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## A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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## EDITORIAL: REGIONAL OR NATIONAL

The following statement is in answer to questions addressed to the Celtic League by the World Federalist Youth.

Our aim is to contribute, as an inter-Celtic organisation, to the struggle of these nations to secure or to win their political, cultural, social and economic freedom. Our efforts are complementary to those of the organisations which are working, within each of the Celtic countries, towards these aims. We take into account that each of the countries concerned has a different degree of national consciousness. We recognise that no freedom is absolute. Freedom to us means the ability to develop according to our traditions and our temperament, without having to submit to unjustifiable external constraints. We want to achieve national status because nations have inalienable rights which regions, as parts of nations, do not claim.

**FRAMEWORK:** Some of our national parties, while seeking self-government, leave unspecified the relationship they would want between the power structure they are struggling to achieve in their respective country and the State to which this country belongs at present. We believe that our aim cannot be achieved in the framework of the political structure of the existing States. Whatever the short term solutions, our Celtic countries need to constitute a confederation based on their cultural affinity. We advocate therefore a formal association of the Celtic nations, to take place as soon as two or more of them achieve self-government.

a) New sovereign and independent States?

We recognise that independence depends on internal and external factors - on the will and material strength of our peoples, on the power and ambition of the systems to which they are at present subject.

We believe that a national will is closely related to cultural values. Our cultural values have been undermined by the policies of alien States. To strengthen them we require the greatest possible control of our own destinies. We would say that we seek a degree of independence similar to that enjoyed by countries of similar size and population. We aim at a new equilibrium between our desire to be free from external constraints and a recognition of power relationships as well as of the interdependence of nations.

We seek a measure of independence commensurate with our means (population, material wealth, national will, collective identity) so as to be able to administer our communities according to their own interest, economic, social, cultural.

As we have a task of nation-rebuilding, we need sovereignty - the right to decide at any time which policies accord with or run counter to our vital interests; the right for our governments to say no to certain decisions taken by international bodies if, on balance, their effects are seen to be too harmful to us. This would apply to the policies which might be required to prevent the acquisition of an undue proportion of our land and natural resources by non-nationals, to secure employment for our workers at home, to maintain a healthy balance between national and international influences in the cultural field.

States of our own are indispensable for the cohesion of our communities.

b) **Federation.** Whereas the national parties of the Celtic countries which are not yet self-governing leave open the possibility of federation within the existing States, at least as a first stage towards political freedom, we hold that such a solution would leave our nations subject to further alienation and domination without the power and the means to take counter-measures. The policies required to restore our weakened economies and cultures to a healthy condition would need a new understanding of which the existing States show little or no evidence. Indeed there is little or no sign that they have abandoned their assimilation policies in some of our countries.

Before entering into any association with non-Celtic countries we need to secure formal recognition of our own States or of equivalent structures designed to guarantee our freedom. We would prefer any such association to be a confederative rather than a federative one, and to have direct representation on the confederal bodies, without the intermediary of the present States. But whatever bonds may be estab-

lished with non-Celtic countries, we advocate a confederation of the Celtic countries as a means to develop solidarity between them.

c) Within our countries, freedom will involve a devolution of power towards the base, subject to certain national objectives. Regional and local councils should be empowered to deal with matters not affecting directly the national welfare. Encouragement should be given, if necessary, by means of pilot-schemes, to the exercise of self-management in enterprises. The distribution of power would be defined by our constitutions.

1. We recognise the need to devolve certain powers to a higher authority that of our States, in recognition of our obligations towards other peoples, but also insofar only as such an authority will guarantee the freedom which we deem essential to our survival as communities. Insofar as we shall have a community of ideals with other peoples, it will be right to have a common defence policy. In any case our environmental problems will also require international co-ordination. There are however, dangers in removing the centres of decision so far away from the people that they no longer can exercise control over them. One of the dangers of gigantism is the development of tyrannical systems, and of tensions leading to world war.

2. Consonant with the devolution of power towards the base and the recognition of man's need of roots, we would favour special status for areas within our countries which are marked by special characteristics. The areas where the Celtic languages are spoken as vernaculars require special institutions, even though we hold that these languages must be accorded full official status throughout our respective countries, if only to avoid discrimination. Certain parts of our populations with traditions of their own - such as in certain northern Irish areas - should also have provision for institutions of their own.

3. Our conception goes beyond the constitutional dimension. It is not enough to change institutions or establish new ones in order to achieve the kind of freedom we want for our nations. We visualise indeed a revolution in outlooks leading to a profound change in social, economic and political structures. We see everyday the contradiction between the philosophy underlying the present system and our aspirations. Our languages have no chance of improving their position in this system. The unbridled competition in the economic sphere condemns us to remain the "parents pauvres" among the other Europeans. The system allows the eradication of the weaker elements by the stronger, without consideration of value other than the basely material ones. It lacks the controls which are necessary to curb abuse of power by the wealthy, social disintegration, ecological disaster.

4. Our countries have suffered from neglect and exploitation, they are handicapped by higher rates of unemployment and lower standards of living than other European regions. They are areas of small-farmer agriculture, debilitated industry, low wage rates, top-heavy reliance on tourism. The effects are harmful rates of emigration, aging populations, social ills, cultural alienation, linguistic decline. We are proletarian nations, harbouring resentment and a sense of frustration. Our emigrants take a long time to become assimilated and risk disrupting the peace of their host countries. It is not in the latter's interest to have a multitude of our countrymen flocking to their overcrowded cities.

If the necessity of higher political units is recognised, it should not be assumed that they can command loyalty among our peoples unless they are enabled by them to find employment in their own countries. It must be a key policy to strive to achieve a healthier distribution of population between rural and urban areas than recent trends are leading to. We believe that it is only in relatively small communities that people develop a sense of belonging, and that the disregard for the law (i.e. for communal interests) will increase with the spread of amorphous conurbations.

5. The EEC has proven a disappointment for the Celtic countries. In their desire to see a reduction in the sovereignty of the existing States, to find some relief from their claim to rule nearly all aspects of our lives, many of us had hoped that the EEC would give our countries' aspirations a greater chance of fulfilment; that if some of the powers held by the existing States were transferred to supranational institutions, the demand for a compensatory shift towards the "regions" would increase and compel

acceptance; that it would even be in the interest of the EEC institutions to encourage the regional claims to a greater say in regional affairs. But the EEC has proven itself unconcerned or unable to side with those in a bad position to compete, with the economically and the culturally weak groups. It has sanctioned a policy designed to remove the small farmers from the land without ensuring that they could find alternative employment in their home areas; it guaranteed the frontiers of the existing States regardless of ethnical affinities; its regional policy is paralysed by big power ambitions (the money is needed for nationally-important purposes); our industries are being dismantled or taken over by foreign interests one after the other.

A different structure is necessary. The principle of inter-regional solidarity must be accepted and find expression in:

- wage parity between workers in peripheral and those in central areas;
- a perequation of transport tariffs enabling the products from peripheral areas to compete with those of central ones;
- credit allocations must be on a regional basis, the regional authorities being free to decide how best to use them.

There must be a democratic control over the supranational institutions - this does not exist at present; direct elections by universal suffrage to a Confederal Assembly is necessary; but to safeguard the interests of the component regions, there should be a Confederal Senate representing them, endowed with a right of veto.

#### 6. Means/Strategy

- a) Our present means of action are the dissemination of a Celtic viewpoint by means of a periodical and meetings as well as correspondence;
- b) we are willing to co-operate with other groups in multiple directions; by defining the aims we have in common with other Celtic - or nationally-minded organisations; or in common with groups concerned with the protection of the environment; in common with those opposed to gigantism because of the resultant world tension and undemocratic concentration of power.

We advocate a "Europe of the peoples" (Europe des Peuples) instead of a "Europe of the States".

## ALBA

### THE E.E.C. - HOW THE VOTE WAS WON

With the referendum over this is a good time to take a calmer look at the subject which is going to be with us for a long time.

In April fishing limits were in the news. Mr. Peart (Minister for Agriculture) promised that the 12 mile limit would be reviewed after the Law of the Sea Conference at Geneva. (After 1983 theoretically all limits are to be abolished).

The prime minister announced that ministers would have freedom to advocate a different point of view from the Government except in Parliament and on official business. The Referendum count was to be done centrally (at Earl's Court) and this created an uproar, particularly in Scotland where the S.N.P. decidedly wanted a separate count. After London realised that the opposition to this was strong and widespread the matter was debated and an overwhelming majority in the commons gained the right for a count on regional and county bases. The parties began to split and realign and form strange partnerships - except of course, the S.N.P.

It became clear that the biggest guns were on the "PRO" side - most of the Government, most Members of Parliament, the media, business and commercial interests, bankers, farmers, etc. Early on, the fear campaign started and the threats of job losses should we leave the Market. As Jim Sillars, a Labour M.P., said "the people are to be terrorised into casting a "YES" vote".

In Scotland the "ANTIS" were the S.N.P., the Trade Unions and some Labour M.P.'s mostly the maxi-devolutionists. The main difference between the propaganda to get us "in" and this campaign to get us to stay was that there were no more glowing pictures of a glorious future "in" but instead almost Churchillian promises of toil, tears and sweat "in" or "out" but in a cosier environment "in". This of course was very wise as the former promises were certainly not kept - our food prices had soared, unemployment was rising and with the added oil crisis, one of Scotland's speciality industries, the

glasshouse one, was at that moment being refused the aid it required and a food producing industry whose loss could only lead to more imports from the Common Market was being allowed to run down.

George Thomson former Labour M.P. for Dundee in his new capacity as an E.E.C. Commissioner was over here telling us on the one hand that "Britain would reap disaster if she left" and on the other hand giving us details of the handouts we would get. To help the fishermen, subsidies would be paid for the storage of stocks (as at May 15th). This of course would not lower the price for the housewife. The chauvinism of the Market concept began to show - "The E.E.C. merchant fleet could be the biggest in the world - the most modern and most influential, giving DOMINANCE of the new ocean industries". Many members of parliament had objected to the referendum in the first place and showed that they had a very low opinion of the electors' ability to decide. Certainly they did nothing to help and at the beginning of May it was reported "it is highly unlikely that parliament will accept a negative vote". Willie Ross, the Secretary of State for Scotland came out against the Market and though he kept a low profile he is worth quoting - "The basic Treaty of Rome remains unaltered - the principles of CAP remain unchanged while the E.E.C. Commission, Europe's Monster Bureaucracy, retains powers to challenge changes in industrial development, regional aid and fishing policy in Britain and further these powers will be extended to steel and energy." Some facts were beginning to emerge from newspaper articles - oil apart, 99% of Britain's trade deficit was with the Common Market. In the 3 years of Membership, Britain has reached a debt level of £880m with West Germany and £680m of this is for goods that the British economy is well able to produce.

A Gallup Survey on 19th May showed 60% for and 29% against with 11% not committed (on U.K. basis).

One section of the business world rebuked those who were coercing their employees with notes inside their pay-packets to vote "YES" lest their livelihood be in jeopardy.

The public statements of some of the Cabinet were ironic (bearing in mind that they pass as Socialists): Shirley Williams - "Our role in the world will be threatened if we leave"; Roy Jenkins - "The priority given to social security and health care was generally far higher in the Community than in Britain"; Eldon Griffiths - "a 'NO' vote will mean a decline in the car industry".

Mr. Edward Heath of "without full-hearted consent" fame paid us a visit in Scotland to let us know that many firms were holding back capital at the moment until we had voted "YES". He listed some of them, Seagrams, Hoover, B.P., etc. and should we vote "NO", the investment would go elsewhere. Speaking in Paisley he gave a 10-point charter of the benefits we will get on staying in and these should be listed and checked regularly.

In an article in the Scotsman on 22 May, we read of Europe and the Scottish dimension - "the provisions of the Treaty (of Rome) and the Acts of the Community pursuant to the Treaty clearly specify the sovereign rights of the member states over economic activities on the continental shelf and in particular over the exploitation of oil resources - it follows that these natural resources belong entirely to the member states which may therefore derive full economic advantage from them, e.g., dues, taxation and balance of payment benefits". Vassie, the writer of the article, assures that Scotland's benefits will be many and lists "funds for retraining after redundancy". He goes on "the attraction for American investment SEEMS greater inside the E.E.C. than out." The "seems" must be a great consolation to workers in Dundee being paid off at this very moment, made "redundant" by American Branch firms.

The C.B.I. (Confederation of British Industry) stated their main aim "was to reach a consensus on industrial policy so that companies would not be continually disrupted by violent changes under successive governments". The Steel fraternity wanted nothing less than a special treaty to keep them in if the vote was "out".

And so it went on - a campaign of threats and bribes from the Pros.

On the whole, it was easier to gain facts from those who were anti for they used figures based on the time while we had been in the Market, e.g., that investment from Britain to the Market had increased greatly after entry which made Tony Benn's claim of a huge job loss quite logical. All claims by

Scottish spokesmen of all parties that staying in would slow the devolution timetable were categorically denied.

The Church of Scotland have their Annual General Assembly at the end of May and there Lord Macleod of Fuinary (well known in connection with the Iona Community and as one of the leading figures in the C.N.D. movement in Scotland) made an impassioned plea for staying out but received little support. The Assembly "Voted heavily in favour of the deliverance on Britain and the E.E.C." which after an emotive preamble merely stated that divisions existed and that they ought to "prepare themselves by prayer".

Also by the end of May, the plight of the regions of local government having no direct links with Brussels was being discussed. The possible delays of a system whereby they would have first to convince Westminster of the validity of their submissions increased the desirability of direct links and the fact the English authorities have been sending delegations to Brussels was noted - they, of course, were formed last year but the Scottish ones only weeks before the Referendum. However, they have very quickly formed a Convention chaired at the moment by the man who spearheaded the fight of the County of Fife to remain a region and not be split up. He has been very critical of the formation of the new organisations and wondered if Wheatly and the others had any idea that an Assembly was on the way. However, they are going to have many greater and more immediate problems - "-----" for most local authorities, the main implication of the E.E.C. are concerned with some of the more technical directives - e.g., the requirement to advertise tenders on an ALL EUROPE basis before a building contract may be awarded".

By 31 May the O.R.C. poll was saying "Scots tilt slightly towards Market". YES 47% NO 40% 13% still undecided.

In Britain as a whole 2-1 to remain in was recorded faithfully during campaign. The Tories remained resolutely for, except for a few dissidents, Liberals consistently for, and in Scotland the official S.N.P. policy was against, so the "swing" was in the Labour ranks where 50% fewer than last year thought we should get out, i.e., Harold Wilson's negotiation farce had been very successful for him. "AS AN ISSUE BRITISH MEMBERSHIP OF THE E.E.C. HOLDS LOW PRIORITY WITH SCOTTISH VOTERS" is one quote from the same poll.

Coincidence? On 31 May, the Commission announced that they had approved of Government aid for British Leyland. The antis claimed that this was propaganda as it obviously was, and the fact that they could wield this authority surely was the important factor not that in this case it was the "right" decision. Other offers of aid came in during the pre-referendum weeks, Ebbw Vale, N.C.B., a whisky bottling plant in Scotland, etc. Fred Peart, the Agriculture Minister explained that last year's coupon scheme to aid old age pensioners was one of "several measures agreed to last year to help strengthen the beef market by stimulating consumption.... to continue it now might upset the balance; pensions have been generally increased and in principle it must be better to enable pensioners to have a reasonable standard of living without THE NEED FOR HAND-OUTS". Which is the correct interpretation?

June 2nd. Willie Ross was telling us "Scotland has a new resource in oil, yet there are people calling it a European resource rather than a British one!" Mr. Heath's new threat was that a weakened Europe (without us) would be in danger militarily and "might" be deserted by her allies. Willie Hamilton has in his Fife constituency the new town of Glenrothes. He knew 9 firms who would lose 345 jobs if we come out and his reasoning was simplicity itself - "multiply that by the other firms in Glenrothes - then spread that across Scotland." The resulting job loss would be ours should we leave the Market. (Mr. Hamilton should spend less time going at the English Royal Family and find out more about the divergent aspects of Scottish constituencies!) The Pros continued with their barrage of bribes and enumerating group support was also thought to be a very strong argument: the Confederation of British Industry is against coming out, the Chambers of Commerce, The Steel Board, The Coal Board - a Tory M.P. speaking in Dundee said "in Scotland trade, industry, banking, steel, insurance, farming, the Church are all in favour of the E.E.C., only the S.N.P. are against. Can all of these be wrong and the S.N.P. right? - no - the S.N.P. are only interested in nationalism, the others in - patriotism - ". The same M.P.: - "A 'NO' vote will mean the eventual closing of schools and hospitals, the stopping of

roads, railways and mines... the Arabs and Nigerians who are underpinning our economy will withdraw their money".

5th June. Roy Jenkins - "If we vote to leave the Market, investment and export plans will be disrupted, the outlook for employment and inflation will be worsened and we will have to face a large and rapid cut in our standard of living".

The results are known to us now - the Western Isles and Shetland voted against - significantly as they are the most remote from the present centralist government. Scotland registered a "YES" vote but on a turnout substantially less than the rest of Britain, 61.4% (almost 40% of the voters regarded it as rather irrelevant) - none of the four component parts of the U.K. produced an absolute majority in favour. Donald Stewart said that the "NO" vote in the W.I. showed that the people there understood the threat to fishing and crofting from the E.E.C.

Scotland:	YES - 1,333,186	58.4%
	NO - 948,039	41.6%
	61% of the electorate voted - 39%	did not vote.

POSTSCRIPT - July.

E.E.C. attack on British oil obsession. The Vice President of the European Commission indicated that they are going to take a tough line with Britain over North Sea Oil now that the referendum is out of the way..... though it (a report to the European parliament) mentions highly promising potential oil deposits notably off the coast of Brittany, the report sees North Sea oil reserves as forming the bulk of the community's hydrocarbon resources." The E.E.C. report has the general support of the Conservative group of M.P.'s at Strasbourg. One of them on this committee, is reported as saying that the idea that North Sea oil "could be isolated and exclusively reserved for Britain was nonsense."

Mrs. Winfred Ewing has been chosen by the S.N.P. to be their representative at Strasbourg - she will be appearing just in time to make Scotland's voice heard.

It is to be hoped that we could find out how some of the campaigns against staying in were conducted and get some explanations of the Scottish vote in the different areas. Are Roy Jenkins' last words true of the Scottish voters - "they took the advice of the leaders they are used to following" ?

## BROADCASTING.

The submission, of the Broadcasting Council of Scotland to the Annan Committee on the future of Broadcasting was headlined in most papers with the words "home rule" somewhere; and certainly the call was pleasantly clear and far-reaching - immediate action to abolish B.B.C. London's control over Scotland; Scotland must have the final say in how it's annual budget (£5½M.) is spent; another £½-¾M. is required; the service to remote communities paying the same fees as others must be improved; Radio Scotland to be the main channel on medium wave and V.H.F., with only short visits to Radio 4, (the main channel for Scotland at present, most of the contents of which are no particular interest, though some - the bucolic rural "Archers" - are a source of great irritation).

The Council criticise the B.B.C.'s own 'hope' expressed to the Annan Committee, that Edinburgh should be developed as a major base. They say this hope is an essential.... "Scotland must have by one means or another direct control over a greater proportion of expenditure in relation to broadcasting within or from Scotland.... ESPECIALLY IN THE LIGHT OF POLITICAL DEVOLUTION."

The Broadcasting Council of Scotland is responsible for the policy and content of B.B.C. -Scotland radio and T.V. channels 1 and 2. Advisory committees provide specialist guidance on specific areas such as religion, agriculture, music, Gaelic, schools, etc. At the moment it is chaired by Lady Avonside, a former Tory candidate and includes trade union leaders and people from other public bodies. The pressure they are putting on the Government (for this is what it amounts to in the final analysis) for the most that may be obtained in a British context is a reflection of their awareness of the deep dissatisfaction of a great many people in Scotland and that other pressures exist whose ultimate aim for the media as elsewhere is complete independence and this, they would consider undesirable.

Members of the Annan Committee were in Edinburgh at the beginning of July taking verbal evidence. Colin Spencer, the Field Officer of An COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, interviewed at

that time said more than 80% of local authorities in the Highlands had endorsed their written demands (submitted at the end of last year) for more Gaelic air time and a special radio station for Gaelic Speakers. He had been told that there had been "a great number of other submissions supporting Gaelic apart from the local authorities". (Among them one from the Scottish Branch of the League.)

**GAELIC.** The beginning of May saw the first signs of militancy on the part of Gaelic speakers themselves. 100 of them demonstrated outside the B.B.C. studios in Glasgow and when asked to leave staged a lightning "sit-down". They were demanding a new V.H.F. station for their areas and more Gaelic schools-broadcasts. Later a B.B.C. spokesman expressed disappointment at their ingratitude! However Mr. David Pat Walker, head of programmes, Scotland, made this statement:- "The interest taken by B.B.C. Scotland continues and there is reason to believe that we are on the threshold of a major breakthrough in Gaelic Broadcasting."

M.D.

## ÈIRIGH-A-MACH 1820.

In 1820, the Scottish Radicals, fighting for Scottish freedom and democratic rights under the slogan: "Scotland Free or a Desert", carried out an armed insurrection in central Scotland.

Unfortunately, the organisation had been thoroughly infiltrated by Government spies and informers and, although the revolt had widespread support, it was doomed to failure. Many of the ringleaders were arrested almost before the insurrection had begun, and a Radical force was defeated at the Battle of Bonnymuir with some loss of life.

Apart from those who were killed in action, three Radicals were later executed and a great many more imprisoned and transported.

The revolt was accompanied by strikes and civil disorder, giving the Government an excuse to carry out a campaign of repression, and a large number of citizens were killed or injured by English troops.

Although the 1820 Insurrection is one of the more important events in recent Scottish history, very few people are aware of it. This is due to the fact that, almost without exception, Scottish "historians" have ignored the event as if it had never taken place! However, a full account is available in *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820*, by P. Berresford Ellis and Seumas Mac a Ghobhainn (Gollancz).

Each year, a commemorative rally is held at the Martyrs' Monument in Sighthill Cemetery, Glasgow. This year, the event takes place at 2.30p.m. on Sunday, September 14th. A large attendance is hoped for and anyone interested in further details should contact John Murphy, Secretary, 1820 Commemoration Committee, 1 Enview Terrace, Paisley PA2 7JJ.

A.B.

**Constitution for Free Scots - What a Scottish Parliament can do.** Scots Secretariat, Jess Cottage, Carlops by Penicuik, EH26 9NF, SCOTLAND. Price 20 pence.

This is a 48 page document prepared for a meeting of a Provisional Shadow Parliament and contains a great deal of propaganda material. It provides for a simplified Single Tax system under which all taxation would be collected by Parish Councils. Many would only be remitted to the Central ("clearing house") Government after local needs had been met.

As well as the 71 members of Parliament elected by constituencies, there would be direct representatives from trade unions, and from a Council of Professional men and women. A "Fourth Estate" consisting of 3 delegates from "religious and rationalist" bodies is suggested subject to approval by the Scottish Parliament.

Complete Scottish Neutrality as regards external military service is envisaged.

## THE HIGHLAND-LOWLAND MYTH.

For generations the Scots have been encouraged to believe that their country could be, and always has been, divided into two regions - Highlands and Lowlands - and that the populations of these regions were distinct in race, language, culture

and customs. The modern concept of Scotland is firmly based on this belief and, considering the influence of historical analysis on national cultural outlook it is hardly surprising that there is no united national cultural outlook or that most Scots have no sense of Celtic identity.

Any objective study of Scottish history tends to refute the Highland-Lowland Myth, nevertheless it still has a strong grip on the popular imagination and, for example, it is extremely difficult to convince an English speaking Scot that Gaelic is the original Scottish language. The Highland-Lowland Myth is probably the greatest obstacle to a revival of the Scottish language and, for this reason alone, is worthy of examination.

Geographically, the Highland-Lowland distinction is absurd. There are several distinct areas but essentially Scotland is a highland country, there being few extensive areas of flat or low lying land except in the Midland Valley and, in the North, round the Moray Firth and in Caithness. The most rugged terrain lies North and West of the Highland Boundary Fault which crosses the country from Helensburgh to Stonehaven. However, the imaginary Highland line "which divides Highlands and Lowlands", far from conforming to it, actually cuts across the Highland Boundary Fault. For instance, Aberdeenshire is part of the geographical "Highland" area but is usually classed as "Lowland", presumably because, for centuries, it has been mainly English speaking. By degrees, "Highland" has come to have more significance in a linguistic and cultural, than in a geographical, context.

The idea that, for identification purposes, Scotland has always been roughly divided into Highlands and Lowlands is utterly refuted by the fact that medieval writers did not make this distinction. Originally, "hieland" was applied to any area of hilly country rather than to one particular area, but by the 16th century it had become normal practice to refer to the more rugged Northern country as "the high-land countries" or "the highlands". Even so, the term covered a far larger area than it does today. A Statute of 1594 which was aimed at "the clans and surnames inhabiting the Highlands and Isles", mentions the shires of Bute, Dumbarton, Stirling, Perth, Angus, Aberdeen, Banff, Moray and Nairn.

**Decline of Gaelic.** Until the 12th century, Gaelic was the everyday language of all classes and was spoken throughout Scotland. Its decline was the inevitable result of the Anglo-Norman Penetration carried out with the authority of the self-seeking King, David I. The forcible introduction of feudalism led to the destruction of the Celtic social organisation in much of Southern and Eastern Scotland, and resulted in the establishment of English as the language of social dominance. However, even in the districts most affected by these changes, Gaelic continued to be spoken. In many areas it remained the language of the ordinary people for centuries afterwards. Renfrewshire, Ayrshire and Galloway were mainly Gaelic speaking until the 15th century and possibly the 16th. In Galloway there were still Gaelic speaking communities during the latter 18th century. There are a large number of references to the language's survival in other parts of what is now known as "Lowland" Scotland and, very significantly, Gaelic was still described as "Scottish" - the Scottish language - during the 16th century.

By the 17th century Gaelic was confined to peripheral areas in the South while the North was still mainly Gaelic speaking, so that contemporary writers began to distinguish between the "Highland" men and their counterparts who were described as "Lowland" men. The Highland-Lowland distinction dates from this period and, as time went on and the actual divisions - linguistic, social and economic - became more clearly defined, certain aspects of culture and custom came to be thought of as "Highland", rather than Scottish. The final touch of mythology was added by Sir Walter Scott, whose romantic novels had an incalculable effect on Scottish consciousness tending as they did to exaggerate the differences and ignore the links between the linguistic groups.

The result is that most Scots do not recognise Gaelic as the native language and, nationally, the greatest crisis is one of identity - and survival - rather than mere political independence. No nation which rejects its own language and culture can hope to survive, and hopes for a Scottish Revival will be equally dismal unless steps are taken to break down the long standing fallacies which constitute the Highland-Lowland Myth.

A.B.

## AIS-ÉIRIGH NA GREINE.

Chréid na seanna Greugaich, tha e air aithris, gu robh dà chànan ann - a 'Ghreugais agus a' Bhorbarrais. A réir coltais chan eil an leithid seo de dhànadais a dhith nar latha fhéin a measg nan cànanan mhóra. Ma tha a' Bheurla aig leth an t-saoghail slobhalta dé am feum, théir iad, air cànan sam bith eile? A réir na modha seo de smaointinn chan eil ann an cànan ach téip tollte chomputair son innsidh cruaidh a chomunnachadh. Nuair a tha a' Bheurla aig a h-uile Cuimreach neo Albannach, bhéireadh sin an t-anam-fáis (raison d'être) as a Chuimris agus an Albais. Tha na cànanean Cheilteach air fàs thar-a-chòir. Chan eil iad a nis ach a' cur cùisean thar-a-chéile. Se ri sheachnadh a tha iad. Nach mór an call gu bheil a' bharrail cheudna seo aig iomadh Albannach a thaobh na Gàidhlig. Ach tha iad gu buileach ceàrr. Tha iad ceàrr a chionn gur motha cànan na téip-chomputair. Se sealladh-saoghail sònraichte a th'inte. Tha na sìnich agus an h-Eisgimich a' smaointinn ann an dòigh àraichte a chionn gu bheil cànanean àraichte aca, agus cùl-air-beulaibh.

Si a' Bheurla cànan air cruthachadh leis na Sasunnaich chum am feallsanachd-beatha pearsanta a chur-an-céill. Tha dòigh-smaointinn eadar-dhealaichte aig an t-Albannach agus si a' Ghàidhlig araon barantas is suaicheantas de'n eadar-dhealachaidh sin.

Rinn iomadh Gall oidhearp a chum a' Bheurla Ghallda a stéidheachadh mar ar cànan nàiseanta. Tha sinn a' cur fáilte air an oidhearp ach nar barrail fhéin chan eil anns a' Ghallda is ach a' ghealach. Si Gàidhlig a' ghrian. Gu ma fada beò a' ghallda is thlachdmhar ach is a' Ghàidhlig a' mhàin air an total "ALBAIS".

Fearghas Mac Fhionnlaigh.

## BREIZH.

### CRISIS IN THE FISHING INDUSTRY.

The Breton fishermen and shipowners were faced in recent months with a severe crisis on account of the collapse of prices due to the importation into Boulogne of high-sea fish. In March 300 tons of "lieu noir" (black pollack) had to be dumped in one hour.

The fishermen needed assistance to support prices and long term credits to help rationalise markets. There has been a manifold increase in their costs, and excess imports into the EEC. They asked for a suspension of imports.

The fishermen and the shipowners were united in these demands but the crisis revealed that there were social, political and Breton dimensions to the problem.

There are two types of fishing in Brittany: industrial, high sea fishing based on Konk-Kernev (Concarneau) and An Oriant (Lorient); and artisanal, coastal fishing chiefly based on harbours in the South-West. The latter type has been particularly hit by rises in production/equipment costs. The price of diesel oil has risen 400% in two years. Like the small farmers, the small fishermen have been subjected to greater restriction of credits for modernisation.

The two have common problems: organising markets, getting stabler prices. They have no control over them: these are in the hands of the big fish dealers and shipowners.

Earnings: from a sale worth £12,000, a Konk fisherman will get £100 - £150. For this he will have worked 150 hours and spent some 72 hours without sleep. Hence the claim directed at the employers (shipowners), that the work conditions at sea be improved; they ask in particular for a trade union representative to be present on board, and for a paid five-day leave per month.

A Loktudi man engaged in the family type of fishing worked 3530 hours at sea in 1973 and 3630 hours in 1974. His average earning was less than £0.65 per hour.

Importance of the fishing industry. In relation to French fishing, it may be exemplified by the following table:-

Harbour	Amounts brought in	Value (Year 1974)
Boulogne	122 061 tons	249 142 000 F
Lorient	78 170	233 690 000 F
Concarneau	61 850	200 203 000 F
Total for the two Breton harbours	140 020	433 893 000 F

In spite of the Breton lead in this field, and the urgent need for help to modernise the fishing fleet, the credits allocated for this by the French government are mainly going to Boulogne.

If the threat to Konk materialises, the whole town will be ruined. Seven jobs on land depend on each fisherman's. In Konk for 900 trawler men, there are 320 dockers, 450 office workers and managers connected with the fish trade; others in subsidiary industries such as the manufacture of tin cans, 2000 people are employed in the South (Breton) Cornwall fish/canning factories, along the coastal strip from Douarnenez to Ar Poul Du. In the same zone extending about 80 miles are situated 26 ship maintenance and repair yards, 5 net-making workshops, 6 metal can factories (4 of which employ more than 100 workers each), 300 fish market employees, 800 dockers, 150 fish mongers. Between them, Douarnenez, Konk and an Oriant have a fleet of 180 high sea trawlers giving directly or indirectly work to about 13,000 people.

As unrest developed, the fishermen included claims for better working conditions: rest days between two trips, retirement at 50, minimum guaranteed wages, radio-electric equipment to be supplied by the shipowners. Despite the fishermen's refusal to make common cause with the latter, agreement was reached in An Oriant. But in Konk a prolonged strike took place, supported by other workers. This support failed to develop throughout the whole Breton fishing industry. Yet this crisis underlined the fact that France has no sea fishery policy. As for Konk-Kernev, the only long-term development envisaged officially is to make it the centre of a tourist belt labelled "Stockholm-Sud", aiming at attracting wealthy Scandinavians. (Ref. Le Peuple Breton).

### WAR BE DU, PENN A-RAOK?

Degouezhet 'z eus ganin ur "pennad-brud evit ar c'helaouennou!" Digant ur c'haser dizanv. N'eo ket evit gervel d'an unaniezh, evel hini Kuzul Broadel Breizh, met evit diskleriañ perak ez eus savet disrann etre "Yaouankizou Penn-A-RAOK BREIZH" hag an UDB. War-raok ez a avat ar re o deus aozet ar skridse, peogwir n'int ket chomet a-sav evit adsevel ar Yaouankizou war un diazezh breizhat nevez: aet int, pep den diouzh e benn e-unan, d'en em "stagañ" ouzh Yaouankiz Komunour Marxour-Leninour Bro-Frañs! Setu, e Breizh e c'heller lavarout "Never a dull moment", atav e saver hag e tiskarar, ha ma ned eer da neblec'h, kemma vez bepred!

Abeget e vez en harp roet gant an UDB en dilennadegoù d'ar politikacher bourc'hiz ma'z eo Mitterand ha da vrizhkounourien Marchais - Leroy. Distaolet e vez tezeñ an UDB: "Breizh = Trevadenn" war zigarez ma is labourerien Vreizh a-enep re Vro-Frañs; penaos, ne lavarar ket.

Ma! n'eo ket ezhomm moarvat da enebñ ouzh labourerien Vro-C'hall evit dieubiñ Breizh -- daoust ma chom an darn vrasañ eus ar re-se diseblant-kaer pa vez harzoù-labour evit heñvelat goprou labourerien Breizh ouzh o re; daoust ma roont ivez un darn vat eus o mouezhioù d'ar bolitikerien a ziviz penaos e vez renet Breizh... N'eo ket me a zislavaro ar re a gav abeg en doare ma'z eo bet kemeret perzh gant SAV koulz hag an UDB en dilennadegoù gall (un digarez a dlefe bezañ anezho evit brudañ ar menozioù breizhat ha diskuilhañ politikerien ar strolladoù gall e Breizh, netra ken).

Met neuze, da betra 'talvez mont unan-uhag-unan da stourm e-barzh ur gostezenn c'hall? Ar pennad-brud-mañ zo savet e brezhoneg, ur brezhoneg ha n'eo ket ken "poblek" - se (daoust da fazioù e-leizh). Ha se a ziskouez un tammig emzalc'h emsavel? Nann, kudenn Vreizh, a lavarar, zo hini ur "vinorelezh vroadel pe sevenadurel e-barzh ar Stad C'hall, ha ne vo ket trec'h an dispac'h proleterel hep stourm evit ar frankiz vroadel! An dispac'h proleteral a ranker kaout feiz start ennañ pa weler ar vicherourien kalz tuetoc'h da dizhout dere ar vourc'hizien eget da eilpennañ urzh ar bed kornog. Setu koulskoude ar pezh a gelenn ar Vaoourien tra ma tiskuilhont kement ha muioc'h impalaeriezh Voskov eget hini Washington. Kerniel hir a vez d'ar saout er broioù pell. Ar pezh a garfen gouzout digant aozerien ar pennad-brud eo petra 'ro dezho da grediñ e vint harpet gant Strollad Komunourien Marxourien-Leninourien Vro-Frañs da c'hounit frankiz vroadel da Vreizh? Peserit frankiz e vefe? Penaos e rofe tu da Vreizhiz da seveniñ o galloudezhioù dibar? Ha graet e vefe war-dro "ar c'hultur breizhat" evel un dra folklorel da vout miret keit ha ma c'hello padout pe roet e vefe an atizoù ret

a-berzh-stad evit ma teufe ar sonerezh, an arzoù hag al lennegezh vrezhonek da vleuiñañ? Se a garfed gwelout displeget en ur yezh sklaer, kuit a stambouc'h "damkaniezhel". Da c'hortoz e kredan ez eo aet ar yaouankizoù-se da sankañ o fenn a-raok e traezh ar gleizelouriezh c'hall. Unan hag unan pe a-stroll zoken, eno ne bouezo ket o ali.

Petra'soñjal eus an doare ma kendalc'h ar Vrezhonek sañset emskiantek da dabuta kenetrezo hep morse dont-a-benn da strivañ a-gevret? Undra eo anaout ez eus hag e vo atav diforc'hoù-menoziou etre an dud, hag e talvez da bep rummad kevredif evit brudañ ha boutinaat ar menozioù m'en em glever diwar o fouez. Mat eo kaout daelerezh etre ar strolladoùigoù-se, diabarzh ha diavaez. Met mallozh gast! goude arvestiñ ouzh bloavezhioù da dabut e Breizh e teuer da soñjal e tabuter evit ar blijadur da c'hoari e baotr fin diwar-bouez kealioù difetis ha menozioù faltazius. Da betra e talvez pa ne straweler ket an deiz m'o devo o dalc'hidi ar galloud d'o c'has da wir? Moarvat ma vefe unaniezh diwar-benn ar palioù boutin e vefe ret oberiañ ha neket mui marvailhat hepken. Se a vefe sirius, marteze re arvarus evit tud'zo. Hag ouzh ar pleustr e vefe aprouet ar menozioù hag ar c'healioù kaer, ha diskouezet moarvat touellerezh an darn vat anezho.

Neuze e kendalc'her da dreñf en-dro d'ar gudenn e-lec'h labourat d'he diluziañ dre ober koulz ha dre gomz. N'eo ket poellek d'am meno, ma klasker sevel ur stad vreizhat pe ur fram bennak d'ur Vreizh vrezhonek, sammañ war un dro enebiezh un niver vras a genvroiz koulz hag hini ar Stad C'Hall. Rak re aes e vo atav d'ar Stad-mañ lakaat ar Vrezhonek da wastañ o nerzhioù gant arvelloù diabarzh! Ret eo nac'h treuzvarc'hata gant ar Vretoned a zo gouestlet d'ar genreizhad c'hall ha hep douetañs d'ar c'horvoerezh diwar-goust al labourerien vreizhat. Etre ar peurrest eus ar bobl vreizhat avat e tleer klask lakaat unaniezh, en anv ar vroadelouriezh. Rak kaer a vo lavarout, n'eo ket anatoc'h "pobl Vreizh" eget "ar vroad vreizhat" bre-mañ, met evit petra e striv an holl strolladoù hag aozadurioù breizhat ma n'eo ket evit adsevel ur genreizhad a zarempredoù hag a ereoù a vo anavezet gant koulz lavaret an holl dud a sant ez int breizhat evel o zra, un dra dellezek a vezañ diwallet ha diorroet? Abaoe ar brezel diwezhan, ne gred ket tud'zo lavarout ez int broadelourien gant aon e ve hopet warno "faskourien", "dehouerien". Seurt tud a bleg da wallvruderezh enebourien Vreizh, da lavarout eo n'int ket dieub int o-unan. Gouzout a reont sur-mat ez eo pennvenoz ar vroadelourien difenn, diogelaat, diorren an dud hag an traou a ra eus Breizh ur bobl diouti hec'h unan, ha kement-se n'hall ket bezañ graet hep harp an darn vrasan eus labourerien vreizhat. Klask tenezaat enebourien Vreizh en ur hopal ivez a-enep ar vroadelourien zo politikerezh berrwel, evel ma oa a-berzh "difennerien ar brezhoneg yezh rannvroel". No vo kavet grad na degemer digant enebourien Vreizh hag ar strolladoù politikel gall nemet en ur zivodañ ar strolladoù breizhat ha mont unan -hagunan d'en em goll er strolladoù gall.

E-lec'h spisaat an hent e hañval ar breutaerezh hag an daelerezh diastal bezañ lakaet kemmesk er speredoù. Daoust hag e vern d'an darn vrasañ eus ar Vrezhonek kenvevan e Breizh? Neuze eo dav dezho en em glevout. Ma n'eo ket kindan renerezh Callaoued, ez eo poent bras d'ar re a lavar stourm evit ar frankiz klask kentoc'h (ne lavaran ket hepken) ar pezh a c'hell o unaniñ, doujañ an disheñvelder pa ne gaver ket an hent d'an unaniezh ha gortoz da vihanañ. Ma vint tost da dapout ar galloud evit kondaonin ar re n'int ket a ali ganto d'an deñvalijenn - diavaez.

A. H.

## BRETON NATIONAL COUNCIL.

We have received a proclamation in French issued in July on behalf of "Le Conseil National de Bretagne". Its members "are patriots of all political, social and denominational tendencies"; they claim to "represent, in view of the diversity of our recruitment, the forces working for the political, economic, social and cultural liberation of Brittany and of the Breton people". They have to remain anonymous because of their "present commitments in the political, administrative, social and cultural fields". They state that the Breton people cannot be validly represented by people and parties integrated in the State which is pursuing through its centralist colonialist system a policy of ethnocide in Brittany; that those elected and appointed by that system are not legitimised to speak on behalf of Brittany; that legitimacy, "aux termes du droit des gens", belongs, in a

nation, only to THOSE WHO WANT IT TO SURVIVE, TO PROSPER, TO DEVELOP AND TO BE FREE BY CLAIMING FOR IT THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

Hence the decision to set up a Conseil National de Bretagne to act as "porte-parole de cette légitimité bretonne (a voice of that Breton legitimacy) which has been denied expression ever since the Bretons' own representative assemblies were forced to dissolve (i.e. in 1788). This will continue until liberation enables the nation to reassume this function.

"Our role is not so much to get the centralist Paris government to recognise our uncontested historical rights as to work by all means at our disposal to establish an effective Breton power. We propose to make known our position concerning the concrete problems affecting the development and interests of the Breton community".

The proclamation of the inalienable right of the Breton people to self-government follows, with reference to the ownership of land and adjacent sea areas, the distribution of their resources and products, territorial claims (concerning the Nantes area), the building of a modern Breton society on the basis of "démocratie directe et communautaire", participation and self-management in all possible fields.

The Council rejects all external domination, be it political, economical, social, or cultural. It calls on the Breton people to unite in support of the struggle for liberation, to organise campaigns of non-violent resistance to the French state and its local agents, also to back any political-military struggle for liberation.

The first question that will be asked is how representative this Conseil may be of the nationally-minded and active Breton organisations. For all their differences, which are normal and perhaps even valuable in seeking to achieve a free society, it is often exasperating to see how little they seem prepared to recognise their common points and to co-ordinate action on that basis. Such a Council existed in the thirties and early forties. While welcoming this attempt to give expression to the community of national aspiration and agreeing that members of the French Parliament elected in Brittany cannot speak as Breton representatives, (since they are elected to represent parts of "France" and do not claim for Brittany the rights of a nation), we shall have to wait and see how effective an organ so constituted can become. It is easy from a position of anonymity to proclaim rights, issue rejections, claim legitimacy. But politics has to do with practical and concrete results. It must involve large numbers of people. If its members can wield sufficient influence in the various organisations and get them to co-operate on specific issues, the Council will have proved its worth. Failing this, the proclamation will be just another piece of rhetoric. It may be said that, on account of the ceaseless shifting of the post-war period, a re-statement of the Breton national aims was needed. The present one is clear in some respects, in others it is too vague. However the main concern of a Breton national movement should no longer be to define rights --- that was done fairly well already in 1928 --- but to find ways of getting them realised. The Council has contributed an appeal. Some will not want to hear it because it gives precedence to the concept of co-operation between all Breton classes for the sake of achieving self-government, while they believe that certain categories of Bretons are bound by their interests to oppose a genuine national liberation. In seeking national unity the Council comes close to the positions of the SNP and of Plaid Cymru.

A. H.

GOUEL AR BREZHONEG, held for the first time last year in Gwengamp, aims at becoming the Breton equivalent of the Welsh Eisteddfod and of the Irish Oireachtas: a festival of the Breton culture using Breton as its medium. This year it lasted three days (Whit week-end) and drew a large attendance. Its programme included stage performances (two plays watched by full houses... about 400 people each time), a film by R. Laouenan on the life and work of the poet Anjela Duval, music and dance and, not least in a situation calling for political involvement, a debate in Breton about the language in which politicians were asked to state their positions (they agreed to sign a demand for the setting up of bilingual road signs).

We have heard of this demand for the past few years. The local elected councils want Breton on the sign posts, but the administration, which is centralised in Paris, does not. Some courageous people took it upon themselves to carry out the

people's will but the movement does not seem to have developed.

The periodical BARR-HEOL is right in regretting that the organisers of the festival did not seize this opportunity to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the launching of the literary magazine GWALARN which marked the beginning of a new era for the Breton language.

#### GIVE THE LANGUAGE TO THE CHILDREN.

Rearing families through the medium of the Breton language was considered so contrary to PROGRESS during the period 1920-1950 that, by the middle of the century, only the most strongly-minded and nationally-conscious parents were capable of doing it. To-day, their example is being followed by an increasing number of young couples. The association EMGLEV AN TIEGEZHOU, centred in Rennes, has for many years provided a link between such Breton-speaking families by organising games, excursions, etc. Its activities includes religious (Catholic) practice. It held its annual Spring gathering in Gwengamp on June 15th and a holiday camp in Kistinid, a relatively isolated area where Breton is commonly spoken, at the beginning of July.

Another association of Breton-speaking families, Ar Brezhoneg er Gêr, has existed for the past two years. It is neutral in religious matters. It had a gathering in Menez Kamm on June 22nd. Four others are planned for the next 8 months and two four-day camps are being held this Summer.

**A HISTORICAL MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX OF BRETON**, by Robarz Hemon, has just been published in English by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 10 Br. Burlington, Ath Cliath 4. 328p. Price £6. It is a historical grammar, a study of the changes of word forms and of the main aspects of syntax during the past 9 centuries. It is the first historical morphology and syntax of Breton to be written. Roparz Hemon is also the author of the first Historical Breton Dictionary (showing how all the Breton words have been used for centuries): this has been published over the past 10 years in fascicule form (some 15 volumes) by PREDER, down to the letter O. Learners and writers are now in a good position to find out what is or is not correct and genuine Breton. This is all the more important as the quality of the language spoken by native speakers has deteriorated due to the lack of Breton teaching and the spread of French. Being deprived by the French of the means to create our own institutions, we are greatly indebted to the Dublin Institute for making this, and other philological works by Roparz Hemon, available to students.

**A. H. Langleiz** who died last May, aged 69, will be remembered as a Breton painter and writer. From him we have a collection of poems, Kanou en Noz; a play: An Div Zremm; a novel: Enez ar Rod and a half-poetical half technical essay "Ene al Linennou". But his name is linked above all with the re-creation of the Authurian tales. Drawn as he was to the ideal of Christian Chivalry, he wanted to give these old stories back to us in our language. His "Tristan hag Izold" was published in 1958 by AL LIAMM who have also, just before his death, given us his "Roue Arzhur". He contributed to the efforts which led to the unification of the Breton spelling in 1941, although his writings show a particular attachment to the dialect of "Vannes". In 1946, while those who had been actively involved in the Breton struggle during the war were being prosecuted, Langleiz started the Interceltic Camp for Breton Speakers, the first Summer school of the post-war period.

**SPELLING AND FIDDLING.** We are sorry to see so much valuable time being wasted again with "reforms" of the Breton spelling. We don't claim any expert qualification in the matter but, being perfectly satisfied that a). no spelling can, in any language, reflect the diversity of dialectal forms, b). the Breton dialectal forms are evolving continuously, and now fast degrading, c). no spelling will command general support in the absence of a Breton State authority, we propose to stick to the spelling devised in 1941, like the well-established periodicals Al Liamm, Imbourc'h, Barr-Heol, Emsav, Preder, Hor Yezh. We shall not reconsider this unless fairly general agreement is reached. Undoubtedly the diversity of spelling discourages numerous learners and we may well wonder if much of the disagreement is not connected with the lack of political-Breton sense on the part of the contenders. Breton can

afford only one spelling. For those who are keen on dialectal variations, a guide on how to pronounce in the different areas could be published.

**REGIONALISATION ET RESTRUCTURATION DE L'ESPACE CAPITALISTE.** SAV BREIZH proposes for discussion among the members of its study group a draft analysis of the failure of the Breton bourgeoisie to create for itself a regional role in the modern economic mutation. Formerly hostile to the special characteristics of Brittany, it saw after 1945 its own position threatened by the coming ruin of the traditional Breton economy, and tried to profit from the farmers unrest of the 60's by creating the Movement for the Organisation of Brittany and the Comité d'Etudes et de Liaison des Intérêts Bretons and impressing on the French government the need to industrialise Brittany. But there was no native capital sufficient for this. There was for a few years some industrial decentralisation, and then it stopped. For years now, the Breton publications have recorded closures of factories. In the period up to the mid-sixties, says Sav Breizh, the colonialist organisation of the capitalist space according to the two principles of a). the imbalance of exchanges (buying raw materials at low prices, selling finished products at high prices); b). the separation between "le lieu de reproduction de la force de travail" and "le lieu d'extraction de la plus-value" (?) applied to Brittany. But the difference in living standards which results from this relationship could not be maintained under the unitary social system valid throughout the State, without provoking upheavals or, as was done for ex-colonial countries, giving Brittany a pseudo-independence so as to create a buffer between exploited and exploited. This could not be done on account of the State ideology. But, the pamphlet argues, this means that, although Brittany is still useful to the capitalists for military and touristic reasons, there is no longer any use for the Bretons themselves. They should be removed.

There are indeed so many signs that this process is at work that an examination of this interpretation should be worthwhile. The demographic maps show the progressive depopulation of the whole of rural Brittany.

#### GWENN-RANN.

Widespread concern was expressed in recent months on account of proposals to instal nuclear reactors on the Breton coast. Gwenn-Rann, the Nr 3 issue of which is devoted to the defense of the Breton territory from a national and ecological point of view, asks why the M. P.'s elected in Brittany had nothing to say in a recent nuclear debate in the French National Assembly. Was it beyond them, or where they party-muzzled?

France, says Gwenn-Rann, is the country with the highest expenditure per capital on weapon fabrication, followed (in that order) by the "U.K." the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Talk of civilizing role! It helps to keep the French industry going. So it was in Germany in the thirties. ... Do the French trade unions protest? Could they not?

**FLB.** Three men were arrested in St-Nazaire on August 4th in connection with an attempt said to have been planned by the FLB to blow up an office of the Agriculture Ministry in Nantes. The Klegereg police station was also bombed recently. Damage was caused by an explosion in the police headquarters (?) in Rennes on June 10th, responsibility being claimed by the FLB. Following this, about twenty people (mainly students) were detained --- some for 4 days. This received little publicity in the "Breton Regional" press (but was the subject of an interview on Radio na Gaeltachta). This was an opportunity for the police to try and gather information of every sort about the students who attend Breton courses at the Rennes university. According to L'Avenir de la Bretagne, a police brigade has been created to keep a close watch on Breton activists. And some young people looking for work are meeting with a reluctance on the part of prospective employers which they attribute to interventions from "above".

In May the FLB-ARB issued a communique warning against the risks which would arise from nuclear installations and threatening action against the State agents who would contribute to building and administrating them, as well as against the Bretons who would co-operate in setting them up.

## KERVARKER VINDICATED.

The publication of the Barzaz Breiz, a collection of popular songs with historic themes, over 100 years ago, marked the renaissance of the Breton literature and the resurgence of national consciousness in Brittany. The author, La Villemarqué (in Br. Kervarker) has long been accused, sometimes in virulent terms, of having invented or embellished these splendid "folk songs". On Jan. 17th, Mr. Donatien Laurent, in charge of research at the CNRS, presented a thesis which proves conclusively that the songs of the Barzaz constitute a genuine masterpiece of popular poetry, that they were really taken down from the 19th century Breton speakers. Mr. Laurent has discovered personal note-books of La Villemarqué's which offer irrefutable evidence. This should put an end to the century old polemic.

## CYMRU

**THE WELSH QUESTION: Nationalism in Welsh Politics 1945-1970**, by Dr. Alan Butt Philip. Price £6.00 - University of Wales Press.

This is a detailed and scholarly history of Welsh Nationalism in the post-Second World War period. It deals chiefly with the development and growth of Plaid Cymru. It contains the analysis of the nature of P.C.'s electoral support and deals with nationalism in a sociological context.

**YMLAEN YN EWROB** Antwn ab Osborn.

Mae Cymru yn rhan o'r Ewrob. Ond nid fel cenedl, wrth gwrs.

Yr ydym yn symud i mewn i'r maes rhyngwladol yn rhan o Brydain, fel yr oeddem yn rhan o'r Ymerodraeth Brydeinig a fel yr ydym yn aelod o'r Cenhedloedd Unedig.

Ond ar Fehefin 25, agorodd Sŵyddfa'r Cenhedloedd Ewrop-äidd heb eu Cynrychioli yn Hobbema, Brwsel. O'r sŵyddfa hon bydd pedair blaidd genedlaethol (o Lydaw, Cymru, Alsäs ac Ewsgadi) yn cyhoeddi eu polisiâu, gweithio fel grwp pŵys o ar sefydliadau'r G.E.E. ac yn casglu gwybodaeth bwysig sydd yn effeithio bywyd cymdeithasol ac economaidd gwledydd y Farchnad Gyffredin.

Y bedair blaidd sydd yn rhedeg y sŵyddfa ydyw Plaid Cymru, Strollad ar Vro, Plaid Genedlaethol Ewsgadi, ac EL (Plaid Genedlaethol Alsäs).

Rhaid cael rhyddid a statws cenedlaethol cyn cael llais ym Mrwsel, a chyda'r bedair blaidd heddychlon hyn yn ymuno gyda'u gilydd bydd mwyo gylfe ganddynt fod yn effeithiol.

Mae'n fwyfwy amlwg i bobl Cymru ei bod yn rhaid cael hunanlywodraeth cyn chwarae rhan mewn unrhyw fath o fywyd rhyngwladol, a dyma gobeithio y bydd y sŵyddfa hon yn torri trwy'r mur sydd rhwng Cymru y rhanbarth, a Chymru y gwlad gyda'i chysylltiadau ei hun yn y byd.

Fel yr ydym wedi clywed lawer gwaith o'r blaen, cenedlaetholwyr Cymru ydyw gwir rhyngwladolwyr Cymru. Ac mae llawer o Gymry eraill yn sylweddoli'r ffaith hon am y tro cyntaf y dyddiau hyn.

Summary.....

With the Bureau of Unrepresented European Nations now open in Brussels, Wales, Brittany, Alsace and Euzkadi now have a better chance of taking an active role in international affairs.

Many more people are realising for the first time that Welsh nationalism is Welsh internationalism. If the combined efforts of the national parties running the office succeed, the entry into the Common Market could turn out to be a good thing for Wales.

## ATTITUDES TO THE SIX COUNTIES PROBLEM

Antwn ab Osborn.

Every Celtic nation has had a history of fighting against military powers greater than herself, and perhaps the best example of one of them is the Angevin Empire.

This empire stretched from the Scottish border in the north to Aquitaine in the south, and took in Cornwall, Brittany, and parts of Wales and Ireland. It consisted mainly of English and French and the Celtic culture was completely alien to it.

It is from these days that many of the great heroes arose. Their names still arouse the hearts of Welshmen, still inspire the bards, and exist as a memorial, as solid as any rock erected to Llywelyn the Last, to the pride and bravery of our forefathers.

These were violent days also. Nobody thought much of putting their hostages' eyes out, but if we heard that that was going on in some remote part of the world today we would be

shocked. Burning, looting and raping were the done things between warring states. Death was common.

But for Welsh people the fighting days are over. The FWA faded out and to go around painting out road signs and damaging Post Office vans is to be extreme. So often have I heard it said when Welsh people, whether nationalistic or not, talk about the fight for freedom, that those days have gone. We're now in the 20th century and these things are done constitutionally at Westminster. Only cranks and fanatics go around blowing things up as if we were at war.

But those days have not gone. It is very unfortunate but we cannot turn a blind eye to it. No true Celt can dismiss the fact that there is what amounts to civil war going on in the Six Counties today. It is true the British public became numb towards it after a while, but after the deaths of so many young people in Birmingham because of an Irish bomb they're awake to it again.

It was pretty gory. The British public, (British, not English) felt a revulsion very similar to that felt in 1966 at the Aberfan disaster. But this time the deaths were deliberately caused.

Not many people can find any support in their hearts for the IRA, UDA, or any groups like them this side of the Celtic Sea. Their apparent total unconcern for human life destroys any sympathy which may have been felt for them as freedom fighters.

Throughout the period when groups such as the FWA were active in Wales, only one member of the British armed forces was injured - when he found a bomb in his office one Monday morning and tried to carry it outside. The bomb, a primitive one which should have exploded the day before when nobody was there, went off in his hands.

No such activities have gone on since two freedom fighters were killed by their own bomb in Abergale and since a young boy was killed by a bomb in Caernarfon after the Investiture.

Support for the families of the dead men in Wales, and for the family of John Jenkins who is in prison, show nationalists held an entirely different view of them than of members of the Six Counties extremist groups. They were looked upon more as misguided patriots than cranks - and even some of the most "conventional minded" nationalists admitted that the destruction of a pipeline or equipment at a dam site used to fill their hearts with joy.

But though these campaigns involved destruction by explosives which once or twice could have caused injury, they were far apart from the deliberate shooting and bombing to kill in the Six Counties. Bombs were always intended to go off when no one would be around, the bombs of the Irish extremists are planted to cause as many deaths as possible.

Although the Celtic League cannot support this bloody campaign, we should, as Celts, attempt to understand it.

Religion plays little or no part in politics on mainland Britain. The fact that someone is RC, Anglican, or Nonconformist simply does not matter. No one bothers to ask. So it is so difficult for us to understand the feelings that exist in the Six Counties. People there have the same colour skin, the same accents and language, why should religion enter into politics anyway?

When the troubles first started, nearly all the Welsh people I know, 99.9 per cent of them Nonconformists, supported the Catholics in their cause for more representation. The fact that they were opposed by Protestants did not matter. The view was that as the Protestants had originally been planted there to make the Catholics a minority, the Catholics should at least be treated equally now.

Along with this view though, it was more often than not mentioned that it was the English who had caused the troubles by trying to strengthen their grip on Ireland by typical imperialistic methods.

Something which no one really seemed to go into was the final question. A united Ireland, or two separate states? And if any Welshman looks back to the days of Welsh bombing he must realise that the division of a people naturally causes far stronger feelings than the flooding of a valley or non-payment of exported water. Many Welsh people today will openly support the Basque separatists in their campaign (which includes the shooting of Spanish police), and in the next breath strongly condemn Irish extremists of either side.

The English have caused more damage in Ireland than in any other Celtic land. When the attitudes of the Post Office to the Welsh language next make your blood boil, remember what the people of the Six Counties have been through.

As Celts we ideally support a united Ireland, as democrats

we are wrong to do so as the majority of people in the Six Counties do not want it. Whatever the reasons for this, real fears or blind prejudice, the psychological and psycho-analytical battle there will not be won in our time. Human nature forbids it.

#### CYMRU AND EEC.

The EEC referendum finally resulted in an overwhelming "Yes" vote, and despite the widespread predictions that the result in Wales would be at least a close-run thing, Wales was almost as enthusiastic as England in its support for Common Market membership. Whilst 69% of the votes in England were for continued membership, the corresponding figure for Wales was 64%, which, although less, was still very decisive.

There is no need to stress the degree to which this result confounded the prophets. Indeed it was the widespread fear (and belief) that Wales would vote "No" which caused the government originally to favour a centralised count so that Wales' verdict, along with that of the other UK Celtic nations, would be submerged. The decision to reverse this plan and to opt for counting on a county basis was probably due more to a fatalistic recognition that to hide Wales' verdict so deliberately would cause more problems than it solved, than to any great confidence that the will of the Welsh people was swinging so strongly in favour of the EEC.

In the event the result was remarkably uniform, with all Welsh counties voting Yes by a clear margin. Significantly, areas like Gwynedd, which is the part of Wales most remote from Brussels, and Dyfed were more strongly pro-EEC than the industrial areas of Mid and West Glamorgan and Gwent which are relatively close to the centres of Common Market power. Indeed this fact gives us the key to understanding the reason why the result was as it was.

The failure of the "No" campaign can, with the benefit of hindsight, be laid at the door of the leaders of the campaign in London, and in particular blame must attach to Mr. Tony Benn and his followers for throwing away the chance of a really broadly-based anti-EEC campaign throughout the UK.

The decisive argument against Common Market membership is that it is another step in the process of making power more remote from the peoples of these islands. We in Wales would naturally seek to relate this to the remoteness of government within the United Kingdom and the need for power to move from London to Cardiff and not from London to Brussels. The English would couch the arguments in terms of "sovereignty", the need to preserve the control of the English people over the English parliament. Yet these would be superficial differences and the basic feeling that the centralising tendency of the EEC is wrong and contrary to the needs of the age would be common, not only to the peoples of the different nations but to supporters of different political philosophies within the national communities. In other words an approach based on this rejection of the remoteness of Brussels could have been the basis for a common and effective "No" campaign.

In reality the leaders of the "No" campaign concentrated in the early stages on peripheral questions which failed to grip the imagination of a weary public and only in the very late stages of the campaign did they begin to address the central issue. Even then, they tended to use the issue in a manner which caused division rather than unity in their own ranks, left-wing spokesmen stressing the importance of preserving the right of the Westminster government to take full-blooded socialist measures, hardly an argument likely to appeal to Conservative voters.

In Wales there was a broader-based "No" campaign in which Plaid Cymru, the Trade Unions, the Communist Party and anti-EEC elements of the Labour Party were in theory co-operating as equals. However, the Welsh campaign was of course very much overshadowed by the London-based campaign with its incomparably greater media coverage. Even so, many nationalists must have felt that the Wales Get-Britain-Out Committee paid scant regard to its ostensibly all-party make-up when deciding who was to speak at important rallies. Only Labour Party and Trade Union spokesmen were called upon to share in the limelight.

The inevitable result of this campaign was to limit support for the "No" campaign to a narrow political spectrum in England and one which was barely wider in Wales.

In the light of the result, Plaid Cymru has begun to re-appraise its position in the context in which Wales rather unexpectedly finds itself. This is inevitable and indeed desirable.

The sooner the party assesses the nature of the best line of attack, taking advantage of the natural features of this new and strange battlefield, the better it will be. The great pity is that if a Welsh government wished to negotiate with the EEC for terms of membership or association it would not have the moral strength of a resounding "No" vote behind it.

Keith Bush.

## EIRE:

#### THE SIX COUNTIES TODAY

The North of Ireland at the moment presents a picture of splendid political disarray. The British, not knowing what to replace the Sunningdale Agreement with, made a pseudo-democratic flourish and set up the Convention which is to advise on the constitutional future of the Six Counties. Within it the main political groupings have reaffirmed their incompatible views which they clearly outlined before the Convention elections.

The majority unionist-loyalist coalition has consistently rejected the idea of power-sharing and an Irish dimension and the SDLP has apparently insisted on same. Yet it would be wrong to think that there has been no movement in Northern Irish politics since the Convention was established because of these public pronouncements. Unfortunately, however, most of the movement has been concessionary and on the nationalist side which quite pleases the British.

There is nothing new or surprising in this, for it will be remembered that, prior to the fall of the Executive and in a last minute attempt to save it, the SDLP gave in on the postponement of the Council of Ireland. Since then they have been toning down even further on this aspect of their party programme. Certainly, no explicit rejection has been made of it, but its retention assumes more and more the character of a bargaining counter in relation to power-sharing, rather than a centre-piece of policy. One has only to note the number of times it is not referred to or at least is ill-defined or couched in vague and obscure language.

The reasoning behind this, usually supplied by journalists, is that one must not provoke the loyalists, and that it was the Irish dimension which led to the fall of the Executive and stands in the way of a new democratic Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom.

This type of interpretation suggests that today, as ever, with all the emphasis on education and communications, if one really wants to believe something, it is quite possible to do so regardless of the facts. Surely, the most salient fact of the last few months has been the refusal of the loyalist-unionist coalition to consider power-sharing under any circumstances. Ulstermen are supposed to be noted for directness. Whether that is a true proposition in general or not is for non-Ulstermen to judge, but it definitely rings true of the attitude of loyalist leaders to government in the North.

They have made it perfectly plain for all, but the blind to see that the struggle in North East Ulster is about naked power, as it always has been. Yet the national press and would-be intellectuals are floundering around in sociological swamps talking about conflicting cultural aspirations and differing identities.

Not that these matters are irrelevant, mind you. But instead of perceiving them as a secondary outgrowth and camouflage, our pundits and commentators have taken them as the fundamentals of the situation. They have inverted the relationship between the two sets of factors and not surprisingly therefore totally fail to comprehend the current situation.

Whatever the ideological approach to justify it, however, the point is: will the ploy of the SDLP in backtracking on the path to a united Ireland (to use more traditional terminology), extract any concessions from the Convention majority? To the extent of some system of parliamentary committees with minority participation, yes. Perhaps those who have been consistent followers of the North's labyrinthine politics will recall that, in substance, this is what Brian Faulkner offered the SDLP in his Green Paper when he was the last Prime Minister of Northern Ireland.

The next question is will the SDLP eventually give in to this and accept neither an Irish dimension nor power-sharing? One of the pressures constantly being applied in this direction is the talk of civil war as the only alternative to their acceptance. It is a powerful persuasion. Of course, the SDLP cannot forget, even if the public does at times, that the acquiescence of yet

another group is essential for any new solution if a stable peace is to be achieved and that is the Provisional IRA. There lies another tale.

These reflections on the present state of affairs in the North underline yet again that until the orange card is played there can be no breakthrough to peace and democracy. The orangemen must be told that they have to leave the United Kingdom and they had better start talking about their place in the new Ireland. Until then, full democratic rights should be enforced in the North, if need be with an element of power-sharing. Events will continue to bring us back to the necessity for this course until it is recognised, despite all the vacillations and new interpretations. Facts are stubborn things and cannot be ignored forever.

Daltún Ó Ceallaigh

#### IRISH NATURAL RESOURCES AND EMPLOYMENT

Ireland, long considered a poor country because of a lack of natural resources has now proven mineral wealth unsurpassed in Europe and could already be self-sufficient in oil and natural gas. These enormous deposits are the property of the State but the present government has basically not changed the policy of the previous Fianna Fail Government in giving over control to private companies which, inevitably, as the value of the mines are proven, are taken over by larger multinational companies.

The Resources Protection Campaign came into existence to try and prevent the sell-out of Ireland's largest mine at Navan, Co. Meath to Tara Mines Ltd., a company now controlled by one South-African and two Canadian multinationals.

When this mine comes into production in 1977, Ireland will be exporting, in raw-ore form, about 300,000 tons of zinc per year while, in our factories, we use only 5,000 tons, all of it imported metal as we do not have a smelter. It is in this enormous shortfall in the use of a basic natural resource that industrial employment could be created here instead of in Belgium, Germany, France, Spain and Britain, to whose smelters the Navan ore is contracted. The incredible stupidity of the politicians who can only see the short-term benefit of providing a few hundred mining jobs is being realised more and more. The State mining lease for Navan allows an extraction rate of 2.4 million tons per year which will give a life-time to the mine of less than 20 years and probably prevent the establishment of a viable metallurgical industry here. The R.P.C. is campaigning now to nationalise the Navan mine and slow down the extraction rate so that the mine will last fifty years, allowing heavy industry to develop here using the zinc and lead (30% of Europe's total) that is there.

The need to develop a long-term plan to utilise natural resources to their maximum benefit in Ireland has never been more urgent. Unemployment is running in excess of 10% with, for example, in the Dublin area, 39% of the population under the age of 15. Ireland has the highest percentage of young people coming onto the labour market over the next ten years of any country in Europe.

The abysmal failure of the politicians to deal with chronic unemployment has always been a feature of Irish life. Formerly we exported our surplus humans. This time they will know they have a right to a job here and social unrest is widely forecast as unemployment figures of up to 15% are forecast in the next few years.

Recently, exclusive oil licences for that part of our continental shelf not under licence to Marathon Oil, an American company, were again given to foreign companies. No effort has been made to establish a State Oil company and it seems that as with our zinc, lead, mercury, copper and barytes, our oil and gas will be exported as raw material to Europe with the Irish people only sharing in the least profitable, the extractive stage. The State will buy a 50% participation in any successful field, which is a minimal international norm now, and again, no long term natural resource utilisation plan has emerged. The Government propaganda machine has managed to convince many people of a utopia ahead based on oil finds. This is exactly what the oil companies want, of course, allowing them a free hand to get exploring and extract the oil as fast as possible. Ireland needs only one moderate oil field producing 100,000 barrels of oil per day to make us self-sufficient and under the area licensed (for £500!!) in 1959 to Marathon we almost certainly have such a field. A gas field off Kinsale is scheduled to come into production in 1979, but the government has just agreed to buy back that gas

from the Americans for about £600 million over twenty years which is not a bad return for their share-holders for an initial investment of £500 and costs of only £15 million over 10 years - this without any oil as yet!

The price to be paid by the two State companies, E.S.B. (electricity) and N.E.T. (fertilisers) is believed to be one dollar per thousand cubic feet or nearly double the American domestic price; that is, we as a country which owned the gas, are now buying it back from an American oil company for almost twice the price (51 cents) at which they would be allowed charge a gas consumer in the U.S. In other words, we may as well be buying from a foreign country, as Marathon's profits, as with every multi-national, are repatriated.

The R.P.C. believe that given dissemination of facts such as these to the Irish people that the ultimate outcome must be nationalisation and the formation of State companies to utilise these resources in Ireland to provide industrial jobs here. In recent months the R.P.C. has concentrated on national organisation. A full-time professional organiser with experience of anti-Vietnam war organisation in the U.S. is now working for the R.P.C. with an office in the Union of Students in Ireland (they fooled the last generation but not the next!). I would appeal to any of you readers to help in the valuable work of the R.P.C. either through subscription or by forming a local branch in Ireland or the growing rank-and-file trade union support group. This is now recognised officially within the Trade Union movement and may yet be a potent force in the campaign to provide industrial jobs here.

The needs of the multinationals and the needs of the Irish people could not be more divergent. The companies want rapid development to maximise profits. Ireland needs only a very small amount of oil and gas to make it self-sufficient in energy. After that any oil or gas produced must be used to provide industrial jobs through processing and manufacturing the products such as synthetic fibres, feed-stuffs, medicines, plastics, fertilisers and the myriad products available from processing hydrocarbons.

Western Europe needs 26% of the world's oil and yet only has less than 1%. The importance of Ireland as a supplier to Western Europe is therefore obvious, as we, along with Britain and Norway have most continental shelf (oil-bearing areas).

The R.P.C. believes that unless we take national control ourselves, as well as exporting oil we will enter a new era of exporting our population to the industrial areas of Europe.

The battle for control of our natural resources is a vital one for the future of the Irish people. So far the record of this government has been just as bad as our other highly conservative governments - any changes in policy such as minority State participation have been made in the context of a totally changed world where nation after nation is taking national control and kicking out the thieving multi-nationals or allowing them to work under service contracts only. I believe that given an extensive public education the enormity of the mistakes being made will be obvious in time.

Dave Neligan, Chairman, Resources Protection Campaign.

#### CLÓDHANNA TEORANTA.

Clódhanna Teoranta is a publishing house owned and controlled by Conradh na Gaeilge. Its main function is to assist in the development of literature in Irish by encouraging and providing a means of publication for writers. It traces its existence as a separate entity back as far as 1908. In its early years it continued the phenomenal output of literature and reading matter begun by Conradh na Gaeilge at the turn of the century. Eventually this output tapered off partly because of financial troubles, partly because of the war situation of the period 1916-'23 but also because of the belief that the new Free State would sponsor publishing in Irish. This last hope was not entirely forlorn. A state body called An Gúm published a large volume of material, notably in the twenties and thirties. An Gúm has been criticised, not unfairly, for its excessive bureaucracy, its tendency towards censorship and the incredible length of time it takes in producing the published work. It is said, not entirely in jest, that an author having entrusted a manuscript to An Gúm is not likely to see it in print during his lifetime. Rosc, January 1975, reports a case of a book accepted for publication in 1943 which has still not seen the light of day. The author - a former professor of Romance

Languages in University College, Cork, complained that she had a similar experience previously, when another book of hers was with An Gúm from 1938 to 1956 before it was published. An even more serious allegation made against An Gúm is that many years were wasted by some of the finest Irish writers translating second-rate works from English on piece-rate terms.

There was a revival of Irish writing in the 1940's. This gave rise to the magazines *Comhar* and *Feasta* and to two important institutions An Club Leabhar (now one of four book clubs) and the publishing firm of Sáirséal agus Dill. The latter was founded by the late Seán Ó hÉigartaigh and his wife, Bríd, from personal funds. Sáirséal agus Dill established standards of production which still provide headlines for all Irish publishers. Under the direction of Bríd Bean Uí Éigartaigh it continues to issue work of a high standard tastefully produced.

In the last quarter of a century quite a number of publishing bodies have followed the example of Sáirséal agus Dill. The largest of these include Foilseacháin Náisiunta Teoranta, an Clóchomhar, "An Sagart" and, of course, the revived Clódhanna.

For almost half a century Clódhanna remained dormant. In 1964 it was restored to life. The late Máirtín Ó Cadhain acclaimed its revival in a radio lecture as "an realt dochais is deireanaí" (the latest star of hope). Its first publication was a novelette for teenagers called *Saighdiúir arbh ainm do Conaí*. Since then it has built up an imposing list of books including novels, poetry, collections of short stories, drama and historical essays as well as books for young people. One of its proudest productions is *An Muircheartach*, a collection of photographs, mainly of Irish country life, taken by a former president of Conradh na Gaeilge, the late Tomás Ó Muircheartaigh. It is still available at the remarkably low price of £3.75p and is eminently suitable as a present or a prize. Clódhanna has also published two titles in Irish in the well known "Classics Illustrated" comic strip series: *Cúnta Mhonte Cristo* and *Faoi Dhá Bhrat* and it is hoped to produce a range of these. In 1974, Clódhanna Teo. published 8 full length books (apart from pamphlets). These include poetry, a collection of short stories, books for young people, a work on bees, a book of essays on the life and folkways of an area of Conamara (including a detailed description of poitin-making) and a reprint in one volume of two semi-autobiographical classics of Kerry literature. Also published in 1974 was a survey of the life and vacillations of the arch neo-Unionist Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien. Readers of CARN will be particularly interested to learn of a short (54 page) essay called *Gaeil agus Breatnaigh Anallód* by Máirín Ní Mhuirgheasa which details contact between, and mutual consciousness of, the Irish and Welsh up to the end of the Middle Ages.

From January 1975, Clódhanna is pledged to publish one book per month. This pledge is likely to be kept in the foreseeable future as manuscripts of a high standard are being accepted at double that rate.

In July, 1975, a bookshop was opened in Conradh na Gaeilge Headquarters under the management of Pádraig Ó Táilliúir who has wide experience in bookselling and was formerly manager of the very successful but now defunct Celtic Bookshop in Dublin's Dawson Street. Even more ambitious is Clódhanna's plans to set up a printing works in a Gaeltacht area. Negotiations are taking place with other publishers with a view to establishing a common distribution system. Clódhanna is a limited company, each member of the national executive committee of Conradh na Gaeilge holding one share. A board of five directors is elected at the annual meeting of shareholders. Donnchadh Ó hAodha, former secretary of Conradh is part-time manager of the firm. In Summer 1975, Aogán Ó Muircheartaigh now part-time editor will take over Clódhanna's editorial work on a full-time basis. Distribution and sales is in the hands of Pádraig Ó Conchubhair. Recently a staff member has been recruited to operate the firm's typesetting equipment. The secretarial work of Clódhanna Teo. is undertaken by the staff of Conradh na Gaeilge.

Clódhanna is a non-profitmaking body. Surplus funds are applied to the production of new publications. Another source of capital in future is likely to be the recently initiated Subscription Scheme. Participants open an account with a sum of at least £5. Every second month they choose at least one book from Clódhanna's catalogue against their account.

For legal and administrative purposes Clódhanna acts as a publishing organ for all publications emanating from Conradh na Gaeilge. It is also the official publisher of the mag-

azine *FEASTA* and the bilingual tabloid *ROSC* although policy decisions for these monthlies are made by an independent board. As publisher for an Conradh it issues a certain amount of propaganda material in English. One of the most important of such publications has been *Hidden Ulster* by Pádraig Ó Snod-aigh, President, Conradh na Gaeilge and also chairman of Clódhanna.

The continuing success of Clódhanna and of Irish publishing in general has been one of the most hopeful developments in the language movement in recent years.

Mícheál MacAonghusa.

#### COISTE CÚPLACH BUNAITHE IDIR GAILLIMH AGUS LORIENT

Tá Coiste Cúplach (Twinning) bunaithe ag Bárdas Tráchtála agus Tionscalafóichta na Gaillimhe chun forbairt a dhéanamh ar an gcaidreamh idir Gaillimh agus Lorient, go háirithe ar chaidreamh shoisialta agus chultúr. Cheana féin, tá caidreamh leathan idir an dá chathair. Tá cairt ceangail idir Lorient agus Gaillimh sínithe ag muintir Lorient agus i mí Lunasa chuaigh Maor na Gaillimhe chuig Lorient chun an chairt ashníú sa chathair sin. Is i nGaeilge agus sa Bhriotáinís a bheidh an chairt scríofa.

Tá nascanna pearsanta leis an mBriotáin ag Yann Guimard agus Hervé Mahe beirt Bhriotánaigh go bhfuil a ngó féin bunaithe acu sa taobh tíre seo. Tá bialann d'ard chaighdeán ag Hervé Mahe i mBearn agus tá clú ar Yann Guimard mar ghriangrafadóir. Tá Yann pósta ar Ghaeilgeoir ó chathair na Gaillimhe agus tá a bhean Máirín mar rúnai ar Chraobh na Gaillimhe de na Teaghlaigh Ghaelacha.

Tá beartaithe ag teaghlaigh sa Bhriotáin teacht go Gaillimh ar saoire i mblíana; tá mórchuid de mhuintir na Gaillimhe ag dul chuig an Briotáin i mblíana. Níos tuisce i mblíana bhí grúpa de scoláirí scoile ó Lorient ar chuaird chun na Gaillimhe agus d'imirfodair cluichí peile le fóirní peile anseo.

#### CUAIRT AR OILEAN MHANAINN.

Bríd Heusaff.

Is cosúil go mbíonn íonadh ar daoine chloisint gur chaith tú saoire ar Oileán Mhanainn. Samhail Costa Brava ár sinnsir atá ag an áit, "dul thar lear" na sean-aimsire sul a dtáinig ré na heitleoireachta agus an sain-saoire saor ar ar margadh.

Is dócha gur i nDubhlais a chaith furmhór turasóirí an tsean ré an saoire agus triallann na sluaite ar Dhubhlais i gcónaí; leagan níos deise agus níos sofaisticiúla de Bhrí Cual-ann é an baile sin, ach lasmuigh de tá Oileán Mhanainn uilig an-chiúin, an-taitheamhach agus fíor álainn. Tá idir sléibhte arda, gleannata doimhne, coillte tiubha chomh maith le talamh réidh san iar-thuaisceart agus san oir-dheisceart ann.

D'fhanamar féin i bPort na hinse, baile mór an iarthair, agus ag dul isteach sa bhaile duit isé *FAILTE DYS PORT NA HINSHEY* an taon fógra mór atá le feiceáil. Tá ainmeacha na sráideanna scríofa i Mhanainn chomh maith le Béarla agus mar a chéile i Ramsay agus cítear neart fógraí eile scríofa san dá theang. Sean bhaile beag ciúin é Port na hinse (Peel) le sean-chaisleán mór, cuan iascaireachta agus gan forbairt ná tionscal ann cé is móite den stáisiún ginte Aibhléise. Déanta na fírinne is ar éigin go bhfuil tionscal ar bith ar an Oileán, seachas an turasóireacht. Cúis amháin í seo is dócha le droch-staid na noibrithe-gan cead acu dul ar staille, mar shampla. Seans go bhfuil sé ina chúis freisin leis an tóir mhór atá ag daoine ón dtaobh amuigh (Sasanaigh a bhfurmhór) talamh agus tithe a cheannach ar an Oileán. Má's fíor do figiúirí áirithe is daoine ón dtaobh amuigh breis is 50% de phobal an Oileáin. B'é an chead rud a thugamar faoi deara ar an mbaile "GET OUT" péinteáilte i litreacha móra dubha ar fhuinneog Ghníomhaire Eastáit. Oíche Shathairn dar gcionn agus muid bailithe sa tábhairne 'Neptune' i gcúl-sráid chúng in aice an chuain, áit a thagann na Manannaigh óga ós cionn talún uair sa tseachtain ag seinnt ceoil Gaelaigh agus Manainnise (agus ag ói; tá an deoch íontach saor ansin) thug fear mean-aosta fogha futha, a rá go rabhadar ag ionnsaí na ndaoine mí-chearta -- ba Mhanannach ó dhuchas an gníomhaire áirithe seo a rinneadh a chuid fuinneog a phéinteáil.

"Is b.... land speculator é" arsa Manannach óg arais leis. Lean an argóint ar aghaidh, an fear ag maóimh go raibh sé féin baíúil len a gcuspóirí, gur bhóatál sé di thein (Patricia Bridson a sheas i dtoghchán roimhe sin) ach anois go rabhadar ag dul ar seachrán. "I'm as good a Manxman myself as any of you" agh bhí aithne agam ar athair an fhir sin (an gníomhaire) agus níorbh aon choimhíoch é agus rí. Ní mé i bhfad ó bhaile, arsa

mise liom fhéin, nár chuala mé seo uilig cheana? Comharthaí sóirt na tíre Ceiltigh.

Bhfomar i láthair lá na Tionóil - an Tynwald, féile náisiúnta Oileáin Mhanainn. Príomh imeacht an lae na dlíthe uilig atá glacha leo i rith na bliana ag an Tynwald (an Dáil) a fhógrú, rud a déantar trín a léamh amach i mBéarla agus i Mhanainnis. Bhí an aimsear go híontach agus slua mór bailithe i St. John's, ceithre mhíle ó Phort na hInse. Bhí sé ar nós aonaigh mhóir le seastáin ag díol achan sóirt, sean agus nua, ardan mór fá choinne na maithe móra, bannaí ceoil agus reisimintí na banríona ag mair-seáil suas síos. Chuireadh tús leis na himeachtaí le 'God save the Queen'; ach níorbh muide amháin a chas droim leis an ardán; bhí leath den slua beag beann air agus leanadar orthu ag ithe, ag ól ag díol is ag ceannach. Bhí seastáin ag 'Meic Vannin' agus an 'Chesaght Ghailick' ann ag díol céirníní agus an beagán leabhair Manainnise atá ar fáil, Gramadach, roinnt gearr-scéalta agus an Bun-chursa Mhanainnise. Bhí an teanga go líofa ag an dream i mbun na seastán seo agus Gaeilge na hÉireann chomh maith ag triúr nó ceathrar acu. Tá Dubhglas Fhearchair ag obair ar fhoclóir Béarla-Manainnise agus tá súil aige nuair a bheidh sé ar fáil i gceann bliana nó dhó go gcuirfear dlús le múineadh na teangan. Idir ama bhí na Manannaigh óga gnóthach ag tabhairt amach bill-eoga, FO HALLOO AGUS SEYRSYNS, ag caitheamh anuas ar na himeachtaí oifigiúla agus ag moladh polasaithe radiciúla nua don tír. "The Tynwald ceremony to-day celebrates a myth - the myth that Mann is an independent, self-governing democracy. It is none of these things Tynwald governs not by right, but by kind permission of the U.K. government" -- SEYRSYNS.

Níor mhair na cursaí seo ach ar feadh na maidne agus ina dhiaidh sin caitear fuíollach an lae ins na tábhairní nó le caitheamh aimsire éigin eile. Chomh dúchasach le Lá Fhéil Phadraig in Éirinn, d'féadfá a rá. Ach ar a laghad bhí níos mó Manainnise le chlos ná mar a bheadh de Gaeilge lasmuigh d'Ard Oifig an Phoist.

N.B. Nóta don Chonradh Ceilteach: glactar gan cheist le airgead na hÉireann i ngach áit ar Oileáin Mhanainn, ach ní ghlactar le airgead Mhanainn anseo in Éirinn.

## KERNOW.

I note from Carn No. 9, that the Grand Bard of 'Gorseth Kernow' has been attacked for playing down Cornish National Feeling; this is wrong he should just be regarded as a TRAITOR to Cornwall. Trevanyon, and his English (Liberal) colleagues, can never truly have the right to speak for Cornwall while they act with English connections. He and his culturalist friends, should either stop acting like English vassals, or stop interfering with our Cornish identity.

John Treays MK 24 Jun 75.

Mebyon Kernow has initiated a plan to tax people buying retirement homes in Kernow in which proceeds would help subsidise low interest mortgages for young working couples. At the same time Cornwall Council officials preparing a Structure Plan, found that tourism increases cottage prices by 11%; forty seven percent of Cornish homes are over 70 years old, many lacking at least one amenity.

The Devon city of Plymouth is again casting greedy eyes on Kernow. In 1970 its City councillors were pressing for an enlarged city to include parts of East Kernow. The Westminster M.P. Michael Foot is believed to have supported this and in a secret meeting recently with Plymouth councillors he let it be known that he would press in Westminster that Plymouth should become an enlarged Metropolitan District Council. Foot is Plymouth born and we must be on the alert.

On May 28th. in Truro, Dr. James Whetter formed the new Cornish Nationalist Party. Its aims are to become a strong, effective political nationalist movement in close contact with Cornish people, fellow Celtic nationalist movements and European organisations. Dr. Whetter himself has stated he hopes M.K. and the new C.N.P. can be complimentary.

N.B. The Cornish Nationalist Party not to be confused with the Cornish National Party formed in 1969.

The annual commemoration for the leaders of the 1497 Rebellion took place in the Square at St. Keverne on 27th. June. The gathering was addressed by Mebyon Kernow leaders, the Chairman of St. Keverne Council and the Parish clergyman. A special message was read out by a member of the London Branch of M.K. A similar ceremony took place at Londons Marble Arch to which a message of solidarity signed by members of M.K.'s National Executive had been sent. A concert in Cornish and English followed.

As a result of a discussion, between a Cornishman and the cultural attache at the Spanish Embassy in London, during the Congress of Celtic Studies in Penzance, some original letters once owned by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte have been presented to the Royal Institute of Cornwall and Institute of Cornish Studies. The letters, between two Cornish Language patriots, Thomas Tonkin and William Gwavas, written 1700-1740 about the Language, had been bought by the Prince as a student from a Penzance shop and on his death went to a Basque Museum,

**The Hard-Rock Men** by John Rowe - Senior Lecturer in Modern History at Liverpool University. Its subject is the contribution made by Cornish communities towards the building of the American Nation through their immigrants to the North American mining frontier. (Liverpool University Press.)

The March 1975 issue of **Forward** the bulletin of the Illogan and District Group of Mebyon Kernow says that although several organizations are doing good work in the cultural and publicity fields, this includes M.K., only a strong political organization will get Cornishmen into Westminster and at the moment Cornwall has no such organization.

(from "Meadowseat", Spar Lane, Illogan, Nr. Redruth, Kernow.)

## PLE'MA MEBYON KERNOW?

Fatel yu gans agan muyvans polytyk yn Kernow hedhyu yn jeth? Res yu meneges nag yu oll tek ha da. Namoy nyns us un muyvans, mes try py perwar anedha. An Dr. Whetter re ervyras a omdhyberth adhyworth Mebyon Kernow ha kemeres ganso nebes tus hag a vynsa mos scaffa yn rak. Dhe'm brysevy, nyns ye marthus pan yu an kensa corf tewel yn tyen. Gervyth ny glewyn-ny adhyworto. Dr. Whetter ha'y gowetha re wruk dewys an hanow, 'Cornish National Party' (Party Gwlasek Kernow?), saw whath yma pobel aral a's gylwyr yndella. Pubtra yu tewl fest.

An un corf polytyk a gows ughel ha colonnek abarth agan gwlas-ny, yth yu henna yu synsys ysel menough yntredhon-ny, bush wharthys a dus vusok, der y hanow, Parlament an Stennoryon. Yma y'n ur-ma ow pos tryes y'n lysow-brus, y allos, mes pana dra a sew, denvyth ny wor.

Na ny grysny-ny nes nag us skyla vas rak gorra arak dhe'n bobel omma. Nyveryn yn ensompel: oyl keltek, an dylasyans prederys yn Plymouth (Aberplym), an re-na a whyla ober, ha dyscans.

Dyscans. Otta omma un dra usy owth omwellhe. Moy ha moy a dus a dhyk agan yeth -- moy es dek ha try ugans a bobel a gemeras an apposyansow hevleny. Fleghe-scol a dhallethe dhe wovyn y dhykky orth-y. Del hevel, kettel vo nebes skentolethe yn kever Kernow gansa, brassa ran an dus a vyn kykja orth agan muyvans. Otomma poynt lowenek ganso dhe dhewedha.

J.G. Holmes.

## AGAN YETH GERNEWEK

'Den hep tavas a-gollas y dyr'. Yndella y-lever dhyn lavar-coth ha gwyr yredy yua. Brassa ran tus a-grys an tavas Kernewek dhe verwel gans Dolly Pentreath y'n 18ves Cansvledhen ha wosa henna bos an yeth ankevys gans puponen.

Mars o gwyr henna, fatel yu, y'n vledhen-ma ogas dhe dheu cans bledhen wosa hy mernans ogas ha 70 Kerowon dhe sowynny

yn apposyansow Kesva an Tavas Kernewek? Pup bledhen moy ha moy ahanan a-wra studhya agan yeth hag y'n Kynaf a-dhe classys a-vyth syns yn Saltash, Launceston, St. Ives, Liskeard, Bodmin, St. Austell, Truro, Penryn, Camborne ha Penzance. Ynweth yma classys hep ynny y Scolow Stat yn Helston ha Sen Austol ha studhyoryon an Scol Cambron y-honen a-wruk govyn bos class syns yn aga scol. Dhe-wyr agan yeth a-vew y'n jeth hedhyu!

Pur dha yu hemma, mes whath nyns-yu-ef lowr.

Pup prys-oll my dhe lafurya dhe Gembry ow holon a-wra omlowenhe yn un vyas orth an syn scryfys bras ryb an forth: CROESO YN CYMRU, mes, ow-tewheles dhe'm bro ny-welaf saw CORNWALL war an Pons Tamar hag arak Dunheved.

Whitehall a-nagh yn-tyen tybyans bos Kernow kenethel hag 'y' a-bes dhe ynnya nyns yuy saw conteth aral a Bow Saws. Yn-whyr y-whrussyn-ny kelly agan tyr, ha Whitehall ny vyn y dhascor dhyn. Y-tegtho dhyn-ny y dhascafes agan-honen dre agan spyrys, agan cryjyans ynnon-ny, agan cryjyans ynnon-ny, agan mynnas-cref.

Syn a-ves kenethel yu hy yeth, ha devar yu a bup den nep a-vyn ombredery y vos gwasek yn spyrys dh'y dysky y-honen, dh'y dysky dh'y wreka dh'y fleghe, dhe gewsel adro dhedhy dhe bup estren hag orto ef a-wra metya, may cothye an bys an Spyrys Kernow dhe vewa whath, ha na-vyth-ef nefra merwel.

Kernow bys vyken!

GWAS KENETHLOW. Barth an Orseth Kernow.

## OUR CORNISH LANGUAGE.

'A man without a language has lost his land'. Thus runs the old proverb and it is true indeed. Most people believe that the Cornish tongue died with Dolly Pentraeth in the 18th Century and that since then it has been forgotten by every one.

If this were true, how is it that this year, nearly two hundred years after her death nearly 70 Cornish folk passed the examinations held by the Cornish Language Board?

The outward spirit of a nation is its language, and it is the bounden duty of everyone who wants to be considered a nationalist to learn the language himself, teach it to his wife and to his children, and to talk about it to every stranger he may meet so that the world may know that the Cornish spirit lives still and will never die.

Cornwall for ever!

## MANNIN.

### MANX ECONOMY BOOMS - BUT HOW CELTIC CAN MANN REMAIN?

Recently, there has been a spate of articles and features in English newspapers and on television dealing with the current boom in the Manx economy. Typical articles are headed 'IOM's booming economy puts Britain in shade' and 'IOM is just the job for employment'. Such publicity, while giving a reasonably accurate picture of the Manx economy, tends to add to the present mood of smugness in Mann. The chairman of the Finance Board, John Bolton - the Manx "Exchequer" - reported a surplus of £2.6M for last year and an estimated surplus of £1.2M for the current financial year. The total budget was about £31M.

Unemployment is running at about one or two per cent, the number of employed persons being 27,288 out of a population of about 60,000. With the aid of their new, prestigious computer, Mr. Bolton's officials predict that Mann will have a population of "more than 74,000" by 1980. It is predicted that the biggest growth rate (4.3%) will be in the 0-14 year age group. The predictions for the 15-54 year group and the 55 plus group are 3.8. and 2.5% respectively.

In his budget speech, Mr. Bolton pointed out that the growth sectors in the Manx economy remained "the financial sector, manufacturing industry and new residents".

Obviously, nearly all Manx people welcome improved employment prospects. The fact that last year Mann earned as much money from manufacturing industry as from tourism was significant. But many Manx people remain apprehensive about "new residents" and the growth of the "financial sector". The real danger to the Celtic character of Mann is probably not from those remnants of empire who have settled there, but from the relatively large numbers of young families who are "escap-

ing" to Mann from England. These are not arrogant, rich people intent on colonisation, but if the immigration continues and escalates, Mann can be written off as a Celtic country in any real sense. Some of the newcomers are not merely fleeing from England: they care deeply about the rebuilding of the enfeebled native culture and about the survival of the Manx nation. But, probably, most immigrants share the views of the "native" government: the sooner all traces of Manxness have disappeared and we can get down to money-making, the better.

Brian Mac Stoyll.

## SCOILL VRETNISH AYNS GAUE

The very success of Cardiff's Welsh school seems to have made its future uncertain.

Shey bleeaney as feed er dy henney, va scoill Vretnish currit er bun ayns Caerdydd lesh hoght paitchyn jeig ayns daa hamyr. Ta'n scoill shoh er ve speideilagh erskyn towse, as ec y traa t'ayn ta 460 ynseydee aynjee. Agh er y fa dy vel ee speideilagh, ta fir-oik y lught-ynsee gra dy vel rouyr dy phaitchyn sy scoill as dy lhisagh y scoill goll er garraghey gys boayl enmagh elley. Agh cre'n boayl? Cha nel fys ec peiagh erbee choul's shoh.

Ec y toshiaght jeh Jerrey Souree, cha lhiggagh moiraghyn da barrooseyn faagail y scoill. Ta ny moiraghyn feer voirit mychione sauchys nyn baitchyn er y fa dy vel traaght (traffic) trome er raad faggys da'n scoill Vretnish. Lurg y taishbynys shoh, dooyrt fir-oik dy beign da'n scoill ve doont, daa hiahtyn roish y jerrey jeh'n imbagh-scoill. Agh ny-yeih shen, hannee y scoill foshlit.

Ta drogh ourys ec Bretnee dooie nagh vel y lught-ynsee slane ayns foayr jeh ynsaghey trooid Bretnish. Ta ny fir-oik sheiltyn y ve lhiastey as myr shen cha nod Bretnee dooie ve shickyr dy vod nyn baitchyn ynsaghey trooid Bretnish ny-lomar-can ayns ard-valley ny Thalloo Bretnagh!

Dooyrt Mnr Fred Adams, y stiureyder-ynsee, dy bee y scoil Vretnish currit ayns daa hie - traa enmagh. Foddee dy bee y scoill scarrit ayns kiare rheynnyn ayns thieyn scarrit. Cha nhyrrys nagh vel ny hayraghyn as ny moiraghyn jeant magh lesh shoh. Dooyry y fer-toshee ocsyn nagh row ad arryltagh dy lhiggey da'n lught-ynsee y scoill Vretnish y scughey noon as noal. Raah dy row er ny Bretnee dooie.

Brian Mac Stoyll.

## CELTIA.

### THE FUTURE OF BROADCASTING IN THE CELTIC COUNTRIES.

**Preamble.** These proposals are made on behalf of the Celtic League, an international organisation which has among its aims the achievement of cultural freedom for the six Celtic nations, ALBA (Scotland), BREIZH (Brittany), CYMRU (Wales), EIRE, KERNOW (Cornwall) and MANNIN to the Annan Committee on the future of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom. Proposals in this document are therefore limited to those Celtic countries under the jurisdiction of that state.

**Broadcasting in the Celtic Cultural Context.** The broadcasting media are now widely acknowledged as one of the most influential elements in the everyday life of Our People. The Pilkington Report on Broadcasting (1963) states:-

"The presumption must be that television is and will be a main factor in influencing the values and moral standards of our society... This effect need not be sudden or spectacular... rather it was to be compared to that of water dropping on a stone: persistent, apparently imperceptible, but in the end prevailing."

When seen in the cultural context of the Celtic countries, this statement takes on serious implications and places a tremendous responsibility on those concerned with the broadcasting services in these countries. In each country there exists a distinct and ancient language, culture and civilisation which, as a result of economic exploitation and mismanagement of the country concerned and continuous external pressure to impose linguistic and cultural conformity, have regrettable declined and are now in a minority position and, despite diligent efforts to restore them, are still in danger of complete obliteration. However these native Celtic cultures have, to varying degrees, withstood this imposed process of cultural assimilation and are now exerting themselves as a positive force in the everyday life of Our Peoples and are therefore, in no way, an insignificant minority

interest. Consequently it is necessary that the broadcasting authorities in our countries take note of this cultural situation and make arrangements for providing services which will strengthen and enrich our national life. The separate cultural and political identities of Scotland and Wales have already been acknowledged to a certain degree for broadcasting purposes by the establishment of the National Broadcasting Councils of the B.B.C. which were established with the functions of controlling the policy and content of radio and television programmes which shall be provided in that country 'WITH FULL REGARD TO THE CONSTRUCTIVE CULTURE, LANGUAGE, INTEREST, AND TASTES OF OUR PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY FOR WHICH THE COUNCIL IS ESTABLISHED.' (B.B.C. Charter, Section 10 (4)). In the case of the I.B.A., the contracting companies are required by law to ensure 'THAT THE PROGRAMMES BROADCAST FROM ANY STATION OR STATIONS CONTAIN A SUITABLE PROPORTION OF MATTER CALCULATED TO APPEAL SPECIALLY TO THE TASTES AND OUTLOOK OF PERSONS SERVED BY THE STATION OR STATIONS, AND WHERE ANOTHER LANGUAGE AS WELL AS ENGLISH IS IN COMMON USE AMONG THOSE SO SERVED, A SUITABLE PROPORTION IN THAT LANGUAGE.' (1964 Television Act, Section 3 1d.) It is the view of the Celtic League that, although in the case of Scotland and Wales the existence of distinct cultures is acknowledged, these obligations, inadequate as they are, have consistently been neglected and by no means offered Our Peoples a full Nation service. It is also clear that our native languages are not the only distinctive features neglected by the broadcasting authorities in our countries, but merely the most obvious one. It is also a matter of great concern that there are no special provisions for broadcasting in Cornwall and in the six counties of Northern Ireland. We hold therefore that the present broadcasting services in the Celtic countries are not only inadequate but indeed harmful to the social and cultural fabric of our nations, in that as a form of 'cultural imperialism', radio and television at present only serve as a means of imposing an alien civilisation on Our Peoples. The result of this is that they are being dispossessed of their own national cultural heritages by an alien anglo-american cosmopolitanism. This tendency is perhaps at its worst in its effect on children and young people, who are being deprived of their rightful cultural inheritance because this has little or no place in the popular media which play so great a role in forming the values and standards as well as the cultural fabric of our society. It is of the utmost importance that in any movement towards righting this unjust imbalance, great emphasis should be laid on attracting young people and children and cultivating their awareness of their own cultural background. In general terms, the Celtic League calls for independent broadcasting services for each of the Celtic countries, charged with the functions of maintaining and strengthening our national cultures. They should reflect the spirit, civilisation, tradition and life of the nation. They should make full use of the national language for this is the main vehicle of the national culture. They should ensure that programme material be of interest and concern to the people of the nation and should be the product of the nation, presented from a viewpoint reflecting the political tradition and social tendencies of that nation. The Celtic League notes that there has been considerable dissatisfaction with the existing broadcasting system and agitation for improvement and extension of the national broadcasting services in the Celtic countries - one thinks particularly of Wales where popular protest at times included illegal direct action against property of the broadcasting authorities.

The Celtic League cannot ignore the inadequate and negative tendencies of existing broadcasting policies in our countries and in the interests of maintaining and improving the quality of human life in our countries, we call upon the Annan Committee to recommend to Her Majesty's Government that the existing broadcasting system be replaced with one which will serve and enrich the life of Our Peoples in these countries.

**Future Developments in Broadcasting in the Celtic Countries.** We now move on to specific proposals for each country:

## In Scotland.

1). We call for the establishment of an independent Scottish National Broadcasting Authority to assume the powers currently held by the B.B.C. and the I.B.A. in Scotland, initially being responsible to the Secretary of State for Scotland, until such time

as this responsibility can be transferred to a National Scottish Parliament.

2). We call for the immediate establishment of a local Gaelic radio station situated in the Gaelic-speaking areas, having full regard to the distinct culture, interests and tastes of Our People in these areas, initially being broadcast from the Mellaig, Penifiler and Scraig transmitters.

3). We call for a substantial increase in the Gaelic hours on the television.

4). We call for a comprehensive English language television service for Scotland, having full regard to the distinct culture, interests and tastes of the people of Scotland.

5). We call for a comprehensive English language radio service for Scotland, having full regard to the distinct culture, interests and tastes of the people of Scotland.

6). We call for a substantial increase in the educational programmes through the medium of both Gaelic and English for the schools and colleges of Scotland. Special emphasis should be laid on educational programmes for the teaching of Gaelic as a second language throughout Scotland to adults as well as children.

## In Wales.

1). We call for the establishment of an independent Welsh National Broadcasting Authority to assume the powers currently held by the B.B.C. and the I.B.A. in Wales, initially responsible to the Secretary of State for Wales until such time as this responsibility can be transferred to a National Welsh Parliament.

2). We welcome the developments proposed in the report of the Crawford Committee and reinforce its call for the establishment of a Welsh language television channel and radio station. However we view with concern the intention to establish the separate radio services on separate wavelengths (M.W. and V.H.F.). It is the view of the Celtic League that to ensure maximum availability of the new services, both Radio Cymru and Radio Wales should be broadcast on both M.W. and V.H.F.

3). We demand that the establishment of a Welsh language television channel should in no way mean the complete exclusion of that language from the other channels and that at least the daily Welsh news programmes (Y Dydd and Heddiw) be retained on the existing channels. Furthermore we demand that the practice of rebroadcasting certain Welsh language programmes from transmitters in England be retained.

4). We call for a comprehensive English language television service for Wales, having full regard to the distinct culture, interests and tastes of the people of Wales.

5). We reinforce the call of the Crawford Committee for the establishment of an English language radio service for Wales and we demand that such a service have full regard for the distinct culture, interests and tastes of the people of Wales.

6). We call for a substantial increase in the range of educational programmes through the medium of both Welsh and English for the schools and colleges of Wales. Special emphasis should be laid on educational programmes for teaching of Welsh as a second language throughout Wales to adults as well as children. We also call for courses of Welsh content and interest for the Open University in Wales, organised in co-operation with Prifysgol Cymru (the University of Wales).

## In Cornwall.

1). As Cornwall is not acknowledged by the broadcasting authorities at present, we call for the establishment of a Broadcasting Council for the Duchy for the purpose of advising the broadcasting authorities on the policy and content of programmes broadcast to the Duchy of Cornwall.

2). We call for the establishment of a local Cornish radio station, charged with production of programmes having full regard to the distinct culture, language, interests and tastes of the people of Cornwall.

3). We call for a substantial increase in the television hours originating from and of particular interest to the Duchy of Cornwall, having full regard to the distinct language, culture and tastes of the people of Cornwall.

4). We call for educational programmes for the schools of Cornwall, having full regard to the distinct culture, language, interests and traditions of the people of Cornwall. Special provision should be made to assist the study of the Cornish language and promote Cornish culture.

Attached is a separate notice from I.S. Evons, secretary of the Cornish branch of the Celtic League:

#### "The Future of Broadcasting in Kernow."

Kernow, a Celtic nation, has no separate television or radio service. The present services cover either the area known as the South West of England, or Plymouth, which takes in parts of Kernow and the English county of Devon. On account of this only an infinitesimal proportion of radio and television time can be given over to Cornish culture. Even though Kernow is now given more space than previously, an impressionable young generation of Cornish people have every culture but their own imposed on them, and when it comes to the broadcasting media, the people of Kernow have no choice in the matter.

One sensible and logical view on why Kernow should have its own broadcasting service is that since the formation of the Cornish Language Board in 1967, with responsibility for all aspects of the study and revival of the language, interest in the language has grown considerably. In 1970, although still regarded as a hobby only by sceptics of its feasibility in a modern society, it was introduced into the sixth form curriculum in one Cornish school and has been taken up by several pupils. Also there are now eleven evening classes in Kernow, two outside in Bristol and Paignton compared with three or four a few years ago. Apart from these, many people are trying to learn the language from teach yourself books at home. Cornish language broadcasts, including slow-speed dictation exercises, repetition of short phrases etc. would help the morale of fluent Cornish speakers and help learners. It would also bring the vernacular to the ordinary people of Kernow, many of whom would love to speak their own language of which they are justly proud. The language is only one reason why Kernow should have its own service. A part of our whole culture is being eroded day by day and the people of Kernow must be offered the choice of moving into the future in their own Cornish way and not with the only view now shown to them by Anglo-American television and radio."

#### In the Six Counties of Northern Ireland.

- 1). We demand that any broadcasting system in the six counties should have full regard to the distinct culture, language, interests and tastes of the people in this area.
- 2). We call for the introduction of Irish language programmes on television and radio services currently administered by the B.B.C. and the I.B.A. in the area.
- 3). We call for special educational programmes for the teaching of Irish as a second language to adults as well as children.

Attached is a translation from Irish of a separate notice from Ruairí Mac Gráinne of Cumann Chluain Ard, Béal Feirste:

#### "Problems of Broadcasting in the Six Counties."

As in Scotland and Wales there is a linguistic minority in the North of Ireland which is being deprived of its rights. These Irish speakers are the descendants of the old Gaelic nation which has lived in Ulster for thousands of years. It is estimated that there are now 40,000 fluent speakers of Irish in the province and in addition to them 100,000 who understand the language. (These estimated figures are obtained from the Irish Language Movement in Ulster. The last time a census question was put about Irish was in 1911. Since then there has been more than 50 years of sectarian government. But the Irish is the second most taught language in the province and more than 5,000 children from the six counties attend Irish colleges in County Donegal every year.)

One would expect that this important section of the one and a half million population of the six counties would be allocated some time in the broadcasting service. But the B.B.C. (both radio and television) as well as the I.B.A. have consistently refused to broadcast anything in Irish. Basically this is because the two authorities associate Irish with the twenty six counties in general, and with the I.R.A. in particular. Of course this was denied by Waldo Maguire, director of the B.B.C. in Northern Ireland when the Cumann Gaelach of the Training Colleges picketed the B.B.C. in Béal Feirste in 1969. He was also asked why there had been only one item in Irish on the B.B.C. between 1959 and 1969 (this was an interview with Cumann Chluain Ard on the occasion of the anniversary of the 1916 Uprising in 1966.) As trainee teachers, these young

people called for at least a programme for the teaching of Irish as a second language, such as the 'Buntús Cainte' series broadcast on Radio Telefís Éireann. This was flatly refused by Mr. Maguire, his reason being that as the B.B.C. had only a few hours for local broadcasting any programmes in Irish would be to the prejudice of the English speakers. A similar reply was received from the I.T.V. Since 1969 there have only been a few items in Irish on the B.B.C. and nothing on the I.T.V. - a Ballycastle man was interviewed in a programme on Irish history and the popular singer, Albert Fry, sang two songs in Irish on the network programme 'Songs of Praise', but as he was not allowed to announce the songs in Irish, he remained silent between them.

The Irish speakers in the six counties of Ulster wish to associate themselves fully with their fellow-Celts in Britain to demand full rights for their language on radio and television."

#### Summary.

These are the specific proposals which the Celtic League view as essential to the maintenance and furthering of the national cultural life of our countries. They emanate from general principles contained in the following policy statement issued by Alan Heussaf, General Secretary of the Celtic League in October 1974:

#### "Outline of Celtic League Policy on Broadcasting."

The Celtic League upholds the right of the peoples of the six Celtic countries to develop their national identities and a way of life rooted in their own traditions. In all countries there is a need to counterbalance the depersonalising influences of the industrial, technological society, a need which expresses itself in a concern for 'roots', for a strengthening of identity both at an individual and at a collective level. In the particular case which concerns us - the identity of our numerically small Celtic nations - the threat has come not only from the general force of cosmopolitanism, but more directly from State policies designed to achieve the assimilation of the Celtic peoples by the destruction of our languages.

The Celtic peoples are showing in various ways that they value their identity and do not wish to become assimilated. When we speak of our national cultures we mean those characteristics which distinguish us as peoples: our history, language, traditions, interests, music, tastes and certain aspects of our way of life. However, the natural development of these cultures has been severely impeded in the last few centuries by policies of the British and French States. The resulting alienation of our peoples has been amply documented. Despite this, in recent years, the resistance to assimilation and the will to overcome alienation has spread from a small number of 'conscious nationalists' to wider and wider sections of our communities. The Celtic peoples are asserting their nationality again, despite powerful pressures to conform.

This process can be assisted or impeded by the mass media. We claim it as a right that they should assist the process. We believe that the best conditions for this will only be achieved under self-government, but as long as laws enacted in London or Paris in the case of Brittany directly affect our everyday life, and we continue to contribute to the exchequers of the London and Paris governments, we consider that it is the duty of those governments to provide for our national needs.

In the field of broadcasting we demand that it be used to safeguard our national cultures and restore our languages to a viable position throughout our communities. We claim for our communities "the right and duty to determine their own cultural destinies", endorsed by the decision of the international symposium on the flow of television programmes, organised through UNESCO at the University of Tampere in Finland in 1973. Hence the proposals:-

- 1). That television and radio be provided as a national service for each Celtic nation, financed out of public funds and independent of commercial interests.
- 2). That a complete spectrum of programmes, reflecting all aspects of our national life and international life from the viewpoint of our nation, be available through the medium of our native Celtic language in each of our countries. This should include news, current affairs, light entertainment, sport, music, drama, religion, adult education, children's programmes and local broadcasts.
- 3). That in view of the fact that a large proportion of our

peoples have been deprived of the national language, that a full broadcasting service in that language be augmented by a comparable service in the English or French language, having full regard to the history, traditions, interests and tastes of our people. This service should be supplemented with programmes for the teaching of the national language as a second language, such as the Buntús Cainte series on Radio Telefís Éireann."

**Conclusion.** The Celtic League therefore concludes that the present broadcasting services in the Celtic countries are inadequate, that they further linguistic, cultural and social inequality and injustice and that, far from serving the best interests of Our Peoples, are in fact contributing to the effacement of our native Celtic cultures, which have for so long been an inextricable part of the life of the Peoples of these Islands. We therefore call upon the Annan Committee to recommend the establishment of truly national services which will fully serve Our Peoples in these countries.

**Note.** In drafting this document, I have drawn upon material already Published in the Celtic countries on the subject of the Future of Broadcasting. The most important are listed below:-

**ALBA. (Scotland).**  
The Future of Gaelic Broadcasting by Dr. Gordon Barr -  
in CARN 5.

**CYMRU. (Wales).**  
'Darlledu yng Nghymru - cyfoethogi neu ddinistrio ein bywyd cenedlaethol?'  
(Manifesto Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg.)

**KERNOW. (Cornwall).**  
Radio Cornwall - Radio Kernow published by W.E. Chapman,  
9 Trevethan Rise, FALMOUTH.

**ON BROADCASTING GENERALLY.**  
Open Broadcasting - An Alternative by Maolsheachlainn  
Ó Caollaí, (Conradh na Gaeilge,  
6 Sraid Fhearchair, BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH 2.  
Éire.

**Wales - Ireland, a T.V. contrast** by Harri Prichard Jones,  
(Conradh na Gaeilge also).

I have also drawn freely upon correspondence received by me on this subject.

Meic Pattison,  
Assistant Secretary Welsh Branch, Celtic League.

## THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IN POLITICAL SUPPRESSION.

Coimbra, Portugal, 14-20 September 1975.

TEJO is organizing this seminar under the auspices of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Coimbra and in collaboration with Portuguese students. In the long colonialist history of Portuguese society, we find many elements illuminating the role of language and culture in a colonialist system.

Military, political, and economic interventions are always accompanied by intrusion of the language and culture of the colonialists or imperialists. The goal of this intrusion is clear -- the establishment and strengthening of the favored position of the colonialists. Linguistic and cultural suppression are only two aspects (besides military, political, and economic) of colonialist reality.

In liberated countries the excolonialists always try to preserve their privileged economic and political position by means of their language and culture, which they mean to retain in the neocolonialized country. Peoples fighting for their liberation are becoming aware of this phenomenon, and besides military, economic, and political liberation they are struggling for their linguistic and cultural identity.

**Practical details:**

**Costs (Board and lodging):** 100 French francs.

**Languages:** Portuguese, French, English and Esperanto, with simultaneous interpretation.

**Travel costs:** Repayment of travel costs will depend on the final financial situation of the seminar.

**Information and inscription:** TEJO - External Relations Committee, Kastelenstraat 231, Amsterdam 1011, The Netherlands.

**Postal giro-account** nr. 1497537, Stichting Taalproblemen, Amsterdam.

## **LITREACHA.**

Gaelic in Nova Scotia.

Firstly Rosemary Hutchison's programme 'Mac Talla an Eilein' is still going strong (Island Echoes) on the C.B.C. local network station C.B.I. Sydney. It is a three-quarter of an hour show which runs every Saturday morning from 8:15 until the 9 o'clock news. 'With always the accent on the Gaelic' she says and she's right. I was listening to it the other day and there was precious little English at all which is excellent. She was interviewing a Scots chap, in Gaelic, who's taken a job over here in C.B. and who has done a good deal of work, academic work of some sort, on Harris. The oddest thing was that when he spoke a bit of English he had what I consider to be a fairly broad London accent!

(Latest National Geographic contains an article and pictures of N.S. Good within the obvious limitations of such a product as far as level of content and stance are concerned.) The author says he heard an unheard (by him) language on the tongue of a youth in Sydney and when he asked was told it was Gaelic. He mentions that the youth reacted as if challenged but didn't go on to delve into the possible and obvious reason for such a response, with bristle. The chap also makes an idiot of himself when dealing with Acadian in the article.

That brings me to Jean-Marie Nadeau of the Parti Acadien to whom I am sending a couple of back issues I have...

Before I forget... the storm over Gaelic broadcasting is ended as far as I know. Island Echoes is firmly entrenched by the sound of things. It is well advertised by the CBS (who incidentally have just no long ago given up commercials... a fine move indeed considering the public was subsidizing it in any case).

Now to the teachers. I've just got a little more dope on them and only hope that it's not too late to be useful. There is definitely Gaelic being taught in Nova Scotia in the public school system (as the term is interpreted this side of the pond). I wrote a bit about it in the local paper when it was being considered, two to three years ago, but then they were solving red tape.

There are two teachers from the Hebrides who are presently in their second year of teaching Gaelic in the schools in Inverness on Cape Breton. One is Effie MacCorquada and the other is Murdina Stewart. Jordanhill training applies to Effie I'm told.

Then there is a local woman, a Mrs. MacKenzie, who teaches the language, also in Inverness Co. C.B., in Mabou.

That makes three altogether, in the public school system. The Scots girls have been here for two years, this being their second, and they are going to be here next year at any rate and probable on after that. I don't know how long Mrs. MacKenzie (nee Rankin), the local person has been teaching it.

As far as I know there have to be so many parents who wish their offspring to be taught Gaelic, something like 10, for the School board to respond with qualified service.

Gaelic is taught on a daily basis in the school in Inverness, a very Highland village on the N.W. coast of the island, a depressed area where once coal was mined but is no more. 40% unemployed! There is one teacher, Scots, looking after that... Grades 1 to 6 (i.e. all of the elementary years), every morning. The other Scots teacher does the rounds of the schools in Inverness Co. but I don't know precisely which ones will be involved. I'd guess Maragee, Judique and Port Hood at least but don't quote, unless you want to.

Mrs. MacKenzie definitely teaches in Mabou, which is a very Highland little town plumb full of fiddling, step dancing and Gaelic gu leor. There are also many many Rankins there of whom she is probable one.

Gaelic is also taught at the Gaelic College at St. Anns every summer but that is out with the school system. It is

a nice old lady who teaches it but probably she doesn't make too much headway for it is really for those with just enthusiasm about their ancestry and not much else. Mind you the pipe band is sometimes not too bad all things considered. They get a bit of weaving, dancing (formal stuff and not stepping as far as I know), piping Gaelic and in general a pleasant whiff of the Highlands. People send their kinds from the Carolinas and from all over.

The language is also taught at St. Francis Xavier University by Major C.I. MacLeod who is a native speaker, but I think it's been a while since he came across a fluent speaker."

Iain Og.

A Syrta Ger,

In his reply to Mr. Iain Hutchinson, Winter 1974/5 No. 8, Mr. L. Truran states that Mebyon Kernow is seeking to occupy the radical middle ground once claimed among the electorate by the Liberals. Socialist ground will not be claimed because "Socialism has small support in Kernow"; Toryism is English colonialism. The purpose is self-government.

It is clear that Mr. Truran does not refer to Socialism, the democratic society arising from possession of the means of production by the working strata and allied parts of the masses, but to right-wing Labour Party demagoguery which appears to be Socialism to die-hard shareholders in what ought to be Cornish mines (for example).

Since the reason for not supporting "Socialism" could well be that Liberals still achieve this mass deception better in Cornwall but are ripe to lose this electoral support to those who appeal to the advancing national consciousness, we have to conclude that the end justifies the means, i.e. self-government may be achieved by obtaining the vote of a body of opinion to which one adapts one's programme.

So, we have one of the classic forms of nationalism as an alternative to other capitalist parties when they show signs of losing their grip. Till the middle sixties Mebyon Kernow was held within an iron ring of ridicule but it broke this and (I think) Mr. Truran has written somewhere that the media show a kind of respect. It is not so much that we should beware the Greeks bringing gifts (of course, we should beware) as that we should wonder what has made it worthwhile for the gifts to be brought. The reason is made clearer by the fact that members of the CNP splinter could return to Mebyon Kernow because they are "happier with the political content of our programme". Individually they held various, even conflicting opinions, but collectively CNP was sharply right-opportunist. In order to adapt to them, Mebyon Kernow must have shifted to the right without perceptibly declaring this to the radical voters Mr. Truran desires. It is not true, therefore, that "our philosophy is in an early stage of development" - the hour is not 5 a.m. but 10 a.m. and comparisons with SNP and Plaid ignore the fact that these have had, still have, many genuine Socialists.

Nationalism has the choice of being either a further deception of the masses (such self-government leaves them still firmly saddled with the battle to possess production) or of giving the masses a national form of government in Cornwall embodying socialist ownership by the working strata. We may have to put up with the arrival of the former as a transition in which we struggle for the latter but it is worth while struggling to avoid even the transition. The condition of the masses requires Socialism and thereby makes them always educable towards it. Mr. Truran, not writing in an official capacity for Mebyon Kernow, suggests that Mebyon Kernow's function is to use their "radicalism" (inclusive of untaught class-consciousness) to lead them further away from reality (knowledge of the needs of their condition).

We cannot expect Mebyon Kernow to be a Socialist Society. However, it would be quite feasible for it to define aims of material benefit to the masses for present struggle as proof of the reliance of the claim for self-government (another classic alternative).

Dheugh - why yn wyr,  
Royston Green.

#### THE ONLY WESTMINSTER MP'S TO VOTE FOR DEMOCRACY AND AGAINST REPRESSION ON 19 MAY 1975.

EIRE: Gerry Fitt. ALBA: Harry Selby. CYMRU: Gwynfor Evans. ENGLAND: Andrew Bennett, Sydney Bidwell, Jim Callaghan (Middleton), Martin Flannery, Eddie Loyden, Jo Richardson, Ron Thomas, Joan Maynard, Stan Thorne. Ar 19 Bealtaine 1975 shocraigh Teach na dTeachtaí Westminster trí vótáil 161 in aghaidh 12 an Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1974 a fhadu go ceann leathbhliana eile.

#### DANGERS IN ARGUING FOR THE CELTIC CAUSES.

It is to those of you who believe in Celtic Civilisation that this article is addressed. It is a long article, and not the easiest to follow if your English is taught, but read it all. It is very important. It amounts to a warning, and the more active you have been or intend to be in restoring Celtic culture, the more it concerns you: we are concerned with influencing people for good, yet we know very little about it.

Immediately there is the greatest of danger in Presumption. Because we believe in our causes, we would like to ignore the fact that others still believe in the things we have rejected. Be careful therefore of what is called "Reverse Psychology". Most people react most of the time on an emotional level - a gut response - say "I am right" and they will want to say "You are not", so that they will be on the wrong side of the argument at once, looking for faults in your logic and often inventing them. Never presume glibly that you are correct.

Remember: we can never impose our ideas - no one can - the policy of statutory Irish in Ireland was doomed from the day it was devised because (to quote Dale Carnegie's 'How to Win Friends and Influence People' - a book every man, woman and child should read) "there is only one way under high Heaven to get anybody to do anything. Did you ever stop to think of that? Yes, just one way. And that is by making the other person want to do it... there is no other way." And that is precisely what the Irish Revivalists failed to do. They still argue blue in the face "we are right", and at best most Irish people still ignore them. We must make them want to learn Irish, or to become Celtic again. - People actually want to learn Welsh and that is why they do, not because they 'know it is right' but because they want it.

This leads us to ask why do they want it? What makes people want anything? We must look at human nature in general: all people want certain things; long life, love, food, fulfillment and so on; most of these desires can be summarised as amounting to a longing for recognition or fame. It is very deep, and we cannot base our hopes for success on such a radical improvement in human nature as Christianising this desire would involve - in many ways that would put the cart before the horse, for if human nature were so easy to alter, our problems would have ceased long ago, and possibly never have existed.

This desire leads people to want things which satisfy it, and these in turn lead them to want other things, and so forth, till an entire 'philosophy of life' builds up. And so, we can append our belief to a person's philosophy by showing that it satisfies one or more of his own wants. So, we go to them and use their desires to argue from their point of view to ours. We should always start with what we want, they have no reason to be interested, because they don't want it yet. If they did, they'd already be one of us. So remember that.

In Ireland, for example, the people don't want Irish, but they do want to be Irish. The issue is a great deal more complicated than this, of course. This fact is merely extricated from the many to illustrate the case. If we can convince them in either logical or emotive terms that they are not really Irish as they speak only English, then, assuming their desire to be Irish is strong enough, they will want to learn Irish. It's like balancing on a bough of a tree, if it is strong enough, it will take our weight and we can become appended to the tree. If it is too weak, it can be strengthened, by reverse psychology, for example, and we can make them want to be Irish all the more. e.g. "Deirimse go bhfuil na hainmhíthe fiáine níos Gaelaí ná na daoine sa tír seo." (I tell ye, wild animals are more Irish than the people in this country), to which they will all react, like a pantomime audience, "O no they're not!" - and they now want to prove themselves Irish - or, "If the Irish people believe themselves in any way at all to be Irish, the problem is not a lack of

National identity, but a superfluity, for they are really nothing of the kind." And once again they will want to prove themselves Irish.

We could argue that "if we want to contribute something unique to world culture and civilisation or for the greater glory of God" or "if we want to face Europe with confidence and stand up for our economic and political rights as an independent people", for "if we in Ireland are ever to undo the immeasurable evil that our recent history has done to increase sickening violence and terrorism the world over", or "if we are to keep our way of life free from the monotony and futility of the modern society", or "if we are to give the individual a sense of identity, of security in a world where it is all too often one man alone, facing the world", or "we had better use every means at our disposal, and we would be better disposed to do so if we preserved and extended our national identities." So long as whoever we choose tends ultimately to enhance a person's sense of self-esteem, we are on the right track.

And if we receive a positive reaction, encourage it, especially if they "agree in theory, but". After all, if they can be convinced, so can others, and all it needs is the publicity and the spirit of a popular movement to get things going. If people say the language is backward, point out that all languages were relatively speaking backward 150 years ago, and that any language used to-day will quickly evolve a vocabulary and strength to deal with modern society, but if it isn't used it never will. Above all, be honest in your encouragement; tell the truth; if you don't, pretty soon no-one will listen to you.

I have talked mainly of languages because they are the stumbling blocks, the big effort (and it takes a while of an effort to change from being monoglot to bilingual or polyglot), and because, in music and dance, something of a revival has been achieved. Take heart then, that if of late our music has been revived, we are but a stone's throw from success - don't let carelessness make us falter now. Please read this article again, and again. Use it.

Mícheál Seosamh Ua Seághda.

## CELTIC CONGRESS.

The 1975 International Celtic Congress was held in St. Austell, Cornwall, during Easter Week.

The theme of this year's Congress was "Tourism and its effect on our National life". Discussion was lively and sometimes rather heated. A statement passed by the great majority of those attending said: "We accept that tourism is by now part of the economy of every Celtic country, but any further expansion of tourism may be considered as a direct threat to our future. Tourism is the latest example of exploitation of the Celtic countries by interests largely from outside. It is the inhabitants of these countries who suffer as a consequence. We therefore make the following objections to the further expansion of tourism.

- 1). There is a great danger of tourism becoming the main industry of our countries, and of their being turned into playgrounds just for the tourist.
- 2). Good agricultural land is being taken out of use for tourism, which also causes pollution, especially along the coasts.
- 3). Tourism creates an unstable society and economy, because it is a seasonal industry.
- 4). An excessive influx of outsiders has a harmful effect on the local culture and all aspects of life.
- 5). Tourism places an excessive burden on public services and the taxpayer.
- 6). "A major portion of the profit from tourism goes directly into the hands of individuals and companies from outside rather than benefit the local economy."

Many of those attending felt frustrated at constant efforts of the platform to exclude any thing of a political content from the deliberations. Delegates who pointed out the naivety of this approach were told, "Go to the Celtic League: this is the Celtic Congress." Another source of conflict was that many students and young people who stayed in a camp in the area felt they were being treated as 'Second-class' participants and were being left out of the picture somewhat.

The progress made by the Cornish language since the last Congress in Cornwall (in 1969) was the subject of much comment by all the visitors. In particular it was noticed that Cornish was being spoken fluently by quite a number of young people throughout the week.

The next international meeting of the Celtic Congress will be held in the Isle of Man at Easter 1976.

Beti Huws.

## THE CONDITION OF FIDDLELING IN CAPE BRETON.

While one could be hard-pressed to find any Highlander in Nova Scotia who could sing Canntaireachd or who should have an intimate knowledge of Piobaireachd it would be equally difficult to find one such person on Cape Breton who didn't have a highly developed interest in the appreciation of Scottish-style Fiddling. Cape Breton is the heartland of traditional Scottish-style Fiddling in North America. Whether the quality be from excellent to poor, Cape Breton Fiddling exudes its own attachment to, and confidence in, and love of its music; it is particularly vibrant thing and of great importance to the Celt in the New World.

Scottish-style fiddling is to be heard and enjoyed in other parts of Canada as well. In Prince Edward Island and in Ontario especially there are Fiddlers whose style and musical expression and consciousness is very similar to that found in Cape Breton. Also in and around Boston there is some very good Scottish Violin music owing its existence to emigrations of Maritime Highlanders in earlier times of this century. Of all these areas though, Cape Breton is the centre, something of which it is justly and characteristically proud and something which it jealously guards.

On Cape Breton Island the violin is the predominant traditional musical instrument challenged only by the modern libidinous aberrations of electronic noise. Such is the state of things that Scottish style Strathspeys, Reels and Jigs etc. are just as popular among the Acadian population and with the Micmac Indians, both of which groups have produced players of note.

Cape Breton fiddling reflects a style of fiddle playing, with natural alterations, which was extant in Scotland in the first two quarters of the 19th century. This was a time when traditional Fiddling and Fiddle music were at their height; Robert MacKintosh, William Marshall and Niel and Nathaniel Gow are among the major luminaries whose compositions are still much played. It was a time of tremendous musical fertility and of great imagination and confidence. The emigrations to Nova Scotia brought the efflorescence of Scots Fiddling of the 1780's, 1790's and on into the 19th century to the New World. This exuberant style continues to the present and with one significant later additional effect, to wit James Scott Skinner of Deeside (who lived into this century) whose impact on Scottish-style fiddling was and is remarkable.

So it is that Cape Breton fiddling is different from the more popular Scottish (I exclude Hector MacAndrew particularly and the Shetland Fiddlers who are not Scots), trained Violin playing of today. Cape Breton fiddling is unique. While fiddling has declined by and large in Scotland, it has remained the central musical form in Highland C.B. The main reason for this maintenance is that the violin in C.B. accompanies the dance, a state of conjunction which no longer pertains in Scotland at a popular level. The music played comes from all of the well-known collections such as the 'Skye' and 'Harp and Claymore', the 'Elgin' and from other sources both written and unwritten. (In Cape Breton 'traditional' music is music that is carried in the head only. A few people are reputed to 'have' old, old tunes that no-one else knows and thus they are listened to with great alacrity at any time they play. New tunes are highly valued.) The music played is characterised by its numerous 'cuttings' reminiscent of the grips, tugludhan, hiharin and other grace notes of the Great Pipe. As dance music it is fantastic; the lift is commanding as no other. In C.B. also the form of dance, to Fiddling, is a form now largely unknown in the Motherland, namely step-dancing, often suggested as of directly Irish origin but which was also a popular form in the Highlands of Scotland during the last century.

Fiddling is learned by ear and is passed down from generation to generation. Music is thought somehow to run in families and in a way it does.

In any case the old skill is generally handed on by example rather than by scales and the usual miasma of semi-breves and dotted quavers. Even a recently started school of Scottish Fiddling (run by a M. LeBlanc) is just all outgrowth of the old way.

As to technique, the manner of holding the instrument

varies from under the chin to the chest and the style of bowing is peculiar to the area. The hand on the finger board is placed in such a fashion that advanced 'position' playing would necessitate more movement than should be needed, but then this is Scottish fiddling with all its intricacies and aims, and not classical violin. The result when good is great and even when of lesser quality has its own uniqueness of feel and the drive to make you want to dance.

The Fiddle nowadays is accompanied by the piano (less virtuosity at the keyboard sad to say) and takes some amplification from the modern world. It used to be that the amount of noise needed was achieved simply by multiplying the number of fiddlers. Still the present-day weekly dances in the various parish halls still are the main attraction all over the island. The music is live and the stepping lively.

An attempt was made to get the Fiddlers to record in the mid 30's and with some success but there is stopped. At the moment with the proliferation of tape decks almost everyone with a love of fiddling has one or many tapes of his or her favourite local Fiddler. Fiddlers are generous in allowing their music to be so recorded and such tapes are the radio stations' source of local music. This however is changing and it seems likely that the better C. B. Fiddlers will soon be recording once again.

The Fiddle occasionally makes an appearance at a wedding and last year one well-known step-dancer and Cape Breton character had the fiddle played at his funeral. It was said you could hear his bones rattling in time! The older anti-violin prejudices, not that they were very great ever, or widespread, are going. Riley's funeral was as touching an affair as you'll ever find on a cold winter's day at Creignish.

Not only are there literally hundreds of Fiddlers on Cape Breton but there are among them few who compose an indication that the form is thriving. It is true however to say that only thirty years ago the conditions was considerably better than it was a little while ago, but more of that shortly. Dan R. MacDonald of Mabou in Inverness, Co., and Dan Huguie MacEachern are the two best known writers of fiddle music although there are others who write and who dabble. Dan R. claims hundreds of tunes! These and all of the better Fiddlers can read the music and rely on the various collections primarily for their music. Dan R. is known for the fact that he composes for a particular fiddler when he writes a tune, bearing in mind that person's particular strength and inclination. So it is that certain people are sustained and nurtured specifically from within Cape Breton's own consciousness of itself musically.

Returning to how things are. . . . Just as step-dancing used to have a more steady, traditional formal structure of Maighstearan Dannsa who preserved correctness and may dance forms which are now gone (one such being the Dannsa nan Seachd Coinnlean) so the Fiddle used to have more composers and a firmer base within the society in the days before radio and television and popular noise.

A few years ago the C. B. C. sensing perhaps that the traditional Fiddling was becoming more and more a pastime and a love of older people (like Gaelic) created and showed a programme entitled 'The Vanishing Fiddler'. This had exactly the desired effect and the whole thing revived. Children want to play the Fiddle (and the chanter) and fortunately the knowledge is still there, all over the place, and quite the reverse of shame surrounds the form. The violin is not a hidden thing, although it has its mystique. The young can learn as they always did without the need for formal teachers and texts and other trappings which tend to petrify rather than to stimulate. The process seems to have picked up where it may have been threatening to leave off. The future looks well.

Last year the Glendale Festival of Scottish Fiddling was a major success with players coming from all over the island, and from further afield, to attend. The local radio stations play their share of locally-inspired and played music and television occasionally handles a Cape Breton Ceilidh. Children are found staring in at the windows of dance halls copying the older ones inside step-dancing. Both the Fiddle and the Dance live! (I fear for previous spontaneity).

(See George Emmerson's *Ranin' Reed and Trempling String and A Social History of Scottish Dance.*)

I. Gibson.

## GRAY'S "THE BARD", A RE-READING.

Upon re-reading a poem by Thomas Gray (1716-71) entitled *The Bard* (1757), it seemed to me that the poem might have had a greater coeval import than critics ascribe to it.

Herein is related the genocidal order of the English conqueror of Wales, Edward I (1272 - 1307), that commanded the liquidation of every captured bard. Gray tells us "why" in riming couplets:

"Helm nor hauberk's twisted mail,  
Nor even thy virtues, tyrant, shall avail  
To save thy secret soul from nightly fears,  
From Cambria's curse, from Cambria's tears!"

The Cambrian bard appeals to one of the *Cynfeirdd*, actually the most prestigious of the earliest Celtic Bards, Taliesin, and then after his lament on the bitterness of the times in almost Drydenian sentiments of "Pale Grief and pleasing Pain":

He spoke, and headlong from the mountain's height  
Deep in the roaring tide he plunged to endless night.

It might well have been that the Cambridge don and amateur Celtist, Gray, was not only inspired by ancient Cambrian myths but also deeply moved by events that had taken an historical turn hardly more than a decade earlier than the poem's printing on Culloden Moor. There in 1746, eleven years before the poem, the claims of the Stuarts were permanently squelched into the heather. As a result of this crushing defeat Jacobite Scotland perished. Its Gaelic bards, Gaelic language and Gaelic culture went into nearly perpendicular decline. The Gaels were confronted and persecuted by an enemy more consistent and enduring than was Gray's Edward I.

Mightn't Gray have realized the injustice of this and have wanted to express a more effective protest against Sassenach genocide in the Highlands by removing the events to another analogous era and country for the sake of a sharper perspective? *Cheachdaidh an t-anacothrom e fhéin.*

L. Mac Ewen.

## THE CONTRIBUTION OF CELTIC COUNTRIES TO CIVILIZATION.

by Iain Macnair.

We have the answer to many problems of today and I think it would be interesting to formulate our most important contribution towards solving many dangers that threaten the world at present. In order to do this we need to analyse and define our mentality more closely, then apply our way to life to the needs of other countries.

### Stability.

One of our most remarkable characteristics is that of stability derived from our attachment to people and places. Nowadays, when in so many lands there is increasing instability owing to the formation of a rootless society without strong attachment either to people or places, only intent on the quest for money and economic structure without sound human foundation. Already in the romantic period of literature it became clear that it was in Celtic countries that the attractiveness of nature was manifested through Celtic trends of investing places with a homely atmosphere derived from occasions of family, legend and history, woven together through the help of our bards and singers as well as the arduous toil of our crofters and local industries. Instead of the restless yearning of Vikings for launching out to foreign parts and settle elsewhere, our Celtic tendency is more towards cherishing of what we have already got and know. If for economic reasons Celts were forced to emigrate, they never lost touch with their homeland and returned once their difficulties were settled whenever this was possible. Interest in places is doubled through associating them with local history and legend, not only for the sake of the tourist but for our own sake. Without this attractiveness it is difficult to take roots anywhere and lead a stable life with normal human relations, not just choosing our place of residence where more money is to be earned and where frivolous amusement is available. It is necessary to be well acquainted with local conditions to set up a local industry and not put the cart before the horse by thinking only of production and not, how to improve our relations with society. A family atmosphere cannot be improv-

ised or be of upstart growth, but needs to mature gradually and improve like wine.

#### Celtic concept of time.

This is where our concept of time comes in: nowadays we risk losing ourselves in a relativistic marsh, in a chaotic quicksands where absolute truths are swept away. Novels, films even the state and the churches vie with each other to preach change, and this crazy quest for novelty ends up in a sort of "chronolatry" of worship of time that destroys appreciation of intrinsic values, only giving worth to what is founded on time. In reality time is completely neutral and neither makes a thing better or worse, but because we are restless and impatient of change we like to imagine that every innovation means improvement whereas it is really only experimental. What happens is that we pharisaically tend to think ourselves superior to those that went before us and despise the older generation, efface all idea of respect or gratitude and rub out generations of experience. If change really meant improvement and the quest for perfection when it would certainly be desirable, but what are the fruits of changes in civilization during the last century? Does it consist in advantages? We have greater speed, greater economic efficiency, more comfort and more amusements, but are these advantages worth while if we have to pay for it with contamination of air, pollution of water, ugliness of towns and countryside, drab uniformity in customs and dress, inflation, strikes and all sorts of social unrest? Increase in mechanization may be responsible for the great problem of overpopulation and the ensuing lack of food and lodging in many parts of the world. War are bringing into existence millions of human beings that may be doomed to die either of hunger, the victims of bad air, bad water and cut off from nature in an unhealthy artificial life. In Celtic countries the mad quest for change and relativistic attitude towards many problems is not so acute as elsewhere. We do not regard as false what we practised yesterday or propose the opposite for tomorrow of what we believe today. Even Celts who are not Bible readers and practising Christians have a sense of absolute values. Even those who are vague about supernatural merit and spiritual values, are at least true to nature which is but the reverse side of the medal. We observe the rhythm of the seasons, and our love of nature teaches us many lessons concerning growth by gradual stages not crazy advance by fits and starts, if indeed such methods produce any advance at all. If we observe the law of growth we are bound to be more stable and with a healthy criteria of values. It makes us seek perfection rather than change just for the sake of change. Instead of viewing progress as a sort of inevitable evolution towards material gain, we would do better to consider that improvement is by no means inevitable either as individuals nor collectively and needs continual effort to get better both morally, physically and economically. We are doing ourselves no good by not loving what our fathers loved and turning our backs to the experience of previous generations. As long as we are intent on striving towards perfection then we have a sound concept of time, not measured in months and years but in strengthening our will regarding human improvement. When Einstein worked out his theory of relativity he doubtless applied it only to the physical world, but if we were to apply it to everything, such as ethics, social realisation, etc. the result would be anarchy. It would result in every man saying he is a law to himself and dispise the laws of society or the idea that we have obligations to God.

#### Aesthetic values.

Celtic contribution towards aesthetic values is closely connected with the aforementioned attitude towards time. Steady growth instead of violent change gives harmony, and gradual growth gives beauty, it softens hard lines and preserves us from curde symmetry. If we were to think of nature as something to be conquered and mechanized instead of living in harmony with it and allowing a place for wild life, we would make nature our friend not our enemy. Just as we do not gain friendship by imposing ourselves on others, in the same way we do not beautify our surroundings by putting the quest for money, speed and comfort first. Unfortunately the tourist often wants to have it both ways. He likes to see a place quaint, old-fashioned and unspoilt, but at the same time demands comfort and many advantages from modern inventions. Beauty needs discipline and restraint and it is not possible to have beauty in our surroundings without sacrifice and hard work. We need frugality for beauty. If we want everything conveniently in packets, if we want to save the trouble of cleaning by just using disinfectants, week-killers and artificial means of saving labour,

we are not contributing to the beauty of the countryside. If we want picturesqueness we need to do without many things. But this need not be a Puritan austere toil. One of the baneful effects of mechanization is to increase our needs artificially so that the more we have the more we want, and we are burdened with a host of things that are not really necessary for our existence. What is needed is to dispense with all the unneccary things that snobbery and fashion impost on us and concentrate only on what is necessary to sustain life and leave a margin for cultural activity, otherwise we would sink into boorish materialism.

#### Decentralisation.

This is another answer we have to many problems. If we are dependent on local industry and local products we save ourselves many headaches due to problems of transport, strikes and the artificiality of gigantism. We become more intent on attention to detail and even though our gains may not be so spectacular, or risk of loss is proportionately reduced. We thus reduce the danger of inflation and stimulate saving through having to provide for our own local needs. We gain a great increase in liberty through local responsibilities and do not need to refer to capital for every detail of our lives. We thus promote a more balanced aspect of society, not involving the tendency towards dividing the world in two big rival camps at war with each other with the mass hysteria that this entails. We would then have something in common with Eastern philosophies that seek to reduce our desires not stimulate them artificially.

#### Simplicity of Life.

This is characteristic of Celtic nations, but needs to be further stimulated. When speaking about Eastern philosophies we see some resemblances in the frugality of life they preach. By this is meant dispensing with superficialities and all those unnecessary things that are only the product of fashion and snobbery, "Keeping up with the Jones'." What brought about decadence in the past was more often the excess of material goods rather than the lack of them. In Scotland where there are not many outlets for employment and scarcity of products it is also a matter of making virtue out of necessity. When there are two ways of providing for one's needs, either earning or not spending, we have only the alternative, to save. However, this should be a matter of principle not just of a cruel need for it is not the abundance of goods that give happiness but sobriety in selecting only what is needed for our physical and spiritual sustenance. Everything over and above this can do us only harm. Simplicity of life however, is not so simple to understand as it may sound. It needs a doctrine behind it to make it both attractive and understandable. We see a big difference between healthy frugality and poverty. The latter makes us think of money even more than before and monopolizes our thought and energies to an exaggerated extent.

We need to have sufficient cultural life as well. This would not be possible unless we have a good educational and family background that shows us how to dispose of our leisure. If we are able to organise our spare time in an intelligent and useful way with hobbies or activities of a semi-charitable nature then we are acting according to a right interpretation of simplicity of life for this does not just mean providing for the needs of the body. The more our material needs are reduced, the more we can appreciate human relations and the attractiveness of a good personality. Simplicity means appreciating personality for what it is rather than what it possesses. True simplicity does not mean that we hold ourselves aloof from intellectual problems, for what concerns humanity as a whole concerns us personally and the problems referred to earlier such as overpopulation, inflation, contamination and ambition for territory or other causes of war, can be obviated by each country retaining its characteristics and identity.

But without the ambition of dominating over others. Gandhi's version of simplicity of life so admired by some sections of the boy-scout type is only one aspect. We have also the Christian aspect that not only reduces our attachments to material things like the Oriental religions, but enriches the personality, having as model the Perfect personality of Christ. It is not a nihilist dispensing with the personality and plunging ourselves into the Nirvana of extinction of desire that is going to save us, but rather the perfection of the personality in everything, the best way of making it attractive.

## THE CELTIC LEAGUE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING (1975).

will be held in Purt na Hinshey/Peel, Isle of Man, from September 12th to 14th. The Agenda includes:-

Friday. 20.00. A talk by two nationalist speakers on the Manx situation.

Saturday. 09.30 - 12.30. Annual reports by the branch and general secretaries.

14.00 - 17.00 Matters arising from the reports. Discussion of a). relationship to national organisations; b). contribution to inter-Celtic exchange; c). links with movements in other countries; d). developments in Europe and prospects for the Celtic countries.

20.00. Social gathering with Manx and other Celtic songs and music.

Sunday. 10.00 - 12.00 Ways and Means to improve and extend our activities.

a). CARN (contributions, editorship, distribution, circulation, publicity).

b). Ways of publicizing the Celtic League (leaflet, badge, advertisements).

c). Youth Section. Co-operation in setting-up an inter-Celtic correspondence and information service (Breton proposals).

d). Dissemination of information concerning the Celtic countries.

e). Participation in Celtic Languages Conference (1976).

14.00 - 17.00 Resolutions and statements on matters of common concern to the Celtic nations.

17.00 - 17.45 Chairman's summing-up. Statement to the Press.

All Celtic League members are invited to attend, and also, prior to the AGM to put forward their views concerning matters on the Agenda. For accommodation, write to the Manx secretary (address on back page), and enquire from her (before or on arrival) about the venue of the meeting.

Student Research worker in Princeton University would like to be informed of any source material that might enable him to investigate whether the Galates, who still formed a Celtic-speaking community in Asia Minor in the 3rd century (?), survived as a distinct group in later times. Secretary General of C.L. will transmit.

**FOR THE WELSH LANGUAGE.** There are 5 Cymdeithas members in jail at present. Our joint Welsh secretary, and three other members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith were sentenced in May to 6 months imprisonment each for damage to vans of the British Postal Services. This was done in protest against delays on the part of the London government in bringing Welsh into official use in Wales. Once more, the young people of Wales are compelled to sacrifice their freedom in the fight to win fundamental rights for the language. We strongly recommend our readers to write to them, to express solidarity or sympathy.

Rhodri Morgan, Nr. 37 69 85, and Hefin Wyn Thomas Nr. 37 69 86 are in "H.M. Prison", Knox Road, Caerdydd. Two young girls, Gwenno Perys Jones, Nr. 90 76 78 and Elinor Wyn Roberts Nr. 90 76 79, are both in the Remand Centre, Pucklechurch, Bristol.

Another CylG member, Marged Ellis, was also jailed for 6 months, but on a different charge. She is in the prison of Stoke-on-Trent (Nr. not available).

Anyone with copies of CARN Nr 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9 and of the 1970 annual volume of the C. League to spare? Please write to Sec. Gen., stating price.

Many people write expressing praise for CARN. We should like to improve further its contents and its presentation. BUT we depend at present entirely on unpaid contributions. We need more articles in-depth from some of the Celtic countries. We welcome letters to the Editor (be concise and precise).

**WE SHALL HAVE TO RAISE THE RATES OF SUBSCRIPTION** (the basic rate has not changed since 1973) and the price of the copy to **KEEP UP WITH INFLATION**. We were asked to pay a 60% increase in printing costs, which we could not afford. We had to change printers, with regret as we were very pleased with the standard of work in previous issues. We appeal to every member to help us to keep up this standard by finding two

new subscribers each; by sending us, if possible and if they have not done so before, a donation, by taking pre-paid copies of CARN to re-sell.

Our warmest congratulations to the Manx Branch and in particular to Patricia Bridson for organising a Celtic League dance in June, which brought in a net profit of £67. This will be used to print a leaflet explaining the aims and activities of the Celtic League.

**CELTIC LANGUAGES CONFERENCE.** The Celtic League was represented at the first preparatory meeting for this conference, held at the headquarters of Conradh na Gaeilge in Dublin on July 26th. Delegates from the language movements in the Celtic countries took part in the work, except for Cornwall (apology received). The conference, to which all who are actively committed to restoring the Celtic languages to stronger positions in public life will be invited, is scheduled to take place in Rath Cairn (Co. Meath Gaeltacht) in July 1976.

**INTER-CELTIC EXCHANGES.** We drew attention in CARN 8, p.17 to a proposed scheme for pen-pal correspondence, exchange of visits between Bretons and people in the other Celtic countries. It appears there was a flaw in the arrangement which resulted in bad co-ordination. Apologies are offered to those who may have got nowhere with their enquiries. It is now proposed that a). An Ao. Y. Craff, Talbodec, Baye, 29 S, Quimperle will help to establish Irish - or Manx-Breton contacts: An Ao. Y. Ollivier, 7 Blvd. Burloud 35000 Rennes ditto for Welsh-Breton contacts; and An Ao. A. Raude, Ti ar Feunteun, 29224 Daoulas, for Scottish or Cornish-Breton contacts. **POSTAGE COSTS MUST BE BORNE OF COURSE BY THOSE AVAILING OF THIS SERVICE.** We advise advance payments of £0.50 (or £1 ?) to be renewed when the sum will have been spent. We should like to hear from people in other Celtic countries willing to undertake similar co-ordination work for this scheme.

**The Archaeology of Late Celtic Britain and Ireland**, by Lloyd Laing, published by Methuen, April 1975. 480p plus 32p of plates. Numerous line illustrations. £11.00. In paperback £4.50p. The author lectures on Medieval Archaeology in Liverpool. The book covers the period from 400 to 1200. The first part, dealing with regional field archaeology, depicts the results of excavations and puts them in historical context. Southern Scotland, Northern Scotland, Wales and Man, Ireland, South-West England (made to include Cornwall) are treated separately. In addition to information about famous Celtic sites (Dunadd, Dinas Emrys, Castle Dore, Loch Gur, etc.), considerable attention is given to the material evidence of the Irish settlement in Britain and to the impact of the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons and the Vikings on the culture of the insular Celts. The most comprehensive inventory of the finds makes the book indispensable to any student of archaeology in the areas concerned. Those who are less familiar with the subject would have welcomed the definition of certain terms and more detailed maps, but the book will help them to a more precise knowledge of how our forebears lived in a period for which documentary evidence is often patchy.

It should also give us a clearer idea of what was native Celtic as distinct from the imported or foreign-influenced. Yet we feel that Ll. Laing's interpretations will have to be checked against those of other authors where, as so frequently, he surmises external influences. He tends for instance, to minimise the Irish contribution to the culture of Scotland. He refers to the Gundestrup cauldron as a piece of Oriental Art. He refers to the minor (!) migrations from SW England to Brittany. For him Celtic Britain ended in the 12th century. Our nations have of course been deeply marked by the contributions of the various newcomers since the 5th century, but their consciousness and their cultural originality have essentially to do with their Celticity. It is our conviction that this element has yet a significant role to play in their development, indeed that without it they will not rise out of their provincialism whatever political status they may achieve.

A. Heusaff.

We apologise to our readers for defects in the presentation of this Summer issue which we want to distribute before August 31st.

## LETTERS (Continued).

"Regarding your views on Socialism, I have a few comments. Only socialism really gives a people a country, though subjectively they have a national consciousness built up under capitalism so that they have a sentiment of belonging. Clearly socialists are entitled to direct people away from patriotism and towards it because for capitalism it means forgetting the schism in society and making the worker attach himself to the "national" interest (profits thus increase), and for socialism the worker (not profit) is the national interest. This general truth does not relieve socialists from the responsibility of providing for every particular national identity. It is a pity that Marxism means "capitalist nationalism" (Editor: understand that for Marxists, nationalism is capitalist nationalism?), because there ought to be a good nationalism (1). However I really want to suggest that concern for a people (e.g. the Bretons) and concern for equality are a complex whole, not mutually redressing entities, but I think we overlap more than our words seem to allow. I don't regard Socialism as equality but I do regard egalitarianism (in Marxism, this has a petty-bourgeois significance) a) as a reaction to inequality without necessarily being socialist, and b) as a basis for directing class consciousness and educating it. Ultimately, why be equal if there is no exploitation? Marx points out that people are obviously born with unequal capacity (we know that without Marx, but we should know how he thought).

The cry of individuality is the alibi of that same society which tramples on it. My son completed his apprenticeship in June but was sacked; here you cannot lose your job without a very complicated process and the constitutional right to be given another (right to employment). Who is the more of an individual -- he who is assured of his job, of security, or he who is lumped in the insecurity of unemployment? The guarantee of individual freedom (I refer to the German authors of "Synthesis", Carn 9) is in socialist ownership of the means of production (but guarantees need elaboration) whereas it exists under capitalism, if at all, only through struggle. I am not clear what they mean by "the root of capitalism" (2). To me it is itself the root of other things. It is a form of society based on harm to the common interest, the appropriation of values from those by whom alone they are created and maintained. The theory offered is part of the bourgeois ideology that exploitation is not the essence of capitalism but a failing of human nature -- the latter is a metaphysical concept. We struggle to guarantee individual freedoms precisely under capitalism but in this system whatever "guarantee" is achieved is dissolved by capital and privately accumulated profit, e.g. by direct or indirect corruption, by the capitalist State. It is right to struggle for individual freedom under capitalism because that exposes capitalism, because capitalism constantly makes the struggle seem to be independent of it. Capitalism has nothing to do with democracy: it uses any form of government convenient to controlling the exploited masses and it adopts any cause (individual freedom?) convenient for the same thing. We identify these things because we have grown up with them all our lives without analysing them. On the other hand, whenever the individual asserts himself under socialism he draws collective support if he is not in conflict with the social function of transmitting to people the values they produce and maintain (Solzhenitsyn can be quoted in admiration of Hitler and Gen. Pinochet of Chile, for example, - so for him the individual is a word, not a deed, worse it is a deception) (3). Of course, we can only be concerned with the possible. If you can think of anything about the individual outside capitalism or socialism, let me know!"

R. Green, Greifswald.

We give this letter in full because it deals with the issues of individual and collective freedom, and in spite of assertions which will evoke doubts or provoke rejection. Just a few brief remarks:-

- 1). We know many nationalists who are concerned with the welfare (as well as the identity) of their national collectivity and for whom the national interest requires curbing and controlling exploitation by individuals or groups.
- 2). The two Germans spoke of basic needs. They did not use the term "root of capitalism".
- 3). We read in newspapers about the repression of dissenting voices and detention in labour camps in socialist States. Who determines whether a writer is in conflict with the social function...? If it is admitted that one-party systems can also become defective (because of a tendency to conservatism), are

those who start criticizing them not liable to be branded criminals (in conflict with society?) or mad men? There are other examples than Solzhenitsyn. Under both capitalism and Socialism (as it exists hitherto) the sources of information are hard to check.

A. H.

### L. N. Le Roux.

"Herve Landiern asks about L. N. Le Roux's publications in Ireland. I can recall several books of his published by the Talbot Press, Dublin, which ought to be in all good libraries. My own preference was for his "Tom Clarke and the Irish Freedom Movement" concerning the senior signatory of the 1916 Declaration of Independence. Tom Clarke's life in Chatham gaol from 1883 to 1898 is fully described as is his work in producing and circulating "The Gaelic American" and other papers and pamphlets.

I remember L. Le Roux as a dapper figure in a plain grey suit, working constantly at research for his books in the National Library of Ireland in the years 1936-37 when Maud Gonne Mac Bride was a frequent visitor as well. They both attacked the "timidities" as they saw them of Irish Politics after the defeat of Rory O'Connor at the Four Courts. Le Roux however, was always keener on providing a clear, accurate record of events than on being a critic."

Archie Lamont, Carlisle, Scotland.

P.S. Ramsey MacDonald was not the "founder of the Labour Party".

Writing about the opening of the Siopa Leabhair Ceiltise (Celtic Bookshop) of Conradh na Gaeilge (6 Sráid Fhearchair, Ath Cliath 2), the Irish-language editor of the Sunday Press said that to him "Celtic" meant "English". He asked how many, for example, in the other Celtic Countries, could read books in Irish? "Those who talk about Celtic things use English as their ordinary means of communication."

In reply, the Secretary General of the Celtic League pointed out that in Ireland at any rate, those who were most active in this organisation were also prominent in the Irish Language struggle, be it in Conradh na Gaeilge, in the association of Irish-speaking families, in Club an Chonartha. Moreover, interceltic meetings are now being held with the help of interpreters, avoiding either English or French. We urge our members to 1) learn well their own Celtic language; 2) to learn a second Celtic language "Ní fíor é gurb é an Béarla an gnáthmheán cumarsaíde ag bail an Chonartha Ceiltigh in Éirinn, ná sa Bhreatain Bheag... Tá dlúthchaidream idir an Conradh Ceilteach agus na heagrais is gníomhaí ar son na Briotáinis, na Breataine agus Gaeilge na hAlban. Daoine atá gníomhach sa Chonradh Ceilteach in Éirinn táid chun tosaigh i nGluaiseacht na Gaeilge freisin. Daoine iad a dhiúltaíonn do "mheon an oileánaigh", a thógann a gclann le Gaeilge, Briotáinis, Breatainis; a bhíonn le fáil sna h-áiteanna in a mbíonn na teangadha sin a labhairt. Ní féidir linn an Béarla nó an Fhraincis a sheachaint cuid mhaith den am, ach oiread le gach duine eile sna tíortha Ceilteacha. Ach bainimid úsáid as ár dteangacha chomh minic is féidir linn. Aréir bhí cúigear dinn as Baile Átha Cliath agus beirt as Manainn sa Chlub ag labhairt le n-a chéile i nGaeilge agus Manannais ar feadh dhá uair a shloig gan ach corrfhocail Béarla a úsáid. Trí sheachtaine ó shin bhí cruinniú in Aras Chonradh na Gaeilge chun Comhdháil Teangacha Ceilteacha 1976 a ullmhú. Bhí Albanach, Manainneach, beirt Bhriotánach agus seisear nó ochtar Éireannach i láthair: níor labhraíodh aon Bhearla ann. Anuraidh i Naoned (sa Bhriotáin) bhí tríocha nó breise pairteach i gcrúinniú in ar labhraíodh Briotáinis, Gaeilge agus Breatainis amháin."

### Concerning the Welsh Prisoners:

Meg Ellis' protest action aimed at getting the demand for an Independent Welsh Broadcasting System accepted. Support her by writing to "The Home Secretary, (Broadcasting), The Home Office, Whitehall, London". Support the other four prisoners by writing to "Y Cadeirydd, Bwrdd Post Cymru a'r Gorau, Y Parade, Caerdydd/Cardiff."



#### MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

All who agree with the aims and constitution of the CELTIC LEAGUE are invited to join. Nothing extra need be paid for membership in addition to the subscription, the latter being open to all. The basic rate of subscription was £1.50 per annum for the past two years (in Ireland and Britain). The following rates will be proposed at the forthcoming Celtic League Conference: Ireland and Britain - £2; other European countries - 20F or equivalent; non-European countries (airmailing) - \$6.50 (U.S.). For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the secretaries (note some changes):-

Alba: Mrs. Maire Denovan, 9 Dalglish Road,, Dundee DD4 7JN.  
Cymru: Joint Secretaries: Antwn ab Osborn, 165A Witton Str., Northwich, Cheshire;  
Rhodri Morgan (from mid-October onwards), 4 Ael y Bryn, Radyr, Caerdydd.  
Breizh: Jakez Derouet, 89 Boulevard des Anglais, 44100 Nantes-en-Bretagne.  
Éire: Cathal Ó Luain, 37 Dun an Óir, Tamhlacht, Co. Átha Cliath.  
Kernow: Ian J. Williams, Gwel an Eglos, 3a Lemon Villas, Lemon Str., Truro,  
Cornwall. (no change!)  
Mannin: Miss Patricia Bridson, Bell Cottage, Derby Road, Peel.  
London: John Rh. Humphreys, 113 Loveday Road, Ealing, London W.13.  
U.S.A.: Mickey Burke, 2463 Grand Ave., New York City, 10468.

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

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