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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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30p

QUARTERLY PERIODICAL IN ENGLISH & IN CELTIC LANGUAGES
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ALBA

AISEIRIGH NA SEANN CHÀNAIN ALBANNAICH

Bho'n a tha corr is leth-cheud bliadhna o'n d'fhàinig a' bhardachd aig Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair a mach, tha an leabhar seo doirbh ri fhaotainn. Ach mairidh Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair am bàrd as fhèarr feadh Alba go leir.

Rugadh Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair ann an Aird-nam-murchan - dar an d'fhàinig a' mhuinntir agam fhìn - mu 1690 agus chaochail e mu 1770 ann an Àrasaig. Bha e 'na mhaighstir-sgoil bho chad fad a bheatha, seach Bliadhna a' Phrionnsa 1745-6, 'nuair a bha e 'na ard-oifigeach, a' teagaisg na Gàidhlig do'n Phrionnsa.

Sgrìobh e moran deagh bhàrdachd, ach thoir eamaid fainear "Aiseirigh na Seann Chànain Albannaich" far an do sgrìobh e

"..... Bha Ghàidhlig ullamh
'Na glòir fìor ghuineach, cruaidh
Air feadh a' chruinne
Mu'n thuilich an Tuil-ruadh;
Mhair i fòs,
'S cha a glòir air chall,
Dhaindeoin go
Is mì-run mòr nan Gall.
'S i labhair Alba,
'S Gall-bhodacha féin,
Ar flaith 's ar prionnsan
S ar diucanna gun éis.
An taigh-comhairl' an rìgh,
'N uair shuidheadh air binn a chùirt,
'S i Ghàidhlig lìobhaidh
Dh' fhuasgladh snaoim gach cùis'.
'S i labhair Calum
Allail a' chinn mhóir;
Gach mith is maith
Bha 'n Alba, beag is mòr.
'S i labhair Goill is Gàidheal,
Neo-chléirich is cléir,
Gach fear is bean,
A ghluaisheadh teanga 'm beul"

Dé tha sin a' ciallachadh? 'S e sin ri ràdh, 'nuair a bha Calum Ceann Mór 'na Ard-Rìgh na h-Albainn (1057-1093) bha a h-uile fear is bean ann an Albainn a' bruidhinn 'sa Ghàidhlig agus bha iad 'ga cleachdadh air son gach gnothach .i. Ann an taigh - comhairle an rìgh (Am bi iad 'ga bruidhinn daonnan anns an "Scottish Assembly" nuair a thigeadh e do'n Dun - Èideann?) agus an còmhnaidh 'sna cùirtean - lagha (far am bheil ar cànan diabhluidh tearc latha an diugh).

Thoiribh fainear, chan eil am bàrd ag ràdh gum bheil ar cànan a' buntainn do phàirt chumhang uaigneach na h-Albainn mar a theireadh ar namhaidean, ach do dh'Alba ge leir, do gach àite eadar Abarùig - air - Tuaidh gu ruige Barraigh agus do gach àite eadar Maol nan Gall (Mull of Galloway) gu ruige Muckle Flugga ann an Sealtainn.

'Nuair a bha Sasunn a' riaghladh cairteal na cruinne - cé bha a' Bheurla a' riaghladh air feadh an t-saoghail Ceilteach (seach Breatunn bheag) ach an latha an diugh tha sinn a' fuireach an am Margadh Cumanta far am bheil a' chànain Shasunnach ach té nan cànanain Rionn - Eorpach.

Gabhaidh misneach, a charaid, mùchaidh sinn a' Bheurla feadh na h-Albainn go leir fhathast.

Cuimhnichibh air dhà shean - fhacail, 'san darna àite: "Dean maorach fhad 's a bhios an tràigh ann", ('nuair a bhios Sasunn agus a cànan lag) agus 'san àite

eile "Far am bi toil bidh gnìomh".

Gilleasbuig Mac Mhuirich.

[Consideration of part of a poem by Alexander Mac Donald in which it is pointed out that as recently as King Malcolm Canmore's reign Scottish (Gaidhlig) was the language in which all life's dealings were carried through including, of course, parliamentary and legal business.

While England held down a quarter of the world's surface, the whole Celtic world (with the exception of Brittany) was under the English language. But in modern life we are living in a Common Market and the English language no longer has the monopoly.]

HUGH MacDIARMID

The poet Hugh MacDiarmid celebrated his 85th birthday on 11 August last and various events were held in his honour. There was a radio interview with George Bruce and T. V. programmes on I. T. V. and B. B. C. The S. T. U. C. and the Scottish International Institute organised a weekend seminar with concluding concert. The newspaper report which referred to him as "an old anarchist on the way to respectability" hardly merits reliability and the columns of same paper in the following days were full of the flyting of the awkward squad as to what he said or did not say and which spectrum of the political wheel may claim him.

Perhaps it would be more constructive here, especially for the younger readers in the other Celtic countries, to look back and give an account of the life and work of this giant of a Scotsman.

He was born in 1892 in Langholm in the Border country where he was taught English by the composer F. G. Scott. (One should be able to say "the well-known composer" but alas having stayed in Scotland and not kow-towed to the parochial establishment his worth has not been appreciated yet.) From 1906 to 1910 Christopher Murray Grieve attended Broughton Junior Student Centre where it was his intention to go in for teaching, and he joined the Fabian Society in 1908. His father died in 1911 and the following year he took up journalism and worked in Wales and Scotland. During the first World War he served with the R. A. M. C. abroad on two occasions and he was demobbed in 1920. He moved to Montrose on the east coast of Scotland as chief reporter for a Montrose weekly. He took part in local political affairs - was a town and parish councillor and Justice of the Peace - and in 1927 was adopted as Nationalist Candidate for Dundee having been a founder member of the Scottish National Convention. In 1929 he moved to London to work with Compton McKenzie on a magazine called Vox. (This unlike C. McK.'s Gramophone was not a success - the radio medium was not ready then for mature criticism - is it yet?) In 1933 he moved with his second wife Valda Trevlyn from Cornwall to various places, finally to Whalsay in Shetland. In 1934 he joined the Communist Party from which he was expelled in 1937 for "nationalism" - was re-instated on appeal but expelled again the following year for "nationalist deviation".

During the 2nd World War he came to Clydeside and worked as a fitter in a munitions' factory and in the Merchant Service. In 1942 he was a member of the National Council of the S. N. P. and in 1945 stood as the candidate for Kelvingrove; but he left the S. N. P. in 1948.

In 1950 he got a Civil List pension, visited Russia, stood as an Independent S. N. P. candidate for Kelvingrove and moved to the cottage near Biggar in Lanarkshire where he still lives. In 1957 he rejoined the C. P. (Communist Party), was awarded an Hon. L. L. D. by Edinburgh University and became an Hon. Mem. of the Scottish P. E. N. In 1958 Edinburgh University Nationalist Club presented him

with the Fletcher of Saltoun award.

In 1964 he stood against Sir Alec Douglas Hume in that heartland of the Tories' Kinross and West Perth. He lost his deposit (as in all his previous bouts) and also an action which he brought to have the result declared null and void. However his was the moral victory as many people were sympathetic and were beginning to question the right of the big parties to all that T. V. time. He elicited that these broadcasts had cost £4,600 while the limit imposed on each candidate for election expenses had been £724. 8. 6d! There has been an improvement for some of the "smaller" parties since but ironically not for the C. P.

All his life Hugh MacDiarmid (the name he used for writing) has been deeply involved in the public life of Scotland and never shirked what he considered to be his duty. That would have been enough for any ordinary mortal but not for him and it is his "other" life that makes him such a priceless asset for Scotland to-day and for which he will be remembered. From the time he edited his school magazine onwards his business was "words" - reading them - writing them - revelling in them. And what words, he has read so much that to read him is a veritable education (for those who are willing to be educated). He would have made a wonderful teacher (though I doubt if he could have accepted the system), but we can only be thankful that through his writing his audiences are or could be, the whole of Scotland. Much is made of his "distaste" for England, but probably by those who are shamed by that much more positive thing that illumines all he writes - his love for Scotland. Nor is it love of Scotland only - his breadth of vision and bigness of heart take in all humanity. There is no paradox or changing in his political views - rather no party big enough to contain him. He is now too great a figure and revered the world over to be expelled by the C. P. but he never misses an opportunity of stating that he is a nationalist - a radical nationalist - a republican nationalist.

It may be thought strange to begin the following list with 1948 but this was just after the war and though he had been writing since the early twenties, these early books are difficult to come by and as will be seen many of those listed contain his early work:

1) The Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry. MacMillan. 1948; 2) The Company I've Kept. Hutchinson. 1966; 3) Modern Scottish Poetry. Faber & Faber. 1966. (An anthology of the Scottish Renaissance. Ed. by Maurice Lindsay); 4) MacDiarmid. Catalogue No. 7. The Nat. Library of Scot. 1967; 5) Scottish Poetry No. 4. Edin. Univ. Press. 1969; 6) The Penguin Book of Scottish Verse. Penguin. 1970; 7) Hugh MacDiarmid. Selected Poems. Penguin. 1970. (Ed. by David Craig and John Manson.); 8) Contemporary Scottish Verse. Calder and Boyars. 1970. (Ed. by Norman McCaig and Alexander Scott.); 9) The Hugh MacDiarmid Anthology. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1972. £3. 25. (Poems in Scots. and English. Ed. by Michael Grieve and A. Scott.); & 10) Henryson, selected by Hugh MacDiarmid. Penguin. 1973. 30p.

1) Any anthology is interesting for the light it throws on the tastes of the collector and this one is no exception. However not many have a history of world literature as an introduction - there are enough references there for years of study.

2) This book is prose - autobiographical - and again with a breath-taking breadth and depth of scope. It is all interesting, but for readers of Carn the parts about John MacLean and Sean O'Casey perhaps particularly so. For Scots, the accounts of Sir Patrick Geddes the architect and socialist and Major Douglas who originated the Social Credit scheme ought to make us ashamed of the talent, nay genius, we have failed to appreciate.

3) This anthology contains about a dozen poems from previous collections including one very very lovely one which had appeared in Poetry Scotland No. 1, published by W. MacLellan in 1943. This is - "A Glass of Pure Water". He quotes - "Praise of Pure Water is common in Gaelic poetry but it is difficult to quote from this gentle poem flowing along like a benediction except possibly where it disturbs with reminders of our gaol - "It is our turn now; the call is to the Celt." and - "Cornwall - Gaeldom, must stand for the ending

Of the essential immorality of any man controlling

Any other -- "

4) This is the catalogue of an exhibition in honour of his 75th birthday with an introduction by R. S. Thomas. The latter wrote "like all true nationalists he is human and universal". Thomas also sees his essential humility "this is an endearing quality which we look for in vain in some of his critics."

5) This particular number has a very apposite little poem "Homage to Hugh MacDiarmid" by George Bruce and one poem by the poet "When the Birds come back to Rhiannon" from which -

"The Birds have come back to Rhiannon,
The rainbow of promise hangs resplendent over
Gaeldom to-day

The mysterious prophecies of Merlin
Are being fulfilled in our generation."

Apart from MacDiarmid too it is an excellent collection.

6) The Scottish number in this series should be readily available and is an excellent collection though far from complete. There are 10 poems by MacDiarmid - short, long and very long, easy and difficult. There is a glossary for the Scots words and reading them aloud is best. Two quotes - one from the editor Tom Scott's biographical note - "It is typical of Scottish philistinism that respectable persons should hide their disreputable literary activities under a pseudonym; but C. M. Grieve had other motives in inventing "Hugh MacDiarmid" for he has never had anything but contempt for respectability." - and - from his introduction "the position was grim indeed, the efforts to revive the dying tradition seemingly hopeless, when in 1925 appeared a small volume of lyrics called "SANG-SHAW" by one Hugh MacDiarmid. This was the pen name of an already well-known Scottish writer C. M. Grieve, and it was clear at once that a poet of genius had arisen, using Scots with a new power, vitality, subtlety of thought and grasp of idiom and diction. A year later (1926) appeared "A DRUNK MAN LOOKS AT THE THISTLE", a poem of over 3000 lines and by far the most sustained and philosophical poem yet written in Scots. Scotland was staggered - the poem, in David Daiches phrase" breaking on a startled and incredulous Scotland with all the shock of a childbirth in church."

The revival of the great tradition of Scottish poetry, dormant since the age of the makars had begun and Mac Diarmid's dictum - "Not Burns - Dunbar showed the true limit for a Scot's revival to take".

7) This volume collects many of the poems for the first time and has a brief but intelligent introduction and advice on how to tackle the poetry.

8) This, another excellent anthology (especially as it has some Gaelic translations) has four MacDiarmid poems and - "The RossShire Hills" may be strongly recommended to those who can find no humour in him.

9) This volume was issued in honour of his 80th birthday and collected by his son Michael Grieve and Alexander Scott. "It is the first such work to begin to approach something like adequacy in its representation of poems from every period of his production since Hugh MacDiarmid made his bow in The Scottish Chapbook on 26 August 1922, a fort-

night after the poet's 30th birthday." It begins with "Mac Diarmid the Man" by Grieve and "MacDiarmid the poet" by Scott and is a beautiful book, the dust cover being a reproduction of a painting of the poet by Aba Bayefska. The last paragraph of Scott's comment on the poetry "Hugh Mac Diarmid has the widest scope of any Scottish poet, intellectually, emotionally, and in command of verse form, and to try to sum up his achievement in a few thousand words is a vain attempt" to put an ocean in a mutchkin". But the greatness of his work speaks for itself.

10) In this Penguin series a living poet makes his choice from a poet of the past. MacDiarmid chose - from the old Scottish makars not Dunbar - whose name he had used as a rallying cry in his struggle, but Henryson, and explains that the general ignorance and lack of teaching in our own poetry which prevailed until the more accurate scholarship of this century brought enlightenment, led to the belief that Dunbar was the greater. "There is now a consensus of judgement which regards Henryson as the greatest of our great makars". From what has been said of MacDiarmid himself one can appreciate that this judgement is on the grounds of great and warm humanity.

This list is far from complete but each one will give further data on other books by or on MacDiarmid. However there are two books which anyone wishing to get the background to set him in would do well to read. One is *The Scottish Tradition in Literature* (Edinburgh and London, 1958) by Dr. Kurt Wittig. Symptomatic of how our education system has left us completely unable to evaluate anything we have is that an "outsider" must tell us. The second book is *The Democratic Intellect* by Dr. George Elder Davie, published a few years later in 1961. In *The Company I've Kept* MacDiarmid writes of him - "believing that what Scotland has most to offer lies in the independent Scottish educational system at the furthest remove from English education, the encroachments of which have gone far to erode the Scottish tradition but may yet be arrested and indeed reversed since it seems that here, in a return to the Scottish principles is the solution for which the world is seeking".

We can have no excuse (in Scotland) for pretending that we do not know the problem and the solution. And when you have read MacDiarmid you might come to think that the most wonderful birthday present he could get now would be to see "this little country overcome the whole world of wrong" and the birds come back to Rhiannon.

M. D.

SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY POLICY

Interview with CARN.

1) What motivated the setting up of the S. L. P. ?

The British Labour Party's betrayal of its 1974 Election Manifesto. This Manifesto was a) the most socialist for many years, and b) the first for many years to promise a measure of Home Government for Scotland. The principal founders of the S. L. P. were closely associated with that manifesto. Alex Neil, then the B. L. P. 's Scottish Research Officer, now the S. L. P. 's General Secretary, actually drafted it, while Jim Sillars, M. P. for South Ayrshire, was the leading Labour Devolutionist. John Robertson, M. P. for Paisley, was long respected as a Home Ruler - the S. N. P. once quoted him in their election manifesto (1974).

2) Does the Scottish Labour Party have a short-term aim as distinct from a long-term aim? (Devolution as distinct from independence?)

Our long-term aim is an Independent Socialist State of Scotland participating fully, as an equal partner with

other national states, in a European, and World, association of nations and peoples.

We had hoped to work towards this goal by the gradualist method of wringing as much power from Westminster as possible (via 'devolution') while simultaneously getting national representation in the EEC. As our preferred strategy you could perhaps call it a short-term aim. Its likelihood diminishes daily. We do not, however, accept that we should surrender the fight for socialism till 'after independence'. The two must proceed concurrently.

3) Assuming that the S. L. P. would support a new Devolution Bill to set up a Scottish Assembly and a Scottish Executive, which attributions does the S. L. P. officially advocate for: (a) The Assembly: in what fields should it legislate? How should it be elected?

The S. L. P. supports any and all 'devolution' bills. But in Parliamentary terms our bargaining position is a Scottish Parliament with full domestic powers, including taxation rights over the oil revenue, headed by a Scottish Government with a Scottish Prime Minister. The only major fields in which it would not legislate would be Defence and Foreign Affairs. A system of Proportional Representation would be introduced to elect the Parliament. Any Government conceding the above gets the support of our votes in the UK Parliament at sticky moments, votes of confidence, etc., in order to get the legislation through. (b) the Executive: over what functions of government would it have powers of decision?

All matters over which the Scottish Parliament has rights of legislation.

(c) How would conflicts of attributions/authority with Westminster be resolved?

Through a Joint Constitutional Commission and a Joint Exchequer Board. The Scottish Ministry of Finance and the U. K. Exchequer would nominate representatives, in equal proportion, which would form the J. E. B. The Scottish Parliament and the U. K. Parliament would likewise appoint representatives of equal number to the J. C. C. The J. C. C. would deal with Constitutional disputes/problems, and the J. E. B. with financial disputes/problems. Neither body would have more than advisory powers, neither government being obliged to accept conclusions.

4) Assuming the S. L. P. has as a long-term aim full control by the Scots over their affairs, would this involve only internal affairs (federal arrangements with England) or would it also involve external affairs (separate representations in the EEC, UNO, etc., independence?)

This question has been covered in previous answers. Our short-term strategy involves external affairs in the form of full national representation in the EEC. In the long term independence situation the more the merrier. UNO, of course.

5) What proportion of the North Sea Oil revenue is the SLP willing to concede/see attributed to the UK or Federal government?

30% to Scotland. 70% to the UK.

6) What kind of socialism does the SLP advocate? Specify if possible also by comparison with (a) the British Labour Party, & (b) other leftist parties or ideologies.

The S. L. P. has applied for affiliation to the Socialist International (that's (b)). The application is to be considered this autumn.

Our socialism is community-based. We counter-oppose nationalisation as we know it (state monopolisation) with socialisation (the handing over of power to the community, locally). Local communities should run their own industries. We are in favour of co-operatives. In

the rural context the model is clearly the Glencolmille co-operative in Donegal. We are committed to complete land nationalisation on this community trust basis within 12 months of an SLP Government in Edinburgh. We are not in favour of the nationalisation of small businesses, but only of major concerns. In state-owned concerns we would want to devolve the power to the people and communities involved.

The SLP is a left-wing social-democratic party with a broad ideological base, ranging from left-of-centre to marxist-populist in character.... radical rather than revolutionary. We seek neutrality for Scotland, and we oppose NATO. We have no illusions about Soviet 'Communism' or Western 'Democracy'.

7) Has the SLP officially defined its position relative to the British monarchy/Royal family? Or how strong is the Republican tendency in the SLP?

We ignore the British Monarchy, pointedly. As a social democratic party we have to work within the system for change, and we don't make a fetish out of monarchy one way or the other. Socialists and hereditary principles don't mix. We have no official position and we don't intend to adopt one. No socialist can be a monarchist. Of course we're republican, but the description is of no value in Scottish politics since it is associated with the IRA. And we are in no way in sympathy with the IRA. Republicanism is not an issue. People do not polarise around it. You should have asked how strong the royalist tendency is in the SLP. There isn't one. We would be appalled if there was. We were the only political party in Scotland to condemn the recent Royal tour, at a time when the SNP was doing the opposite.

8) What democratic controls exist within the SLP, a) in relation to policy formation; & b) finance?

The Annual Party Congress determines policy. Between Congresses the National Council is the supreme body. Party Congress is composed of branch delegations with voting entitlements determined in proportion to the membership of the branch. This only applies, of course, in a card vote situation. Branch votes may be split if so desired. Congress elects Party officers and a National Executive which runs the party on the day-to-day administrative level. The National Executive is subject to the National Council, which meets at regular intervals through the year and is composed of 2 delegates from each branch attending together with party officers and the National Executive members, attending in their own right. Much of the system is borrowed from the SNP.

The party is financed, like the SNP, by the usual gamut of fetes, jumbles, etc. We do not, though, run beauty contests. There is a lottery, and we raise some money from raffles, but it mostly come from long-suffering members, through individual donations and bankers standing orders. Just as there are no block votes in our party, we don't get the support of big business or big unionism. We earn our cash.

9) Has the party defined its policy towards the Gaelic language? What proposals have been made in that respect?

As of 15th Jan. 1977 the SLP stands for Stadus Oifigeil - official status for gaidhlig. We share this distinction with the SNP.

As yet we have no detailed policy, though some of us are working on it. The SLP has grown up in the English-speaking industrialised areas and members tend to have no previous experience of the language question. It is important to proceed in the development of a language policy, not by out-pacing fellow-members but by educating them. There is no hostility to the language, but members

are as yet unaware of the extent and importance of the language issue. In that the SLP merely reflects the level of awareness of the people as a whole. The next Congress is in October in Ayr, and it is likely that there will be a further resolution tabled on this question. It is not formulated as yet.

ANSWER TO RUAIRIDH A. MACMUILEACH

I thank Mr. McMuileach for his congratulations in his article about my last concert in Edinburgh. He asked some questions too. I answer.

Over-emphasizing floodlight? Our ancestors invented the psychedelic art three thousand years ago and their love for brilliant colours in movement was well-known. Bad organization? The van had problems once more, with the customs. Let you know that the musicians have much more problems with customs than businessmen. Price of tickets? They are always the minimum possible, it is my policy. They must be enough to pay at least the principal expenses (long travel, number of technicians, musicians, paid three times more than "British" musicians, etc).

I appreciate that you deny that I should be a big money maker of the Gary Glitter type. But even in the excuses you allow me, you show that you are not informed at all (in spite of writing in a magazine) about the type of work that is mine. I did about six or seven tours in the anglo-celtic isles. Everytime, I wanted to show the same concert I did in France and Brittany in countries with a lower economic standard of life (tickets price, etc), and where I was, of course, much less known. Because of those facts, I was sure, each time before coming, that I would lose money, despite of having often full big halls. After ten comings in "Britain", the pleasure of singing there cost me much money (some times thousands of pounds) everytime. How could a better evidence of my aims exist?

These aspects added with the fact that I never was much helped by the radios and TV's explain that I cannot have an absolute efficiency in organization as big rock stars (even if my expenses are sometimes bigger). If I was in the "music-hall market", as you say, those problems would not happen. One more example, A normal rock-star always presents very professional shows: it is also because of a very hard, fascist type of relation with his crew; if a roady, a technician makes a mistake, he loses his job automatically. I refuse this type of efficiency.

I apologise for these bitter remarks, but you must know that the Breton cultural revolution has already lost some strength because of repeated unjustified bad criticisms against me by some superficial thinking people, manipulated by some other people knowing well what they were doing.

Alba gu brath. Ganeoc'h ewid Keltia.

Alan Stivell.

* **WANTED:** Information (manuscripts, articles, references to texts, etc) on 'The Decline of the Celtic Languages', for use in a research thesis. All correspondence answered - all documents returned. C. Withers, 7 Craigmount Park, Edinburgh, Alba.

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BREIZH

KINNIGOUG EVIT UR REOLENNADUR EUS AR

BERC'HENNIEZH.

(E CARN Nn. 17 e tisplege Y. Kraff e veno eus ar pezh a dlefed ober evit reolenneñ ar perc'hennañ-douar. Goulennet hon eus outañ spisaat e ginnigoù. Kempennet hon eus un tammig ar pezh a skriv, en ur ober diouzh hor gwellañ evit na vefe kemmet netra er menozioù evel just. 'Michañs n'hon eus ket skoet e-biou! N'eus ket bet amzer da wiriekaat gantañ.)

Anv oa ganin eus ur Servij a dalvezfe da adprenañ douar hag a oa aet e dalc'h "nanngounideien", d'e zaspar-zhan etre ar gouerien, hag ivez da seveniñ ur reizhadur gwerinelour (pe mar karit keyredelour) eus an herezh. Klask a ran diskleriañ ma sonj, n'eo nemet ur menoz personel! Ur wall gudenn eo hine perc'henniezh an douar-labour, red eo he diskoulmañ avat evit da gorf Breizh bezañ adlakaet en e blomm.

Ar gudenn veur evit ar servij hanterour-se a vefe gant e stumm kevredel end-eeun. Arabat eo e vefe anezhañ ur gevredigezh korvoiñ douar (korvoiñ evidon o talvoud kement ha tennañ splèr ar muiañ a c'heller, hep damantiñ ma tistruj galloudezhioù-neveziñ, da skouer o lakaat ludu en douar forzh pegement, o tiouennañ ar pesked er mor). Arabat eo e vefe kennebeut ur gevredigezh-merañ, nann, netra nemet ur seurt bank an douar. Lakomp da skouer e vefe graet ul lezenn ma n'hellfe den ebet ken bout perc'henn da zouar-labour nemet labourer - douar eus ar vro e vije. Neuze ar berc'henniezh-diazev a dremenfe d'ar skourr, eus ar c'hef hanterour - se er rannvro pe er bastellvro - ret e vije da Vreizh bout dieub da gentañ, anez gwelout Paris o tiberc'hennañ ar Vretoned adarre. Ur vevenn a vefe d'ar berc'henniezh, setu holl.

An atantoù perc'hennet gant estrenien pe gant tud ha ne oant labourerien-douar a vefe prizet, ar perc'henn a resevfe lodennoù hervez talvoudegezh an atant, hag e c'hellfe kenwerzhiñ al lodennoù - se evel ma karje, hogen bezañ perc'henn d'al lodennoù ne aotrefe ket da emellout eus implij an atant. Labour ar "bank" pe ar servij a vefe heuliañ, marihañ perc'hennadur al lodennoù ha netra ken.

Diouzh an tu all, al labourer-douar o c'hounit an dachenn a c'hellfe adprenañ al lodennoù tamm-ha-tamm pe chom hep o frenañ. Forzh penaos miret e vefe e-pad e vuhez-labour e wir da c'hounit an dachenn - se, da vevañ diwarni. Perc'henniezh ar c'hounidegezh e vefe. Setu 'ta, ar vevenn gentañ d'ar perc'hennañ-douar a vefe ar vroadelezh, an eil ar vicher hag an drede an implij reizh. Lakaat buhez an atant en arvar a lamfe digant ar gounideg e wir da berc'hennañ benveg e vevidigezh: da skouer o tistruj ar c'hleuzioù, lakaat an douar da dreutaat pe da deuziñ.

Komzet em boa eus ar reizhadur gwerinel pe gevredel a vefe da grouiñ evit kevrennañ an douar en un doare ingaloc'h etre ar c'hounideien hag an danvez-gounideien. Reiñ a ran ur skouer evit ma vo sklaeroc'h. Lakomp ez eus 5 atant, 5 familh o vevañ diwarni, div gant pep a 2 vugel unan gant 3 bugel ha div gant pep a 4 bugel. En holl eta 15 bugel evit 5 herezh, pezh a zo tri well-wazh evit pep herezh. Neuze da bep bugel e vefe da herezh ul lodenn diwar deir eus peadra o zud-i: er familh gant tri bugel e vefe an herezh par d'ar c'hevrennadur a vez degemeret bremañ; en div familh a zaou vugel en defe pep hini ul lodenn diwar deir eus peadra o zud-i, pezh a vefe nebeutoc'h eget n'o defe oc'h ober diouzh an doare-kevrennañ hengounel; en div familh a 4 bugel en defe pep hini 1 lodenn diwar deir eus danvez o zud ivez, en holl etrezo muioù c'h eget diouzh an doare hengounel. An diforc'h a vefe pe kemeret digant pe

roet gant ar c'hef-kompezañ. Anat eo e vefe luzietoc'h an traou ma vefe diforc'h bras etre an herezhioù, evelato dre lezenn an niverioù bras ne dlefe ket bezañ a ziaesterioù. Gant ar genreizhad lodennoù e vefe aes a-walc'h rannañ reishoc'h eget bremañ etre an hêr a gemer an emell eus an atant hag an hini pe ar re a ya kuit. Dre ar vro a-bezh e vo daou hêr, gwaz ha gwreg, o chom e pep atant, well-wazh.

Merkañ mat a ran ne dlefe bank an douar bezañ koulz lavaret netra nemet ur c'hef-hanterin pe kompezañ; ha ne c'hellfe ar reizhadur - se talvoud d'ar vro nemet ma vefe Breizh dieub, ken e-keñver Paris hag e-keñver ar gevalaou-riezh Stad koulz ha prevez.

N'eus kudenn ebet gant ar berc'hentiezh. Hep ul lodenn berc'hentiezh, zoken war an araezioù - kenderc'hañ (an danveziou hag ar binvioù rekis evit produiñ), n'hell ket bout a frankiz denel. Anat eo ivez ez eo fall perc'hennañ dreistgoñvor, ha pa ve graet gant ar Stad pe gant hiniennou ez prevez. N'eus a gudenn nemet gant ment ar perc'hennadur. Ezhomm zo da vevennañ dre gelc'h-micher. Evit al labour-douar, arabat mont en tu-hont da ziv wech bennak ar ment-atañ a vez ret evit bevan ur familh, hag arabat dont dindan an hanter ret kennebeut. Damheñvel evit ar artizanelezh. Evit ar vicherourien el labouradegoù e vefe krouiñ ar perc'hennañ dre lodenn. An traoù-se zo da studiañ a-dostoc'h eveljust. An emarc'hanterezh hag a dalvez bremañ d'ar gevalaourien, d'ar vistri-embregerien, hepen, a vefe lakaet da dalvoud evit ar vicherourien. Ne hañval ket evit bremañ emeur en arvar da vout aloubet e Breizh gant ar c'hompagnunezhioù liesvroadel; met seul vihanoc'h hon embregerezhioù seul wanoc'h e vefent evit herzel ouz ar seurt-se ma teufent da gaout krog en hor bro, lakomp goude ma vefe kavet eoul-maen er mor da skouer.

Bec'h bras zo etre ar remziadoù labourerien-douar. Ar re yaouank diatant a c'houlenn groñs e ve degemeret ur steuñvad difenn an douar-labour, evit diwall na ve dispennet an atantoù ha savet en o lec'h tiez hanvourien hag all. Ar re gozh o vont "war o leve" hag o klask gwerzhañ o atantoù ar c'herañ ma c'hellont a zo a-enep-krenn ur seurt steuñvad. Betek-hen n'eo ket deut anat an enebiezh hogen dremm ar kapitalouriezh hengounel zo gant emzalc'h ar gouerien gozh. N'eo ket etre gounideien vras ha gounideien vihan ez eus sach, met kentoc'h etre goulennerien ha diskrogerien, pezh zo kishenvel-tre. Pezh ma eus gouezet abaoe ma lizher diwezhañ, ne vez mui prestet arc'hant d'ar gouerien yaouank nemet o defe tremenet arnodennoù (skolioù labour-douar).

Y. Kraff.

NO TO SERVICE IN FRENCH ARMY

Yann Ber ar Mat was jailed on May 26th after refusing, in his own words, to serve France and wear the uniform of the French army, for Breton reasons. He was transferred from an army jail to the "Maison d'Arret", 56 Bd J. Cartier, 35000 Rennes. He expects to be eventually brought to trial but he does not recognise the French military court.

A few other young Bretons are reported to have refused to be drafted in the army of a State which pursues its policy of eradication of the Breton language, ignoring the repeated demand for its teaching in the schools and its use on radio and television in other than the present derisory manner.

Yann Ber is likely to be subjected to pressure to submit to the "System". He has made it plain to the jailers of Brittany why he will not co-operate with them. This is no violent action but passive resistance to an unjust state. We believe that his stand will earn him the greatest respect among the peoples of the Celtic countries and elsewhere who recognise the harm which the French State has done to our people by denying them what all but the most tyrannical States grant to their minorities,

namely the right to their own language. If anyone deserves expressions of solidarity, it is Yann Ber at Mat. He is certainly a man of courage but he will be grateful for any letters showing that his action is appreciated. Such letters can be sent to him, using the form Jean Pierre Le Mat of his name, and addressed as above. It is also recommended that expressions of support, signed by as many of your friends and acquaintances as possible, be sent preferably direct to Yann Ber, or to his solicitor, Me Yann Choucq, 7 Place de la Bourse, 44000 Nantes, Brittany. All this should be done as early as possible. It will also help if you can disseminate this appeal through daily papers and periodicals. Here is a case where inter-Celtic solidarity can show its effectiveness and where its expression cannot be said to support violence.

FLB: NOTHING TO DO WITH B.B.A.C.

A communique issued on June 10th at the request of the FLB political-military council by the underground Conseil National de Bretagne warns against what appears to be agents-provocateurs who are using a seal similar to that of the FLB-ARB. To dispel any confusion, it is stated that: 1) There has never been a split in the staff of this Front; 2) No unit of the ARB has ever had contacts with the so-called Brigade Bretonne Anti-Communiste (BBAC). Statements to the contrary are false brazen, and liable to penalties; 3) They tend to weaken and isolate the Breton movement by antagonising the parties of the Left which it helped to win the last municipal elections and which are for the time being the only organised political opposition to the people in power; 4) The FLB-ARB does not attack the French political movements as such; it does not make distinction between Bretons on account of their opinions; the parties of the Left, including the French Communist Party, are defending the Bretons working in their own way; the FLB-ARB judges Bretons only according to their willingness to serve the Breton people; 5) The action of the FLB is directed only against the power of the imperialistic French State and against the pillars of its oppression in Brittany.

To understand this statement, our readers should know that there had been reports in some Breton periodicals which indicated that some units of the FLB-ARB might be connected with attacks on offices of the PCF. Nothing would suit better certain authorities than to see the misunderstandings which exist between that party and the nationalist movement turning into violent mutual hostility. Clandestine activity is exposed to various types of provocation.

BRETON LANGUAGE TEACHING

The following open letter sent to the French Minister of Education underlines the difficulties facing the Breton language in secondary schools. (A general article on this subject appeared in **CARN 17**, page 7.)

Our colleague Claude Creff, History-Geography teacher (1) at the Lycee Livet, died suddenly on 23rd February 1977.

His death should be brought to your attention for the following reasons:-

-- For many years Claude Creff taught Breton at the Lycee Livet (2 hours) and at the Lycee Clemenceau (2 hours), that is for four extra hours. (2)
 -- For many years Claude Creff tried in vain to have these extra hours included in his timetable, for reasons of principle, (being a trade unionist he was not in favour of the system of supplementary hours (3)), for reasons of health and justice. That is to say that Circular 71-279, 7th September 1971 envisaged the integration of Breton classes

in the normal teacher's timetable.

-- A few hours before his death he had yet again complained of the stress that these extra hours put him under, extra hours which he had only accepted because of the shortage of Breton language teachers.

-- In the eight Lycees in Nantes where classes exist, (twenty hours per week in all), it would only need the creation of one fulltime post to reduce the load of the volunteer teachers.

Ar Falz demands that every student in Brittany should have a real opportunity to learn Breton, if he so wishes, at all levels and under normal conditions, (Latin is integrated in the normal timetable, why not Breton?), with teachers who have the usual qualifications and who are working under normal conditions: the teaching of Latin is not an act of militancy, therefore why should teaching of Breton appear to be.

We recognise that Circulars do appear with measures which we welcome, even if they are still insufficient. We complain, however, of the non-application of these Circulars, which goes as far as a refusal to include Breton classes in the normal timetable.

The sudden death of Claude Creff clearly shows the great gap between declarations of intent, "regional languages must be saved and regional civilisation should be taught", and the actual practical application. When a teacher of Latin dies your ministry ensures that he is replaced. When a teacher of Breton dies it is the children and the teacher's Breton friends who must look for a replacement, naturally unqualified, (how is it that there is neither training nor a Breton C.A.P.E.S. ? (4)), but who is acceptable to your ministry. Is it either just or democratic to do less for a living language spoken by French citizens than for a dead language, however interesting that it may be?

Per Rhun.

President of IPLB - Ar Falz.

(1) There are no pure History or pure Geography teachers in French secondary schools. Even the degrees in the two subjects include a substantial amount of work in the other subject. Furthermore as from next September the two subjects as such disappear from the timetable.

(2) French teachers work by the hour, the number of hours decreasing in inverse proportion to the teacher's qualifications. The largest work load is twenty-one hours per week. These hours can either be complete half-days of four hours continuous teaching, or it can be what amounts to a split shift system. Seven hours teaching in one day is not unknown.

(3) Teachers who are titulaire can be told to do two hours extra a week, but in view of teacher unemployment the Unions see extra hours as depriving teachers of employment.

(4) There is no degree in Breton. The CAPES is a competitive examination for teachers. It is of a very high standard with a pass rate usually of less than ten percent, this depending on the subject and varying from year to year: in theory a combination of meritocracy and manpower planning. Teachers who pass the exam. are guaranteed a teaching post and a good salary but they have very little choice as to where they will actually teach.

Ian Hainey.

CULTURAL BALL IN ELECTORAL GAME?

The teachers' association AR FALZ has taken a sceptical stand towards the promise of a Cultural Chart (Ref. **CARN 17**.) In their view it is a trick designed to help Giscard to regain the confidence of the Breton electorate and retain power in the next Spring. No matter what progress is made in the mean time in preparing the

Chart, it will not come up for final government approval until the general elections are over. Will they then burn the old idols or conjure up new tricks? The president of the Cultural Confederation Keldalc'h, who took a prominent part in obtaining Giscard's promise, suspects that the FALZ people, banking on the victory of the French Left, would prefer if the credit for an eventual reversal of the assimilation policy were to go to the side they ideologically prefer.

Whatever the prospects for such a "change of heart" on the part of the French State, the bulk of the Breton cultural organisations decided to play the game. Already on April 19, representatives of the Regional Council and of the Social and Economic Committee, the presidents of the region's four departement councils and the mayors of its six main administrative towns met under the chairmanship of the Regional Prefet and decided that the session of the Regional Council to be held on September 19-23 would discuss a draft of the cultural chart. None of these "big shots" - apart from one or two perhaps - has until now displayed any serious interest in the promotion of the Breton language, but they have the influence and presumably represent a sizeable public opinion. They are the people the State will talk to.

No time was lost by the Cultural Commission of the Social and Economic Committee headed by Per Denez, in preparing, in consultation with all the cultural organisations, proposals which were then submitted to a commission of the Regional Council. A working committee used these submissions and reached agreement about the place to be given to the Breton language and history and other aspects of culture.

A report will be presented by the Regional Prefet at the Kemper session. To what extent will it include the CES draft proposals? It is only next Spring that the stage of a vote on financial commitments and of decisions to be implemented will be reached.

A CES spokesman said there were 8 conditions for the acceptance of the chart by the Breton organisations: it must include a number of minimum measures for the teaching of Breton and its use in radio and television; it must be backed by an adequate amount of credits; it must apply to the whole of Brittany (i. e. also to Loire-Atlantique). "We are asking for such specific actions as the setting-up of kinder-gartens through the medium of Breton, of a cultural institute, of a cultural council to act as our interlocutor with the State." On May 20th the Regional Prefet talked to the same delegation which had met the French President in February. He plays a central role in the whole procedure. He said little about the official intentions, particularly of the Education and Culture ministries. The Government did not want to impose a chart. (This could mean two things: either that they were giving the Bretons, out of a concern for democracy, the change to decide its contents for themselves; or they could exploit disagreements as a pretext for rejection.) To the question about Loire-Atlantique, he replied that its participation would be accepted if its general council and its municipal councils agreed to share in the financial costs. The French Government would not oppose their decision. There would be provisions for the Breton language. It was reported in July that Loire-Atlantique had accepted to participate.

DIWAN, the new association created with the aim of giving a Breton education to children opened its first centre in Lambaol-Gwitalmeze (NW of Brest) on May 23. It started with 8 children aged from two to four, some of them brought up in Breton, or bilingual, while the others knew only French. This kindergarten through the medium of Breton is free of charge, non-denominational,

connected with no political party. It has a paid teacher, Denez Abernot. He depends for his livelihood on donations to the DIWAN fund. We should like to urge our Breton readers to contribute to this as generously as they can. The money should be sent to: DIWAN C.B. 033 9843 9001, Credit Agricole Mutuel, 29262 Lampaul-Ploudal = mezeau or to the secretary R.L'Hostis, Keravel, 29262 Lampaul-Ploudal = mezeau.

Other similar centres are to be opened in September. This work is of the greatest importance for a language which so many parents of the postwar generation failed to transmit to their children.

D. Abernot organises activities through the medium of Breton for children aged 5-9 on Wednesdays afternoons. No primary school is allowed at present to teach our language. According to the paper of the Breton Federation of the French Communist Party, there are now 50,000 primary school children wishing to be taught Breton.

"FRANSEZ DEBAUVAIS ET LES SIENS", by Anna Youenou. Vol. III. Published by the author, 20 Place des Lices, 35000 Rennes. Price £5.00.

The third volume on the life of Fransez Debauvais et les siens by his widow Anna Youenou has been newly published. Although the part relating to his people by marriage becomes somewhat invading, I hope that the book will get readers because the letters from Debauvais himself are genuine and contemporary documents breathing some truth on the fabulistic concoctions of our Historians and Bluffers up to the present.

This volume shows up Debauvais in personal progress. He had come to realize what all consequent persons learn, sometimes at high cost: Important matters do not get written in their own time, or else the writings are destroyed carefully enough. They are seldom boasted about, not even to one's own wife.

Anna Youenou had also progressed on this score: She mentions on many occasions how she as well as her husband avoided talking about his political activities. When writing her book, Anna Youenou realized that she knew in fact little else apart from the material life of her husband. She tries hard to fill her book with other materials and attempts at fitting up a personal reconstruction of events from what she thinks she has understood or else heard about second hand. Alas! Her personal reconstruction suffers from many inaccuracies. Her attempt to build him up as The Chief is rather unfortunate. He was a great enough character not to need that. Certainly the Breton national movement has known many Chiefs, and still worse many Under-Chiefs, after 1942 - emulating the French Chief Doriot and his Under-Chief (1) Mordrell, the French Chief Bucard, and many others. But this fashion was unknown among us before 1942. As for my part, I always humouristically rebuffed - even in the Breton Military Service after 42 - those who thought fashionable to call me Chief. We know of no such "Marshallism", Papism or Adjutantism. The only authority I and Debauvais as well, ever recognised was that of the "majority in the secret Kuzul (Council)", from 1940 to 1944 - when this Kuzul ended at Kolmar in Alsace with only two members left - the same ones who had started it in 1931.

The Credence she lends to the notion of Coups d'Etat (in our National Movement) is also unfortunate. From 1940 to 1943 there never was any such thing: All changes, nominations, withdrawals, depositions and expulsions were quite regularly determined by majority acceptance in the secret Kuzul. The only Coup d'Etat was by Delaporte, leader of the National Party, in 1943 when he left the then three-member Kuzul, excommunicated both the leaders of the

Conseil National Breton (i. e. Debauvais) and the Breton Military Service (i. e. myself). He got away with it - albeit only partially - because he had by then firmly entrenched himself in the "open sector" of the Kuzul.

Among inaccuracies I have to point out that Debauvais took no personal part in the landing of 'illegal' materials at Lokwieg: He was of course duly informed (via Kuzul) to have to build up an extra-solid alibi during these days so as to preserve himself for the continued lawful publication of Breizh Atao. But let me add that the general plan had his complete approval and he gave us (i. e. Gwenn ha Du) all the underhand help that he could.

As for the comment on myself on page 28 - (to the effect that I was ill-informed of war preparations) let me just state that, unknown to the Author, I was in both Berlin and Hamburg at the beginning of that very month of August 1939. All our informations about an eventual war were discussed in the Kuzul. We knew from the most responsible quarters that the Germans wanted no war in the West and expected an arrangement to be worked out even after war would have been declared upon them. Indeed they just stood their ground, with no hostilities, until they lost hope in Spring '40 before the determined bellicosity of the Anglo-French. In such circumstances it is easy to understand that the Breton realisation of an efficient anti-French "coup d'etat" (by the care of Gwenn ha Du) was an extremely difficult problem. Yet everything was then prepared and at the ready. As regards Debauvais himself, the unanimous opinion inside the pre-war Kuzul was that his damaged health would not stand another inevitable turn in jail (at least!); that the anti-French value of his continued life was worth his taking refuge in friendly Germany when a declaration of war would appear inevitable, even though he would be unable to come back for an indefinite time in case the German expectations of renegotiating the Versailles Diktat without hostilities in the West turned out true. I will insist that he went with the unanimous approval of the then-Kuzul, and on a prepared route. In this connection, it is remarkable that healthy Monsieur Thorez, the leading French orthodox communist, independently took the same step by absconding to Moscow, then militarily allied with Berlin.

Page 181 - The French Vichy prefect Angeli in Kemper had indeed given orders in 1940 to have arrested "those Bretons with wartime sentences" upon them. Namely: Debauvais, Mordrelle, Moas and myself. Freminville was never in the picture. Moas errs in that respect - but Freminville was a good friend of his and I was not. This threat was quite real and permanent for I was arrested on that ground in 1943 at Landivizio and sent the following day in good handcuffs and with two Vichy-French gendarmes to Morlaix. Thanks to the rapid action of my schoolfriend Jean-Francois, who went immediately to see the German Kommandeur himself in Rennes, the German authorities intervened and ordered me free the following afternoon. I say Moas errs in this case. But there are two other cases in which he does somewhat more than err - even though he no doubt considered them to be useful pious lies:-

a) Debauvais stayed in his flat in Brussels at most for a very few days, before the war. Debauvais was then hospitalized and treated in Germany. Arrangements to this effect had been discreetly worked out by our great friend Tevenar and his connections in the Abwehr.

b) Moas writes "he had never believed in a German victory". O wisdom a posteriori!

In 1943 he came especially from Brussels to Rennes in order to personally incite some of the best men in the Breton Military Service to volunteer in the Division Nord-land to go and fight on the Russian front as individuals. (2) There are still living witnesses to this.

Pages 254-255: "Delimitation of the Kombodou". (This concerns the reorganisation of a free Brittany in Districts.) The fragment reproduced and attributed to Debauvais and Planiol is unfortunately my own production. I remember quite well having written it, and having given copies to both of them as a collaboration to their work at the Conseil National Breton which I held in high esteem.

In spite of these and other minor mistakes which in any case put no reflection on the sincerity of the Author (and leaving aside comments and judgements which, as usual, depict mainly their authors) I hope that this book dedicated to Fransez Debauvais will reach as many readers as possible and help to make known the staunch solid character and steady leader that he was, a rare thing among us Breton nationalists - as well as among Bretons.

Neven Henaff.

- (1) Mordrel accepted Doriat's leadership at the end of the war.
- (2) N. Henaff always insisted on the need for Bretons to treated collectively with the Germans and opposed this recruiting move.

[Editorial Note: This contribution from N. Henaff is more than a book review. He took a leading part in the shaping and conduct of Breton national policy in the period before and during World War II, but has published hardly anything about it so far. If only to help historians to get a proper assessment of the events, the clarifications he gives here are of the greatest interest. At a recent symposium in Rennes, organised by the French periodical *Pluriel* the Breton national movement was interpreted as echoing French (!) phenomena. This may be the case to-day but one thing is certain, N. Henaff's actions were persistently directed at increasing the distance between Brittany and France.]

It was declared in the last issue of *Carn* that "We look forward to the day when Breton textbooks, using other Celtic languages as intermediaries, will be available". Readers will be glad to know that by the time that issue of *Carn* reached the shops in Wales a Breton textbook using Welsh as the medium of instruction was already on the market. *Llydaweg i'r Cymro* (Breton for the Welshman) was written by Zonia Bowen, an Englishwoman now living at Tal-y-llyn, Wales, who has learnt to speak both Welsh and Breton.

Last year, Mrs. Bowen conducted a Breton class in Dolgellau using Per Denez's French medium manual *Brezhoneg Buan hag Aes*, but, as she explains in the foreward, most of the students in the class did not understand French and she therefore had to explain the grammar of the lessons to them in Welsh.

Llydaweg i'r Cymro is not a translation of *Brezhoneg Buan Hag Aes*, but is a handbook written from the standpoint of the Welsh language. It can be used as a textbook in its own right, but the author has tried to keep more or less to the order of the grammatical points as they appear in *Brezhoneg Buan hag Aes* and *Komzit Ha Skrivit Brezhoneg* so that students and teachers can turn to those books for additional material and to the records and cassettes which accompany them.

Llydaweg i'r Cymro is published by Llyfrau'r Faner, Gwasg y Sir, Y Bala, and the price is £1.50p.

The book was a best seller at the Welsh National Eisteddfod in August, a fact which reflects the present enthusiasm amongst the young people of Wales for learning the Breton language.

EN PRISON POUR LE F.L.B. by Yann Fouere.

188pp. Nouvelles

Editions Latines. 1977. Account of Author's experience in Jail 1975/6. To be reviewed next issue.

CYMRU

DADL YN Y BYD POP CYMRAEG

Mae'n debyg mai Cymru yw'r unig wlad Geltaidd i fynd ati o ddifri i addasu'r canu pop Eingl-Americanaidd i'w hiaith ei hun. Mae hynny'n rhywbeth i ymfalchio ynddo ar un olwg, fod yr iaith Gymraeg yn ddigon bywiog ac yn ddigon hyblyg i fedru cynnal llond dwrn o grwpiau roc. Tybed a oes yna ryw Edward H. Gwyddeleg neu ryw Injaroc Llydaweg? Digon prin!

Mae'r diddordeb yn y grwpiau hyn ymhlith y bobl ifanc yn fyw iawn hefyd. Adroddir eu hynt a'u helynt yn fanwl yn y wasg Gymraeg bob wythnos, a cheir llythyrau cyson gan ddarlennwyr i ddatgan rhyw farn neu'i gilydd. Hwyrach mai'r ddadl boethaf yn ddiweddar oedd y ddadl ynglŷn â'r grŵp Injaroc a gyhoeddodd ym Eisteddfod Wrecsam ei fod am chwalu, ar ôl dim ond pum mis gyda'i gilydd. Doedd pethau ddim wedi datblygu fel yr oeddent wedi gobeithio, meddent. Hynny yw, mae'n debyg, doedd ymateb pobl ifanc Cymru iddynt ddim digon brwd. Gan fod pedwar o aelodau'r grŵp yn gyn-aelodau o Edward H. Dafis roedd yn rhaid i Injaroc fyw dan gysgod y grŵp hwnnw, ac roedd hynny'n gryn anfantais o'r cychwyn. Y farn a glywid amlaf oedd ei bod yn amhosib cyfuno doniau Edward H. /Sidan/ Endaf Emlyn gyda'u gilydd mewn un grŵp, ac nad oedd gan y grŵp bersonoliaeth ar lwyfan y gallai'r bobl ifanc uniaethu eu hunain ag ef.

Ond'. Roedd mwy nag un farn, fel y gwelwyd yng nghlofn lythyrau 'Y Cymro'. "Injaroc yw'r peth gorau sydd wedi digwydd i fyw pop Cymraeg," meddai un llythyrwr. "Mae'n amlwg nad yw Cymry ifanc yn barod neu yn fodlon i dderbyn cerddoriaeth o safon uchel yn Gymraeg," meddai vn arall. Yn anffodus i Injaroc, ac i'r llythyrwr, roedd hi'n rhy hwy i fynegi barn. Petaent wedi datgan eu barn ynghynt, mae'n bosib y byddai Injaroc yn dal i fynd heddiw.

Mae Yna wers yn y fan yns yn rhywle, siwr o fod. [The recent controversy amongst young people concerning the Welsh rock group, Injaroc, is perhaps peculiar to Wales, since purely rock groups singing through the medium of their native language seem to thrive more in Wales than in any other Celtic country. Injaroc was formed from the remains of the very popular group Edward H. Dafis and included also ex-members of Sidan and the solo singer Endaf Emlyn. After five months, Injaroc announced at the Wrecsam Eisteddfod that they were breaking up. This sparked off a lively debate in the Welsh press on the merits and demerits of the group. Rumour has it that Edward H. will re-appear, but this is rather unlikely.]

A.G.

ROAD-SIGNS: WHY ARE WE WAITING?

Five years after the government-appointed Bowen Committee recommended that road-signs in Wales should be bilingual (with some exceptions), it seems that English-only road-signs are still being erected by most County Councils.

In August a new by-pass was officially opened near Rhuddlan in Clwyd. The road-signs were all in English. Needless to say, they have since then been removed! But the question arises how much longer will the battle for bilingual road-signs have to be fought? The campaign has dragged on now for over 10 years, and although local authorities such as the Gwynedd County Council have responded well, progress in some areas appears to be nil.

It is quite unbelievable that the Clwyd County Council, for example, are still awaiting guidance from the Welsh Office. They did receive a letter from the Welsh Office in February 1975, declaring that a circular on the

whole matter was on its way. They have heard nothing since. In the meantime, the Highways department has estimated that it will cost almost £1 million to replace English signs in Clwyd with bilingual ones. This, of course, in times of economic hardship, is a lot of money, so bilingual signs will be introduced gradually over a period of ten or more years. This is exactly what the Bowen Committee said (and was accepted by the government) five years ago!!!

LANGUAGE PLANNING

The Cyfarfod Cyffredinol (General Meeting) of Cymdeithas yr Iaith will be held on October 15 & 16, at Talybont near Aberystwyth. It is likely that one of the major calls will be for planning status for the language - that the language be accepted as one of the major considerations in the planning departments of all local authorities and central government. At the moment it seems that the physical aspects of planning are the only considerations. One result has been the building of numerous housing estates in rural villages which very often attract outsiders and also help to depopulate further the surrounding villages.

A new organization has in fact been formed, with the well-being of the Welsh language in mind, consisting of planning officers from various local authorities - "Cymdeithas Cynllunio Cymru" (Welsh Planning Society).

JAC L. WILLIAMS - AN APPRECIATION.

The loss of a key figure in the fight for Celtic Survival.

It is with a great sadness in our hearts that we write this tribute to one of our greatest men in Wales for the readers of CARN. Prof. Jac L. Williams, Vice Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth and Dean of the faculty of Education, collapsed and died in Newport, Gwent while on his way to a meeting in London.

He was born a farmer's son in Aberarth, Ceredigion, and educated at Aberaeron School and at U.C.W. Aberystwyth, where he graduated with first class honours in Welsh. He was awarded a B.Sc. Econ. degree by the University of London as well as a Ph.D. degree for a sociological study of a Welsh speaking rural community.

Jac L. Williams was a loyal member of most of the organisations that have the interests of the Welsh language at heart, although he fervently disagreed with Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (The Welsh Language Society) in its efforts to obtain the 4th television channel for Wales. Jac L., as he was affectionately known to many in Wales, always maintained that to have all the Welsh programmes on one T.V. channel would automatically bar the language from thousands of homes in Wales. It would be a small minority of staunch supporters of the language that would purposely turn to the Welsh language channel from the main BBC and ITV channels, whereas at present, being interspersed with English programmes, they infiltrate every home that receives BBC Cymru and HTV. This gives added value to knowledge of the language and increases motivation for securing knowledge of it. His qualities of wisdom and vision together with his ability to state his case brilliantly, having all the relevant facts and figures at his finger tips marked him out as a leading figure.

Although he disagreed with Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg on this one issue he was renowned for his support of the Welsh language. He would be staunchly defending on as many fronts as possible, preventing any decisions that would be harmful to the cause of the Welsh language being taken and actively directing the tide of decision making towards those most beneficial to the language. The place of the Welsh language in schools and

colleges, in broadcasting and public life was of the utmost importance to him.

He studied the subject of bilingualism thoroughly, travelling the world over to see how other countries with their different individual circumstances dealt with the matter. He adapted what he learnt from the experiences of other countries to Wales. He saw that the type of bilingualism that we have here is not one where one language is spoken in one part of the country and the other in another part, but that in fact bilingual people are interspersed with monoglot English speaking people throughout the whole of Wales and that in a highly populated area the actual numbers of Welsh speakers would be higher than the numbers in a lowly populated large area, although the percentage of Welsh speakers in the lowly populated area would be far higher. Professor Williams argued that it was essential to realise that medication for languages suffering in different circumstances must be different. One can not even divide Wales into monoglot and bilingual families, for very often the case is that there are monoglots and bilinguals in the same family. This was one of the reasons why the separate Welsh Channel would not be the right medication for the Welsh language.

He would rebuke young Welsh people for getting drunk and in so doing losing dignity and bringing the speakers of the language into disrepute. Respectable people would see drunken young people with the Welsh language on their lips and wearing the badge of the Welsh Language Society overspilling into the streets from pubs in the town where the National Eisteddfod was held for example. This was not the way to command the attention of the Welsh Nation, and to gain access to influential places he said. He insisted on the importance of aiming for a high standard in all things. It was important for bilingual people to be as proficient in English as monoglot English speakers and it was an ace card in his argument for the propagation of Welsh that the bilingual Secondary and Primary Schools often gained better results in English than English medium Schools. He of course had first class academic qualifications himself. These were arms with which to fight for the language. Without these it would be far more difficult to be in a strategic and influential post. The education department of which he was head was renowned for its high standard - both the standard of education imparted and the standard of work which was expected of its students. Professor Williams was held in such esteem and was so much respected by enthusiastic Welshmen, not so enthusiastic Welshmen and Englishmen alike that he was recently appointed Vice-Principal of the University College of Wales. Here there was a further opportunity to influence, and for that influence to penetrate deeper into the circles where decisions that shape our destiny are made. It is understood that he was a member of over 50 committees and that he was chairman of 12 of them. He worked tirelessly towards the goal of achieving a thoroughly bilingual Wales by the end of the century. He did this without creating enemies for himself. He was an extremely popular character. People that would not be counted as supporters of his ideals were present in the crowd paying their last respects to him in the church of Llanbadarn Fawr the day of his funeral.

One of the things which Jac L. Williams supported from the first was the introduction of a second language at nursery school age. When he first advocated this it was considered revolutionary, and was viewed with much doubt. This of course is the time to master a language perfectly, effortlessly and painlessly. It is all part of play and pleasure at this age. This is widely accepted by now, although there is much work to be done in order to have education authorities acting on this principle. Once this prin-

ciple is adopted the national language becomes no longer a subject taking up extra time in the school curriculum, but an alternative medium of receiving education, in some subjects at least, and the means of entry into a completely new social and cultural world. Thousands of children from English speaking homes have started out on the bilingual road in a Welsh Nursery School.

Jac L. Williams is a name that has become known in many countries as that of an authority on bilingualism, and Ireland was one of the countries that he was often invited to visit in order to give an address or be present at a meeting discussing some aspect of utilising and promoting the Irish language. Many of us who were in the Celtic Congress in Brittany in 1974 will remember him addressing a large hall full of people from the six Celtic countries, imparting the steps by which success was gained for the Welsh language in some fields, and those steps which he considered should be taken in order to gain further success. He and his wife Gwyneth were keen followers of the Celtic Congress. The fall in the number of speakers of any of the Celtic languages saddened him and any success that any one of them achieved brought joy to his heart. He believed in comparing notes and trying to learn from one another's mistakes and successes. One of the things he realized is that a nation must propagate herself if she is to endure and so once again he ventured to speak out against the popular modern trend towards small families. The problem of Celtic countries is under-population, not over-population. Do we wish to annihilate ourselves in order to make room for the overspill of over-populated countries?

There is now a great void in Wales where Jac L. Williams stood fighting for the rights and future of our language, using the press, mass media and committees to further its cause. No nation in the world could afford to lose such a wise leader and servant, let alone one of the little nations which has to fight for its very existence. He held a key position in defending the fort of the Welsh language. But we must be thankful that he not only defended, but improved the fort and left it better equipped to face the modern world. During his years as professor of Education, he pioneered the preparation of books for teaching the language at all levels from the nursery school, through primary school to adulthood. These were all preceded by careful research. He regarded *The Dictionary of Terms - Geiriadur Termau*, as the crown of his life's academic work. A vocabulary of technical terms is essential for the language if it is to survive and be used in all spheres of life.

Cymro i'r Carn oedd Jac L. ac er mor fawr yn'r golled i Gymru heddiw rhaid diolch i Dolun amdano.

Chailleamar fear maith a throid go crua ar son â'r dteanga sa Bhreatain Bheag ach buíochas le Dia go raibh sé againn sa domhain ar feadh tamaill.

Trist omp e Bio Gembre peogwir ez eo marv un den mad a laboure kalet evit hor yezh met bennozh. Doul ez eo bet amañ ganeomp un nebeut amzer.

Robert a Felicity Roberts.

CYMDEITHAS SECRETARIES

Cymdeithas yr Iaith have appointed two full time secretaries for the year 1977/78, to replace the three who are leaving. They are Aled Eirug from Abertawe (Swansea) who has recently completed his degree course at Aberystwyth and was at one time vice-chairman of Cymdeithas; and Angharad Tomos from Llanwnda near Caernarfon. She spent one year at Aberystwyth University College but decided to leave before ending her course. She won the crown at the Inter-College Eisteddfod in March, in a prose competition.

ÉIRE

CUAIRT AR AN CHOIRN

Ní móide go mbreathnaíonn móraí daoine sa tír seo ar an Chorn mar thír ar leith Cúis mhór díomá e seo do náisiúntóirí na Coirne agus is doiligh leo aineolas mhuintir na hÉireann a thuiscint. Cé gurb iad na daoine is tuisce a admhaíonn go bhfuil deacrachtaí beagnach do-sháraithe ann le cur ina luí ar mhuintir na Coirne féin go bhfuil tír agus teanga acu, tá siad ag súil le tuiscint níos fearr ó phobal na hÉireann, tharla go bhfuil féin-rialtas againn sa tír seo. Dalta go leor Ceiltigh eile ní thuigeann siad nach ionann féin-rialtas agus neamhspleáchas.

I Liskeard, baile beag i dtuaisceart na tíre, a bhí an cruinniú cinnbhliana den Chonradh Ceilteach, agus taréis aithne a chur ar bhailte eile sa Chorn déarfhaínn gurb é an baile ba 'dhúchasai' orthu uilig é. Ba léir go raibh tacaíocht áirithe ag 'Mebyon Kernow' sa cheantar; cinnte ba an chéad baile é a thogh Méara den pháirtí sin, agus tháinig an Méara féin, Roger Holmes, leis an cruinniú a oscailt maidin Shathairn. Thairis sin ba bheag, i gcomparáid le aiteacha eile, an méid "UNION Jacks" a bhí ar foluain ar fud an bhaile, agus ba chosúil nach raibh aon doicheall ag na daoine roimh na Ceiltigh 'réabhlóideacha' ó na tfortha ainshibhialta. Is i dtí an Mhéara - nó sa ngarraí ba chirt a ra, (garraí a bhí chomh healaíonta céanna leis an teach) - a bhí an cóisir againn an tráthnóna ceanna. (Roimh an cóisir thugamar cuairt ar sean tabhairne den ceathrú céad déag - amuigh fán dtuaith. Bhí cuma na maitheasa air go fóill, istigh is amuigh. Thug mé féin suntas do na soithigh agus ornáidí umha agus práis a bhí go flúirseach ar fud na háite; ní chosúil go mbíonn faitíos orthu roimh gadaíthe mar a tharlaíonn i mBaile Átha Cliath.) Ag an cóisir bhí togha gach bí agus rogha gach dí, agus bé mo rogha féin an leann úll baile a déantar, ar nós na Briotáine, sna feirmeacha máguaird. Bhí grúpa ceoil ag seinnt, cuid de na daoine céanna atá gníomhach sa 'ghluaiseacht'. Fíor ceol Ceilteach a bhí acu; bhí idir foinn Gaelacha, Briotáineacha agus Albanacha, chomh maith le amhráin i gCornais, i mBreatainis agus i mBriotáinis á gcasadh acu. Beimid ag súil lena chuairt ar Éirinn amach anseo. Ní nós leis na Coirneigh oíche go maidin a dhéanamh de, agus chríochnaigh an spraoi thart ar a haon a chlog.

B'fhéidir gur féidir cuid de bhuanna Liskeard a chur síos don a shuíomh ar leataobh ón mbóthar mór ar a ghluaiseann furmhór an trachta ó dheas chuig na hionaid saoire. Lasmuigh den chupla príomhbhóthar seo, tá na bóithre sa Chorn cúng, casta cnocach le claithe árd ar gach taobh. 'Siad na bóithre seo is mó a thug muid orainn féin an tseachtain dár gcionn agus camachuaire na tíre a dhéanamh againn.

Bailte beaga iascaireachta a ba Polperro, Fowey agus Mevagissey; gach ceann acu go gleoite le sean sráideanna cúnga tógtha timpeall an chuain agus binn na dtithe buailte leis an fharraige. Anois deallraíonn sé gurb é an tursóireacht an príomh tionscail atá acu. Tá na sráideanna plódaithe agus na siopaí cuimhneacháin agus earraí lámh-dhéanta go tiubh ar gach taobh. Ní ceadaitear carranna a thabhairt isteach ins na bailte seo agus tá na carr-chlosanna ar imeall an bhaile ag baint 50p, is cuma bíodh do thuras deich noiméid no deich n-uair a chloig. B'fhearr dul de shiúl leis nó ar rothar. Maidir leis an iascaireacht, tá ceapairí portáin le ceannach ins na tabhairní - agus is dócha go bhfuil na portáin féin agus bia mara eile le fáil ins na hostáin má ta an tairgead agat. Go hiondúil tá an bia saor agus an deoch níos saoire fós, piontaí ar níos lú na 30p; tá na 'pasties' le fáil chuile áit agus ar 25p an ceann, ní féidir

béile níos saoire a fháil má tá an goile agat. I bPorthleven níos faide ó dheas i dtreo Penzance, tá fíor-bháid iascair-eachta le feiceáil agus cuma air nach bhfuil na turasóirí taréis seilbh a ghlacadh ar an mbaile go fóill.

Táimid ar lorg áite campála, ag iarraidh na láithreáin cois bhóthair a sheachaint, agus téimid chuig páirc dheas i dtreo an 'Lizard', ach mo léan níl aon spás ann. Filleann muid ar áit a bhí tugtha fe ndeara againn níos luaithe, mar a raibh dhá pháirc mhóir agus go leor spáis le feiceáil. Tá fear an champa doicheallach, amhrasach. Cá has duinn? Cé mhéad páistí atá againn? Cá bhfuil tú féin ag obair agus go leor ceisteanna eile nach gcuirtear ar lucht campála de gnáth. B'fhearr linn imeacht - ach tá an oíche ag druidim linn agus caol seans go mbeidh aon áit eile le fáil. Sa deireadh faigheann an tsaint an bhua ar an amhras agus tugann sé áit duinn ar bheagnach dhá oiread an gnáth tháille. Tá Heliport, bunáit ag an RAF sa cheantar. Ní fheadar an é seo cúis an doichill romhainn? Faitíos air go bhfuilimid dul é a sheideadh! Nó b'fhéidir go gcuirfeadh muid scanradh ar na daoine eile! Ar maidin nuair a théim ag siúl sa choill taobh leis an pháirc campála, agus mé ag iniúchadh an fhasra mar is gnáthach liom, siúd é mo dhuine im dhiaidh ag fiafraí cad tá ar siúl agam. Is cinnte anois go dtógann sé muid mar lucht an IRA atá tagtha ar mhisean buamála. Ní féidir linn imeacht uaidh sách tapaidh taréis sailm na mallacht a rá ar a shon. Beidh áthas orainn glacadh leis an tairiscint ó chara dul ag campail sa mhóinear atá aige i gceantar Wadebridge.

Ar dtús ta fonn orainn dul ag breathnú ar na sean iarsmaí atá go flúirseach sa taobh seo den tír agur thart ar Land's End. Caitheann muid roinnt ama thart ar St. Buryan; le dua a thagann muid ar an ciorcal cloiche agus na sean chroiseanna greanta - is ar éigin go bhfuil aon cheann acu fograithe ar na méara eolais. Níos luaithe bhí fadhb sa mbanc i Helston, áit nach bhfaça éinne a leithéid d'íontas is seic i nGaeilge. Ní mór an cheist a iniúchadh, rud a thógann neart ama ach sa deireadh faightear an t-airgead.

Don té a bhfuil aithne aige ar chósta na hÉireann ní haon íontas é Land's End, faillte, carraigeacha, radharc fairsing, sin a bhfuil ann-maille leis na siopaí cuimhneacháin agus teach ósta. Tá na faillte agus na carraigeacha i bhfad níos suntasaí in aice mo bhaile dhúchais féin i dtuaisceart Thir Chonaill; is ar éigin go dtagann dhá scor duine in aon bhliain amháin ag breathnú orthu, ach anseo tagann breis is dhá mhilliún gach bliain. Theis an tsaoil ní olc an rud é an iargultacht.

Ní chuirfínn an locht ar mhuintir na Coirne bheith doicheallach i dtaobh stroinséirí. Mar adúirt duine de 'Mebyon Kernow' is geall le tír gafa í - i seilbh na dturasóirí. Teach gan imeacht atá ann do chuid mhaith acu freisin. I ngach baile agus sráid-bhaile tá tithe le díol. Is cosúil go gcaomhnaítear na sean tithe sa Chorn, dea-bhail orthu uilig, iad maisithe go péacach le blath-anna ag síleadh ó fuinneóga is ó doirse. Ach ní tithe móra galánta iad; is tearc atá a leitheid anseo, ní hionann is 'an teach mór' in Éirinn. Mar sin is doiligh na dúchasaigh a aithint ó na coimhthigh, ach de réir ar gcara i Wadebridge is daoine a tháinig thar tír isteach breis is 50% den daonra ina cheantarsa. Measann sé gurb é seo an mean don tír iomlán. I lár na tíre amháin thart ar Redruth-Camborne atá aon rian den tionsclaíocht. Leis na mianaigh stáin imithe ó mhaith anois níl ach an chre gheal (kaolin) mar bun-ábhar dúchasach. Tá na cnocáin geala di le feiceáil ó i bhfad i gcéin. Ar mhonarchan amháin feicim ant-ainm "English China Clays", ach go Sasana a chuirtear cuid mhór di gan próiseál. Sean scéal an choilíneachais ar a bhfuil taithí maith againn.

Bríd Heusaff.

CARTER ON THE NORTH

The long-awaited statement of U.S. President Carter on Northern Ireland was finally issued at the end of August. Having expressed concern at the conflict and violence in the North the statement continued "The United States wholeheartedly support peaceful means for finding a just solution that involves both parts of the community of Northern Ireland, protects Human Rights and guarantees freedom from discrimination - a solution that the people in Northern Ireland, as well as the Governments of Great Britain and Ireland can support". The statement went on to ask Americans to refrain from supporting those engaged in violence and added "U.S. Government policy on Northern Ireland has long been one of impartiality and that is how it will remain. We support the establishment of a form of government in Northern Ireland which will command widespread acceptance throughout both parts of the community. However, we have no intention of telling the parties how this might be achieved. The only permanent solution will come from the people who live there. There are no solutions that outsiders can impose." Further on the statement went "It is still true that a peaceful settlement would contribute immeasurably to stability in Northern Ireland and so enhance the prospects for increased investment. In the event of such a settlement, the U.S. Government would be prepared to join with others to see how additional job-creating investment could be encouraged to the benefit of all the people of Northern Ireland".

The statement while recognising that the Irish Government has a role to play in any settlement and committing the U.S. to support a system of government achieved by peaceful means dispelled previous speculation of a detailed American peace plan. Reaction has been varied and generally favourable. The Irish Government welcomed the statement particularly as it recognised the position of the Irish Government on the matter and interpreted it as an indication that the U.S. had taken an active interest in trying to bring about a type of power sharing; it was also felt that the statement could encourage the EEC to take a greater interest in the matter. Amongst the political parties in the North the statement was generally welcomed but interpretations differed. Mr. John Hume of the Social, Democratic and Labour Party, said the statement represented the Irish dimension in action and showed what the price of agreement could be while Official Unionist leader Mr. Harry West saw it as an endorsement of the Convention report advocating majority rule.

The statement was welcomed warmly in London and the British Prime Minister Mr. Callaghan said it showed an understanding of the reality of the situation. An Irish National Caucus (generally recognised as the Provisional support group in the U.S.) spokesman claimed that it was the caucus that first initiated President Carter's involvement in Ireland by making human rights, justice and peace in Ireland an issue in the Presidential election. The real significance of the President's interest, he said, was that it would formally and at the highest level 'internationalise' British involvement in Ireland, thus making it clear to the world that Northern Ireland was not just an internal British matter. Provisional Sinn Féin President, Ruairí Ó Bradaigh, broadly agreed with this. However the Press Officer of Sinn Féin - The Workers' Party, in a statement said "President Carter, in consultation with the British government, recognises the danger of complete collapse of the Northern economy. He is now prepared to bail out the British government in return for a political settlement which will protect American strategic and economic interests".

The practical impact of Carter's intervention would appear to be minimal. The Secretary of State for the

North, Mr. Mason, has in recent months re-affirmed his intention to continue with indefinite direct rule. He also introduced stiffer penalties for a number of offences (raising the maximum penalty for membership of proscribed organisations from five to ten years, for example) created some new offences, and announced increases in police strength which emphasised the aim of using mainly the RUC to achieve victory in the security field. Official figures issued for the first half of this year show a significant drop in comparison with figures for all of last year and previous periods in the numbers of 'security incidents'. Shootings dropped from 1908 to 661; malicious fires from 453 to 162 and the number of explosions from 776 to 227, while the amount of explosives found in hidings places was 3100 lbs. compared to 21,700 lbs. The number of policemen and soldiers killed has risen however and no one would claim that violence is now on an irreversible decline. The timing of the Queen of England's Jubilee visit to coincide with the anniversary of the introduction of internment in early August was generally taken to be Mason's decision to demonstrate his control of matters at even the worst period. The visit led to protest marches, riots and shootings in the nationalist areas and the tour took place in a virtual ring of steel. The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association in a statement issued to commemorate the anniversary of internment described the North as one large internment camp. NICRA said the whole population was imprisoned by repressive legislation, a partial and para-military police force, an Army used to force a military solution and the continued denial of civil rights. The association said political progress could only be made when violence was removed from the body politic.

FISHING MEASURES

The campaign for a 50 mile limit is still being waged by Irish fishermen. Following the breakdown of negotiations for an EEC policy on fisheries the Irish Government introduced unilateral measures last Easter. These fell short of the 50 mile limit demanded by fishing interests but placed a general ban on fishing in defined areas around the coast and then prohibited trawlers over 110 feet long or over 1100 brake horse-power (which excluded only one Irish boat). The measures were strongly criticised by the Continental EEC states particularly France and the Netherlands and were defied by Dutch trawlermen. When the case against the Dutch fishermen who were arrested by Irish patrol boats came to court the case was referred by the judge to the European Court of Justice. In early July the Advocate-general of the European Court recommended that the Irish Government be given a fortnight to replace their measures with an alternative system which 'would not discriminate against fishermen of other EEC countries'. He advised however against the granting of a request by the European Commission that Ireland should be compelled to accept an alternative scheme based on plans submitted by member governments. By mid-July the original measures were replaced by a scheme endorsed by the EEC governments as the result of a package put forward by the Irish Minister for Fisheries. The package provided for a total ban on herring fishing until the end of August of the West and South-West of Ireland but permitted fishing on a quota basis for Dutch, French, Danish, German, British and Irish fishermen of the North-West coast until the end of the year.

A number of other measures were included and the package was condemned by the Irish Fishermen's Organisation who have frequently stated that quotas were unworkable. They claimed the measures deprived the fishermen on the south and west coasts of the opportunity to earn a living and put the north-west herring stocks in danger of

extinction. In the middle of August the licensing system agreed by the Minister with Britain and the Isle of Man for Irish trawlers fishing in the Irish Sea was challenged by the fishermen who sent 28 trawlers to fish in the herring grounds of the Isle of Man (instead of the permitted 24), and refused to apply for the licences. Following meetings with the Minister the licensing system was dropped. It should be noted that the involvement of the Isle of Man was essentially confined to their own waters. The waters within 12 miles of the Isle of Man are not subject to EEC Fishery Policy as the Isle of Man is not a member of the EEC. However in conjunction with the EEC measures the I.O.M. introduced a licensing system for its own waters allocating 100 licences for U.K. registered vessels and 24 for vessels from the Irish Republic. But as the Minister stressed the I.O.M. licences were to have no validity outside their own 12 mile zone and were merely intended to be used by the Irish and British authorities as a mechanism to see who would get priority in fishing for herring in the Irish Sea.

The dispute concerned Irish and British waters and Irish fishermen only fished up to the 12 mile Manx limit. When the licensing system was dropped the IFO said they still accepted the total catch for Ireland of 1000 tons of herring from the Irish Sea this season. 'It was the licensing principle that we were against, they said, we are as interested in conservation as anyone else and will show that by our actions in the future.' All that has happened to date however in the fishing saga only leads up to the question of what long term policy and arrangements will eventually be introduced. What has been brought in up to now are only interim measures and the real crunch will come in late October when the EEC fisheries policy is due to be trashed out finally. While the Irish Minister for Fisheries still claims that a 50 mile exclusive zone is his aim it remains to be seen whether he will achieve this or not.

C. O. L.

R.U.C. BRUTALITY

Over the last three months or so more allegations of brutality have been made against the Royal Ulster Constabulary (the Police Force in the North of Ireland) than at almost any time since the early days of internment. One case highlighted during August serves to illustrate the kind of treatment which is being meted out to suspects. Following the killing of the manager of the Dupont Petrochemical plant in Derry a number of men were taken in and interrogated. Four days later they were examined by a doctor who is a well-known and respected practitioner in Belfast, accompanied by a police doctor. The Belfast doctor said that the police doctor agreed with him on every point. He went on to say that one of the men was the worst assaulted prisoner he had ever seen. The list of injuries noted on this man was extensive; it includes bruising on the upper abdomen, over the upper arms and part of the spine, on other parts of the body, and there was evidence of hair having been pulled out. This man was charged, and remanded but the charges were dropped against him after six months and he was set free. The only course open to this man to try and get compensation for the treatment he received and the period he was detained is to take a civil damages action and on previous experience this might not be successful.

That widespread brutality exists is now beyond question. Descriptions of identical forms of ill-treatment from persons held who have had no opportunity to corroborate their stories have been received by solicitors: there are well documented cases of persons been brought direct from interrogation centres to hospitals: there are

detailed reports from hospital consultants on injuries found and photographs showing these; there is the evidence of the ten or so doctors who have dealt consistently with injuries inflicted during interrogation and who verify that acts of brutality are committed on a wide scale and that a large number of persons now held are ill-treated. In the face of this attempts by the Secretary of State, Mr. Mason, and the Chief Constable, Mr. Newman, to dismiss reports of brutality as Provisional propaganda or to claim that injuries are self-inflicted can be seen as what they are - attempts to hide the truth which have resulted in an increase in the number of acts of brutality being committed.

Complaints against the RUC of ill-treatment and brutality by members of the force are investigated by the RUC itself. That no policeman in the North has ever served a day for brutality to a suspect comes then as no surprise. Any internal investigator is faced by a wall of silence by those who have used brutal methods to break the silence of suspects. The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association has said "The RUC deliberately prepare a report so inadequate and so bad that the Director of Public Prosecutions (on the basis of this bad report) cannot prosecute because of insufficient evidence in the police report". Calls have been made for a completely independent complaints procedure which would have teeth to investigate fully each complaint and to compel witnesses to attend and give evidence before it. Only such a totally independent body with its own investigators could surmount the resistance and obstructionism now encountered within the RUC to all enquiries of this type.

It is in any case extremely difficult to believe that the Chief Constable does not already know the members of the force perpetrating the brutality. His refusal to take action against them can then only be seen as condoning the obtaining of information and securing of convictions irrespective of the methods used. Legal research has shown that 80% approximately of convictions for serious offences are obtained solely or principally on the accused's own evidence, i.e. his statements to the police. Suspects are often held for as long as seven days and during that time they are subjected to all kinds of ill-treatment and threats. At the end of the period of detention a confession is extracted. That innocent people following brutal interrogation would be so broken and dis-orientated as to sign away their freedom not only could but has happened. A young Belfast girl signed a statement admitting bombing a shop after ill-treatment during interrogation. She was then sentenced to 15 years in spite of fundamental flaws in the prosecution evidence. Fortunately for her she was granted a retrial on appeal, the contradictions in the evidence were taken into account and the sentence quashed. The girl had been 13 months in jail. The judge made a point that although he set aside the conviction he found it hard to believe anyone would make admission of guilt in a serious case unless they were true - obviously he never suffered seven days detention or interrogation! Some legal observers in the North fear that this attitude on the part of judges to extracted confessions will lead to many innocent persons going to prisons for long periods of time, and they will undoubtedly not all be as fortunate as the girl referred to above.

AMNESTY CALLS FOR INQUIRY

Amnesty International, the human rights organisation, has called on the Government of the Republic to hold an impartial inquiry into the treatment of suspects by members of the Gardai Síochána. Allegations of brutal treatment being meted out to prisoners had been made previous-

ly (see CARN Nos. 13 and 14) but in the early part of this year the number of allegations had increased to such an extent following the passing of the Emergency Powers Act (which increased the period of detention a person could be held without charge from two to seven days) that the reputable 'Irish Times' did a three day series of front page reports on Garda Brutality supplemented with detailed case histories. These reports revealed that brutal

These reports revealed that brutal interrogation methods were being used by a special group of Gardai as a routine practice in the questioning of suspects about serious crimes. This group, it was stated, used physical beatings and psychological techniques similar to some used in the North of Ireland to obtain information and secure incriminating statements. These methods were said to have been evolved over a number of years and to have become more entrenched since the introduction of the Emergency Powers Act. The reports stated that these conclusions were based on the experience of victims, lawyers, doctors, and social workers involved and also on information obtained from Garda sources.

The group using physical assaults and severe psychological pressures on suspects have been nicknamed within the Gardaí as the 'Heavy Gang'. The nucleus of the 'Heavy Gang' comprises plainclothes detectives drawn from the investigative section of the Garda Technical Bureau (this section is known as the Serious Crimes Squad). They are assisted at times by the Special Branch and other units of the force. They act as a flying squad travelling to all parts of the country and local uniformed gardai rarely participate in their interrogations. Pressure on the police to obtain results had increased since acts like the assassination of the British Ambassador and the killing of a gardai lured to a booby trap bomb. It is thought that the change from the more traditional methods of painstaking detective work to the use of brutal interrogation methods to secure convictions appears to have developed in response to this political pressure. Since the activities of the 'Heavy Gang' must be known to their superiors, it is assumed they were given at least tacit approval, if not direct orders.

The psychological techniques used includes threats, lies, and tricks and are intensified by depriving suspects of sleep, food and water over long periods.

Following these revelations many calls were made by concerned bodies for an independent inquiry. The Coalition Government consistently refused to hold any inquiry. Amnesty decided to hold an on-the-spot investigation and sent two representatives to Dublin in June. They spent two weeks gathering information and the Amnesty report was sent in early September to the now Head of Government, Mr. Lynch. The report detailed evidence of ill-treatment and concluded that there was a consistent pattern of physical and mental abuse of suspects by Gardai to obtain confessions. The report also noted the readiness of the courts to accept gardai assurances that statements were obtained voluntarily while rejecting defence evidence to the contrary. Amnesty withheld publication of the report when the Government changed and on the basis of statements made by present government spokesmen when in opposition state that they are confident that an inquiry will be held.

The assistant county librarian, Llyfrgell Rhanbarth Mon, Lony Felin, Llangefni, Gwynedd, Cymru/Wales, would like to buy the out-of-print issues of CARN Nr. 1, 2, 7 & 9. Anyone willing to part with his/her copies should write to above address.

KERNOW

M. K. & CONVOCATION MEETING

In 1976 it seemed that Cornish nationalism was in for a change when Mebyon Kernow and the Cornish Nationalist Party, along with the Convocation of Cornwall (formerly the Stannary Parliament), the latter having members from both the first two bodies and others, formed a Cornish National Congress which had the aim of finding common ground between the three organisations (see CARN 14). This was not to be so however and eventually the meetings ceased and the Cornish movement was back to square one. Since that time several members of M. K. have been attempting to arrange a meeting between their organisation's Executive Committee and the Convocation to allow the latter to put their case. This meeting finally took place on 19 August in St. Austell and approximately 40 people attended including officers of both sides.

Some worries in the national movement outside of the Convocation about it are that: It bases its claim to existence on an English King's charter and it might seem that the Stannators have an "unhealthy" faith in English Law; The Tinnners and Shareholders did not have a say in the election of Stannators; Even if legal it only represents a small minority of the Cornish population, i.e. the Tinnners. Those were some of the points put to the Convocation's speaker, Brian Hambley. Mr. Hambley has certainly done his homework and is an adept speaker on his subject, but his quotations from English Charters of 1198, 1201, 1305 and 1508 as answers to some of the above points put to him, written in terms only understandable perhaps to the law makers were not truly clear. Mr. Hambley commenting on the Charters "which is the law" and their way of fighting the English establishment with the latter's own law said "It provides a method of demonstrating we are not the country Janners (has a meaning of yokel) the English establishment think we are". The Convocation claims that Tinnners are free of tax (Charter of 1305) and it seems that Stannators who have not renewed their road fund licence have not been seized by the police even though they have been reported and it seems that anyone can become exempt by becoming an 'adventurer', i.e. by having shares, however small, in a Cornish mining company. This is one way that Cornish people who are not working tin miners can qualify to come under Stannary Law. It seems also that at one time only the mine owner took an interest in the Stannary Parliament and used it to exploit his workers but now the Tinnners and shareholders would be given the chance to elect the Stannators therefore increasing the proportion of the Cornish population who could possibly come under Stannary Law. There are interesting developments yet to come out of the whole question of Stannary Law and what it can do for the Cornish and the national movement. One last and interesting point made by a person at the meeting was: If now the ordinary working Cornish person can benefit under this Tinnners' Law by buying a few small shares why not similarly the large companies, the capitalist, etc.

For some background to the Stannary Parliament see CARN 11 & 12 "The Stannary Myth".

UNEMPLOYMENT

Although Westminster Government representatives such as the regional development Minister, Alan Williams, blames "national and international economic difficulties for many of the problems facing Cornwall", but thinks the, "county was receiving a fair share of available resources", Kernow drifts along with an overall unemployment rate of

10% - 13,000 and over including one and a half thousand young people under 18 years of age. Kernow has the second highest unemployment figures behind the Scottish Islands. The Leader of the Westminster House of Commons on a flying visit to Kernow recognised that, "the economic situation in Cornwall was now far worse than most of Britain", but added, "it could have proved intolerable if the Government had not given financial aid to some of the country's great industries, such as British Leyland". Such comments from centralist government members are an insult to the Cornish people and would win the national movement much support if the political groups such as M.K. and C.N.P. could find the means to show the Cornish what contemptuous treatment they are receiving from the London parties - not a simple task but who can afford the time to wait for a majority of people to become politically aware.

TWINNING LINK

Plans are in the air to twin Finistere in Breizh with Kernow. A party, to include elected members and senior officers of the "General Council of the Department of Finistere", about 70 in all, have met officers of the Cornish Council and have visited the China Clay works, the School of Mines, a Cornish fishing port and a farm.

Commenting on the twinning possibility a Cornwall Council spokesman said, (sometime before the 'Breton' officials visit): "There are great similarities between us already in traditions and culture. School and youth exchange visits already take place and our links may become closer when we have both had a good look at each other."

Any official links that Kernow has had with Breizh previously have been of the school exchange type and the irony has been that Cornish children have visited Breizh to improve their French and the Breton children have travelled here to improve their English.

STANNARY VERSUS ENGLISH LAW

Mr. F. Trull who is according to reports, an acting Steward of the Stannary Court, has been given a 90 day prison sentence. He was arrested for failing to pay arrears on a fine of £225 which was originally imposed on him for attempting to arrest magistrates and their clerk who had insisted on dealing with him for a previous "offence". What has confused nationalists and others in Kernow is his action of actually paying some of the fine. It seems that he is at variance with his principles - either English Law is or is not valid in Kernow.

COMMEMORATION

At the commemoration of the Cornish Rising of 1497 and their leaders, Myghal Josef an Gof and the Lawyer Flamank, the Cornish Branch of the League laid a wreath in joint memory to R.C. Boyd who died last year and who had been a secretary of the Branch.

BARDIC HONOUR

One of those people who surely deserves to be honoured by the Cornish Gorsedd is Brenda Wootton who along with Richard Gendall has done more for Cornish music involving the language than anyone. As a professional folk singer she now "carries the Cornish flag" by way of her singing to many countries and reaches many people who would not normally have the chance to know what Kernow and its culture had to offer. This year she is to become a Bard of Gorsedd Kernow.

Ian Williams.

MANNIN

CAGLIEYN-EEASTEE (Fishing Limits).

Herring fishing in the Irish Sea (and elsewhere) must be curtailed or the herring will disappear altogether. The recent agreement between Mann, Ireland and Britain may be a step in the right direction but has not improved inter-Celtic relations. Effective conservation methods must be found - quickly.

Bleeantyn er dy henney, va reiltys Vannin shirrey er reiltys ny Goal, eh dy lhiettal yn eeastagh-skeddan ayns Mooir ny hErin. Va shoh bleeantyn roish my row yn musthaa kiart ry chlashtyn voish sleih va boirit mychione geeney-eeastee. Dy neu-arryltagh, deaisht ny Goaldee rish ny Manninee as chur ad baatey-gunn dy reayll ny Manninee nyn dost. Nish ta'n skeddan ersooyl dy bollagh voish slystyn-marrey ny hAlbey, bunnys. Cha nel skeddany erbee ry gheddyn faggys da Loghlyn rish tammylt foddey. Ny laghyn t'ayn jiu, ta dy chooilley pheiaigh boirit dy bee ny skeddany (as eeastyn elley) scughit veih'n cheayn dy bollagh. Cha nel eh cho doillee as v'eh dy chur er reiltys ny Goal yn eeastagh-skeddan y lhiettal ayns Mooir ny hErin.

Ayns Mee Luanistyn va conaant reagh it eddyr Mannin, Nerin as y Ghoal ry hoi coadey yn skeddan. Red mie dy row reiltys Vannin goaill ayns yn dellal eddyr-ashoonagh shoh, agh gyn ourys cha beagh Mannin goaill ayns ayns mannagh row yn chooid smoo jeh ny skeddany ry hayrtyn cheu-shtie jeh'n chagliagh daa veeiley jeig eck. Hooar Mannin yn pooar kiedyn-eeastee y chur magh, myr ta fys eu. Hug yn Boayrd Thallooeaght as Eeastagh magh red goll rish 130 kiedyn, 45 da Naibin, 36 da ny Shey Condaeyn, 15 da Mannin hene as 4 da Sostyn as Breitin. Hie 24 da Nerin. Va ny Yerne as ny Albinee jiarg-chorree, as cha row ny Yerne son cur geill da'n chonaant eddyr.

Fodmayd toiggal yn agh dy vel ny eeasteyryn shoh corree. Agh mannagh vees ny eeastyn coadit, cha bee veg faagit. She slane ommidjys t'ayn gagh cretoor bio y scughey veih'n cheayn cho leah as fodmayd shen yannoo. Gyn ourys, cha nel eeasteyryn ny hErin coontey veg jeh Mannin as ee kinjagh shirrey coadey fo rumbly Vritannia. Ta Mannin croghey dy bollagh er yn Ghoal, ee dy choadey caglieyn-eeastee Vannin. Lhisagh baatyn-gunn ve ec ny Manninee hene: ta'n reiltys oc berchagh dy liooar ny chour. Reiltys erbee ta reaghey conannt erbee, lhisagh eh ve abyl dy chur bree ayns y chonaant shen. Agh she Sostnee ren scuirr yn baatey-eeastee Yernagh shen faggys da Mannin. Eddy-Cheltiaghys, my ta: Sostyn, yn chenn venainstyr, smaghtaghey e paitchyn.

Dy jarroo, ta'n arganys mychione yn eeastagh ayns Mooir ny hErin ny pheesh veg jeh'n chaggey-eeastee ta goll er feiy'n teihll. Ec y tra t'ayn, t'eh jeeaghyn nagh vodmayd croghey er conaantyn eddyr-ashoonagh. T'eh jeeaghyn dy bee ny eeastyn coadit liorish ashoonyn ta caggey dy jeean dy reayll nyn gooid-eeastee sy cheayn faggys dae. Foddee ny fir voarey sy Vrusheyl (Brussels) lheim stiagh ayns keayn erbee sailloo.

Brian Mac Stoyll.

MANX VISIT BRITTANY

* This year's party from Ellan Vannin to the Festival des Cornemuses at An Orian consisted of eighteen dancers and musicians from Bock Yuan Fannee and the new musical group Bwoie Doal. The larger group was able to make a better contribution than before, appearances included a shared concert with the Scots and Bretons in Parc Moustoir (football stadium), a concert at St. Malo with the Galicians, a Scots folk group, and an Irish Pipe Band, French television, two appearances elsewhere in An Orian and many

spontaneous demonstrations on boats etc. The last performance was at five in the morning at a Motorway Services area. Very soon in the trip contacts were made with local young people working for Breton culture, and a very pleasant afternoon was spent at their fine cultural centre in the town. They taught us some of their dances and praised the speed at which members of Bock Yuan Fannee learned. They also learned some Manx dances from us. Once again we were envious of their premises as we have previously been of clubs in Wales at Easter, and wish the Manx government could be persuaded of the absolute necessity for a cultural centre in Mann.

The appearance of so large a delegation, more than half of whom were Manx speakers, created great interest in Breizh. Local and national newspapers carried reports and interviews and even on the boat from St. Malo we were recognised by a passenger who wanted to know more about us and Mann. We hope it will encourage more Celts to visit us and help us in the effort to restore the native culture of Ellan Vannin to the place of honour and respect at home which at present it enjoys abroad. Colin Jerry.

A THOUSAND YEARS OF TYNWALD?

On July 5th, 1979, it is the intention of the Isle of Man Government, (generally known as Tynwald), to celebrate the 1000th anniversary of the founding of Tynwald. It is the intention here to try and show that there is no historical justification for such an assumption and that the Manx Government has been misled on this point.

The basis of this assumption seems to be as follows: according to Manx tradition, as quoted by A. W. Moore in his *History of the Isle of Man* (1907 p. 92), King Orry (i. e. Godred) established a legislative assembly, committed the laws to writing and formed an army. Around the year 978 a certain Godred Haraldsson succeeded his brother Magnus as King of the Innsi Gall (i. e. Man and the Hebrides); according to *Floamanna Saga* Earl Maken of Norway, sent a certain Thorjds, a high-born Iclander who had entered his service, to the Sudreys (Hebrides & Man) c. 980, to exact and collect the tribute 'which had been withheld for three successive years'. Since, it is argued, that Godred would have to confer with his chiefs as to how the tax would be levied, he would necessarily summon a meeting of 'Tynwald' to discuss the matter. The conclusion is that as Manx tradition quotes a certain Godred as being responsible for the establishment of a legislative body, and since c. 979 a Godred Haraldsson was ruling in Man and the Isles, therefore it is this Godred who probably set up such a body. This line of thought may be considered plausible were there sound evidence to support it.

It is generally agreed among scholars that the first permanent Norse settlements in Man took place around 850, but it is not till 973 do we hear of individual Kings ruling in Man and the Isles. The first of such kings known to history was Magnus mac Araith (son of Harald), a grandson of Sitricucc, Lord of Limerick and son of Ivar of Dublin (d. 853) who founded the household of Ivar and who probably came from the Hebrides. (Professor Green's analysis of the name 'Lochlann' orig. 'Lathlind', though meaning Norway by the 12th century, in the early period probably referred to the Hebrides.) It is not known how long Magnus ruled in those parts, but c. 940 may be a possible starting point. He was evidently killed in c. 978 by Brian Bóroimhe and was succeeded by his brother Godred, whom the sources, both Irish and British as well as Icelandic, imply was very powerful in the Sudreyan zone, and who was killed in 989. He was succeeded by his son Reginald who ruled till 1005. Thus it is apparent that so far kings in Man and the Isles have come from the Limerick branch of the house of Ivar. During

the tenth century the fortunes of the Dublin Norse were guided for more than fifty years till 981 by the strong king Olaf Cuaran Sitricsson, especially after his final expulsion from York c. 953, and all the sources are agreed that he held some considerable sway in the Irish Sea area. We can therefore envisage Magnus and Godred Haraldsson operating their fleets in Manx waters in the Dublin interest. The English King Eadgar (959-975) sought the co-operation of Magnus in 973 in securing his western flank, and was evidently prepared to pay for it, as the coin hoards of about this date seem to testify. But the fortunes of the Dubliners suffered a severe blow at the battle of Tara in 980, and again at Glenmama in 999, from which their political dominance in Ireland never fully recovered. The power vacuum that resulted after the departure of the two strong kings Olaf Cuaran in 980 and Eadgar in 975 opened the way for expansion from another quarter. In 982 Earl Ligurd of Orkney overran Man and the Isles and we can picture Godred using his fleet keep control in this area on Sigurd's behalf.

After the battle of Clontarf (1014) in which Ligurd was killed, and the Manx and other Norse contingents worsted, except the Dublin Norse under Sitric Silkbeard who seem to have escaped unscathed, the coin and place-names evidence, plus the testimony of the Irish annals, suggest that there was heavy Dublin involvement in Man for forty or fifty years following Clontarf, and it is apparent that during this period Man was truly in the Dublin orbit. The Hebrides, however, were still under Orkney control, under the strong Earl Thorfinn, the Mighty, Ligard's fourth son, who died c. 1064-5. Dublin influence on Manx affairs waned c. 1075 and in the Hebrides Thorfinn's successors were not able to maintain the same control as their father. The ensuing vacuum was successfully exploited by Godred Crovar who in c. 1079, mindful of the now changing circumstances in these parts and with legitimate claim to the Manx throne because of stormy Hebridean and Dublin connections, wrested Man and the Isles from their previous overlords and united them once again, by a piece of astute political manoeuvring, this time independent from other spheres of influence. He founded a dynasty which lasted for nearly two hundred years, till 1265. His great achievement resulted in Man experiencing a new 'golden age' which it might be argued the Island has not seen since.

The title of *Righ IndseGall* which the earlier Manx kings held would imply that these kings would have some sort of administrative arrangement for governing Man and the Isles, but there is no evidence to suggest what form these arrangements took. As Magnus ruled prior to Godred, possibly for some time before, it is likely he could have had some machinery of Government which Godred would inherit rather than create. Magnus is the first king of Man and the Isles known to history, but there may have been others unknown to us. In addition saga statements have to be treated critically, since it was not the prime object of sagawriters to set out an accurate historical account (*Hakon Hakenssöns saga*, scr. c. 1284 is an exception), and can only be relied on if corroborated by independent sources. Many of the sagawriters were Icelandic and the fairly close connection between the Hebrides and Iceland during the Norse period may encourage such writers to advocate a strong Norwegian involvement in Manx and Hebridean affairs to justify the connection. An example is the supposed expedition of Harald Fairhair to these islands, which modern research has been able to show probably never took place at all. There is no evidence of any Norwegian entanglement in the Sudreys till the thirteenth century, with the exception of Magnus Bareleys in 1098 who may be said to have 'rediscovered' the Hebrides and Man, like present day Peronists rediscovering the Falkland Islands. The implication is that

Hebrides and Man were left to their own devices and the interference in their affairs in the 13th century was due to one man only - Hakon Hakensson, the powerful Norwegian king (1217-63) who made himself very unpopular in Iceland and who is regarded nowadays by Icelanders with the same affection as republicans in the six counties regard William of Orange. And so it is misleading to suggest that the Hebrides and Man had any close links with Norway, at least not until the 13th century. Therefore saga statements implying Norwegians meddling in Sudreyan affairs in the early period must be treated with scepticism. Furthermore, any administrative arrangements existing in a Hebridean and Manx dimension under the Limerick kings would almost certainly not be in operation after Clontarf, when Man and the Hebrides were firmly under the control of Dublin and Orkney respectively. Godred Crovan's arrival in c. 1079 is important in that he gave Man and the Isles an independence which they previously had not enjoyed since before 960 when coin evidence, or the lack of it, suggests that Man, at any rate, kept out of the politics of her neighbours. Both Magnus and Godred would not be ruling in an independent capacity, as we have seen, as did Crovan and his successors, and this is the whole point. Crovan gave to Man a new 'golden age' and in this probability it is to him that Manx tradition likely refers as the Orry who established legislative assembly. The little we know from 16th and 17th century sources about the administrative organisation relating to the Council of the Isles, the successor to the Sodor Parliament, may owe its origins to Crovan or his successors, as is certainly the case with the establishment of the Sodor diocese by Olaf I, Crovan's son. As regards Tynwald itself Basil Mejaw has shown that this is only the Norse name for an institution common to Germanic and Celtic peoples and that it is probable that the Norse took over such an assembly when they came to Man. It is not known when an institution of this nature was set up there, and there is as much evidence for justifying the celebration of the 1500th anniversary of the establishment of Tynwald in Man by the Welsh as a millennium of Tynwald as supposedly set up by Godred Haroldson or anybody else during the tenth century. The only person who is most likely to have been responsible for such an act would be Godred Crovan, and it is my belief that to celebrate in 1979 the 900th anniversary of his arrival in Man (which took place c. 1079) would be more in accordance with historical accuracy than any pretence of a Tynwald millennium. But 1000 has more magic and charisma about it in the public eye than 900, and the celebration of the millennium will be creating more mythology about Man's past and thus hampering further the historian's task of dismantling these myths already in existence and cooked up by the Victorians. But the Manx Government is determined to go ahead with its arrangements and will probably make a lot of money out of it from the attendant gimrickry. In celebrating the 'millennium' the Isle of Man Government will be implementing the now renowned addage of Dr. Goebbels: "The bigger the lie, the more likely that people will believe it".
Shorrys y Creayrie.

LETTERS

E. M. Parri-Jones, Kharma, 25 Y Wern, Llanfair Pwll, Sir Fon, N. Wales, writes suggesting a pen-pal column. He is 19 and would like a pen-pal of opposite sex (16-19) from any Celtic country. We agree this could help inter-Celtic relations but please keep your enquiry brief.

Due to lack of space some correspondence on previous articles and new material has not been included in this issue. We hope to publish these in the next issue and we would ask our contributors to bear with us.

CELTIC LEAGUE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 1977

The A. G. M. of the Celtic League was held in the Town Hall in Liskeard, Cornwall, on July 16-17th. In all some thirty members, including delegates from five national branches and one international branch took part in its four working sessions. They were welcomed to Liskeard by Mr. Roger Holmes, Mebyon Kernow, Mayor of Liskeard, and to Kernow by Mr. Richard Jenkin, chairman of M. K.

The Saturday sessions began with the Treasurer's report. Our financial situation is sound. I. S. Hainey has worked hard during the past year to put our accountancy on a more business-like basis. He put a number of proposals before the meeting for a further improvement. This was followed by the branch secretaries' reports. In general the membership figures have remained fairly constant and the contributions to the central fund satisfactory. We need however to ensure that our level of activity remains sufficient to retain old members and win new ones. There is a risk that the legitimate desire of our members to give more attention to purely national matters might be accompanied by a corresponding slackening of our efforts, resulting in loss of interest. Most branches have staffing problems which should be solved as soon as possible, with a view to increase their activity, membership, sales of CARN. Opportunities must be offered to members to involve themselves in C. L. work. Examples of C. L. presence such as the organisation of a Celtic concert and a film show in Dublin, the Celtic tent at the Eisteddfod, the publication of a calendar of Celtic events, inter-celtic solidarity protests, dissemination of information on our political and cultural organisations, the sale of CARN by members at various gatherings were given in the reports. They should be multiplied. The meeting discussed the attitude taken by the C. L. when asked to intervene in internal matters in three Celtic countries. It was decided that while it should be possible for CARN to inform its readers when important dissensions existed between different groups, our role should be to help in reconciling divergences rather than in taking sides. As regards contacts with groups outside the Celtic countries, it was difficult to know sometimes how close or how far their aims might be from ours; we had to maintain our independent position towards them.

The Sunday sessions dealt first with the election of the C. L. general officers - all outgoing were re-elected, Cathal Ó Luain being appointed co-editor of CARN with Pádraig Ó Snodaigh. The problems of obtaining suitable material for CARN and of the distribution and sale of the quarterly, were discussed. Almost all the members/subscribers who had expressed an opinion were satisfied with its contents. Most of the afternoon session (as well as part of the previous day) was taken up with the discussion of resolutions. Those adopted are given here, and will be communicated to the people and authorities concerned. On Saturday evening, the participants toured the vicinity and were later invited by the mayor of Liskeard to a most enjoyable garden party. Winding up the A. G. M. the chairman of the C. L. thanked all those who had helped Ian Williams to organise it so successfully. The impossibility of fixing the date of the meeting earlier than May affected the attendance, yet the amount of work carried out fully justified our coming together in Liskeard.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE A. G. M.

Concerning:-

A) Kernow:

1) The Celtic League shall use the means and influence at its disposal to support Kernowek and the language move-

ment in Kernow, with particular attention to: (a) the acknowledgement by other Celtic countries that Kernewek exists as a living language even if it is very much a minority one; (b) the basically negative attitude of the authorities towards Kernewek and the lack of financial aid for the Language Board; (c) the varying attitude of the radio and television companies towards Kernewek.

2] The Celtic League fully supports the campaign to force a change in the anti-Cornish language policy of the Harmsworth Press, in particular the "West Briton" newspaper which refused the use of Cornish to the Cornish people in their own land.

3] "This conference urges the Cornwall Council to take up the power of compulsory purchase order on all second homes lived in for less than 3 months of the year, as and when there is a need, until all Cornish people be housed satisfactorily."

4] This conference deplores the lack of a Cornish University in Cornwall.

5] reiterates that Cornwall is a separate entity and is not part of any English South-West region.

6] In view of the fact that Bodmin has a claim to be the capital of Kernow, this conference is sorry to learn that it has no memorial to nor annual commemoration of one of its most distinguished sons, Tomas Flamank; it is particularly invidious that he is commemorated each year in both St-Kevern and London; accordingly we respectfully urge that Bodmin Council should take appropriate steps to remedy this situation.

7] This conference deplores the appallingly high rate of unemployment suffered by the Cornish people; recognises that this reflects their position, in common with the other Celtic nations, as exploited appendages of English and French capitalism supplying surplus labour and cheap raw materials.

B] Mannin:

9] This conference urges the establishment of a Manx Cultural Centre with an administrative staff; suggests that the initial outlay be raised by means of a levy of £1 on the rates and that the subsequent running expenses be covered by a modest charge of 20p per capita to be paid by each visitor to the island.

10] This conference condemns the increasing use of the Isle of Mann as a permanent base for the recreation and training of English troops; expresses indignation at a recent case of harassment of Manx children by the same troops.

C] Eire:

11] The Celtic League, having originally opposed EEC membership for the Celtic countries, condemns strongly the ruling of the European Court making illegal the Irish declaration of a 50-mile fishing limit; urges the Irish government to persist in its demand to ensure the survival of the Irish fishing industry.

12] The AGM of the C. L. condemns the disgraceful amount of Irish language programmes - only 3% - at present broadcast on Radio Telefis Eireann. The failure of the Irish government and of RTE to actively promote the Irish language, especially on television, is a source of amazement to the other Celtic countries; the meeting calls on the Irish government and RTE to increase immediately the number of Irish programmes so that a minimum hour-long programme for adults and a programme for children be broadcast each night and to ensure that the full range of drama, entertainment, sport, etc. be catered for in Irish.

13] This AGM of the C. L. notes with satisfaction that England has been indicted for its use of torture in Northern Ireland by the European Court of Human Rights; it views with more concern however the fact that the methods of torture exposed are still being used in training of army

and other security forces and calls for an immediate end to this.

14] This AGM of the C. L. is gravely disturbed at reports of conditions in Irish prisons and of increasing use of brutality by Gardai when interrogating suspects. We call on the Irish Government to institute immediately an independent public enquiry into prison conditions and allegations of Gardai brutality.

D] Breizh:

15] This conference welcomes the decision by Brittany-Ferries to introduce a car-ferry service between Roskov and Ros Láir in 1978; urges that the car ferry should stop over at a Cornish port and that the feasibility of this be investigated immediately.

16] This conference congratulates Dr. Remont Delaporte for his adaptation of the Breton method "Brezhoneg Buan hag Aes" to English; congratulates also the Cork University Press for publishing this work.

E] Cymru:

17] This meeting recommends that, in order to ensure that the official policy of Equal Validity for Welsh does not remain a pious and meaningless platitude, provision be made for everyone employed in the Welsh Public Sector, without fluency in Welsh, who so desires, should be enabled to attend a crash-course in Welsh, such attendance to be treated as part of his or her working year.

F] Concerning two or more Celtic countries:

18] Considering that no university in the Celtic countries should have any non-national student or staff element in excess of 20%, this conference expresses its extreme concern at the existing percentages in the case of Scottish and Welsh Universities.

19] In order to alleviate the chronic unemployment in the Celtic countries, especially in the rural areas, this conference believes that the governments of these countries should concentrate on industrial policies which provide for production geared to the satisfaction of social needs rather than for capital requirements and high output at the expense of the labour force; urges the speedy implementation of such policies.

20] The Celtic League draws attention to the long sea-boards of each of the six Celtic countries and to the important part that commercial fishing as a basic industry supplying a basic need (food) plays in the present economic structure of these countries. Unlike the oversize European and Eastern Bloc States that need immediate results to keep their economies above water, the Celtic countries with moderate size populations to feed can plan the conservation of their fish stocks; the Celtic League therefore advises that representatives of the fishing communities in the Celtic countries seek to co-operate with one another and those of other minority peoples who have a similar desire to protect their fisheries.

21] This conference having considered the concern of the Irish and Cornish fishermen at the overfishing of Irish and Cornish waters, recognises that Ireland and Cornwall have a legitimate claim to control fishing resources within an exclusive zone; but also that measures excluding Breton fishermen from long-frequented fishing grounds will deprive them of their livelihood; urges the adoption of regulations (a) giving priority to the conservation of stocks; (b) vesting control of limits and the implementation of other conservation measures by the respective Irish and Cornish authorities; urges the adoption of measures to alleviate hardship on fishermen resulting from this policy.

22] Regarding nuclear energy; This conference of the Celtic League considers that the development of nuclear energy for military and industrial purposes constitutes an excessive and immeasurable danger for human sur-

vival; expresses full support for the enquiry initiated by the Windscale Appeal Committee; is shocked by the absence of an Irish government representative at this enquiry, in sharp contrast to the participation of and the financial support given by the Isle of Mann government; condemns the dumping of nuclear wastes in Celtic sea-areas and totally rejects the projected burying of such wastes in Celtic lands; urges governments to apply adequate financial resources to the development and exploitation of renewable energy sources.

23] re: **Celtic Studies**: This AGM of the C.L. views with dismay the current closure of the Department of Celtic Studies of Liverpool University; urges the Department of Education and Science to exert its influence to ensure that this action, which amounts to cultural racism, serves as an opportunity for a comprehensive assessment of the facilities for Celtic studies available in English universities in relation to the potential demand from among the vast number of English-born people of Celtic descent, taking into account the vernacular difficulties which abort satisfaction of that demand in the universities of Ireland and Wales.

DIVIDE ET IMPERA

While agreeing with Pádraig Ó Conchúir - with whom I have long corresponded - that CARN should not be used "as a vehicle for varying shades of nationalists to attack each other," I would like to tell Mr. P.G. Prior, of Mebyon Kernow, a few things of which he appears to be entirely ignorant. In a footnote to his article in CARN No. 17 the Editor of this magazine had to teach Mr. Prior that he knew little of modern Irish history. I want to tell him a few facts about modern Scotland. In the first place, he writes of Scotland's "present position of independence". Unfortunately, Scotland is not yet independent, and I would have thought that anyone claiming to be a Celt and a nationalist would know as much. But that is not my main complaint. As Honorary President of the Scottish Nationalist 1320 Club, I very much resent Mr. Prior's suppositions concerning the Club and the so-called "Tartan Army". I am a non-socialist republican, as are many members of the Club; but, contrary to Mr. Prior's implications, we are in no way opposed to the Scottish National Party - which also has hundreds of republicans in its ranks. We do occasionally criticise the SNP's hierarchy, and in so doing act as a necessary catalyst; but, in general, we support the SNP. Both the Club and I have subscribed to the SNP's funds. Our members vote for the SNP at elections, and most give active help. Many of the Club's members are also members of the SNP. The SNP has made use of the Club's Foreign Affairs Bureau. The Club's Secretary corresponds, on a friendly basis, with the Chairman and Secretary of the SNP; and I write to Donald Stewart, the leader of the SNP's Parliamentary Group, and get from him courteous and friendly replies. Let Mr. Prior consider those facts before he writes any more rubbish about the "constitutional activities of the SNP" and "the extreme views of The 1320 Club".

Now to the "Tartan Army": there is no such organisation. Nor was there ever one. The phrase was a newspaper invention at a time when several activists - victims of an English agent provocateur - were tried and viciously sentenced for conspiracies that never were. The Conspiracy Act can be perverted to cover anything.

The English Secret Police Service has done its damndest to split the Scottish Nationalist Movement, but so far has failed to do anything other than create a few

minor and easily-mended cracks. But is it succeeding in little Cornwall? To begin with, the smear campaign against the Cornish National Party is typical of the methods it has employed in Scotland, and is using in Wales and Mann. The English Establishment not only endeavours to split; it also sets up and finances provocations - the "Scotland is British" campaign is one of them; others hide under "religious" umbrellas. The Establishment would like nothing better than Ulster-type risings in Mann, Cornwall, Wales, and Scotland, in order that the police and the military - aided by native traitors - could have an excuse to crush the unprepared "extremists" that Mr. Prior denigrates. Such actions would be proclaimed to the world as being necessary in the interests of "law and order" and for the safety of the "loyal majority".

Raonull Domhnullach Dubhghlas.

NINETEENTH CENTURY VIEWS OF CELTIC STUDIES: Matthew Arnold and John Stuart Blackie.

By the early nineteenth century the growing romantic appreciation of Celtic literature, following the success of Macpherson's *Ossian*, had helped remove some of the inherited 18th century prejudices against the Celtic languages. Sir Walter Scott's novels had created a fashion in polite society for Highland culture; albeit, a totally romanticized, Lowland view of Highland culture. The subsequent advances in the philology of the Celtic languages, by German scholars in particular, turned Celtic studies into a respectable academic pursuit, and in the 1860's and 70's increasing attention was paid to the possibility of establishing Celtic professorships in Oxford and Edinburgh. Since the cultivation of Irish gave such a boost to nationalism from the 1870s it is instructive to examine the motives of two of the leading agitators for Celtic chairs; Matthew Arnold and John Stuart Blackie.

Matthew Arnold was the son of Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby school. After leaving an Oxford fellowship he was appointed Inspector of Schools in 1851 at the age of 28. But he did not let this interfere with his career as a poet, and in 1857 he was appointed to the Oxford professorship of Poetry. From then Arnold wrote less poetry and more social and literary criticism. In 1867 he published his thoughts on Celtic culture in *The Study of Celtic Literature*. Like Arnold, John Stuart Blackie had an academic background. After leaving Aberdeen Grammar School he studied Arts, Theology and Law before being appointed to the chair of Humanities in Aberdeen University. From 1852 he held the chair of Greek in Edinburgh, though an increasing amount of his time was devoted to learning Gaelic. From 1874 to 1882 he gave much of his time and energy to the task of collecting £12,000 for the foundation of a Celtic chair in Edinburgh.

Despite the weaknesses that can be detected in their appreciation of Celtic literature, both men were well ahead of the popular opinion of their time. This still retained a large measure of instinctual revulsion against the cultural aspirations of Wales, Ireland and Gaelic Scotland. When Matthew Arnold agreed to attend the Chester Eisteddfod of 1866 the *Times* denounced his 'irresponsibility' in the following terms: "An Eisteddfod is one of the most mischievous and selfish pieces of sentimentalism which could possibly be perpetrated. It is simply a foolish interference with the natural progress of civilisation and prosperity. If it is desirable that the Welsh should talk English, it is monstrous folly to encourage them in a loving fondness for their old language". This was exactly the kind of intemperate bigotry that Blackie and Arnold helped to counter.

However, a comparison of Blackie's thoughts on Celtic culture, as set out in *The Language and Literature of the Scottish Highlands* (1867), with Arnold's *Study of Cel-*

tic Literature reveals some fascinating differences in outlook. It would be difficult to find two more divergent personalities who ever advocated the same cause. Arnold was first and foremost an academic and, like his father, was earnest and intense. His prose is elegant and carefully argued. But Blackie's approach is far more direct and personal. His spontaneity and exuberance constantly led him into outbursts of invective in which his prejudices are given full rein.

On the surface, their motives for encouraging Celtic Studies appear very similar. Both subscribed to the popular racial theories of their time, and both recognised distinct differences in the Celtic and Saxon characters. Arnold developed this theme at some length in his *Study of Celtic Literature*. He saw the British character as a Celtic foundation with a vast Teutonic superstructure. The Celts possessed delicacy, spirituality, spontaneity and innate poetic taste. Their culture had qualities of "magic" and imagination that Saxon culture lacked. But the typically Saxon virtues of stolid Germanic determination, he thought, balanced the Celtic traits of weak sentimentalism and inconsistency. (It would be interesting to speculate on how far these unfounded assumptions underlay the nineteenth century unionists' belief in Celtic incapacity for self-government.)

Blackie did not develop a racial theory in any consistent way, but it pervades his thinking nevertheless. He thought history should be written from both a Saxon and a Celtic point of view, "whence alone the true character of our mixed civilisation can be understood". The genius of the Scots, he thought, "when probed to the bottom, may appear to be really a Celtic fire, while your pure Saxon shall be proved to be a stout and solid but a lumpy creature comparatively".

Both men also detected a cultural emptiness in the society of their day. Arnold attributed it to an excess of the Saxon talents of "getting and spending". He hoped to shatter the complacency of mid-Victorian prosperity with his social criticism of middle-class "philistinism"; its vulgarity and coarseness in place of beauty, taste and morals. Blackie traced the loss of finer feelings to the division of labour following the Industrial Revolution. The Celtic girl who tended a spinning mashing in Glasgow, he thought, had lost her harmony with nature, her health and nobility. But her Highland sister could "spin and weave with her own hands, and milk the cow, and attend the dairy, and do half-a-dozen other things besides". Both men believed that the cultivation of the Celtic muse was a corrective to the alienation and philistinism of their day. They hoped the Celts would civilise their conquerors as the ancient Greeks civilised the Romans.

But at this point their thinking diverges radically, for Arnold cared little for Celtic literature as such. (Unlike Blackie he never attempted to learn any Celtic Language.) He expected Celtic studies to solve an English cultural problem, and if it helped to reconcile England to Ireland politically, so much the better. He hoped, in Lionel Trilling's perceptive phrase, to make Ireland the "court-Druid of the Union". But Blackie's enthusiasm for Gaelic went much deeper. He thought its literature and song was good in itself, and good for native speakers. As a self-taught Gaelic speaker he appreciated the language's living qualities. Matthew Arnold's academic approach denied him this insight.

Their different views of the true worth of Celtic culture followed from their opposed notions of progress. At heart, there was as much cultural imperialism in Arnold's attitudes to language and literature as there was in the

editorials of the *Times*. He opposed any encouragement of everyday Welsh, and opposed its cultivation as an instrument of living literature. In his own words, "The fusion of all the inhabitants of these islands into one homogenous, English-speaking whole, the breaking down of barriers between us, the swallowing up of several provincial nationalities, is a consumation to which the natural course of things irresistibly tends; it is a necessity of what is called modern civilisation... The sooner the Welsh language disappears as an instrument of the practical, political, social life of Wales, the better; the better for England, the better for Wales itself".

In contrast to Arnold's imperialist identification of progress with anglicisation, Blackie's exuberant, spontaneous intellect relished diversity. He regretted the march of civilisation to faceless uniformity. He knew what "progress" had meant to the Highland crofters and had been drawn into land politics as a result. Hence, he thought, instead of the "unifying advances of so-called modern civilisation, a large-hearted policy would seek rather kindly to cherish what inherited varieties of type we still retain, than violently to exterminate them". Having taught himself Gaelic he knew there was nothing intrinsically backward about the language. Whilst Arnold thought the job of the schools was to exterminate Welsh, Blackie thought the correct educational policy was to develop the bilingual faculties of the people, thus doubling their cultural opportunities, rather than forcing a stilted form of English on them at the expense of their native linguistic talents. He pointed out that the waging of war on national characteristics and language, the "Russian policy" as he termed it, was in itself essentially barbarous. In the end Blackie put his finger on the crucial difference between himself and Arnold: "Whoso wishes to live with the people from within, and not merely from without, will wish to know their language. Whoso is indifferent to the people, and all that marks them out in history as a distinct and noticeable type of humanity, will be indifferent to their language."

It is ironic that events proved the instinctual reactions of the *Times* to be well-founded. Arnold imagined that he was tackling a cultural problem. But the editors of the *Times* grasped its political implications. Blackie was closer to appreciating this because of his involvement in Highland land politics. He knew there was far more at stake than the academic respectability of the Celtic languages. But he never fully appreciated the connection between language, culture and nationalism. For the real importance of Celtic studies in the nineteenth century was not that it helped to reconcile the English to the Celts, but that it helped the Celts to rediscover themselves. By studying the Irish language and its heritage the Gaelic League found the cultural justification for their political aspirations. Language was seen as the basis of nationhood, and a potent medium of nationalism. It is difficult to imagine what Blackie would have made of the deliberate use of language for political ends. Arnold, we can be sure, would have opposed it utterly. In the end, the intemperate denunciation of Celtic culture by the *Times* suggests that its editors, and not the advocates of the Celtic chairs, grasped the political potential of the Celtic languages and literature.

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V. Durkazi.

EEC, ENERGY AND THE CELTIC NATIONS: PART 1.

Andrew MacKillop.

Summary: The EEC is a political-economic unit massively dependent on imported energy, food and other resources. There has been a weak acknowledgement of the EEC's 'structural' energy shortage in its plans to rapidly build many nuclear power plants. However there is now vigorous and successful grass-roots opposition to this on the European mainland, while uranium supplies from Namibia are less and less secure. These factors will increase the EEC's total energy import dependence, while encouraging the building of nuclear power stations (particularly fast breeders) in regions where citizen opposition is weaker, or can simply be ignored - notable in Wales, Scotland and Brittany.

Oil imports to the EEC is likely to go on rising, which makes the EEC's only internal oil source, N. Sea oil, even more important. Since this importance depends entirely on how fast it can be extracted, it will be ruthlessly exploited at whatever social and environmental cost. Any other potential EEC oil sources, e.g. in the Irish and Celtic seas, will be similarly exploited.

The response of the Celtic peoples must firstly be to gain sovereignty over their resources, so that they can repeat Norway's good example of a controlled and efficient oil and related development program. Secondly, the Celtic nations must slow down oil extraction rates: to conserve the resource; to minimise environment impacts; to ensure a smooth and efficient development of their national economies; and to ensure there is sufficient time and energy reserves for developing the energy conservation and renewable energy systems that will be vital by early next century.

The EEC and Energy

In 1973 the EEC imported 63% of its total energy, some 560 million tons of oil, 31.7 million tons of coal, and the equivalent of 4 million tons of coal as gas. In tons of coal equivalent (tce) the total energy use of the EEC was about 1450Mtce that year. In its policy statement of late-1972 'Energy and Europe', the EEC proposed that by 1985 total energy demand would reach 2600 Mtce, with a mere 45% of all energy (i.e. 1170Mtce) being in the form of imported oil. Since oil energy was forecast to provide 62% of the total energy used (i.e. 1610Mtce) the internal, mostly N. Sea, production of oil was assumed to reach 440Mtce per year by 1985 - a production rate of 6.0M barrels per day. (Current production is about 600,000 barrels per day.) In 'Energy and Europe' some 10% of all energy was forecast, in 1985, to come from nuclear energy. This therefore assumed that the EEC would have about 125,000MW of nuclear electrical capacity, about one-third more than the entire present capacity of the U.K.'s electricity system, or some 14 times the entire electrical capacity of Scotland!

Since 1973 the EEC's energy mandarins have tasted the bitter lessons of OPEC, the Namibian freedom movement's threat to their ultra cheap uranium supply and increasingly effective, popular opposition to nuclear power. In the EEC's 'Community Energy Policy' document of September 1976, however, little realism seems to have seeped into the Brussels cocoon of the energy mandarins, other than to 'wonder aloud' if their incredible nuclear power targets will be reached, and to slightly reduce the total quantity of energy that they see the EEC as 'needing'.

The document says that of the target for nuclear energy of 125,000MW by 1985, "almost 90,000MW are currently operating" (then come the weasel words) "being built, or on order". Since this document was written at least 3000MW of proposed nuclear power plant construction has been elimi-

nated by successful citizen opposition in France and Germany.

The statements and implications of 'Community Energy Policy' for offshore oil around Scotland are truly staggering, for the document foresees that in 1985 the EEC will be importing 12M barrels per day, and producing somewhere from 2M-4M barrels per day from the North Sea.

Finally, in this brief analysis of EEC energy policy and plans, it is notable that coal production is assumed to continue its decline - with possible a fall of 30,000MW of coal-fired power stations. This flight against reason seems to indicate that the EEC believes it preferable to be pushed around by OPEC, than by Welsh or Scottish miners!

Nuclear and Oil

While in 1972 the EEC was forecasting that nuclear power would supply about 10% of energy needs in 1985, and was enthusiastic enough to predict 13% of the 1985 demand in its 1974 and 1976 statements, Herr Guido Brunner, EEC energy spokesman, is now forecasting ('The Scotsman' 19-4-'77) 9% of 1985's EEC energy needs from nuclear power. As long as any growth in nuclear energy is planned, we must expect eyes to be swivelled towards the many potential sites in Celtic, coastal Europe, where there is a combination of good access to cooling water, safe distances from the heartlands of Mother England & Mother France, and - possibly even more important - people who are seen as politically insignificant, small in number, and pliant to 'sweeteners' such as well-timed and directed supplies of money to the pet projects of egotistical, petty local administrators, in return for rubber-stamping massive nuclear power building plans.

This is for conventional nuclear power stations, which in Scotland and Wales already supply the highest per capita amounts of nuclear electricity in the world. While the economic case for nuclear energy is becoming very rapidly worse, with uranium fuel prices rising from around \$5 per pound in 1973, to more than \$40 per pound (on the free market), the political clout of a few millionaire industrialists, and their colleagues who run State atomic power agencies in the EEC, is enough to ensure that nuclear power stations will go on being built. However citizen opposition to nuclear energy is mounting, and a few political parties, notably the SLP and SNP in Scotland, are also beginning to vigorously oppose the 'traditional and natural' choice of the Celtic nations as the site for nuclear power plants, and of course their wastes, which will need meticulous safeguarding for many centuries longer than the EEC is likely to last.

More dangerous even than the threat from conventional nuclear power is that of fast reactors. To date only four larger than the size needed 'merely' to breed the odd few hundred kilograms of plutonium (to manufacture a few dozen H-bombs per year) have been built around the world. Of these, the ones in the USSR and USA have closed down, probably permanently in the Russian case, and certainly so with the American fast reactor that operated a few ill-fated months in 1967 at Laguna Beach on Lake Michigan, near enough to Chicago for consideration to be given to totally evacuating the city when the reactor began to seriously malfunction (see: Perils of the 'Peaceful' Atom, Ballantine Books, 1973).

Only France and the UK have continued with fast reactors, and both nations are eagerly proposing to build super-sized fast reactors, of more than 1250MW of electrical capacity, indicating an eventual plutonium breeding capacity in the dozens of tons per year range. The costs and risks of this 'nuclear Concorde' program are such that President Carter has said no to any reinstatement of US efforts in fast breeder reactors. But nuclear power, in France and UK, has absorbed fantastic quantities of in-

vestment since the 1950's, developing a network of vested interests - bureaucratic, political, industrialist, and also in certain highly-paid trades with small but vocal union representation. Further, the basis of 'cheap' nuclear power in these two countries - the exploitation of Namibian workers, in a country held by S. Africa in outright defiance of many UN Assembly resolutions, to yield uranium at a third the usual world price - is now crumbling fast. With no cheap uranium conventional nuclear power is far less economic than coal or even solar power, thus the frenetic thrust to build fast reactors, which can 'spin out' or 'recycle' uranium, enabling it to be put through conventional reactors not once, as at present, but many times. The only catch is that the process is not very well proven, extremely capital-intensive, and fantastically risky. It is worth restating that plutonium, the end product of fast reactors, is the basic material for nuclear weapons, produces lung cancer in 100% of test animals exposed to doses of one-millionth of a gram, and once manufactured has a half-life (time to decay to one-half its initial radioactivity) of 23,000 years. Just the kind of manufacturing industry to bless those farming and fishing areas of Celtia with?

The environmental and social dangers of oil production are somewhat paler, but there should be no delusions that massive N. Sea oil production in the EEC-controlled 'British' sector will not badly damage fishing and tourism, to name two environmentally (but not culturally, in tourism's case) benign activities currently forming major parts of coastal Celtia's economic base. Kernow has already tested the effects of a 60,000 ton oil spill, which certainly continues to cause biological damage today, ten years after that famous Gunn clansman, Sir H. Wilson, ordered in the fighter bombers. When oil production is running at a rate of 2M barrels per day, which should be reached in only about 18 months, 60,000 tons of oil will be pumped out every five hours of every day.

And while oil is comparatively unpoisonous, this is not the case with refinery products and intermediate products. Outputs, whether accidental or not, include chemicals such as cresols and phenols, with toxicities as high as a few milligrams per kilogram of body weight - i.e. 10mg will kill a 10kg fish. When we come on to 'downstream' petrochemicals, we have industries such as PVC production where mercury catalysts are used - and of course abused, as in the case of the permanent, irreversible and terminal condition called Minamata Disease. This was named for the effects of mercury on fisherpeople, exposed to mercury accumulated in fish from waters polluted with tiny amounts of mercury from a Japanese PVC factory. The installations - pipelines, store tanks, refineries, petrochemical - based factories, etc. - proposed and contemplated for coastal Scotland, and potentially elsewhere in Celtia, should oil be found, are all multimillion dollar developments, needing the usual crews of outside workers, and delivering very few permanent jobs, at typical costs of \$75,000-\$125,000 per job. They are also tempting targets for the increasing number of electronic global, deranged, terrorists who no doubt would be delighted with a 'Flixborough-on-Sea' to warm their hands by on a cool Highland night. This threat, in turn, will aid the proliferation of army, navy and miscellaneous security forces, casting their grim shadows over the degraded cultural scene.

What can be done?

The present thrust of big energy might look unstoppable, but this is very far from being the case. There are many reasons to believe this, including the present and likely trend of the world economy; strong and politically successful nationalism in Alba and Cymru; gradual increases in popular

knowledge of the 'peaceful' atom's very close kinship to its Hiroshima brother; and a growth in concern for culture and environment.

Firstly, taking the largest level, we can clearly see that all the present plans for nuclear and oil development are tied to continuing economic growth. Yet the world financial system is today in tatters, as more and more Third World nations default on their massively-accumulating debts, and the advanced nations desperately inflate, and try to export as much economic instability to their 'partners' as they possibly can. A few, small OPEC nations still hold the key as to whether or not such giant nations as the US, France and UK can go on being 'rich' when they import 50% or more of their energy. Should OPEC decide on yet more price rises, perhaps to conserve resources, or to switch supplies more to the majority of mankind in the Third World, the downturn in economic activity might be sufficient not to trigger yet more European offshore oil, and onshore nuclear, development, but to slow it down. A cursory look at the effects of the 1929 Crash is enough to suggest that there could be a very rapid fall in economic activity, and consequently in energy production, among the developed nations.

But more likely is that N. Sea oil will fall under the control of a separate and sovereign Scotland, perhaps within two years. An Scotland could have no better model for its oil development program than Norway's. Here the philosophy of "underground storage" via non-exploitation today, has been employed, with the multinational oil companies naturally respecting a nation with a GNP much smaller than their yearly turnovers - simply because it is separate and sovereign. For Scotland there will be a short-term economic problem in the costs of reducing oil production to say 1M barrels per day, when building and development work going ahead right now is based on getting more than 2M barrels per day by 1979. However, the oil companies found they could swallow hard and do deals with Libya when it basically expropriated production facilities, so there is no doubt at all that the same can be done with Scottish facilities.

Nuclear energy, as stated, has been considered a 'natural' development for Cymru, Breizh and Alba, by Paris and London, but this will not be so when leverage can be applied through the EEC to pressure for a de-commitment to fast breeders, in the first case, and nuclear energy in general. This could take the form of oil clout, and UN clout, operated by nations such as Scotland, Norway, and very possibly the US, Eire and Denmark against the supposedly 'intransigent' London and Paris Governments. The US may be particularly interested in Scotland's approach to Holy Loch, which Scotland can argue is a useless, symbolic pawn as long as Russian rockets have the sitting targets of Dounreay and Windscale, where one tiny Atom bomb - deployed through a Russian equivalent of the 'Cruise' missile - would release radiation equivalent to literally hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Hiroshima-sized bombs. Thus, it could be argued by an independent Scotland, the removal of Dounreay would strengthen US early-warning and Polaris submarine installations in Scotland. It is certainly unquestionable that a few Polaris submarines, containing a few small nuclear missiles each, are far less of a biological and environmental threat than even the present Dounreay reactor, let alone the proposed "super-reactor".

With reduced N. Sea oil production, and the end of a 'nuclear solution' to the EEC's energy problem, there would indeed be 'hard times' in the glossy growth zones, and possible very tense political situations. However the situation would not at all signify the end of England, France or Germany, as the three most affected nations by any

downturns in Scottish oil production, or reductions in nuclear power development.

Firstly these nations, particularly England and Germany, have good coal resources, and England controls really vast gas reserves. Since they are high energy economies their potential for radical energy savings through meaningful conservation programs is very large, as is their need to finally shake off their political conviction - often even present in their most supposedly 'socialist' politicians - that there will always be some other, weaker, nation around to tap for a few resources of whatever they happen to be short of. This mentality goes rather against today's technology, where whole cities could be eliminated by suitcase-sized atom bombs, and a \$250 Million refinery can be totally destroyed with a few ounces of gelignite. British politicians of the 1920's and 1930's were pretty convinced, in their Oxbridge 'socialist' way, that Palestinians would quieten down pretty fast when leaned on by the ever-present, obedient Tommy. Anyone who cares to read the papers of today knows that this is not so.

These nations, like the USA of now in 1977 must recognise that there is very precious little left in the way of oil and gas. When this is truly realised and acknowledged the multiple solutions of energy conservation, energy-efficient economic development, and the renewable energy sources will begin to get the kind of committed support that they must be given if they do not wish the 1929 Crash to be the permanent condition of their economies by the turn of the century. We will then find, interestingly enough, that generating jobs is much cheaper, a luxury we can afford, and that a peaceful, sustainable, and secure world is not some pathetic piece of wishful thinking.

INFORMATION DOMINATION

Professor H. Schiller, Professor of Communications at the University of California, at a lecture in Dublin under the auspices of Conradh na Gaeilge in early September said that American cultural products had flooded the world. Many nations are pressing for a new world information order to counter America's domination of information control, he said: "A person today who watches TV daily, or who reads the newspapers and magazines of concentrated publishing companies is likely to be a fully integrated adherent of the social order," he said.

"Replacing the former colonial empires of England, France, Holland and Portugal, the American way of economic investment and media saturation has organised a world system of US-dominated transnational activities. Supporting and advancing the interests of these transnational business giants is a powerful infrastructure of information control, including administrative agencies, opinion polling companies, and the mass media."

"A new world information order would aim to overcome the domination of a few powerful centres of information/culture. It would try also to permit manysided information flows and offer opportunities to those nations and peoples who are presently entirely voiceless."

"US information policy bitterly resists these recent efforts to overcome its own hegemonic position and labels such activities as menacing to freedom. It means by this its own freedom to monopolise and dominate."

"It is clear that big battles are ahead - within and between nations over information generation and distribution."

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