BY A BRETON DEPARTMENT IS 71st, while MORBIHAN, which elects ex-minister M. MARCELLIN, COMES LAST OF ALL DEPARTMENTS! Finistere was 71st, Ille-et-Vilaine 74th, Loire-Atlantique 75th, Cotes-du-Nord 91st and Morbihan 95th.

If one calculates a mean departmental position region by

region, Brittany comes last but one of 22 regions, with a mean exceeding 81: she beats the "North" (French Flanders) only because of her natural amenities and a slightly better health record. Her situation is distinctly worse than that of the non-Breton WEST with which some people in high places want her to be bracketed; and her (threatened) beauty and urbanisation on a "human scale" are far from compensating her unemployment, low wages, emigration and under-equipment.

BRITTANY IS VERY HOMOGENEOUS. By comparing the departments with one another, an "homogeneity index" was calculated for the twenty two regions. Only the North, Alsace and Lower Normandy present greater socio-economic unity than Brittany; but these are smaller regions. If Loire Atlantique is included in Brittany, her homogeneity increases and she reaches the leading position. This contradicts completely the late President Pompidou who said that the economic and cultural realities did not unite Loire-Atlantique with Brittany. It seems the present official partition to be most irrational. Its only purpose is a political one, namely to prevent the overall economic development of the Breton peninsula so as to maintain here a source of emigration and manpower for wealthy Europe. All the manifestations of Breton unity, which run counter to this unavowed design, are met with systematic opposition.

Underdevelopment: Unequal in death as in life.

The mass of figures gathered by LE POINT enable us to verify once more how specific our problems are. There are two revealing signs: alcoholism and the mortality rate. "Region Brittany" is the worst hit in France by alcoholism: with almost 69 deaths from this disease per 100,000, she contrasts strongly with neighbouring regions, even with Normandy (51 deaths). As for longevity, there is no mistake either: the five Breton departments, with their average expectation of life of 69 years and 4 months stand in marked contrast to the French average (71 years and 6 months) but also to all the departments of the non-Breton West, including the worst off. This obvious specificity is connected with misery and mental disarray, as we pointed out in our study, "L'Alcoolisme en Bretagne", 1965. The fact that the situation has not changed shows that the Breton problem cannot be solved by fragmentary local measures, however spectacular.

Let us keep it in mind, **BRITTANY remains the region of France where most deaths from alcoholism occur and where the average duration of life is shortest**, in spite of the environment so appreciated by well-to-do tourists. Nothing in common there with those neighbouring departments of the West in which they so often try to submerge Brittany! In Vendee, Deux-Sevres, Maine-et-Loire, average life expectancy exceeds 72 years. In the worst-off parts of the inland West, it is still over 70 a figure which is reached in none of the Breton departments.

Economic and social statistics confirm the existence of an acute and specific under-development. The unemployment crisis is worse than everywhere else, and worse than the non-Breton West in particular. The relation between the numbers of employment offers and employment demands which are not fulfilled is weaker in Brittany (25.2 per cent) than in the Pays-de-Loire (37.5 per cent), Poitou-Charentes (30.4 per cent) and Basse-Normandie (44.6 per cent). Morbihan (14.1 per cent) and Loire Atlantique (20.6 per cent) are the worst affected.

Another index of under-development is the number of inhabitants per room. The Breton figure, 1.04, is a good

deal higher than that of the Western neighbours (0.84 to 1.00): it points to a strong demographic pressure and to financial difficulties in the Breton households, with very frequently over-populated dwellings.

Other illustrations of the Breton problem may not appear so disquieting at first look. Thus the rate of non-scolarisation, of "no-longer attending schools", among young people of 15-17 years of age, is in Brittany as in Paris one of the lowest in France, much lower than in all the "west". Let us rejoice at this and acknowledge the efforts made by parents of frequently modest means. But these efforts can also be explained as an escape from the lack of employment in the country: so as to delay unemployment and emigration, children are kept at school as long as possible, whereas in the rich industrial parts of France children are assured of a job as soon as they leave primary school. This low index of 41.7 per cent in Brittany as against 51.7 per cent in Lower Normandy, although a positive thing in itself, reflects in fact a general under-employment.

The weakness of cultural and sport investments e.g. libraries, swimming pools, is due chiefly to neglect by the French State which, through its control of credits and subsidies allows or prevents the measures necessary for them. For 100,000 inhabitants, the figures are:

	Brittany	Pays de Loire
Swimming Pools	2.9	3.5
Public Libraries	1.0	1.5
	Lower Normandy	Poitou-Ch. Allier (rich France)
Swimming Pools	3.8	4.1 4.6
Public Libraries	2.3	1.6 5.6

No department of the West, even Mayenne where living standards are low enough, cumulate so many handicaps as Brittany.

For unemployment, Brittany comes second to Corsica; Morbihan being as badly affected as the latter while the non-Breton West is markedly less so. **Le Point** does not give figures for economic expansion, but other official statistics show Brittany and the region of Limoges as the only ones to be hit by a strong decline in the number of jobs. 19 regions showed an increase, the main French increase being 6 per cent from 1962 to 1970.

Brittany is the only region in France combining considerable unemployment, a recession in the number of available jobs, a strong demographic pressure, a dynamic but indebted agriculture, and many aspects of under development. Her present economic situation would justify the urgent execution of a comprehensive plan of development (grands travaux) and aid to enterprises in financial difficulties (4 factories closed on 9th April, 1974). If public authorities persist in their inertia, an unprecedented crisis can be expected, with unforeseeable consequences.

POSITIVE ELEMENTS. A number of figures reveal an individual dynamism on the part of the Bretons. The gross agricultural income increased owing to the intensification of productions, distinctly exceeding that of neighbouring regions (18,000F per active farmer in Brittany as against 13,700 in Lower Normandy; 16,500 in Pays de Loire but over 60,000 in the Bassin Parisien). Thanks to tough industrial actions, the wage level has risen from 69 per cent of the French average in 1964 to 84.9 per cent, still far below the 140 per cent for the Paris areal Household comfort now surpasses that of the neighbouring regions, contrary to the 50 per cent lag shown in 1962. Bretons have a brilliant record in the race for diplomas, but reach the highest level

of debt in relation to wages.

UNDER-DEVELOPMENT IMPINGING ON EVERYDAY LIFE. Even if one keeps in mind that official statistics deserve only limited confidence and that the POINT investigation is also to be treated cautiously, the most sceptical will have to admit, when faced with so many overwhelming figures, that the Bretons live daily in a situation of flagrant injustice, in spite of all their individual efforts. The French propaganda claims "centuries of national unity", but Bretons are not treated like the "other" Frenchmen. Unintentionally, the POINT investigation is a condemnation of two centuries of bourgeois policies contemptuous of our people and of their aspiration to work in their own country; also of the last 16 years of promises and over-exploitation. In 1974 the Breton problem remains as extensive and as specific as ten years ago. Will the Breton continue to accept this inequality? — J.J.M.

GOUDE HARZ-LABOUR AN ULSTER WORKERS' COUNCIL

Evit Republikaned Iwerzhon, an dud a zo ar muiañ chalet gant dac'h ar Saozon en Iwerzhon, e oa fall emglev Sunningdale peogwir e leze gant gournamant London ar veli er 6 Kontelezh. (Gw. CARN Nn 4). Emglev Sunningdale zo kouezhet en e boull. N'eo ket gant ar Republikaned ez eo bet freuzhet, met gant "Lealourien" an Norzh: dre an harz-labour aozet ampart gant Kuzul ar Vicherourien Oulat (Ulster Workers' Council) e voe lakaet ar greanterezh hag ar c'henwerzh da chom a-sav ha rediet Brian Faulkner d'en em dennañ er-maez eus ar Strollad-Erounit (Executive) a oa bet kenstrollet goude milboan gant ar gournamant saoz. Touet o doa pennoù politikel al Lealourien e tistrujfen "Sunningdale" dre heg. Koulskoude n'eo ket an tri marc'h limon Craig, Paisley ha West a zastumas ar brud da vezañ hen graet, heuliañ a rejont goude termal ar vennadurezh divizet gant an U.W.C. Graet e voe gant doareoù ar sponterezh evit lakaat ar stalioù hag ar greantioù da serriñ, e-pad an devezhioù kentañ. Goude avat ez eas an traoù endro evel pa vefe un harz-labour c'hweluniadel-skouer. Klask a reas micherourien 'zo dindan renerezh an Irish Congress of Trade Unions, unan eus an nebeut aozadurioù holl-iwerhonat, herzel ouzh doareoù-ober faskat an U.W.C., en aner! Diskouezet e voe ne oa ket tu da ren ur milion a dud unanet, en enep d'o youl. Lavaret eo bet ne oa a gwirionez nemet un toullad, un dregantad bihan, krenn a-enep "Sunningdale" hag e voent lezet d'ober evel ma karent gant an R.U.C. (polis). Lavaret e voe ivez en dije gallet gournamant London gourdrouzal e vije ehanet a skoazellañ ar 6-Kontelezh evel ma ra (£500 milion ar bloaz) ma ne sentfed ket ouzh e renerezh. Gourdrouzet e voe un tammig. Ur wech ouzhpenn ez eo anat n'eo ket prest ar Saozon da 'n em dennañ kuit eus Iwerzhon. Setu perak moarvat e kendalc'h bombezennoù da darzhañ e kerioù Bro-Saoz. Petra bennak a soñjer e London, pegen daoubennet bennak e c'heller bezañ eno, e Dulenn ez eur bet kaset "boud" gant trec'h bras an U.W.C. Un tammig diagent, e poueze ar gournamant par ma c'helle evit ma ve kadarnaet Emglev Sunningdale an abretañ ar gwellañ. Teir bombezenn o lazhañ tregont den e Dulenn a roas da gompren da galz tud er 26 Kontelezh e koustfe ker dezho emellout a-dost ouzh aferioù ar 6-Ko. Klevet e voe uheloc'h mouezhioù ar re a lavare e oa eus holl dud an Norzh un ampoezon hag e oa kalz gwelloc'h tremen hepzo.

Gortozet e voe ur pennad mat araok komz a-berzh-Stad. Ur pikol maen oa kouezhet e poull ar raned. Pa gredjod komz adarre, e voe evit anaout ne oa ket mui tu da gomz eus ur C'Huzul Iwerzhon. A-enep d'ar C'Huzul, kalz muioc'h eget a-enep d'ar rannañ-galloud e Stormont Béal Feirste e oa bet oberiet gant an UWC. Rak ar C'huzul a oa evito ar c'hentañ kammed war-du unanidigezh Iwerzhon.

Emañ dileuriad gouarnamant London o klask adpegañ darn eus an darbodoù bremañ. "Direct Rule", renerezh war-eeun dre London, zo distroet. Strollad ar Gatoliged, an SDLP, n'hell ket asantiñ da lamidigezh ar "Gehedenn Iwerzhonat" (an "Irish Dimension") hep bezañ divrudet-krenn. Embannet en deus gouarnamant London ur Baperenn Wenn, o reoliañ e vo graet dilennadeoù, er bloaz'zeu moarvat, evit sevel ur Vodadeg-vonreizhañ (da lavarout eo unan dilennet evit dibab ur vonreizh): lezet e vo tud ar C'Hwec'h Kontelezh d'en em zibab! London oc'h ober darbaroù evit en em dennan?

Re z-Dulenn n'eo ket bet goulennet o ali diganto ar wech-mañ. Perek e vije bet ivez? Ne fell ket d'an darn vrasañ eus poblers ar 26 Ko., a-hervez, en em zirenkañ kalz, zoken evit ar re a lavar bezañ o c'henvroiz en Hanternoz. Rannadur (partition) a voe graet betek-gwelout, hag a bagas hag a sank en diwezh er speredoù. Evelse a c'hoarvez moarvat en Alamagn, e Korea, e Vietnam. N'ouzon ket mui pehini, Cosgrave pe Conor C. O'Brien, en deus disklêriet ned afe ket arme Iwerzhon da harpañ ar Gatoliged er 6-Ko. ma vefent taget gant ar Brotestanted. O'Brien, hag a gomz evel pa vije ar C'Hentañ Ministr (an Tevezeg) tra ma'zeo ar skinwel hag ar Post hag a zo en e garg, a zo aet betek diskleriañ ne oad ket bremañ o labourat evit an unanidigezh e Dulenn. Ret eo bet da g-Cosgrave e zislavarout.

Vodadeg zo bet en Dâil a-zivout un danvez-lezenn hag a rofe tu da gontrolliñ gwerzh ar rikoù pe zanvezioù enep-konseviñ er Stad. Bremañ e c'hell an den degas ar seurt traoù er vro ent prevez, ket o gwerzhañ avat. Trec'het eo bet ar c'hinnig-lezenn gant 75 a-enep 61. Ur c'hinnig graet gant ar gouarnamant. An Tevezeg e-unan en deus votet a-enep ar c'hinnig, pezh zo bet kavat sebezhus. Tu o devo Protestanted an Norzh da lavarout n'o deus ket da c'hortoz a vije graet diouto en ur Stat holl-iwerzhonat; na reer tra evit o dedennañ. Koulskoude ma vije bet o c'hannaded en Dâil, e vije bet gounezet d'ar c'hinnig moarvat.

Ui lizher am eus bet hiziv digant ur C'Hembread (en iwerzhoneg mat): "Laouen bras e oan, emezañ, oc'h en em gavout nevez'zo en ur vro geltiek dizalc'h. Ne lavaran ket he deus tizhet Iwerzhon ar pal merket gant Patrick Pearse met emañ war an hent."

N'eo ket se a zastumer diwar gomzoù hag oberioù ministred evel C.C. O'Brien. Hañvaloc'h ouzh ar wirionez eo ar pennad-blein a oa ar sizhun-mañ er gelaouenn AMARACH: pellaat a reer diouzh ar palioù broadel. Menegiñ a c'heller raklavar ar gemennadenn digant prezidant Sinn Féin Ofisiel d'ar C'Hendalc'h Enep-Impalaerel a vo dalc'het a dibenn Gouhere e Dulenn: arouezioù hag ardamezioù ur vro dieub he deus ar Stad-mañ. Met ar galloud a zo e London.

THE FRENCH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN BRITTANY

The Breton political parties were unprepared to face the issue of a French Presidential election. A logical line would have been to present a common candidate in alliance with

the other National Minorities within the French territory. In the circumstances they had to decide which of the two main candidates to support.

Both S.A.V. (Breton National Party) and U.D.B. (Breton Democratic Union) decided to give their full support to the French Candidate of the left, Mr. F. Mitterand, after separately meeting him and receiving his approval for certain demands.

The main points of the programme presented by S.A.V. were as follows:

(1) Reunification of the five Breton departments into a Breton entity.

(2) Dissolution of the present regional council for the four departments and extended executive power for the new council.

(3) Nomination of a Secretary of State to supervise the decisions of the New Council.

(4) Recognition of the "Region Brittany" as a territorial entity.

(5) Introduction in all schools of the teaching of the Breton language and history.

(6) Substantial increase in the Radio Television time accorded to the Breton language and culture.

(7) The immediate adoption of economic measure to deal with the present economic crisis.

(8) Ratification by the French Government of the European Charter of Human Rights. (This has been done since Ed.).

(9) Orientation of French Policy towards the creation of a Federal and Socialist Europe. S.A.V. however had certain reservations regarding the ability of Mitterand to form a Government willing to support such a programme out of the present Parliament and considered a new General Election necessary.

The U.D.B. seems to have been satisfied that a Socialist French Government would support their programme for Brittany. The Candidature of Giscard d'Estaing was considered by both parties as entirely unsatisfactory from a Breton point of view representing as he undoubtedly does the interests of big finance and extreme political centralism that has constantly shown its hostility to Brittany.

In the 1965 Presidential elections Mitterand had got 37.2 per cent of the votes in Brittany. This time he increased his votes to 42 per cent: on a total electorate of 1,815,591 he received 676,614 votes. A result never achieved by a left wing candidate since 1946. Although the average percentage of left wing supporters is lower in Brittany than in France it represents a considerable increase. However the power of the right in Brittany is still considerable, it is represented by the middle class and the farmers' organisations always suspicious of any Socialist policy, supported by a clergy worried by the future of "private" schools.

Another important aspect of this election is the complete collapse of Gaullism in Brittany: its candidate Chaban Delmas received only 13 per cent of the votes. Far more interesting to know but difficult to assess in the circumstances, what percentage of the Breton population followed the advice of the main Breton parties when they voted for Mitterand. Figures of 10 to 15 per cent have been suggested. The most important question for the present day Breton political leaders is to determine what real hopes exist for the future of Brittany within the body of French Politics. It is doubtful that any worthwhile progress can be achieved by co-operating with French parties. — Y.N.

Many were taken in by friendly remarks made by Mitterand

about our language, history and "right to be different" during his visit to Brittany, shortly after the Roc'h Tredudon blast. What a pity he did not win! It would have enabled the U.D.B. — in particular — to test the *belief* that a socialist government in Paris would actively promote our economy and even take measures to foster our culture. They will be kept expecting for at least another four years.

Meanwhile, will those who put the primacy on loosening the French grip on Breton minds succeed in convincing large numbers that the involvement in French politics such as general elections, though providing opportunities to popularize "the regional idea", serve also to establish more firmly the French connection? — A.H.

BRETON LANGUAGE FESTIVAL

In November 1972 a big meeting was held in Pondivi in support of the Breton language and culture. About 1,500 people came to listen to speakers and took part afterwards in a march through the town (CARN, 1).

The momentum which marked this gathering was lost as each of the three organisations involved, Skol an Emsav, Emgleo Breiz and Kuzul ar Brezhoneg went its own way as before.

It was agreed in Skol an Emsav that a new gathering should be organised with a view to establish a lasting framework for the future activities and manifestations of the Breton language, something which, like the Eisteddfod would bring together for several days all the groups engaged in the language struggle. It was therefore Skol an Emsav which took the step of inviting Emgleo Breiz and Al Leur Nevez to join in organising, for a start, a two-day festival in Gwengamp to be called GOUEL AR BREZHONEG. This town was chosen as the venue because Breton is still spoken daily in the area and because its mayor, Mr Ollivro, has expressed his support for it.

The festival started on Saturday, June 1, with plays and songs. Strollad Beilhadegou Treger staged "An ostizez mouchet", followed by another group, from the Brest university, performing a play by P. J. Elias, "Egile". To close the evening, we had the opportunity of hearing the singers Jef Philippe and Youenn Gwernig.

On Sunday afternoon, almost everything that is done in the Breton language field and through its medium was displayed around the Sports Hall while groups of musicians kept dances going in the middle. There were stands for "Evit ar Brezhoneg", the Department of Celtic in the University of Rennes, the Celtic Congress, the Celtic League, Skol an Emsav, Kamp Etrekeltiek ar Vrezhonegerien, Emgleo Breiz, Al Leur Nevez, Pobl Vreizh (UDB Breton speakers), Al Liamm publications, Yod Kerc'h.

Naturally, Gouel ar Brezhoneg had to be concluded with a big Fest Noz which lasted until three in the morning.

How many attended? It is hard to say. About 2,000 perhaps. Anyway there is hope for the future of the Breton language when we witness so many people gathered, most of them very young, and using it as their only means of communication for two days. In that respect things went well: there was no French spoken, contrary to what had happened in Pondivi. However it might have been no harm to give some explanations to the French speakers who attended and who were totally lost, except during the fest-noz.

But not everything was so perfect, far from it. There was

not enough evidence of the link, which appeared clearly in Pondivi, between the Breton language struggle and that of the Breton workers and farmers. Also missing were the strong moments which had marked in Pondivi the speeches by Yann Talbot and Tangi Louarn as well the march in the streets.

The festival could also have been better organised. The publicity, for one, was very poor. Emgleo Breiz, for instance, could have done more in that respect, since they have regular access to radio and write a weekly column for the daily Ouest-France. The organisers failed to create a Breton-speakers' atmosphere in Gwengamp. The festival remained confined to the hall and its immediate surrounds.

However Gouel ar Brezhoneg was an experiment and it marks a progress. We must now organise a similar festival if possible every year remembering the lessons of this first attempt.

CYMRU

PLAID COMES OF AGE

The year 1974 is likely to be long remembered by nationalists in Wales. This was the year when, after almost half a century against unremitting odds, Plaid Cymru finally established itself as a permanent and formidable force in parliamentary politics. In the early hours of March 1st, St. David's day the excited crowd outside the county hall at Dolgellau heard the historic news that Dafydd Elis Thomas had been returned to the Westminster parliament as the first Plaid Cymru M.P. to be elected in a General election.

Shortly afterwards, the news came through that in the neighbouring Caernarfon constituency, Dafydd Wigley had won the seat for which Plaid Cymru had been fighting the longest. So, only 5 years after Gwynedd, like other parts of Wales had been almost submerged in the ballyhoo of the notorious Investiture of Prince Charles at Caernarfon, that part of the country, which held out longest against foreign invasion, had once more placed itself in the vanguard of the national struggle.

Meanwhile, over 100 miles further south, Plaid Cymru's president, Gwynfor Evans was locked in a seemingly interminable electoral struggle with the Labour candidate who had wrested the Carmarthen constituency from him in the 1970 election. Re-count followed re-count until finally the issue was resolved in Labour's favour, and Plaid Cymru missed winning its third seat in this historic election — by a margin of 3 votes!

As party chairman Phil Williams had said in the columns of the Plaid Cymru weekly "Welsh Nation" only a few weeks previously, "it's goals that count" and this judgement was to be proved correct, since Plaid Cymru's importance was immediately multiplied in the eyes of the mass media by virtue of its ability to win seats in a contest which should, by all the rules, have been a two-horse race between the main London parties.

The progress of the national movement in Wales during the period of the previous Labour administration could be dismissed all too easily as being a protest against the continuing detrimental effects of London government on Wales by a nation whose distaste for the Conservatives channelled any protest vote in the direction of Plaid Cymru. To hold its own throughout the country, and to make such substantial advances in a number of areas at the end of a period of Conservative government with a Labour party who should have been on the crest of the electoral wave proved

how empty the glib "protest vote" explanation was. Nationalism in Wales has been acknowledged by all objective observers as a real and growing force.

The apparently un-objective observers within the Labour Party are not apparently so ready to face facts. The growth of Plaid Cymru and the SNP plainly represents a threat to Labour domination at a local level as well as to its chances of forming governments at Westminster. In the present Parliament, Mr. Wilson depends on the goodwill of the nine nationalists M.P.'s for the survival of his government. In view of this threat there are plainly two logical approaches which Labour could adopt.

The choice would seem to be between attempting to kill nationalism with kindness by granting immediately a generous measure of domestic self-government to Wales and Scotland in the hope that this would take the steam out of the national parties' advance, or, alternatively, gritting their teeth and refusing to take any steps to alter the present constitution of the UK, in the hope that a hard line will demoralise the nationalists. Either approach would be logical, although of course neither would have the desired result, at least not in the long term.

With predictable wrong-headedness the London government is adopting neither of these two approaches but is rather attempting to apply a mixture of delaying tactics and vague promises of minimal changes which will please no-one.

One more, therefore, the British dinosaur ambles along in the direction of its inevitable extinction, unable to comprehend the evolving world around it and with too small a brain even to take the steps which might prolong its life a little. Thank goodness for that!

K.B.

KILBRANDON

If the English will be remembered for anything it will surely be their royal commissions. In recent years there have been several of them. The costliest of all — the Kilbrandon Commission — with a total outlay of £500,000 ran into an 840 page report and it saw the light of day several months ago. With its four and a half year stint Kilbrandon also sat longer than any other commission in two decades.

Briefly members of the commission, after their deliberations, suggested that Wales and Scotland would have their own assemblies — but not complete self-government. That would be much to drastic a step.

Although Kilbrandon is brought out for airing now and again, it now must be realised that the whole object of the exercise was to justify England's stranglehold on the Celtic nations. It should be given a decent burial. Few of us would agree with Enoch Powell but we must endorse his sentiments when he said on 'B.B.C. Wales' (and, incidentally, speaking in Welsh) that independence must mean complete independence if it is to mean anything. Later he said that Kilbrandon was nothing more than a Hoodini trick. We are inclined to agree again as it can be assured that England will not grant independence easily in any shape or form to the Celtic nations.

It would, indeed, be a nightmare situation for any English government should even a milk and water type of legislature in Wales or Scotland start stimulating further nationalism by provoking invidious financial comparisons.

No, our future is not dependent upon some English Royal commission. The Celtic people have to prove that they

themselves are not afraid of freedom and the responsibility that goes with it. Celtic co-operation and Celtic freedom can only be attained by our own efforts.

J.R.H.

ARWYDDION

Fe anelir llawer o sylw at arwyddion ffyrdd a'r enwau a ddylid eu gosod arnynt, yn enwedig yng Nghymru. Mae'n ddiddorol nodi fod un arwydd amlwg iawn yn cael ei anwybyddu, ie, arwydd o'r gwendid sydd ynom fel Cymry.

Pa mor aml y gwelaf mewn erthyglau a llythrau sy'n ymosod ar y sefyllfa bresennol, gan gyfeirio at Llundain, Manceinion, Lerpwl a llu o lefydd eraill o'r ochr aralli Glawdd Offa. Yr un mor lygredig, cawn gyhoeddiadau'n son am Holyhead, Menai Bridge, Cardiff, Swansea etc. nid yn unig ar bapur ond ar lafar hefyd.

Ni welwn London/Llundain na Liverpool/Lerpwl o gwbl yng ngwlad y Sais. Pam ddilwn ni weld Swansea/Abertawe a Caerdydd/Cardiff yng Nghymru? Oherwydd yr arferiad hurt o alw llefydd fel Borth (Porthaethwy) yn Menai Bridge, fe gydnabyddir ac fe adnabyddir y lle bellach fel Menai Bridge. Ceir bentwr o engreiffiau cyffelyb ledled Cymru.

Cofiwch, da chi, mai enwau Cymraeg yn unig sydd i ddinasoedd a threfi yng Nghymru ac enwau Saesneg i ddinasoedd a threfi Saesneg.

O gofio'r gosodiad uchod, ni fuasai'r broblem o arwyddion dwyieithog na lleoliad y Gymraeg erioed wedi codi'n ddolur.

Bydd gyntaf — bydd Gymraeg!

Geraint Jones

WELSH TRADE UNION COUNCIL

This year's inaugural conference of the Welsh Trades Union Council represents a considerable step forward for the national movement in general and the Welsh working-class in particular. After 13 years of bitter opposition from the British Trades Union Congress, its South Wales Advisory Council and the Labour Party, Welsh workers have finally succeeded in setting up their own national representative body along the lines of the Scottish TUC.

More than 300 delegates from trades councils, trades council federations and trades unions in Wales gathered at Aberystwyth in April for the historic conference. Welsh TUC Acting Secretary, George Wright had previously warned the British TUC that if the new body could not be established constitutionally within the framework of the British TUC it would be set up anyway, so the BTUC General Council beat a tactical retreat: a Welsh Trades Union Council would receive its blessing, but must be subservient to the British TUC and not mount unilateral campaigns within Wales on Welsh (or any other) issues. Those in the vanguard of the struggle for a Welsh TUC accepted these strictures as the best deal they were likely to enjoy in the present circumstances — a mistake, as the BTUC General Council took advantage of this display of weakness and banned discussion on seven of the Aberystwyth motions because they raised "wider issues."

Most notable amongst the prescribed subjects was the rigged prosecution and trial of 24 north Wales building workers arising from picketing activities during the 1972 strike. Three of the accused were imprisoned for conspiracy under the provisions of the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection

of Property Act, yet the General Council bureaucrats in London have refused to lead or co-ordinate a mass campaign against these vicious attacks of the State and employers upon basic trade union rights. Nationalists at the conference urged delegates to discuss this subject and others embarrassing to the General Council 'big brother', but were narrowly defeated, as were attempts to replace the procedure of appointing the WTUC Secretary from London with one of democratic election from the WTUC conference floor. The Labour-dominated Trades Councils were chiefly responsible for the reactionary votes.

Nevertheless, the conference revealed its progressive face in calling for an elected Welsh legislative assembly "with powers to effectively deal with the many industrial, economic and social problems confronting the Principality (sic) of Wales, but subject to the national (sic) Parliament at Westminster for matters of national (sic) policy." This demand represents a considerable advance on the attitude of the Labour Party in Wales, although the Welsh TUC joined it in condemning federalism and separatism as "dangerous and unacceptable."

Significantly, the WTUC's policy on devolution bears an uncanny resemblance to that of the Welsh Committee of the Communist Party; and the Chairman elected at Aberystwyth was none other than prominent Communist and miners' leader, Dai Francis. Even if the undoubted Communist trades union influence in the Welsh TUC has led to the adoption of a comparatively progressive policy on devolution, unfortunately it also indicates that the WTUC will broadly follow the British Communist Party line of uncritically supporting the left-wing elements inside the Labour Party (e.g. Benn and Foot) and trade union movement (e.g. Scanlon and Jones) whilst placing unwarranted faith in a Labour Government. Hence the conference urged the eighth Labour administration dedicated to the introduction of socialism to "retain all steel-making plants now scheduled for closure — East Moors, Ebbw Vale and Shotton" but only "until a reappraisal of steel requirements is made, and that no closures take place until alternative work is deployed to such closure areas." Not only did the resolution place extraordinary trust in Labour's willingness or ability to create the necessary 18,000 new jobs in the closure areas, but also it replaced (instead of supplementing) the formulation of a strategy for fighting the closures in the event of Labour repeating its 1964-70 treachery, where 30,000 Welsh miners were sacked without alternative employment being made available.

Now it is up to nationalists in the Welsh trade union movement to expose the folly of relying upon a Labour Government or the British TUC to safeguard the Welsh economy. Only the Welsh TUC was set up with the express purpose of protecting the interests of Welsh workers — and to do that it must reject all bars and constraints placed upon it by London's jealous trade union bureaucrats.

ROBERT GRIFFITHS

CORRIGENDA to "The Celtic Influence in Romanesque and Preromanesque Sculpture".

Page 11, right column, 8th last line: expressing

Page 12, left column, 6th last line: Le Touquet

Page 13, map: Celtes Danubiens

Page 14, left column, 8th and 9th line: oval shaped eyes

Page 14, left column, 10th line: stiff hair.

The Celtic Influence in Romanesque and Pre-Romanesque Sculpture

by Claude Sourgnès

The Celts, whose sway in the pre-Christian era was over territories extending from Denmark to Portugal and North Italy, from Ireland to S.E. Europe and beyond, were described by the ancient writers as blond, tall and of light coloured eyes. To-day the peoples who are termed Celtic are generally of medium size, stocky, brown haired: witness the Bretons, the Welsh, the Auvergnats the Bavarians (A. Varagnac). This anthropological ethnical type may have resulted from mixing with previous settlers (Iberians, Ligurians), as far as the continent is concerned; but it is unlikely that the populations of Wales, Ireland, Cornwall and Scotland received contributions from the Mediterranean regions in sufficient numbers to turn their appearance from blond to brown, even if we take into account the recessiveness of the light characteristics in hair and eyes as compared to the dark pigmentation.

There are indications in literature that the blondness which was so highly admired among the Celts, particularly the Irish, was not the natural kind but was obtained by discolouration (J. Markale, *L'Epopée Celtique d'Irlande*) and that brown people were already quite common in Wales and Ireland towards the 5th century of this era. The Bretons and the 'insular' Celts are not the only ones entitled to claim a Celtic heritage. Most Western Europeans and the French in particular are descended from the Celts to a very high degree.

It would be foolish to believe that nothing would have subsisted from a Celtic occupation which lasted more than 2,000 years — despite the Roman conquest and the Germanic invasions. The European peoples have forgotten this heritage but it exists all the same. Within the borders of the French State, we must except peoples (ethnies) which have been more strongly marked by their non-Celtic roots: the Basques, whose language is not Indo-European and who may be descendants of the enigmatic Ligurians, the Alsacians, the Flemings and partly the Lorrains who are mainly of Germanic stock, and even the Normands who are, to some degree, descended from the Norsemen ("Les Normands sont-ils Celtes ou Vikings", by Christian Pacaud, *L'Hesperide*, Serie A). Provence and part of the Mediterranean seaboard as well as Corsica must be considered as strongly romanised. But the rest of France — the Pyrenean and Atlantic parts of Spain, Portugal, North Italy — South Germany, much of Switzerland and Austria, even Romania (see "*Les véritables origines de la langue française*", Editions Celtiques, Montreal) are populated by descendants (to a high degree) of the Celts.

"... If we want to be historically impartial, we should first recognise that language is not the alpha and omega of civilisation, that a philosophy can be oral instead of written, that techniques managed without writing until the Middle Ages — that the arts are a valid expression of the genius of a people" (A. Varagnac).

'If we try and go beyond political and military history, what do we see? A regional geography full of familiar names; territories bearing the names of Gaulish tribes: of the Lingones in Langres — the Lexovians in Lisieux, the Venetes in Vannes (br. Gwened), the Carnutes in

Chartres, the Suessiones in Soissons, the Trevires in Treves /Trier, the Bellovaques in Beauvais, the Ruthenes in Rodez, the Santons in Saintes, etc. The geography of France speaks Gaulish. Better still: these tribal names displaced the town names given first by the Romans: Lutèce became Paris after the Parisii, Caesarodunum Tours after the Turones, Agendicum Sens after the Senones, Condate Rennes after the Redones. All the names of French rivers and mountains are Celtic: Auvergne/Arvern, Ardennes/Ardven, Armor Morvan/Morven (Regine Pernoud, *Les Gaulois*).

How could a people so strongly attached to their traditions and so strongly established in the land, so united in their diversity, have lost their language, customs, religion, art? This is however what happened, according to the official history books. Why? In our essentially literary culture, influenced by the Greek and Latin classicism, the only true expressions of civilisation are language and literature (A. Varagnac). That holds for France, which has based its unification not only on armed violence but on the language of a minority, forcing the Bretons, Basques, Flemings, and Occitans — in fact nearly all the peoples of France to abandon their languages or their dialects for the benefit of literary French.

Anyone who would question that the Celts developed an art of their own needs only to visit the various museums and archaeological collections of Europe. Les Editions Zodiaque have published a magnificent work devoted to the Art of Gaul. It is enough to glance through it to feel how original, in all senses of the word, Celtic art is. There is also an "Art Irlandais" in 3 volumes from the same publishers.

"It is often said that the Celtic artists were unable to represent reality or that they were averse to doing so. If it is meant that they were rather indifferent to the detail of concrete appearances we agree. But that is not to say that they were blind to all reality. When speaking of sculpture, we'll see that they were attentive, if not to the external physical aspects, at least to the deep reality of beings, to their spiritual quality; when speaking of ornamentation ("decor"), we'll recognise that their disregard for the details of the visible world enables them to invent and take pleasure in the infinite detail of a world of forms. It is true that this ability to detach themselves from immediately perceptible things opposes them to classical art, to the Mediterranean ideal of plastic beauty which degenerated in the last centuries before the Christian era into an ideal of exact figuration. There were thus two arts in Europe during the last period of independent Celtdom: a decadent form of Greek art extending under Roman influence around the Mediterranean, and a Celtic art expression a totally different esthetic conception (A. Varagnac)."

The main characteristics of Celtic art are: a sense of stylisation — sometimes going as far as pure abstraction, and a passion for rhythm and movement. Its works of sculpture representing either animals or human beings give an impression of balance and calm. We feel that the artist has perfectly assimilated, one would nearly say

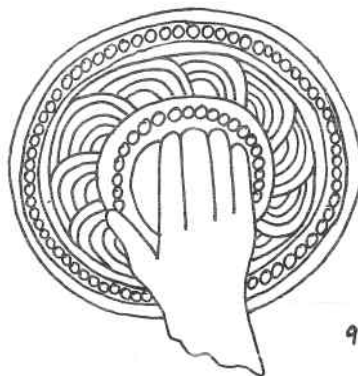
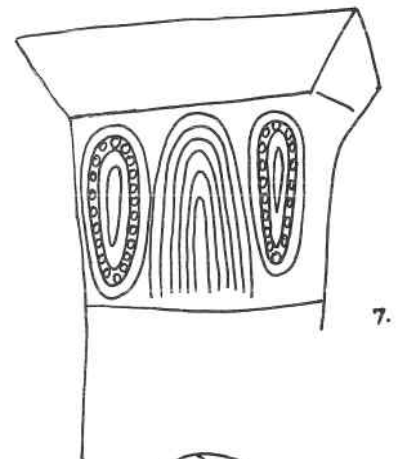
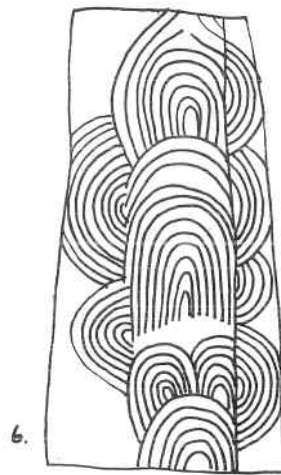
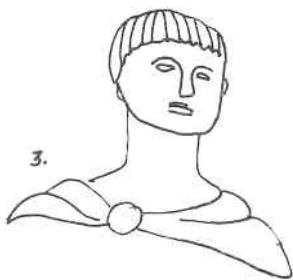


Fig. 1 Gaulish Art, the Bouray God. Musee des Antiquites Nationales St Germain-en-Laye, France;

Fig. 2 Romanesque Art, head of St Baudime, Church of St Nectaire, 12th century (Auvergne, France).

Fig. 3 Gaulish Art, head of the Touguet Hunter. Musee des Antiquites Nationales.

Fig. 4 Romanesque Art, Capital, Church of Solignac (Limousin, France)

Fig. 5 Romanesque Art, Capital, Church of Tournus (Burgundy, France)

Fig. 6 Celtic Art, Gavrinis (Brittany)

Fig. 7 Romanesque Art, Capital, Church of St-Hilaire des Loges (Vendee, France)

Fig. 8 Romanesque Art, Church of Saulieu (Burgundy, France).

Fig. 9 Irish Art, Cross of Muiredach, Monasterboice, Louth.

Fig. 10 Romanesque Art, Christ, Church of Vezelay (Burgundy, France)

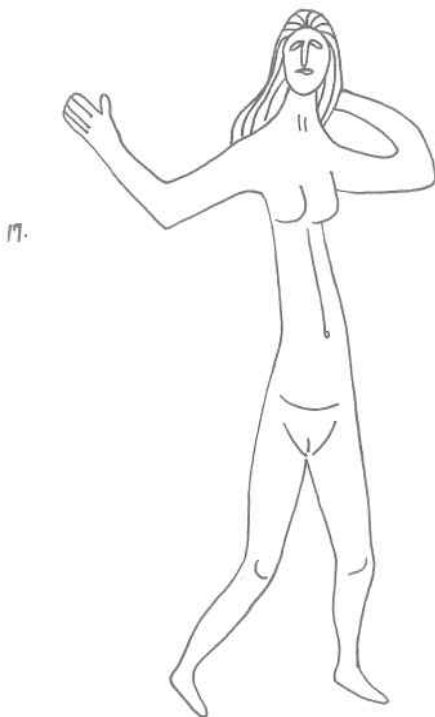
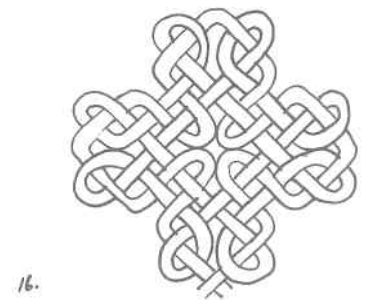
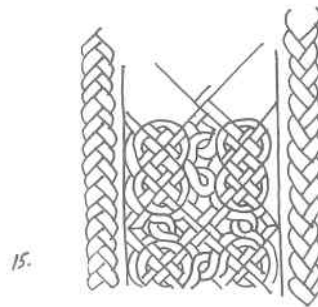


Fig. 11 Gaulish Art, Tarasque de Noves (Musee d'Avignon, France)

Fig. 12 Romanesque Art, Capital, Church of St-Pierre de Chauvigny, 12th century (France)

Fig. 13 Romanesque Art, Capital, Church of Blars, 12th century, (Quercy, France).

Fig. 14 Romanesque Art, Stained glass, Church of Chatel Montagne (Auvergne, France)

Fig. 15 Romanesque Art, Stained Glass, Church of Eberach, 12th century, Germany

Fig. 16 Plaque, Church of Chur (Grisons, Switzerland).

Fig. 17 Gaulish Art, Dancer, Neuvy-en-Sullias.

digested, his subject. Faces and bodies are no figurations, but almost creations of the artist's imagination. That is precisely where the Celt reaches Art, a moment (in the temporal and spatial sense) of creation. Nothing is more difficult then than to stop before going too far and tilt over on the slope of ugliness and figuration.

An impression of plenitude and deep spirituality arises from these faces with their prominent, round or over-lashed eyes (sometimes mere holes), their long and wide noses, still hair 'traites en godrons' (forming a regular cap with parallel locks sometimes ending in spiral curls), the mouth cut as with a sabre, the thick round neck (Fig. 1 to 5). Bodies and limbs are also strongly stylistic, the hands are long with spindle-shaped fingers of equal length (Fig. 8 to 10.)

However, the Celtic artist is aware of reality. He is one of the very few to represent the female sex on his statues, a taboo and a disgrace even for the Greeks (Fig.17). His taste for stylisation and abstraction does not prevent the Celt from being sensitive to life and movement. The little dancing girl from Neuvy-en-Sullias is hardly 6 inches high but she is full of life and grace. (Fig.17). "The Celt's predilection for the imaginary, for symbolism, renders him apt for the normal, constant perception of the supernatural. It is this very psychological orientation which explains the strong stylisation of his sculpture". (A. Varagnac).

For the Celt everything is a symbol. The spiral, the undulating line are symbols of strength and life; the double spiral of eternity is a symbol of the cyclical movement of the seasons, of the stars, of life in fact; the circle is a symbol of infinity; the cross represents the tree, itself a symbol of nature. All these curves lead to interlacing, a specifically Nordic design, a passion for which the Celts have in common with the Germanic peoples: interlacing is found in jewellery, pottery, the Irish high crosses, and later on the Romanesque capitals (fig. 6 to 10; 14 to 16).

Imperceptibly we pass from pre-Christian Celtic art to medieval religious art. Is there a link, a filiation? That is just what we want to show! But what do the specialists say?

"By its return to archaic forms, the West distinguishes itself from other civilisations which, in the period from the 9th to the 13th century supported their art with borrowings from the Lower Antiquity (!!!). Western Art, on the contrary, rejuvenated and deeply inspired, attested its fecundity and multiplied its forms in profusion". (Le Roman, Hachette).

"Whatever may first appear, this book constitutes no break with its predecessors. By dealing with Gaulish Art, we are by no means getting away from the Dark Ages ('la Nuit des Temps'), we are rather diving deeper into them. We are not leaving Romanesque Art (...) since Gaulish Art partly explains Romanesque Art (...). French Romanesque Art finds in it (Gaulish Art) the root and the justification of its most particular (personnel) characteristics" (foreword by Don. A. Surchamps, to L'Art Gaulois, Ed. Zodiaque).

"It is in the artistic field that we can best perceive the continuity between Celtic inspiration and Medieval inspiration" (Regine Pernoud, Les Gaulois).

"What is more important, is that Romanesque Art itself

appears clearly in the light of comparative work undertaken recently to be in the Celtic tradition" (J. Markale, Les Celtes, Payot).

"How could the Romanesque capitals be explained without speaking of the Irish interlacings, the Celtic spirals, the old myths of the man-eating monster (Fig. 11 to 13), symbol of Teutates, father of the people, (Tut-tat), but also their destroyer" (Id.).

"To understand the sources of Romanesque Art, we must always remember the encounter, in the 5th century of this era, between a Celticity (celticism), trampled on but tenacious, and a Germanism which had remained closely related to it (...). The Romanesque statuary rediscovered with a surprising fidelity the Celtic characteristics of the human figure" (Fig. 1 to 5).

These quotations show that the filiation between Romanesque and Celtic art is unquestionable. The only risk is to confound Celtic art and Germanic art, although they are quite close in many respects. We must always take into account the ethnical substratum of the region under study if we are to avoid abusive monopoly claims ("accapartation"). The first works of which we can say that they belong specifically to the Germanic peoples, and that they are not a Celtic importation, date to the beginning of our era (...). Geometric abstraction is imposed, as in Celtic art, to all human forms, reduced to a schema, an ideogram" (L. Grodecki, Le Préroman, Hachette).

According to this quotation, Celtic art was appreciably anterior (by more than 5 centuries) to Germanic art. Given the importance of the Celtic substratum which formed, and still forms, part of the population of France and of the other areas where Romanesque Art appeared, we may well, it seems, consider most of the sculptural or ornamental manifestations of Romanesque Art as being of Celtic origin. Of this kinship we are convinced when we put side by side purely Celtic works of art and Romanesque works. This idea is supported by the geographical distribution of the Romanesque works and monuments: their area coincides almost exactly with the area occupied by the Celts at the time of their maximum expansion. If that is due to chance, chance does things well!

Translated from French, A.H.

(We reproduce the map as prepared by the author. Mr Sourgnès is an Occitan. We are grateful for his contribution to CARN. Editor).

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MICHAEL GAUGHAN

Aeth gwasg a llywodraeth Lloegr bron yn wallgof ar ol gwasanaeth angladd Michael Gaughan yn Kilburn, Llundain rhai wythnosau yn ol. 'Roedd eu hatgasedd at bron bopeth Gwyddelig bron yn anghredadwy. Dywedodd y Cymro Roy Jenkins fod y fath beth yn wrthun i Loegr. Y peth a'i cythryddodd, ymddengys, oedd y ffaith for milwyr gweriniaethol yr Iwerddon yn bresenol ac yn talu teurnged iw cydymaith dewr a hynu mewn gwisg unffurf.

Buasai gwrandawyr Roy Jenkins yn meddwl na fuasai milwyr Lloegr yn breuddwydio a gwneud y fath beth mewn unrhyw wlad arall eu hunain.

Ar y pryd mae Lloegr ar bawf yn Strasbourg ar gyhuddiad o gamdrin carcharorion yng Ngogledd Iwerddon. Ac mae cyhoeddusrwydd i hynn ym mhapurau Lloegr yn ychydig a dweud y lleiaf. Pan oedd Michael Gaughan yn marw 'roedd milwyr arfog Lloegr yn disgyn fel haid o anifeiliaid ar dai yn Newry yn yr Iwerddon. Mae'n debyg eu bod yn chwilio am rhywbeth new gilydd ond ar ol methu a chanfod dim aethant a chwech o ddynion yn ol iw gwersyll milwrol. Ac ar ol eu camdrin am oriau feu gollyngwyd yn rhydd.

Mae rhagrith Lloegr yn golygu y gall eu milwyr hwy wneud beth a fynont yn yr Iwerddon. Mae ganddynt drwydded i dorri i fewn i dai ddydd a nos ar unrhyw esgus. Trwydded i gamdrin a thrwydded i lofruddio. Ac mae popeth yn iawn. Ond cyn gynted ac y mae dynaid o wyr mewn gwisg unffurf o'r Iwerddon yn gorymdeithio yn Llundain mae gwasg Lloegr yn cyhoeddi i'r byd fod egwyddorion democrataidd bron a dirwyn i ben os na wneir rhywbeth yn fuan i atal y fath warth.

Does ond un peth a all ddwyn heddwch i'r Iwerddon. A hynu yw i Lywodraeth Lloegr gyfaddef ei bai a thynu ei milwyr a'i lofruddion allan o'r wlad. J.R.H.

CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH

After 3½ years of deliberations, discussions, and delays of all sorts a final decision has at last been made by the Welsh Office on the issue of bilingual road signs in Wales. English, says the Secretary of State John Morris (a Welsh speaker) is to be put on top, and Welsh underneath. The official reason for publicly degrading the national language in its own country, is that putting Welsh on top would be dangerous (from the motoring point of view). Cymdeithas yr Iaith has not yet decided what the next step will be, but the feeling of utter dismay and the strong protests that have already occurred suggest that there will be no compromise and no surrender. It can be accepted that bilingual road signs in themselves have only a minor part to play in the task of restoring the language but a vital principle is involved, a precedent could be set which could have a detrimental effect in other fields in future.

During recent months several 'publicity' campaigns have been organized in several parts of the country, the object being to communicate directly with the people of a particular area over a period of around one month, explaining society objectives and gathering support for direct action on a local basis. These were organized as a result of an appeal by Ffred Ffransis to secure a firm base of support in every town and village for the future struggle. Hardly anyone who took part in these campaigns would deny that they were dismal failures — in Brynaman, Llanberis and Blaenau Ffestiniog.

This was due perhaps to a lack of organization on a local basis, a programme which was too ambitious, straining the resources of the full-time officials and over-estimating the amount of active support by local members. It has been said in the past that there are two types of Cymdeithas members — those who participate in direct action campaigns and those who don't. It seems however that the only people who are active in 'constitutional' work of this kind are the ones who are active on the direct action front as well. There also seems to be a general lack of enthusiasm and spirit within the movement nowadays, a fact that is perhaps mirrored in the deteriorating financial situation. The Senedd has already decided to employ two full time secretaries from October, rather than three, as at present.

The most vigorous campaign at the moment is the renewed campaign for full status in the Post Office. Very little has improved in the Post Office since the notorious campaigns of the 60's, the very first campaigns of Cymdeithas yr Iaith, and following the break down of talks in Caerdydd (when Post Office officials once again refused to grant equal status to the language), several actions have taken place in various Post Offices, the Bangor demo resulting in 30 people being arrested for tearing down English-only posters and destroying leaflets. Post Office vans have also been put out of action in more than one town. While the latter method of action has been unpopular in some quarters, it is obvious that government's attitude will not be altered without undertaking such methods. The lesson of the road-sign campaign will never, it seems, be learned.

GAEL AGUS BREATHNAIGH ANALLOD

'Gwyddyl a Chymry Gynt' yw ystyr teitl y llyfr yn hwn. Ysgolhaigh o Wyddeles sydd wedi arbenigo mewn astudiaethau Cymreig yw'r awdures. Ond nid llyfr i ysgolheigion mohono. Fel y mae hi'n egluro yn ei rhagymadrodd, ymgais yw'r traethwyd hwn (a enillodd y wobr gyntaf fel traethawd gwybodaeth yn Oireachtas 1972) i ddangos y cysylltiadau rhwng Iwerddon a Chymru yn yr hen amser, rhyw fath o gyflawni, neu gyfrannu at gyflawni'r gwaith a wnaeth y Tad Pádraig Ó Fiannachta yn ei lyfr 'Comharsa Choimhthíoch' y 1957 mae hi. Rhoi gwybodaeth am Gymru i Wyddyl oedd y Tad Ó Fiannachta, o safbwynt modern gan fwyaf. Mae Mairín Ní Mhuiríosa, ar y llaw arall, yn gwneud cryhoad o'r holl gysylltiadau a fu rhwng y ddwy wlad, yr ymfudiadau, cysylltiadau diwylliannol, llenyddol a ieithyddol, yn ystod y cyfnod rhwng y drydedd ganrif a'r bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg. Gwaith eithar anodd i wneud mewn 53 o dudalennau ond mae wedi'i wneud yn eithriadol o effeithiol, gyda chyfeiriadau clir yn y troednodiaidau a llyfryddiaeth llawn ar y dudalen olaf.

Fel y dywedais eisoes, nid llyfr i ysgolheigion yw hwn. Nid oes dim byd ynddo a fyddai'n newydd i ysgolhaig ond nid yw hyn ond qn ei wneud yn fwy gwerthfawr pan ystyrir fod llyfrau gan ysgolheigion sydd ar gyfer llygwyr, ac nid ar gyfer ysgolheigion eraill, yn brin iawn.

Nodwedd yn hwn o'r bwlch sydd o hyd rhwng y ddau fyd Celtaidd, y byd academiaidd a'r byd sy'n perthyn i bobl fel ni, aelodau'r Undeb Celtaidd — y bobl sydd a diddordeb mewn gwneud rhybeth ymarferol i feithryn y cysylltiadau sy'n bed heddiw rhwng y gwledydd Celtaidd. Nid wfy yn dweud bod y ddau fyd yn gwbl ar wahan. Mae'n bosibl i berthyn i'r ddau ohonynt. Ond i raddau helaeth mae hynny anodd dros ben a rwy'n rhoi'r bai am hynny ar ein sustem addysg.

Nid oes gwahaniaeth rhwng ysgol yng Nghymru ac ysgol yn Iwerddon; ceir yr yn peth, yr adwy enfawr yna rhwn y pynciau academaidd a'r pynciau ymarferol, a'r teimlad bod yr ymarferol rywsut yn israddol. Ceir yr un agwedd yn y prifysgolion, a, heblaw hynny, mae braidd yn amhosibl yno i wneud unrhyw fath o astudiaeth gyd-adrannol nyn graddio, os o gwbl. Meddyliwch, er anghraifft, am genedlaetholwr neu wladgarwr o Gymro neu Wyddel yn gadael yr ysgol. Yn ôl pob tebyg mae ei wladgarwch a'i ddiddordeb yn ei iaith ei hun yn ei ddenu i wneud gradd yn y Gymraeg, y Wyddeleg neu Astudiaethau Celtaidd. Ar ôl graddio pa yrfa all e ddilyn? Gall aros ymlaen yn y brifysgol, neu fynd i ddysgu mewn ysgol, efallai, hynny yw, magu mwy o ysgolheigion i fagu my o ysgolheigion i . . . ond beth all e wneud os nad yw'r math yma o yrfa yn apelio ato? Efallai'r hoffai wneud rhwybeth mwy ymarferol dros ei wlad a'i iaith ym myd cymdeithaseg neu dechnoleg, a pheidiwch chi â dweud y dylasai feddwl am hynny eisoes. Mae'r gyfundrefn addysg yn ein gorfodi ni bron i ddewis gyrfa yn un ar ddeg oed. Ar ôl hynny nid oes dim dod allan o'n bocsys bach, ac l'r un sy'n dangos yn ifane iawn bod ganddo frwdfrydedd dros y gymraeg neu'r Wyddeleg mae'n anodd iawn gwrthsefyll brwdfrydedd athrawon ysgol. Dyma fe felly, â gradd yn y Celfyddydau â chlod mawr a dim cymwyster arall ond i allu darllen yn y gwely, dim hyffordiant at unrhyw beth ymarferol, dim ffordd i gyflawni ei wladgarwch ond mewn ffordd amaduraidd yn ei oriau hamdden, tra yn gwneud rhyw job bach aniddorol yn ystod y dydd i gael rhywfaint o fywoliaeth. Buasai pethau llawer mwy gobeithiol i'n gwledydd ni petasai'n bosibl, er enghraifft, i wneud astudiaethau llenyddol ochr yn ochr ac astudiaethau cymdeithasyddol neu dechnegol. Cyfundrefn hollol afiach yw hi, rhan o'n hetifeddiaeth ni o Loegr ac, er gwaethaf Padraig Mac Piarais, nid yw llywodraeth Delyn wedi llwyddo hyd yn hyn i dorri'r 'Murder Machine' wma.

J.W.

ÉIRE

IRISH MINERAL WEALTH

Ireland, long considered to have no mineral wealth has now proven mineral reserves unsurpassed in Europe. Geophysical exploration of our seas has revealed promising signs of oil and already some methane gas has been found. All this new-found wealth in a country with a population just above four million could produce enormous changes and potentially could allow the Irish economy to become independent for the first time if it is retained in the country.

Over the last ten years the Republic of Ireland has developed the largest zinc mine, the largest silver mine and the largest mercury by-products mine in Europe and has also got the richest pyrites deposit in the world. Yet from this enormous mineral wealth the return to the State has been a derisory £1.7 million. The companies have enjoyed a tax-free holiday and paid an average royalty rate of only 9 per cent of profits. This, the political scandal of our generation, brought about the formation in 1973 of the Resources Protection Campaign, a non party action group whose policy is that the State should retain control of these minerals which it already owns under the Constitution.

Currently the campaign is trying to prevent the sell out to foreign multi-national companies of the world's richest zinc-lead deposit at Navan Co. Meath. These minerals are

the property of the State but the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr. Justin Keating of the Labour Party, is negotiating with Tara Mines Ltd., who have an exploration licence on the land, over ultimate control of this enormous deposit which will supply one-third of Europe's zinc, a valuable consumer metal.

Anglo-American, the South African mining giant and Cominco and Noranda, both Canadian multi-nationals, now own over 50 per cent of Tara.

The Resources Protection Campaign has also brought to public attention the necessity to build a smelter in this country so that we can produce our own metals from the ore and thereby set up metallurgical industries to manufacture consumer goods and provide permanent employment. In a country which currently depends on the vagaries of foreign investment in light industry this is the essential use of this enormous wealth.

The Resources Protection Campaign is steadily growing both locally in separate branches and through its Trade Union support group which is seeking to influence the Trade Union movement which is affiliated to the Labour Party. The Labour Party has been dominated on the issue by its ultra-conservative coalition partner in Government, Fine Gael, hence the need for a separate non-party group such as ours. The 1974 meeting of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions unanimously adopted a resolution proposed through one of the members of our support group demanding that the State retain control of its mines and oil and gas deposits and not allow foreign multi-nationals to take over.

The Resources Protection Campaign has branches also in each of the universities and joint secretary is Francis Walsh lecturer in Geography, Maynooth University. Many academics, appalled at the sell-out over the last decade, are active members.

Major decisions are about to be made also for Ireland's offshore oil and gas deposits. There are now 65 foreign-based companies many of them with local Irish minority participation seeking exclusive licences to explore for and produce oil and gas. Only one, the American Marathon oil Co. in partnership with Esso, has an exclusive licence covering 1/5 of all the offshore territories. Under an agreement which was originally granted for £500 (yes hundred!) in 1959 this company owns 87½ per cent of all oil or gas found with 12½ per cent going to the State. They have found commercial quantities of methane gas off Kinsale Co. Cork and are currently testing traces of oil found by a drill-ship in June 1974. To date they have drilled eleven wells and have found oil or gas in four. This compares with a success of one in ten in the North Sea and one in eighteen world wide.

The R.P.C. is now campaigning to have the Marathon agreement revoked and to prevent the granting of further exclusive oil licences.

Historically the return on investment in oil exploration has been 30 per cent whereas average manufacturing industry return, internationally, is 14-16 percent. In other words not alone is oil exploration not a risk-capital venture but it is a gilt edged investment. So the R.P.C. is demanding that the State does its own oil exploration. Marathon, for £15 million, have found enough gas to supply the Dublin area with power for 20 years yet we are faced with the ludicrous position of the Government now negotiating with that company to buy back our own gas. The estimated value of this first find to Marathon is about £200

million, not bad for an original payment of £500 to the Irish Government!

The annual profit on British North Sea Oil it is estimated will be £4,000 million or greater than the total combined profits of British manufacturing industry; so the necessity to bring pressure to bear on Irish politicians with their history of such enormous sell-out heretofore is obvious.

It is also obvious that if the Republic can retain its own enormous wealth in the future that the political and economic consequences would be enormous, not least for the North of Ireland.

The European Economic Community we also feel is a threat to our resources, as Ireland with its long coastline, like Norway and Britain, is in the oil business more by accident of geography than anything. The E.E.C. has no indigenous oil supply other than Britain, and with Britain threatening to pull out, the attraction of Irish oil must be compulsive.

The resources Protection Campaign is basically waging an education campaign as given a debate we feel that the facts are so obvious that an informed public opinion will force the politicians to adopt a more realistic approach to deployment of the nation's mineral wealth. We can report some progress but it is an ongoing battle.

D. NELIGAN

'THE CHEVIOT, THE STAG AND THE BLACK, BLACK OIL'

Ba ócáid faoi leith é léiriú an dráma seo in Eirinn, ar a lán cúiseanna. Theaspáin sé go soiléir do lucht na hamharclainne gairmiúla go bhfuil tabhacht i bhfad níos mó ná mar is mian leo san a thabhairt di leis an drámaíocht aimitéir-each. Níor mhíde dóibh siúd a bhfuil cúram na hAmharclainne Náisiúnta orthu, meabhrú dóibh féin anois agus arís nach mba gné shontasach den Amharclann sin an ghairmiúlacht stáitseirbhísiúil sa tréimhse a mba mhó cáile agus fiúntais í. Má bhí scáilí na Sean Mhainistreach thart in áit ar bith, bhíog siad le háthas nuair a chuaigh foireann an 7:84 i mbun gnótha. Níor mhaith an rud an tsamhail a chur ró-fhada — go bhfios dom ní dheachaigh Yeats na Synge ar stáitse iad fhéin! — ach ba goire dá chéile an sean dream a ghein ionspioráid a chéile agus an foireann óg seo a dhéanann an rud céanna (bíodh gur fada óna chéile a bhfeallsúnacht. Nó an fada?) ná Mainistir an lae inniu. Tá ceacht nó dhó le foghlaim ag lucht amharclainne, lucht polaitaíochta agus lucht tacaíochta na Gaeilge on ngrúpa seo. B'fhéidir gur mithid do lucht amharclainne na tíre seo stopadh de bheith ag síor aithris ar stíleanna faisiúnta amharclainne agus dá mbualadh anuas ar fholamhas neamhthorthúil. Dá naimsídís ceirtlíní ní bheadh a fhios cén tochas a dhéanfaidís! Tá na ceirtlíní ann ach aird a thabhairt orthu.

Chlac chuile duine de fhoireann 7:84 pair i dtaighde agus i gcur-le-chéile 'The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil'. Le sár-stáitsiú agus sar-cheol ríomh siad scéal thrúbhéileach na Gaeltachta Albanáí ó díshealbhaíodh na daoine le áit a dhéanamh do na caoirigh sa gcéad seo caite anuas go dtí goid na hola sa Muir Thuaidh sa lá atá inniu ann. Ní dhearna siad neamhshuim de theanga a bhí dhá labhairt ag na daoine ach oiread, murab ionann agus dramaí agus leabhair Staire sa tír seo a thabhradh le tuiscint nár labhraíodh ariamh ach Béarla ann.

THE IRISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS

Local Government in the Republic of Ireland is, by any standards, one of the weakest in Europe. Political power is centralised in that state to a degree which has no doubt contributed to the huge expansion of the Dublin area, where one third of the State's population now lives, and to the consequent decline of rural areas in the West in particular. Irish local government is less important than in most countries by whatever criteria you wish to choose. There are fewer local authorities per head of population. The local authorities deal with a narrower range of functions and the control of the central authority over some of the matters which the local authorities are supposed to decide in theory — health, roads, education, agriculture etc. — is greater. In very many cases in fact the "sanction" from Dublin is necessary before decisions taken by the democratic majority on a corporation or county council can be proceeded with. For all these reasons ambitious political figures do not show a great degree of interest in local government and where they do they generally tend to look on their election to local councils as a passport to the Dáil, or even perhaps some Brussels committee, or if they are already in politics as a means of retaining local contacts. Thus when the Irish local government elections were postponed two years in succession, there was no great outcry. However the fact that there was a seven year span since councillors were last elected plus the fact that we now have votes at 18 suggested that there could be radical changes in certain areas this time out. There were some changes, but nothing radical. The three Dáil parties, Fianna Fáil (now in opposition though they are the largest single party), Fine Gael and Labour (the two smaller parties who now form a National Coalition) won the overwhelming majority of seats in the local county councils, corporations, urban district councils and Boards of Town Commissioners.

There were some other interesting trends however. There was an increase in the number of young people returned and an increase also in the number of women contesting and actually gaining election. In this context Galway Corporation is a good example. This 12 member body now has 3 women — 25 per cent.

On the political front it would seem that nationally Fianna Fáil held their own or did slightly better. Fine Gael, the major partner in the National Coalition, consolidated their position in a number of areas and with the cooperation of their Labour partners gained control of a number of councils which they normally did not control. Labour fared less well, even in Dublin and in some other urban areas where they have a traditional base; in Cork, for example, they lost ground. They also failed to make headway in the rural areas of the West and North-West. Even in Galway — the only county West of the Shannon with a reasonably important urban area — Labour still has only one member on the County Council coming fourth after Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael and Provisional Sinn Féin (which has two members).

Independents apart (and independent candidates who ran as "community candidates" did very well in Dublin) Provisional Sinn Féin emerged as a poor fourth to the three major parties on the overall result. Sinn Féin traditionally does not participate in Dail Eireann or Stormont elections and even where it did it used to refuse to sit in these assemblies which recognise the partition of the country. Sinn Féin did however contest local elections and its elected

members play a full role in the councils. When Sinn Féin split (participation in the Dáil and Stormont being one of the issues) into "Official" and "Provisional" wings in 1969 it had about 22 local authority members who divided almost evenly between the two factions. Official Sinn Féin, less militant strongly socialist and committed to the reform rather than the overthrow of the old Stormont, decided to ease the traditional absolute rejection of Dáil participation. Provisional Sinn Féin, more militant, inclined to a "co-operative" type of democratic socialism rather than classical Marxism and dedicated to the overthrow of Stormont and the partition settlement of 1920-22, retained a strongly anti-line on abstentionism in the case of both the Dáil and Stormont. One of the results of the change in "Official" thinking was that this group decided to register as a political party in Leinster House and thus was entitled to the exclusive use of the party title "Sinn Féin" on the ballot papers on this occasion. Provisional Sinn Féin candidates appeared like other independent or non-party candidates as on former occasions but with the added complication that "Official" opponents in many cases appeared with the Sinn Féin label after them.

After the Republican split in 1969 and the traumatic events of the past five years there was considerable confusion in some ranks. The local government elections have clarified that position. Provisional Sinn Féin won 26 seats on local bodies of varying kinds. Official Sinn Féin won 14. Other groups which would see themselves as political alternatives to Sinn Féin and the three major Dáil parties did very bad indeed. This is particularly true of Mr. Kevin Boland's Aontacht Eireann Party, composed mainly of persons who defected from Fianna Fáil over Northern Ireland policy since 1970 and which is registered in Leinster House as a national political party.

The Gaeltacht (the Irish-speaking districts) do not form a separate political unit in Ireland, even for local government elections. Even the larger Gaeltacht areas, in Donegal for example, are lumped in with English-speaking areas for voting purposes. Again in Connemara in Co. Galway, the large Gaeltacht area, which could easily be constituted as a separate Gaeltacht constituency for local government voting, is in fact divided between two constituencies. Thus while the larger Gaeltacht areas are in a position to influence to some degree the result in certain County Council elections, their influence is dispersed and consequently reduced and there is no clear-cut Gaeltacht voice in Irish local government.

Some Gaeltacht groups, like the Connemara Gaeltacht, Civil Rights Movement, had hoped that the Gaeltacht would be given a separate and clear-cut voice at this year's local elections as a first step towards the establishment of a democratic Gaeltacht Authority — something which has been on the cards for a number of years now. In fact the former Fiann Fáil Minister for Local Government, Robert Molloy did provide for separate Gaeltacht "constituencies" in his White Paper on Local Government Reform, but this was rejected by the present National Coalition Minister, Mr. Tully. The present Gaeltacht Minister, Mr. O'Donnell has however announced his intention to set up an "Údarás Gaeltachta" ("Gaeltacht Authority") with wide powers. But it appears that this body will be mainly concerned with economic development, will not have the statutory recognition of a "Gaeltacht County Council" and will have a majority of members appointed by the Minister even though it is proposed to elect three of the nine-man board of the

Údarás from the Gaeltacht. Gaeltacht democrats reject this idea and insist that there should be a democratic structure. They speak of an "Údarás Daonlathach" or a Democratic Authority for the Gaeltacht. This in itself is something of a contradiction. What they really mean is Gaeltacht self-government, the end in the Gaeltacht, of County Council rule which in common with the influence of most other state agencies is both alien and English-speaking, and the future decision-making for Gaeltacht communities to be placed in the hands of a democratically-elected Gaeltacht council which would have real planning powers and a real say on how the money allocated, from whatever source, at the moment, would be spent in the Gaeltacht.

Some of the local government candidates, especially in Co. Galway promised before the election that they would work for Gaeltacht self-government if elected. To what extent this will now take place remains to be seen.

N. Ó GADHRA

ARDFHEIS CHONRADH NA GAELGE

The Ardfheis (A.G.M.) of Conradh na Gaeilge (the Irish language organisation) was held this year near the Meath Gaeltacht of Rath Cairn. It was originally to be held in the Gaeltacht itself but the community hall being built there had not been completed. Rath Cairn is an unusual Gaeltacht as those living there are people who came originally from the Connemara Gaeltacht and whom are given land in County Meath by the Government in the late thirties and early forties.

The most heated discussion at this year's Ardfheis centered around a motion on National Independence which was proposed by the executive of Conradh na Gaeilge. The motion read as follows: "That this Ardfheis recognises that the following factors are the principal constraints to the National Independence of Ireland.

(a) the belittling of Irish, its phasing out in the schools and the state system, the promotion of assimilation in the communications media, particularly television, and the injustices inflicted on Irish speakers and the people of the Gaeltacht.

(b) the brutal campaign being carried out by the British Army in the six counties, basic rights being denied on both sides of the border and support for oppression through prison camps, special courts and undemocratic laws.

(c) the provincial economic policy of the twenty six county Government which leaves the state as an undeveloped peripheral area of the United Kingdom and the Common Market.

(d) the natural resources of the country, land, rivers, lakes, fishing, mines, etc., being owned by foreigners and being sold to foreigners.

The main discussion here centred around the issue of whether the motion should ever have been proposed, some delegates considering it was too "political" for a cultural organisation like Conradh na Gaeilge and might alienate some members and potential members of the movement. Many other delegates, however, pointed out that the cultural struggle could not be cut off from the military, political and economic struggle of the Irish people. The Irish language could not be revived in a vacuum with no consideration of the general political situation of the country. Cultural domination was one of the main elements of imperialism and the fight against cultural domination was an

important element in the fight against imperialism.

What was shown in this discussion was a basic difference of attitude on the role of Conradh na Gaeilge, a difference which has existed since the very early days of Conradh na Gaeilge and which first came to the fore, as a real bone of contention, at the famous Ardfeis in 1915. Some people still feel that the function of Conradh na Gaeilge is to organise Irish classes, Ceilis, musical sessions and such activities whereas the majority, as was proved by the passing of this important motion, see this only as one element in the work of the Conradh. They also see the importance of pointing out the social and political force of the Irish language, the importance of making sure that the fight for cultural freedom is maintained as one of the basic elements in the fight for social, political, military and economic freedom. They consider it important to expose the anti-Irish and anti-National policies of not only the British Government but also of the Government in the twenty six counties.

This year's Ardfeis revealed a definite swing to the right within the Conradh as much progress had been made in the last five years or so in making members of Conradh na Gaeilge aware of the political, social and economic circumstances of the community. This of course could be attributed to the general demoralisation affecting anti-imperialist organisations since the downturn in the National struggle in the last year or so. The turn to the right, however, was not strong enough to wipe out the progress made within Conradh na Gaeilge in the last few years but was reflected in the composition of the national executive elected at the Ardfeis.

If Conradh na Gaeilge were to return to the back rooms and remain an organisation of Irish classes and little more it could mean disaster for the Conradh itself and a very grave set-back to the revival of the Irish language. What is needed at this stage is a great influx of politically conscious people who are interested in the Irish language and culture. The movement is at a crucial stage of its development. It is up to those people who realise the importance of Irish in the fight against Imperialism to make their presence felt.

One of the very hopeful elements of this year's Ardfeis was the election of Pádraig O Snodaigh, editor of CARN and an active member of the Celtic League, as President of Conradh na Gaeilge. Pádraig is a very highly respected and well known writer and historian. Two other members of the Celtic League, Alen Heusaff (a Breton) and Micheál Mac Aonghusa were also elected to the national executive.

As long as Conradh na Gaeilge remembers that economic and political freedom depend on cultural freedom and that cultural freedom depends on economic and political freedom the movement will be on the right path. If ever it loses sight of that idea it will be doomed to failure.

THE WAY TO PEACE IN IRELAND — the necessity for a British commitment to end the Union, Anthony Coughlan, Senior Lecturer in Social Administration and Policy in Trinity College Dublin, ISM, 10p.

The demand for a declaration by the British Government to disengage from Northern Ireland has been dismissed by politicians in Dublin and Westminster in completely dishonest and emotive terms as a recipe for Civil war.

In this pamphlet Anthony Coughlan sets out clearly and cogently what is meant by Disengagement and gives guide-

lines on how it can be effectively carried out while avoiding this inherent danger.

Furthermore to those North and South who demand the repeal of Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution, he gives the answer that they are the counter claim to the sovereignty and jurisdiction claimed by Britain in the former 1920 Northern Ireland Act and retained in the 1973 Northern Ireland Constitution Act: to quote from page 7 of the pamphlet "the importance of these articles is that they direct a claim at BRITAIN . . . if they did not exist it could be maintained that the Irish Government has no more right to urge Britain to end Partition than has the Government of Peru".

B.H.

ANOTHER MARTYR FOR OLD IRELAND

Another Murder For The Crown

On the 4th of June a young Irishman, Michael Gaughan, 24 years of age, from Ballina County Mayo died on hunger strike in Parkhurst Prison in the Isle of Wight. All he sought was political status and an improvement in his prison conditions. But the British Authorities did not see fit to grant him these requests and preferred to let him die. Gaughan had been on hunger strike for 68 days and had been force fed on and off during that period. While it has not yet been fully established that his death was caused by force feeding, the evidence certainly points in this direction. Pneumonia, the official reason given for Gaughan's death, can be associated with force feeding. We must not forget the case of Tomás Aghas who died on hunger strike in a British Jail in September 1917 after force feeding. The Authorities of the Prison were, at that time, accused by the coroner's inquest of the murder of Tomás Aghas.

Michael Gaughan was given a funeral with full military honours, including the traditional republican salute of a volley being fired over the body. The oration at the graveside was given by Daithí Ó Conaill, probably the most wanted man in Ireland.

Traolach Mac Suibhne, Lord Mayor of Cork, who died on hunger strike in Brixton Prison in 1920 was the last Irish person to die on hunger strike in a British jail. The same tri-colour which covered Mac Suibhne's coffin also covered Gaughan's coffin from Dublin onwards.

How many more people must die that Ireland may be free from British tyranny?

Ite Ní Chionnaith

KERNOW

BRING IN DEMOCRACY!

by Soudor Coth

The first 1974 General Election effectively put Britain's undemocratic two-party system out of action for the time being at any rate and Celtic people must make every effort at the next election, to break it up beyond any hope of repair.

The two-party system, because of the extreme difference between the policies of the two parties, is a system that creates and sustains conflict and, what is worse, bring it right into the heart of the law-making apparatus of the country. Neither party can formulate and implement a policy for the good of the kingdom because the other party

will immediately misrepresent it to the electors and will destroy it on returning to power.

Organized wealth through its political instrument, the Tory Party and organized labour through its Labour Party both stoutly defend the two-party system because it ensures, or has done so up to now, that either party will, if defeated be sure to be returned to power at some later date and be 'big brother' once again.

The two-party system has been maintained by our primitive method of voting at our elections. This method strongly favours the two largest parties and severely handicaps the minority parties and prevents them from exercising any influence in parliament and leaves them and the interests they represent wide open to exploitation and suppression by the C.B.I. and the finance houses on the one hand and the T.U.C. on the other.

In the 1974 election, in Wales, the Tory party got 1 seat in parliament for every 52,000 votes cast for it. The Labour Party 1 seat for every 31,000 votes, but Plaid Cymru got only 1 seat for every 84,000 votes. In Scotland the figures were, Labour Party 1 seat for every 27,000 votes, but the S.N.P. had to get 90,000 votes for each of their seats.

This time, however, this gerrymandering hasn't worked. The zeal and organizing ability of the Scots and the Welsh and one must add, the Liberals, has got enough of their people into Parliament to prevent either of the big parties from governing without the consent of the minorities. The next election will be the moment of truth. If the nationalist parties can win just a few more seats and then jointly and perhaps with Liberal Party assistance force the government to institute proportional representation then the politically disreputable two-party system will be gone, one hopes, for ever, the exploitation of the Celtic minorities will cease and parliament will be able to govern for the good of the kingdom as a whole and not just for the benefit of one or other privileged section of it. Even little Cornwall is not too small to be in the fight and should now start to clear the decks and be ready when the time comes to take part in the struggle.

STILLBORN OR STILL DEAD

From about 1200AD to 1753 the tinnars of Cornwall were ruled by their own Stannars', or Tinnars', Parliament in all matters except those of land, life and limb. This Parliament was confirmed in 1508AD by a Charter which, it is claimed, has never been revoked; and so, hope some enthusiasts it is not dead but buried and therefore eligible for resurrection.

The present interest in this old parliament rises from a clash between the China Clay workers and the government's policy of controlling wages. The Pay Board prevented the payment of a previously agreed wage increase. This angered both the China Clay Co. and their workers: the Company because it was prevented from honouring its promise to the men, and the men because they were denied wages that had been properly negotiated with their employers before the governments wage controls commenced.

There was an angry stalemate and then someone thought of the old Stannars' Parliament which had absolute power to control Cornish miners wages and would, if convoked, be able to settle the dispute. A group of enthusiastic Cornishmen thereupon "convoked" this ancient assembly. How they did it is not clear because the Lord Warden of the Stannaries whose duty it would have been declined to

do so. The 24 members or Stannators were elected, again we are not told how, and were summoned by proclamation by the Court of Haldhu to meet at Lostwithiel Guild Hall on Monday the twentieth day of May 1974. It is to be regretted that when the Stannators arrived at the Guild Hall they found that the doors were locked and they were obliged to hold their first session in a local inn.

Invitations had been sent to H.M. the Queen, the Duke of Cornwall, the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition none of whom were able to attend. Invitations were also sent to foreign embassies and these resulted in the attendance of Cambodia's Charges d'Affaires and the First Secretary of the Cuban Embassy in London. The parliament is reported to have discussed the question of the china-clay workers' wages and to have stated that it's purpose is to influence or control all Cornish mineral rights and also Celtic gas and oil extraction. Cuba's First Secretary told the press that he found some of it very hard to understand.

The Stannary Parliament was operated by and consisted solely of people in the tin-mining industry. Whether Cornish people today would like all their mineral resources to be controlled by such a small section of the community has not yet been ascertained.

R.C.B.

A GONTRAD CROTHVAL GONESYGETH?

Martesen yth-yu peryllys dhyn-ny dhe weles war agan gans eghen lowender.

Mes a-yl bos agan plyt methow-oll prest mar fynny nans-yu omma banna a'n termyn passyes? Wosa moy ages can vledhen olva wherow? Pup cam cales, a-dhuk neppyth. Pyth yu an rol?

Kemmys pan ethons dhe-ves a vro goth-ma y'n cansbledhen dhewetha y a-asas pobel a ylly ünwyth tresorya pup a'n termyn passyes. Res yu dhyn-ny perthy cof a'n rescous yethek bras — dyllans testennow, ryans grammer, dalleth classys —, a'n cuntell brewyon gonesygeth gans an Gowethas Gernewek Hen, ha gwryans an omsaf stryf gwlasek.

A vyen-ny del eson-ny lemmyn mar ny-ve gwres vyth an pythow-ma? A fen ny gwres where omlathoryon gans prevys passyes, a alsa hemma bos omdhegys hep gothvos may kefsyn an skyans. Mar leveryn Kernow lemmyn dhe varw, hy studhya dhe fystyna awos dyspresyans a wül, ha bos dhyn-ny res yn-splan ankevy ystory a wonesygeth ha strocowsow ow-pos rynnys, herdhyes a glewyr, a sef fenten strocowsow?

A nyns-yu an fenten an cuntell nans-yu dhyn-ny? Hag a omden an cuntell-na mars yu fowt attendyans? Y-fewons kefrys skyla ha'n vatel, y-farw an skyla hep an vatel, hag yth-omscull an vatel hep an skyla. Aberveth yn spasow an vatel res yu dhyn-ny megys hag yma kemmys, hag y orth-y-dharbary, a vyth pupprys a-dhelergh gans aga dewys. Henna yu agan tybyans mes y a-dyp aga lafür bos an vatel hy-honen.

Ny-a-gows-ny a vatellys mes ny a wra ankevy an gwel. Ran a wra omhenwel an ünky lu. Y'n brys res yu dhyn-ny ynjyn, nyns-yu res a gerdhes hag omvetya. Y-hyl bos escar an geryow aga-honen a wren-ny gul defnyth anedha. Hembrynkyas-lu nyns-yu poran den breselek, ef a-wor an maystry den üsy y'n tyr hag ef a-wra aga gorra yn aga dygthyans.

Moy a servys a-yl bos an jyn gwlasek a-ve gwres an omsettyans mür dres eghen erbyn Kernow. Forth a res may

caffo-ef moy a servys yu convedhes ef dhe gafos ober war müvyans gonesygeth, a gusul hep assay garow leverel dhe scryforyon an pethow a-res dhedha rak scryfa. Y-hyl, bytegens, darbary clojow hag ynna pobel creftow ow-fynnes lafurya.

Dhyn-ny delhevel mur mur a janjys dhe wothvos a'ga gwryans ha pennow gorrys warbarth. Solabrys, an dysquedhyans fotografys re-wruk dalleth bryntyn — an ün hynwys "Kernow 70" — mes dowr a-ve gesys devera yn-dan an pons.

An lek keltek yn Kernow, ow-cül del vroder, re-ystynnas anvoward re-ros Kernow ran dhe Vol Oil-Keltek dhe Gillairne. Dres deu-ugans pobel a-eth mes a gemow del barcel rak constryne. Synsys ynno a-fe party omdowloryon ha nerth a ganoryon a Gernewek. Ny-ve gwres kesunyans -vyth kepar ha hemma y'n termyn re-be. Res o dhyn-ny bos pys da lowr a casow dyberthys, ha bytegens us dh'y waytya pesya ha ledanhe an kesunyans-ma.

Y'n for'-ma gwely cowl a bobel a-wayt tenvos y'n müvyans Kernewek.

(Does Protest contradict Culture?)

Royston Green

MANNIN

FINANCE IN MANN

The Manx Government ended the financial year 1973-74 with a budget surplus of £2.2m. Adding last year's surplus, this means that the Manx Government has £3.7m to bring forward into 1974-75. The total budget for 1973-74 was £31m. Finance Board chairman, John Bolton, Mann's "Exchequer", said: "There have been, over the last few years, periods of doubt and uncertainty arising mainly from the protracted negotiations on entry to the Common Market. But since the successful conclusion of the negotiations the Island's prosperity is again increasing." Naturally, Mr. Bolton did not go into the definition of "the island's prosperity" too closely. It is true that many more Manx people than previously can stay at home because of improved job opportunities. But it is also true that the "prosperity" engineered by Mr Bolton and his associates may prove ephemeral and may well finish off the historic Manx people. As Mrs Elspeth Quayle, Member of the House of Keys for Castletown, pointed out, Mr Bolton's budget favoured the rich man (Mann's present "prosperity" has been built up by favouring rich immigrants at the expense of the Manx people).

However, although more and more Manx people are becoming worried by the massive influx of monied Britons to Mann, it seems likely that most Manx people are still not willing to take determined political action to change government policy. It will be interesting to see the results of a forthcoming Tynwald by-election in South Douglas. A Mec Vannin candidate, Mrs Annette Bridson, is standing, and may become the first official nationalist Member of the House of Keys.

Mr Bolton expressed the view in his budget speech that none of Mann's "traditional" industries (agriculture, fishing and tourism) are likely to expand greatly. He felt expansion was likely in the growing finance industry and in "approved" industries. The emergence of Mann as a potentially significant financial centre has been brought about by Mann's rather strange relationship with the EEC. Mann is inside the EEC for trading purposes but remains outside in a more

general financial sense. For this reason several prominent English merchant banks now have Manx offices and Williams and Glyn's Bank is opening new offices in Douglas. The reasons given by Williams & Glyn's Bank for opening a Manx office included the "instability" of "tax havens" further afield, over-capacity problems in the Channel Islands, and the prospect of successful oil drillings in the "Celtic Sea". Already there are signs of irritation in Westminster — natural enough for an administration pledged to deal with speculators and tax evaders. The English Home Office, which still effectively lords it over Mann, has held up the implementation of legislation amending the Manx Usury Act. The amendment is to raise the maximum rate of lawful interest allowed in Mann from 10 per cent to 12.5 per cent. London wants credit controls on Manx banks to be brought into line with those on UK banks. A major clash seems likely between London and Tynwald.

BRIAN Mac STOYLL, 13/6/74.

BI NA SOSTNAI 'G IMIOCHT?

(After the Ulster Workers' Council Strike, Whitehall seems to have no policy on Northern Ireland. British politicians have always deplored Irish nationalism but seem to be willing to make concessions to "Ulster nationalism").

Tri la ereis da Stan Orme bh'er chur er an SDLP Cunsael na hEireann a chur suas, chaidh dearg-Unadachtaeran steach anns ionadan-oibri anns nEirinn Tuaitheach as thug ad er na hobranai gul er stalc — leis an chuna de gunan. San ionad de gabhail greim oru, thug armai Shostan cuna do bh. Bha scialan ann nach d'fhod na poiliotacai Sostnach crogha er an armai, acht erbi. Bh'e gul ris 1914, bunus.

Gul ris realtas Asquith, chrom realtas Wilson sios rois bagartas na ndearg-Unadachtaeran. San ionad de deanu red einneach, thainc Wilson bocht er an teiliuis as ren e branladi mo cheann "spongers". Ni an tart seo diobhail mhur dan Seiseacht Oibri Shostnach — thig an la, ma' ta.

As nis, t'e bachtal ra fhaiginn nach bhel fios ec Lunain cre ni ad deanu. Tra loir mi ris anns Parliament un bhlein er do shoine duirt Merlyn Rees rium do bhel e toigeal na Eireannai er a'fa do bhel e na Cheilteach (se Breathnach eisean). Ta treist a'm do bhel e toigeal ad. Ta mi siogar nach bhel e toigeal an "aisiunachas Ultach" sein t'e er ngadainn leis seo. Cre'n anchaslas t'eadar an "aisiunachas" seo as sean mhian na Unadachtaeran an "tir oc fhin" a reill gan Lunain bhe cur a' droch oru? Bheag d'anchaslas, do dearul 'S eigan da dach Ceilteach as dach duine ta cur graidh da caireas deanu a chuid 's fhearr do chaga noigh'n fhaisteachas anns nEirinn Tuaitheach.

Brian Mac Stoyll

CELTICA

Comments by N. Nenaff on R. C. Boyd's Reply

I am grateful to our comrade Boyd for his mention that the Druidic philosophy is akin to the oldest known Aryan-Indian one. This I had left aside for the sake of brevity. My purpose was not to expound the theory but to point out its Celtic applications.

Now this philosophy is being reluctantly re-introduced in science as the theory of Complementarity. We shall hear more and more about it. It will rout the Aristotelian dualists with their fallacy that "if a thing is big, it is not small." The

Earth is very big for all plants and animals living on its epidermis, few of them manage to go around it even once in their life. Yet it is also so small as to be negligible in astronomical problems. It is the nature of the problem which determines whether a thing is big or small. "It is big, therefore it is small and reciprocally." *SMALL (CONTRACTED, COLD, GIAM)* and *BIG (EXPANDED HOT, SAM)* are one and the same nature. A dualist will scoff at this. Let us leave him in his "absurd" situation à la Camus.

But my interest in this philosophy would be limited if it was not useful as a boost to the fighting will of our countrymen. This is how I see it.

The Romans displayed towards the Celts the same attitude as the British colonialist in India, dismissing the idea that those barbarians could have a culture and offering so generously to bring them the British one. This British colonialist-Roman Imperialist attitude is perfectly illustrated in Atkinson's Penguin book on Stonehenge: the importance of druidism, contemporary evidence and all, is contemptuously dismissed a priori. Nora Chadwick in her book on the Druids shows more consideration, collecting and criticising very well the evidence. Yet she feels she cannot go against the grain and asks: "But what could that druidic philosophy have been renowned though it was among the Alexandrian Greeks? Those barbarians could only have got a pale reflection of the quasi-contemporary Greek philosophy." She has the recorded evidence of one of those Alexandrians saying that the Greeks learned about philosophy at the school of the Hyperboreans, i.e. the Celts, but she disregards it. How could the proud Greeks have allowed such a statement to pass?

In view of its relation to the oldest Indian philosophy it appears that the teaching of the Druids is very old indeed and that they could have taught the Greeks rather than the contrary.

This can boost our determination to fight for a Celtic world which produced such fruits of old, and help to defeat the colonialist attitude and imperialism of this "modern civilisation" as well as to relieve many of our fellow-countrymen from their sense of inferiority.

I fully agree with our comrade Boyd, the direction of CARN and the Druids that *FACTUAL ACTION* has precedence over *IDEOLOGY, INTELLECTUALISATION, ABSTRACTION* of any kind. The latter should occupy little space in CARN in relation to the record of *FACTS*. Yet giving precedence to *WINTER* and *NIGHT* never meant denying the existence of *SUMMER* and *DAY*. Speaking for myself, — who did fairly well in bombing *ACTION* in Brittany — I would say that the *philosophical* and *religious* aspects of the Celtic question always were the other side of my one Celtic purpose. Besides, I take it for granted that my man consciously throwing his *REAL LIFE* in the scales of the gods would also show some concern for the *MEANING* of what he is fighting for, since *ACTION* and *MEANING* are but the two opposite sides of the one and the same thing.

I thought that my communication was clearly enough in support of optimism and activism. We are in the position of being sorely besieged, or fighting a retreat action before the onslaught of Modern Civilisation (i.e. "Anglo-Frenchifying"). But in war retreat and holding the fort does not mean defeat. It seems this was not understood. Let me then be more explicit: "Let us keep up our fighting well. Don't be discouraged by the fall of bastion after bastion (cf. the recent Welsh census). We cannot expect more from the

present, but we have to hold on and fight on, even to the last room in our Alcazar, till the relief army on its way reaches us. Let us not capitulate nor lay down any arms. Anything done now which prolongs the resistance is good by definition, hypothesis and construction." And I agree again with our comrade Boyd: "Education" (with precedence to *ACTIVISM*), "agitate," "organise." Do anything to *LAST LONGER*. Any year gained is a matter of high importance. It is essential that the relief army, which I tell you is on the way, will not find just a graveyard when it crashes through their Civilisation and reaches us.

Finally allow me two examples which for the sake of *BREVITY* were left out of my article:

The horse, tamed about 10,000 years ago, satisfied the transport needs of Man for roughly the same length of time. The steam engine, born about 1800 is now as obsolete as the horse. Today a Concorde is out of date before it is produced industrially. The same with weapons, from bows and arrows to hydrogen bombs. This illustrates the necessary exponential rate of *GROWTH* — *SAM*. Zero growth such as recently predicted for the E.E.C. is tantamount to a death warrant.

Less than 100 years ago a training for creative chemistry would be valid for life. Nowadays it takes more time to master even a limited field of the science and re-cycling is necessary every ten years if one is not to be hopelessly outmoded. No brains could tolerate more than a couple of such recyclings. Very soon no human being will be able to cope for more than a year or two.

LETTERS

One very important group you should consider are those peoples who speak Ladinish or Rheto-Roman and who live in out-of-the-way valleys of the Alps. The most recent research has shown that their language (or so I am told) is in fact essentially Celtic and not Latin as has long been thought (or may be deliberately stated). — (Prof. D.Th.).

"I became interested in Celtic when a friend of mine (a Scot who does not speak Gaelic) gave me a Gaelic grammar. If you have members in Switzerland, who might be familiar with the history of the Celts in this country, I would be grateful for their addresses. Another question: are there any correspondence courses in any Celtic languages? R.F.

(Only correspondence in Breton could be adverted to? Addresses of others?)

Our correspondent B. Mac Stoyll will be interested by two recent comments about the spelling he uses in his Manx contributors: according to the first, Manx language supporters (how many?) were opposed to this departure from the traditional spelling. It seems this was relayed by a Manxman who does not know Manx. The second correspondent writes, "Ba thaitneas liom ri fhaicinn go bheil Manannach a' scriobh do CARN. Is fearr liom an litriu Gaelach na'n litriu traidisiunta Manannach — cha neil ciall ar bith ann! . . ."

He continues:

Chuala mi Alan Stivell a' seinn air an radio ach duirt an DJ (marcach ceirnini nach eadh?) go rabh e 'na Fhrancach! Naire ar an amadan!

Seolaim mo choip de CARN go cara agam ann Polann ar an adhbhar go bheil suim more aige ann beatha ar bpobal — na Ceiltean.

He further enquires if there is any map of Brittany with the place names in Breton.

LLYTHAR I'R EAGARTHOIR AM CYNGOR Y CLEFYDAU

Annwyl geneil, whejus fest o scryf Meic Stevens mewn rhifyn 3 de cette revue. Marth atá agam qu'il est permis ag C... B... le Pouvoir & the Establishment sgrifennu in 'CARN'. Oherwydd prif orchwyl y... so is to turn Welsh Littérature yn grachlenyddiaeth débile, sclérosée comme celle de l'Angleterre po Bro-C'Hall. Ní fydd subvention ag comics for les gosses avel "Hebog" a "Llinos", ond rhoddir myl a livres à Eugène Ionesco. Cha n-eil financial support ar son Volkskunst go iawn mar caithfear oeuvres possess "special literary ansawdd" (sic). Id est, ili devas esti dilettantaid, mursen, et as obscure que possible — a'r un pryd plenere the chakodoù des petitsbourgeois cefnog na vya gwaityans a'ga farth en ur vro yac'h.

While les enfants galloisants are yn gorfod étouffer — mit ein comic amháin every mensis, cyhoeddir des tomes costly en Sacs-Bhéarla which are read mainly par des Galloisants de toute façon. Cyhoeddir études de poetasters d'expression anglaise gan aon substantial connection leis na Coimrigh, et l'on essaie ffugio "Anglo-Welsh Tradition" (sick) er mwyn trick les gens digymraeg à lire overpriced skinny volumes de poan er c'hof. And what 's more hefyd, le Farts Council a wra sensro pob Kritik — dres eghen an re gwyr. Us yu gansa unweth ry arghans rak dylllo aga ober aga horen. Achyfi.

Gan teanga, gan tîr. Sine popular literature, sine lingvo. Mae'r Farts Council yn ceisio necare lyenegeth Kembrek par l'asphyxie, rhyw Endlösung i'r Kymrischen Frage. Mes a national language yth yu arf erbyn brracht. Rhoddir kalz arc'hant gan Gyngor y Clefydau to blunten yr iaith Gymraeg ma na yller lutter pour le décolonisation. Rhaid rhybuddio nostri comites in the rest of Keltia gegen de telles hérésies — c'est assez! Every attempt to bind bardachd agus prôs Celtaidd i introspective hallucinations y Quis llynyddol, c'est nid amgen than a nail in our coffin. Pa les sydd o noddwyr qui geben ££££lawer i Welsh (?) Opera quae anglice canant when miloedd o galloisants sont ohne light reading matter y'ga Muttersprache? Maybe ces feallair ont kalz Geld agus les commanding heights faoi lâthair — mais agan nerth tornarê de poc — vous êtes pas écourés de mourir bande de caves!

Yowan Chy'n Horth

• J. Jevons has been elected secretary of the Cornish branch: R. C. Boyd retiring due to age. Mr. Boyd deserves our gratitude for all his work over the years. He remains a member of the branch. Many thanks, Bert, on behalf of the Celtic League. A. H. Gen. Sec.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF DALRIADA, JOHN BANERMAN, SCOTTISH UNIVERSITY PRESS

It is necessary to state at the outset that this book is one for the historian rather than the general reader; but because of the subject matter the information it contains will be of interest to the many readers of CARN who are interested in Celtic Unity and in particular the relations between Ireland and Scotland.

Dalriada, the kingdom comprising North East Ulster (the present counties of Down and Antrim) and the West of Scotland was established around the year 500; Irish school history books give it as 470. How and for how long Dalriada continued to be ruled by the descendants of Fergus Mor, its first king, is the question under examination in this thesis.

Three sources of historical material are considered:

1. the Irish Annals, and comprehensive notes are given on the Scottish entries contained in the latter;

2. Senchus Fer nAlban, a 7th century document recording the genealogies and other information on the ruling families of Dal Riata; and, finally,

3. the Convention of Druim Cett, one of the reasons for which was to determine the status of Dal Riata in relation to the king of the Northern Uí Neill.

The author insists that this is no detailed account of the history of the Kingdom and makes the point in the Preface that such a study would be difficult because of the large and numerous gaps in the source material. However I imagine that an account, even in the most general terms would be of enormous interest to a wider readership in Scotland and Ireland — especially Ulster — at the present time.

A NEW C.L. BRANCH

A branch of the Celtic League is being set up to cover, for a start, the Eastern parts of the United States. Its secretary is Mr Mickey Burke, Celtic League, 2463 Grand Avenue, New York City 10468.

Membership fee is \$6, but students and unemployed can avail of the reduced rate of \$4. Members in the area are invited to contact Mr Burke, and to join the branch, but if they prefer they can continue to be registered directly in Dublin (fee \$5).

CORRESPONDENCE: To ensure as prompt a reply as possible, please enclose international postal reply coupons. Due to pressure of work, and volume of correspondence, the secretary general is unable to reply immediately to all enquiries. Apologies are offered.

LEABHAIR. Still available for all interested in the land question in Scotland is Rob Gibson's *The Promised Land* (34p). Another book on the same theme — crofting in Skye — is the *Skye Crofting Scheme Report* of the Federation of Student Nationalists (30p). Both available, post free, from R. Gibson, Mackay Hostel, Dungwall, Ross and Cromarty, Alba.

(adv.t.)

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