

# celyn

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## A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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# ALBA

## FEISD LITREACHAIS.

A literary festival held in Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Skye, discussed the state of, and future developments in Gaelic drama, prose, poetry and education.

Chumar Feisd Litreachais ann an Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, an Colaisde Gàidhlig anns an Eilean Sgitheanach, air a' 15' mh latha de'n Mhaigh. 'Se Somhairle Mac Illeathain, am "Filidh" a stéidich Comhairle nan Ealan ann an Ostaig a chuir an Fhéisd air bhonn agus 'se deagh obair a rinne e le bhith a' cruinneachadh a leithid de bhàird agus de sgrìobhaichean.

Bha ceithir siompòsia ann uile gu léir air cuspairean taghta. 'Se Domhnall Iain MacLeòid à Oilthigh Ghlaschu a thòisich a' bruidhinn air staid drama Gàidhlig an diugh. Mhinich e mar a bha feum mòr air buidheann drama dreuchdach (no "professional") agus na ceumanan a bhiodh feumach agus a leithid a chur air bhonn. Le bhith deanamh samhlaidh le buidheann Beurla coltach rinn e a mach gum biodh feum air teach-an-tìr luach mu £15,000 gach bliadhna agus gan robh e coltach gum biodh Comhairle nan Ealan deonach ar dara leth a thoirt a mach nan robh doigh air a' chiad leth a chruinneachadh. Thug e iomradh air cho gann 's a tha dealbhan-cluich Gàidhlig ach dh' aontaich na bha an làthair nach biodh gainnead 'sam bith aon uair 'a gun deach buidheann dreuchdach a stèidheachadh.

Lean Martuinn Domhnallach an dara siompòsium air rosg Gàidhlig agus saoilidh mi gur e an cuspair a's cudthromaiche a chaidh a bheachdachadh an seo cèisd pàipear-naidheachd Gàidhlig. Chaidh aontachadh leis a h-uile duine gun robh feum air pàipear-anidheachd seachduineal ach bha teagamh air feadhainn am biodh na Gàidheil fhéin 'ga leughaidh. Dh'agair cuid eile gum biodh ach dh'fheumadh stuth ri fhaighinn anns a' phàipear nach fhaigheadh iad troimh meadhan na Beurla. Codhlu cha robh fios aig duine 'sam bith co'as a thigeadh an t-airgead airson pàipear mar seo leis na cosguisean àrd a tha ann an diugh agus le cho beag 's a tha sluagh na Gàidhlig. A rithist air cuspair rosg mhol Profaisor Ruairi MacThomais gum biodh an Colaisde Gàidhlig a' taghadh mar sgrìobhaich cuideigin a chur iad am follais ceithir no coig leabhraichean aotram ("smodal", mar a thuirt e) gach bliadhna. Gun teagamh 'sam bith chan fhuilear dhuinn leabhar-spàidh no dhà agus leabhar saidheans-ficsean no dhà.

Anns an fheasgar chuala sinn mu staid na barbachd agus an measg eile bhruidhinn Somhairle MacIlleathain, Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn, Aonghas Caimbeul (Am Puilean) agus Ruairi MacThomais. Ged a bha iomadh smuain domhainn air a thoirt a mach feumaidh mi aideachadh gun robh mi gu mòr air taobh cuideigin a thuirt gur e 's docha na baird-baile a bha agus a bhios gu tuilleadh feum air sgàth na canain anns a' Ghaidhealtachd ged 'se na baird mhóra a thug cliù eadar-naiseanta do'n chànan againn.

Bha an siompòsium mu dheireadh air foghlum agus gu h-àraidh air teagaisg na Gàidhlig do luch-ionnsachaidh anns na h-àrd-sgoiltean. 'Se Domhnall Moireasdan a bha anns a' chathair agus chuala sinn coignear no seasar de thidsearan a' toirt am beachdan. Gu mi-fhortanach cha robh tìde airson dòmhradh aig an deireadh agus dh'fhag am beachd dhuinn gur e cànan air leth dhoirbh ri ionnsachadh a tha anns a' Ghaidhlig. B'e am beachd aig cuid de'n eiseachd codhiù gur e na doighean-teagaisg a tha a's coireach nach eil an soirbheachadh cho lìonmhor 's bu choir dha a bhith.

Ge ta seo coinneach a bha air leth feumail agus bu choir dhith a bhith ann a h-uile bliadhna. G. C. Barr.

## SEASAMH UR AIRSON COMUNN NA CANAIN ALBANNAICH.

An cois adhartasan air faighinn airson na Gàidhlig sna da bhliadhna seo chaidh tha Comunn na Canain Albannaich ag atharrachadh o griosachadh gu forfhais.

Thuirteach seo le Frang MacThomais, Inbhirnis, a bhatar ainmeachadh ne Stiuradair Forfhaise airson a' Chumuinn.

Sgrudaidh an Comunn cleachdadh na Gàidhlig ann an beatha oifigeal is cumanta. Sa sabaid airson leasachaidh stàdus na Gàidhlig an Alba tha fiosrachadh staitistigeach gu tric a dhith, is fiosrachadh cuideachd air seasamh an is baralaichean a' phobail a thaobh na canain. Bu coir dha'm fios seo bhi tighinn o'n Ghomunn Gaidhealach, ach le staf is airgead a dhite orra chan eill iadsan a' dheanamh moran nas mo nan stàdus quo a chumail suas.

Le curideachadh bho luch-forfhais toisichidh CNCA program-obrach a neartachadh a' chuis airson na Gàidhlig, leis a' phrìomh chumise a dh' fhaighinn stàdus oifigeal air a son, agus a cleachdadh a dh'adhartachadh mar chanain slàn laitheal.

A measg cuspairean forfhaise bi lagan sam bith a tha cur an aghaidh na Gàidhlig, mar eisemplantair an Registration Act, Companies Registration. Feu Charters, Achdan an Foghlaim, is an reachdaireachd a chur air chois buird mar Bhord Leasachaidh na Gaidhealtachd, Coimisean nan Croitearan, Coimisean nan Coilltean, is a leithid de gnìomhaireachdan riaghaltais a dh'obraicheas aig a cheart am sa Ghaidhealtachd sa Bhreac-Ghaidhealtachd. Gheibhear tuilleadh fios o: Frang MacThomais, 31 Braeside Park, Baile Loch, Inbhirnis, IV1 2HJ. Phon: Culloden Moor 689.

(Concessions achieved for the Gaelic language in the past two years or so have led to a change of emphasis by Comunn na Canain Albannaich (the Scottish Language Society) from agitation to research.

The use or neglect of Gaelic in official and public life will form the main areas of study.

Comunn na Canain Albannaich will, using researchers who are members of the Comunn, begin a programme of work intended to strengthen the case for Gaelic, with the ultimate aims of securing legal status for the language and extending its use as a daily vernacular.)

## NEW PAMPHLETS FROM SCOTS SECRETARIAT.

"Clubs against the Union of 1707" is an account of the Secret Societies and other bodies formed after 1702 to oppose the Union of Parliaments of Scotland and England. Fletcher Saltoun was a member of the Auld Reekie club and possibly of the Easy Club founded by Allan Ramsay and Dr. Pitcairn. The Easy Club was broken up by infiltrators. This is a twelve-page pamphlet priced at 15p.

"William Blake and the Stone of Destiny" tells, for the first time, how this leading poet used the Stone of Destiny as a symbol of imperial domination. Blake had an Irish grandfather, John O'Neil and may have been related to the Welsh Jacobite family of Bulkeley. Price 20p for 17 pages.

These two new pamphlets are available for 35p post-free from The Scots Secretariat, Jess Cottage, Carllops, by Penicuik, Midlothian, EH26 9NF. Also released by the same group is the fascinating **How Scots Opposed the Peacetime Call-up (30p)** which has many lessons for all of us who are interested at least in not being used by Imperialists against ourselves or our kin.

## ON THE WESTERN ISLES.

The isles are now the main stronghold in Scotland of Celtic folklore, folksong and language. Certainly, there are only a few spots on the mainland which can rival South Uist or Eriskay in this regard. It is this fact which makes their relative government neglect all the more significant. For example, Fr. Murphy, the parish priest of Eriskay, has made recent protest about the fact that no public money of any significance has been spent of Eriskay for many years. It lives upon a fishing economy and the small island has about two hundred inhabitants. Yet, there is no proper jetty from which to land the supplies coming by local ferry from South Uist. Disembarkation or embarkation is a risky process at low tide when it means a climb over slippery rocks. A large part of the one road is not made up and a journey along it can be a rough business. The only medical services on the isle are those of a district nurse. Only this summer, it was a hazardous task to get a person with acute appendicitis into a boat at low tide for transfer to the hospital at Daliburgh in South Uist. Barra has a doctor but no hospital. It has been suggested that a patient who died in the lifeboat whilst being transported to South Uist could have been saved if a cottage hospital had been available on Barra itself.

Educationally, the isles are placed in difficulty, by geography and by lack of proper provision. The number of secondary schools is restricted. The major one in the Western Isles is the excellent Nicholson Institute at Stornaway. But attendance there is restricted in numbers and must involve boarding for the pupils from South Uist or Barra. Again and again, there have been moves to establish a secondary school in South Uist itself, but so far nothing has been done except for the making of a number of promises. Thus, a great deal of educational opportunity is running to waste. Secondary education in the Highlands is of the utmost importance for it alone provides the means of teaching the Gaelic language academically. The Outer Isles are still largely Gaelic speaking even though dialect problems play their part. For example, "Lewis Gaelic" is often regarded as a dialect on its own and hence criticised in other Gaelic speaking areas.

Transport is difficult. On South Uist, there is one bus which runs from Lochboisdale in the morning to the airport on Benbecula, returning in the early afternoon. It is privately owned by a firm which also services the churches on Sunday mornings and runs school buses in term. There is no form of public transport on Barra. The plane from Glasgow to Inverness touches down at Benbecula affording a quick connection with the mainland and with Stornaway. Barra has a daily small plane from Glasgow. But apart from this air service, which has proved a blessing to the Outer Isles, the major connection is by the transit ferries run by McBraynes. Apart from a few small inter-island local ferries, these have the monopoly. It cannot be said that they give considerable satisfaction. The S.S. Iona makes the daily trip from Oban to Barra and Lochboisdale. But it is a not too satisfactory boat and is frequently late. The ferry from Ullapool to Stornaway is a major lifeline but it runs at inconvenient hours and, in any case, involves for many islanders a long and difficult preliminary journey to Stornaway itself. A very useful ferry was provided by the old night crossing from Barra and Lochboisdale to Mallaig. But this was cut out two years ago and a morass of inconvenience is the result.

Culturally, the Outer Isles are sharply divided by religious issues. The old Catholicism lived on without challenge in the southern isles and it is here that Gaelic folklore and folksong has perpetuated itself. The Isle of Skye together with Lewis and Harris were taken over a century and a half ago by a grim Calvinism. It is represented by the dominant Free Church of Scotland and by an even stricter secession, the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Both of these bodies represent the major force of religion of the Protestant isles. Their natural affiliations are not with the established Church of Scotland but with the narrower and more violent forms of Ulster Presbyterianism. The Calvinistic creed is one which can have a deteriorating effect upon character, a point well brought out by the Highland novelist, Fionn Mac Colla. In the case of Lewis Calvinism, it has promoted a fierce intolerance towards the Catholics of South Uist whilst proving to be a strong foe of the traditional Celtic folklore and folksong. It must therefore be accounted an alien force which is inimical to the genuine Celtic tradition and way of life. The religious division would not need stressing but for the fact that, under the recent local government arrangements, the islands as a whole fall under the Western Isles Authority. Population numbers give the superiority to Lewis with the unfortunate result that they elect on to such bodies as the local education committee grim Calvinistic pastors of little education or culture together with their lay followers. It is these people who insist upon administering public affairs in the interests of Calvinistic dogma. One of their major interests is a grim, Old Testament form of sabbatarianism. So far as their followers are concerned, this is their own business. But they force it on to public life in the isles. Only recently, the education committee has decreed that the educational centre for outdoor training at Valtos, Lewis, should be closed on the sabbath, thus effectively sabotaging weekend courses as a whole. Despite protests from educationalists and others, this rule has been brought into force with the result that a number of youngsters, some from Barra and South Uist, are deprived of healthful and worthwhile education of the body as well as of the mind. A private protest has gone to the Secretary of State for Scotland on the grounds that the decision creates injustice for the Catholic ratepayers and is therefore a misuse of public money. It is easy to see from this one incident that there are two populations on the islands as a whole and that the true Celtic cultural traditions survive on the Catholic isles.

A Scottish national assembly would have to watch the points involved. Nationalism is strong in the isles and there is not a little sympathy on the Catholic isles for the Catholic republicans of Ulster. The nationism needs to be nurtured in a positive manner which protects the ancient culture and the language in which this culture is expressed. One of the greatest needs in South Uist and Barra is for a positive educational work in Celtic culture. The archaeology and antiquities of the islands are of the highest importance, a fact which suggests that the remains unearthed are not sufficiently well cared for and preserved at the present time. The work of Mr. Ian Nable on Skye with his Gaelic college has proved to be an excellent beginning and some type of similar institution on South Uist is badly needed. One fact stands forth in Celtic Scotland. The future of the Celtic language and tradition lies in the isles. Care must therefore be taken to ward off the civil servant bureaucrat who would like all of the islands

depopulated because they form an administrative disorder within his tidy sort of mind. In the same way, care must be taken against the onslaughts of oil speculators, sporting syndicates and other pests. As elsewhere in Scotland, private landlordism has proved a curse in the isles. One of the outstanding needs of South Uist and the rest is that its land and waters should be returned to the people, recognition of the fact that the earth is the creation of the Lord and not of the landlord!

F. H. Amphlett Micklewright.

**Editorial Note:-** Neither Carn nor the Celtic League have any wish to provoke a Holy War in the Highlands, and Islands. Nor have we any intention of avoiding discussion of contentious issues. Carn provides a forum where we can examine matters of significance for all of us. We would welcome a reply on matters cultural and linguistic from the Northern Isles.

### **SCOTTISH EDUCATION IN CRISIS.** by Andy Scott.

Scottish Education is in the throes of crisis and the situation of newly qualified teachers graduating from College to join the dole queue has been one of the main topics of news in all newspapers and on T. V.

Scotland now has, in the words of Stuart MacIntosh, Scottish Chairman of the National Union of Students:- "the most highly qualified dole queue in Europe".

Since May 13th teaching and social work students have been taking direct action against the Education Cuts proposed by the Labour Government by occupying their Colleges of Education. Within a week all 11 colleges in Scotland were occupied by their students.

The student teachers cause was taken up by the National Union of Students and quickly spread, within 10 days to over 110 English colleges, which also went into occupation. The students' occupation were co-ordinated and unanimous for their campaign against Education cuts to be part of the wider campaign against all public expenditure cuts, insisting that education was not a special case and liaising with other trade unions since these represent the parents of the school children for whom the whole campaign was being fought.

The Education Institute of Scotland, the main teachers' union, representing about 40,000 Scottish teachers, still regarded Education as a special case and Scottish Education as even more of a special case, and refused to liaise with other trade unions.

At the Annual General Meeting of the E. I. S. in Stirling a motion calling for "opposition to all public expenditure cuts", "close liaison with other public sector unions", and to "initiate action" to resist all cuts was overwhelmingly rejected by the 450 delegates as was an amendment calling for a "work to rule" in the Further Education sector.

The E. I. S. however are stiffening their contract of service to ensure that class sizes will not exceed 39, the maximum as laid down in the contract, which may create more teacher jobs yet is unlikely to greatly improve the situation, since a class of 39 children is still largely unacceptable as is the fact that 14,000 Scottish children are on 'part-time' education while about 3000 qualified teachers will be unemployed after the summer.

The students' campaign which started off against the District and Regional Councils, became a lobby of Scottish Secretary Bruce Millan, Frank McElhone, the Under Secretary at the Scottish Office with responsibility

for Health and Social Services and Education came temporarily out of hiding to appear on T. V. and it is believed to be the first time he has done this.

Both these men had to admit that they had no power to re-allocate expenditure for Education since the final decision remained in Westminster, hence the need for a British Campaign. Fred Mulley, the Education Minister at Westminster and Prime Minister Callaghan seem fully committed to these cuts "which represent the most savage attack on the working class ever perpetrated" and have only stated that teachers will have to find jobs in other sectors.

Even these are non-existent and considering the cost of unemployment benefit for these graduate teachers it could be possible with only a little extra investment in Education to provide all these teachers with jobs and thereby to improve the Education system for the benefit of the future generation, - since Education is the most crucial investment for the future of a nation. Progress and enlightenment will be brought about by improvements in Education - the Labour Government have shown themselves to be the enemies of all those who seek an enlightened educated society.

(Editor's note: The author of the piece on Scottish Education in CARN 13 - 'Scottish Students Swing to S. N. P.' was Andy Scott also not M. D.)

### **RO FHADA MAR A THA MI.** (Too long in this condition)

By Fionn MacColla, John Humphries. Caithness Books, Janet Street, Thurso, Caithness, £1.75p.

This biographical essay is ESSENTIAL READING for every Scot and would be enlightening for those who wish to understand the same Scot. It is the most exciting, most worthwhile book, to have been published in Alba for many years.

The distortion of Scottish history and the psychological violence directed against the Scottish people are revealed. To the majority of Scots brought up to believe in the "Highland-Lowland" myth and that the various English dialects are the natural language of the so-called Lowlanders this book will be rather disturbing.

Above all, by pointing out that the Gaelic language was in widespread use in the SOUTH and EAST of Alba until fairly recent times the writer highlights the essentially Celtic identity of the Scots.

The extent of, and the tragic effect of, the brainwashing to which the Scottish people have been subjected will be a revelation even to veteran nationalists. Without doubt everyone concerned with the survival of Scotland as a cultural entity should read this book. A. B.

An interesting little book has been published by Mr. Edward T. Hunter-Blair, Parton House, Castle Douglas. Its title is **SOUTH OF SCOTLAND** and it contains verses relating to the Galloway Hills, Thomas the Rhymer, life in Ancient Egypt and other subjects.

Mr. Hunter-Blair proposes (in prose) that a Scottish National Walk should take place from Loch Lomond to Glen Trool and he has composed too a Scottish National Anthem which owes something perhaps to Robert Burns.

● The book can be obtained from Mr. Hunter-Blair, Parton House, Castle Douglas, Scotland, 70p post free.

● The 1976 S. N. P. Conference was the largest so far and met in the industrial heart-land of Scotland, symbolic of S. N. P. determination to win rural and industrial votes alike to take Scotland into a new era.

# BREIZH

## DEIZIADUR UN DROIAD E BRO-SKOS.

Merc'her 30 a Vezheven. Da Vro-Skos ez eomp evit gwelout bro ha kemer perzh en ur skol-hañv ouezelek. Loc'het omp hep bezañ prederiet kalz petra 'vo ezhomm. Hinonin a ra. Gant ma kendalc'ho! Leun-chouk eo arc'h ar c'harr, an doenn a bleg dindan vec'h ar rastellad.

Tremen a reomp harzoù ar C'hwech kontelezh hep gwelout maltoter na soudard na polis breizhveuriat ebet. War un post "Customs ahead" zo bet barrennet, dindan ez eus bet skrivet "Provos ahead". N'hon eus gwelet seurt. An harzoù a steuziañ, an arme saoz o vont war he c'hiz? E Béal Feirste e Kendalc'h an tarzhadennoù hag al lazherezh. N'hon eus ket ezhomm da dremen dre eno. Degouezhet omp e Latharna e Koulz evit bag-treizhañ 15.30 eur. Div eurvezh e pad an dreizhadenn. Er penn all, e Carn Riain, n'eus netra nemet ur c'hae hag ur burev-maltoterien. Ur c'hargad gant urc'haier bras. Moarvat n'emañ ket ma niverenn garr-tan war e roll. War roak 'ta!

Ur c'horn-bro plijus a zo eus Galloway, an hent a hed an aod un tamm mat-met ul lusenn a zo, a stank ar gwelod en diabell. Ur c'hlaouenn em eus bet en ur c'horn-tro: O pouezañ war droadikell ar starderez ez eo aet betek leu ar c'harr hep ... stardañ! N'eus ket bet droug. Pouezet - dibouezet hag ez eus deut nerzh enni en-dro. Diwar vremañ e rankan he arnodin a vare da vare. N'eo ket izelaet live an dourenn - starderez. Hervez al lev'r hon eus bet digant Burev Skosat An Droiadourien n'eus nemet un toulladig tachennoù-kampiñ e Bro-Skos ma vez aotre da sevel teltennoù. Unan a zo e-kichen Dalrimple, 12 km bennak eus Ayr, en distro en ur stankenn wezek. Ar perc'henn zo ur Saoz. Evelse e vez peurliesañ en Iwerzhon koulz hag en Alba: ar Gelted ne ouzont ket ober o mad eus stultennoù pe ezhommou an droiadourien ken founnus hag ar Saozon.

Klevet em eus ar gaouenn an noz-mañ. Pezh n'eo c'hoarvezet biskoazh din en Iwerzhon. Lavarout a reer ez eus kaouenned er vro-hont, me n'on dare!

Dalrimple ... Paot a walc'h an anvioù-lec'h gant Dal en derou anezho en Alba Gouezeleg dail moarvat. Anvioù gant dale en dibenn, evel Armadale en Enez Sgithanach, zo skandinavek. Er reter hag er geured eus Ayr e seblant bezañ. Kalzig anvioù predenek ivez, evel Penpont, Penicuik (Penn ar C'hoad) ha moarvat Carsphairn (Kerspern??)

1.7 Sac'het arc'harr 5 miltir eus Glascho. Imbourch'et eo bet war bouez un ardivink elek'tronek ha klenket ennañ ur "fetisaer" tredan nevez. Tizhet hon eus Loc'h Lomond goude treuzin Glasgo hep arsavin .. gantàon .. Kerse eo ganimp pa na welomp ket an tu all eus al loc'h ervat en abeg d'al lusenn. Na penn ar menezioù tro-dro. Al lec'hioù-annez merket war hor c'hartenn a-hed al loc'h n'eus enno nemet ustalerioù. Tavarnioù n'eus ket. Trement penn pellañ al loc'h e teu ar vro da vou didud-tre. An douar zo d'an deñved dreamañ. Ne welomp taouarc'h e neblec'h. Menezioù a ziguzh diastal, geotek pe goadek o zorioù, loc'hoù bras en traoniennou etrezo. E-Kichen Dalmally, omp pignet gant un hent strizh da welout ur savadur graet e koun unan eus barzhed Bro-Skos. Donnchadh Bán Mac a' tSaoir (1724-1812). Savet eo e penn un duchenn c'heotak, a-wel da Loc'h Awe - ur c'hubad mein bras benet, 8 pe 10 metr a sav dezhan, gant ur gurunenn a beulioù en nec'h. En abeg d'an doare pervezh m'en deus skeudennet an natur eo ez eo brudet Donnchadh "ar Sonioù".

Kavet hon eus plas da gampiñ e Pleg-mor Trá Lí (!) 10 km bennak eus An Oban. Dour-tuellenn ha traden zo eo ti-emwal-c'hiñ, ahendall n'eo ket gwall gevanneus al lec'h. D'ar re o deus karavennoù e vez miret atav an tachennoù Kompesañ. Un draezhenn zo tre'kichen, met ur skritell bras ivez o tegas da goun d'an dud ez eo dre c'hrad-vat ar perc'henn - piv bennak ez eo - ma c'hellont kaout o flijadur eno. Tamm-ha-tamm e lak ar berc'henn-tiezh prevez he c'hrap war an aochou hag e vez stanket an hentou da vont betek enno.

Goude dek eur e vez serret an tavarnioù er vro-mañ. An ostalerioù tro-war-dro ne servijont ket tremenidi. Degasit un nebeut boestradoù bier ganeoc'h ma veztomm...

2.7 Eus An Oban e loc'h listri-treizh ar gompagnunezh MacBrayne evit mont d'an inizi en-dro da v-Mull. En tu kornog eus an enez-mañ eman Iona. C'hoant he deus Bríd da welout al lec'h-se, a denn e vrud eus hini Colm Cille, ar manac'h a zilezas Tír Chonaill er 6<sup>vet</sup> pe 7<sup>vet</sup> kantved, en ur c'horac'h, ha ne ziazezas nemet goude bezañ pignet war ur menez ha diogelaet ne oa ket tu da welout Iwerzhon ac'haleno. Ret eo treuzin Mull, 55 kilometrad hent etre Carraig an Iubhair ha Fionnphort, gant un hent re strizh evit da zaou garr tremen (bep kant metr ez eo bet ledanaet), dre ur vro didud. Kant vloaz 'zo e oa 10000 den amañ, bremañ n'eus miu nemet 2000 ha div drederenn anezho n'int ket ganet en enez. Ar stal ispiserezh e Fionnphort zo dalc'het gant ur. Saoz distagellet, un tammig re c'hwek evit un den onest. En Iona e vev kant den, an darn vrasañ anezho en ur straedig dirak ar c'hae. N'eus netra dispar a-zivout an ilizveur, dalc'het e vatre, nag a-zivout disman-troù ar manati. Tud yaouank deol a zeu amañ a-bell-vro d'ober anerioù siseurt. Blaz dispar zo gant dour sin ar feunteun. N'eus ket amzer da vont betek "Carn Cúl ri hEirinn", ar menez "Tro kein da Iwerzhon". Hervez un hendanvvel e oa ivez ur "Carn Cúl ri hAlba" gwechall, met an daou garn a vije bet war Enez Mull, o verkañ pelec'h oa rannet etre Piktiz ha Gouezeled. (To be continued).

Alan Heusaff.



The battle of St-Aubin-du-Cormier, near Fougères, in which 6000 Bretons died in 1488 fighting to maintain the independence of Brittany, will be commemorated on July 28th. A stone cross which marked the spot but had been knocked down and lost at the time of the French Revolution was found again around 1930 by Neven Henaff (who later founded the Breton fighting unit Bezen Perrot) and re-erected on the "Lande de la Rencontre". - see above.

## CREATING THE NATION.

LES BONNETS ROUGES - Editor: E. S. B. Publishers:  
Union Generale d'Editions, 8 rue Garanciere, 75006  
Paris. Price 12F. In French.

This very interesting book of 352 pages deals with a momentous, though not well-known event of the period of Brittany's history which followed the loss of independence, namely the Stamped Paper Revolt, which is also referred to, as far as Breton-speaking Brittany is concerned, as the Red Caps Revolt (1675). It started in Rennes in April, spread to other cities during the Spring and flared up in Western rural areas early in the Summer. Its immediate cause was the imposition of new taxes, for the sake of financing Louis XIV's wars and extravagant court life, on an already heavily exploited population. In an extensive area of Lower Brittany, it took revolutionary form with the adoption of a 14-point programme (Code Breton) aiming at a new social order, the abolition of the feudal privileges of the nobility and clergy, the reassertion of "la liberte armorique". It was directed everywhere against the props of the king's power and administration, in offices, towns and castles. For months the royal forces were neutralised, but the lack of military skill, the planless spontaneity in the Eastern cities, the need to attend to harvesting in the West, enabled the State to regain control in the autumn and crush the insurgents by means as ruthless as those employed in the Pfalz and Alsace towards the same time.

The Breton historian A. de la Borderie had already published an excellent study of this revolt in 1884: it is reproduced in full. In 1940 the Soviet historian Boris Porshnev published his research on the same subject: a translation from the Russian is also published here, for the first time in French.

The tercentenary of the Bonnets Rouges 'revolt' was celebrated last year by various associations, each interpreting it in its own way. The U.D.B. sponsored a stage display which was seen in over a dozen Breton towns by tens of thousands of spectators, an original way to give the people an idea of their history, of which the State system keeps them in ignorance. For the association E. S. B. the present book offers an opportunity to propound ideas which have been debated in its Breton-language monthly EMSAV\* and which differs radically from those commonly accepted in the Breton nationalist movement. There is a 35 page foreword to the two historians' texts in which some light is cast on the relationship of forces which shaped Brittany's destiny during the last phases of independence and prior to 1675. We learn how the treatment of the subject is influenced by the different ideological backgrounds of the two authors. La Borderie, a member of the Breton aristocracy, reputed as our greatest national historian, is revealed as a conservative for whom our history ended in 1532 with the union of two crowns. In this otherwise exemplary account of the 1675 revolt, he overlooks whatever national aspects it may have and betrays his class's prejudices and fears in relation to the lower classes. Porshnev is faulted with a method said to be common to Marxists, namely that instead of gathering the facts and then seeing how well they support the theory, he starts from given concepts and interprets events so as to suit them. For him 1675 belongs to two traditions: a tradition of peasant risings (we had read nothing in our nationalistic histories about those of 1789-90 and 1590) and claims culminating in the Books of Complaints immediately before the 1789 Revolution; and a tradition of resistance to encroachments by the French King and to violations of the 1532 Treaty which, in the nationalist view, attest the con-

tinuity of the Breton nation. For E. S. B. this is a mechanistic view of history. They deny that the Breton nation continued to exist during the past 500 or 600 years and reject the belief that it exists now as a myth preventing us from seeing reality and taking the right decisions. They consider that the present upsurge of interest in things "Bretons" owes more to the "French national vacuum" that has developed during the past 50 years than to a reaction against foreign oppression.

The evidence in support of a consciously-national component in the motivations of the 1675 revolt are a little tenuous, and the same may be the case for the 1720 Pontkalleg conspiracy. I also readily agree that the weaker France is as a nation the greater the chances for Brittany to regain consciousness but I see no reason to discard the notion of continuity implicit in the concept of a Breton people subsisting through a succession of generations, possessing consciously or unconsciously a constant characteristic which may be called nationality or national identity. We know that one of the arguments used to get the Bretons to sign the 1532 treaty was that they would never have peace otherwise. Many other factors, internal and external, concurred to repress their identity, but it is undeniable that it kept manifesting itself in the intervening centuries: the songs of the Barzhaz Breizh, collected in the first part of the 19th century and shown recently (by Donatien Laurent) to have a greater degree of authenticity than assumed in scholarly circles, testify to the persistence of a sense of nationality which, when conditions became more favourable, expressed itself, through the agency of a minority, in an organised form (1919-1939 period), evincing fairly widespread support in 1941 when France seemed finished, repressed again following the Liberation of France, but expressing itself today more and more loudly, in a great variety of forms, affecting a large section of the people for the past 5 or 6 years, seeking to adapt its tactics to the changed world situation. Even if the notions of national continuity and oppression are a myth, they served their purpose. Would we have the present upsurge in Brittany if the two previous generations had not believed in them, would the EMSAV itself have emerged? How can E. S. B. be so sure that national building or re-construction can dispense with certain irrational assumptions and rely only on highly abstract logical processes?

Although rejecting the "nationalist" label, the meaning of which has allegedly become diluted, although denying that the Breton nation existed during the past 500 years, E. S. B. is concerned with "nation building". It would be interesting to examine in what way they differ from the Union Democratique Bretonne for which Brittany is not yet a nation either, but is on the way to become one. (This principle was adopted in 1964 when the overwhelming majority of the people still showed no interest in self-government. The U. D. B. 's policy is to be only one step ahead of the people.)

The meaning E. S. B. gives to nation is quite unfamiliar in Brittany. Their foreword, which is condensed from several articles published in EMSAV, speaks of the nation as something that is always "contingent" whereas their movement is above all "totalising" and "universalising". What these terms means is not terribly clear.

In EMSAV the events and ideas of our time, as well as those more especially connected with our history, social struggles, linguistic or cultural efforts, literature, are subjected to debate and evaluation, presumably with a view to producing a specific Breton contribution to history. They say that "bre' unity" itself is only accidental, a

condition, not an aim. In order to deal accurately with the subjects, they have developed modern Breton a big step further than the inter-war language pioneers. They have nothing in common with those who persist in wanting to save the bastardized, now part-time language of an ever thinner stratum of the rural population, but even those who have a fairly good knowledge of the standard Breton developed between 1925 and 1944 find them hard to understand. Not only must readers of Emsav familiarise themselves with a host of neologisms based on Old Breton or Welsh (the Celtic League would approve the principle), but they need also to be trained in philosophy in order to be able critically to examine what E. S. B. proposes. Every nation needs thinkers, and if revolution is taking place, i. e. a break with the past, a new beginning, it is normal that it be reflected in changes in the language that expresses it. But if thinkers are to fulfil their role in this process they must obviously see to it that they remain in communication with people around them. Breton nation-building, E. S. B. rightly asserts, should be done by means of the Breton language. In order however to reach more people, they have found it necessary to publish the results of their debates in condensed form in French. This foreword is an example. They also take part in public debates. It appears however that they are sowing on rocky ground. They can certainly boast a considerable amount of thinking and publishing, and one senses their analysis to be in many respects going deeper than that of the traditional Breton movement. They consider that the latter is living on outdated concepts, illusions, contradictions, that it is indulging in sterile agitation leading nowhere - unrealistically speaking of rights, mother tongue, petitions to the French; that instead of working hard it seems to expect "liberation" from dancing, piping and drinking mead. For the Emsav on the contrary, freedom means creating, producing something of one's own. They do not, like the U. D. B., disclaim filiation with the inter-war movement symbolised by Gwalarn and Breiz Atao, on the contrary they recognise that it was the start of this "nation-building", a total break with the passive maintenance of "bretonnity" of the previous centuries, turning away from provincialism to reach for nationhood, i. e. universality.

E. S. B. elucidates the difference between province and nation. Reference is made to the situation in the 14th and 15th century when Brittany was politically and juridically independent but disarticulated, perpetually on the defensive, responding and subjected to forces outside her control, making no contribution to "universality": in fact already a province marginal to France. A nation, says E. S. B., is recognisable by having a "universality" of its own, its "production" taken in the widest sense (which includes literature and culture), though specific, must have a valid meaning outside its borders, have world appeal (?). One thinks of Tone, Lalor, Connolly and other Irishmen thanks to whom Ireland became the epitome of the struggle of so many other nations for liberation. In the April issue of Emsav we read that the task which E. S. B. sets itself, "now that the ideas of the inter-war Emsav have become effective", is to impart to developments in Brittany a momentum towards universality, to provide the conceptual weapons for this evolution and contribute to the break-up of the social divisions.

This attempt is to be welcomed. The Celtic League is aware of the need for our liberation struggles to have a supra-national dimension. We would think however that the search should be for a common universality, that it should be based on a recognition and analysis of the conditions which the Celtic peoples have in common.

\*Emsav meaning "creative Breton movement" as distinct from the movement concerned with "saving, defending, preserving" a heritage.  
Alan Heusaff.

#### NANTES IS IN BRITTANY: FEAST OF UNITY.

5000 people gathered on April 25th in the courtyard of the castle of Nantes, seat of the rulers of independent Brittany, at the call of the association B5 (Brittany, 5 Departments) and 37 other organisations to demand the reunification of Brittany within one administrative region. In a letter to Giscard d'Estaing delivered through the local prefect, they denounced the present separation of Loire-Atlantique from the rest of Brittany as contrary to the deep wishes of its inhabitants, an aggression against the Breton personality on an economic as well as human level. Singers (Stivell, Servat, Namnetes, ...), musicians and dancers alternated with 14 speakers of various persuasions but all united around the theme of this festival. Speeches were directed against the French government, capitalism and their local support, against the Nantes bourgeoisie and its advocacy of a "Grand-Ouest" Region (UDB). People should be allowed to decide the limits within which they wanted to live. Brittany, said a University professor, was an economic unit with the three poles Brest, Rennes and Nantes. Senator Legrand (Loire-Atlantique) was for a strong region Brittany integrated in a strong "Europe des Peuples". Per Denez said there was no point asking for reunification unless they also fought for Breton self-government - without which Brittany would be finished, as aimed at by all French planning.

The day ended with a parade through the city to the prefecture, in which 3000 took part, with flags and posters. All areas of Brittany and emigrants in Paris were represented.

Older participants were not dismayed by the diversity of arguments: the main thing was that Breton ideas and the concern for our country were penetrating into all circles.

#### GOUEL AR BREZHONEG.

This festival of the Breton Language took place, for the third time since its creation in 1974, in Pont'N Abad (Bro-Vigoudenn). It lasted four days and was organised by three cultural organizations (Ar Falz, Skol An Emsav and Oaled) to show all that is created in the Breton Language (papers, books, records, ...) and make the Breton speakers take part, through the medium of their own language, in various kinds of productions: dramas, folk-singing, political debates, ...

This year Gouel Ar Brezhoneg started with a sort of "ceiligh" gathering of Breton singers and story-tellers. The day after, a kind of rally with cars was organized which drove a good number of participants all over "Ar Vro Vigoudenn". Pamphlets were distributed in every village explaining the situation of the language to the native population. Afterwards, everyone came back and attended a political forum on the future of Cornwall: members from different political parties (U. D. B., P. S., P. C., P. S. U., ...) agreed to discuss their positions with the audience. At night two dramas were performed to a crowd of people.

Next day was dedicated to a Kermesse in which one could either go round the different stalls showing papers, books and records, or take part in traditional Breton games. Later on another drama was performed and then everybody joined in a gigantic "Fest-Noz" outdoors which was attended by about 2000 people. The festival ended the following day with a "Fest-Deiz".

## SECULAR EXPERIENCE.

"Le Tresor du Breton Parle", by Jules Gros. Edition Barr-Heol, Librairie Giraudon, 30 rue de Kerampont, 22300 Lannion, Brittany. 1.5. x 24 cm. 67.6 F. Postage free

Jules Gros had already given us two volumes under this title: *Le langage figuré*, 254p and *Dictionnaire Breton-Francais des Expressions Figurées*, 560pp. We have now received a third one, "Le Style Populaire", 400 p

For 60 years the author noted on the spot all kinds of expressions spoken in his presence by native speakers who had never or hardly ever left their parish. Impressed by the superiority of the spoken language over that of the books, he wanted to help future writers to express their thoughts and feelings accurately without having to copy foreign models. For this indeed we should be greatly indebted to him: with French now being drummed into every Breton's ears, it is becoming harder to express oneself according to specifically Breton patterns of thought. What these are can be gathered from this valuable work, in which the Breton language shows its simplicity, flexibility and energy, the excellence of its syntaxes and its wealth of original, witty, picturesque expressions.

The thousands of examples given in a new spelling and accompanied by a French translation, echo the daily lives of the Breton-speakers, their traditions, beliefs, oral literature. There is ample material for a study of the Breton mentality, useful to any wishing to keep in touch with the people! Let us hope that writers also will take the time to acquaint themselves thoroughly with it, that they might be able better to respect the genius of our language.

A few titles of chapters or paragraphs will give an idea of the way they have been classified: A. Reinforcement of Expression. 1. Exaggeration ... 6. Emphasis. B. Attenuation of expression ... 2. Euphemism ... 4. Diminutives, C. Grammar and Expressiveness ... 2. Word Formation. D. 1. Puns. 2. Irony. Chapter II Oral Tradition: 1 Proverbs. 2 Riddles. 6. Rhymes.

## NEWS IN BRIEF.

The Organisation of Breton Emigrants held an Extraordinary General Assembly in Brussels, May 1-2; defined its position concerning the Breton Language, the use of violence in our struggle; expressed its support for moderate political and cultural aims.

\* The International Committee for the Defence of the Breton Language (11 - 13 Parvis de St-Gilles, B-1060 Brussels) has now a 13 member board on which almost as many countries are represented.

\* The cultural federation KENDALC'H inaugurated a second building at its cultural centre at St-Vincent-sur-Oust on June 13th. The centre is used by members of music, dance and language groups for courses and gatherings.

\* **Publication in Breton.** AL LIAMM has finished the re-publication of the works of the great Breton playwright Tangi Malmanche with the printing of AR BAGANIZ (the Pagans), a masterpiece involving a shipwrecker, his daughter and a Cornish-speaking seaman. Time of action: 17th century. 27F.

\* AL LIAMM has also brought out a new edition of F. Kervella's exhaustive Breton Grammar (all in Breton). 50F. Guy Etienne has published a collection of poems "DIAZERCH". The poet as EMSAV-man.

## WHY NO TRIAL FOR JAILED BRETONS?

The dozen men who were jailed last August and October at La Sante Prison have been released little by little during the winter and early Spring, but with P. Loquet only being released in early June. Loquet, according to Breizh (June) was in a very weak condition, suffering from artery trouble in his legs, for which he did not get proper attention (he was due to be transferred to Fresnes Hospital). He went on hunger strike, which lasted 43 days. His market gardening is ruined, his house is put up for sale, his wife and children are reduced to poverty. Skoazell Vreizh is providing them all the help that can be gathered. Any one wishing to help may send contribution to Mr. P. Roy, 29 rue J. Tui nel, 35000 Rennes, (Postal Current Account/CCP 244.83 Rennes).

The association Gwen Rann, of which Loquet is a member, thank the Welsh and Scots M. P. 's and all other persons who wrote to the French in protest. A law-suit is now pending which will probably take place in November.

The investigation into Loquet's case was closed in February. Why was he not released as early as the others? Why was there no mention of a trial? According to the European Convention of Human Rights, everyone arrested (on reasonable suspicion of having committed an offence) should be brought promptly before a judge ... and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release. A state is entitled to derogate to this article only in time of war or national emergency. France the birth place of Human Rights .... ?

Two young Lorient men, Andre Le Gal (himself jailed earlier) and Bertrand Kivijer, staged a hunger strike for more than a week in solidarity with P. Loquet while he was still detained and 203 members of the medical profession (including nurses) signed a petition in support of his demand for release. A thousand people demonstrated in Lorient on Saturday 15/5/'76 against the repression falling today on political and trade union workers.

## BREIZH SURVIVAL.

Over a period of several weeks, GWENN RANN, (Celtic Association for the defence of Breton Territory - Ty Waroch, La Madeleine, 44 350 Guerande, Bzh.) has shown an exhibition on the pollution of water, of the earth, of the air, and on the terrific danger of Nuclear plants etc... during festou-noz, festivals and demonstrations to make the Breton people aware and fight against those who kill Nature (factories, French technocrats, colonization of the coasts by big buildings, etc...) and those who kill the Breton People (Colonialist French System, big towns, radio and TV of the Parisian technocrats, the Roman catholic system which has destroyed the Celtic civilization with the help of the centralized French administration).

J. Gaucher, Pdt. of Gwenn Rann.

p. s. For more information about any Celtic Exchanges with Brittany please write to the above address.

The poet and sculpture Youenn Gwernig who, like some 30 others has refused to pay his TV licence because of the ridiculously short time allowed to Breton on television, had two valuable pieces of furniture siezed in retaliation by the French Authorities.

It is with regret that we hear that Fred Moyse, member of the Celtic League since its foundation, and well known in the pre-war Breton National Movement, died in Frankfurt, aged 68. He took prominent part in organizing help for Tibetan exiles in Germany.

# CYMRU

## YR URDD OREN - Y FFASCISTIAID CYNTAF.

Canrifoedd cyn Hitler, nac Apartheid yn Ne Affrig, fe sylfaenwyd y gymdeithas Ffascistaidd gyntaf erioed - sef yr Urdd Oren - yn Iwerddon yn 1795. Cofier hynny bob tro y sonir yng Ngwasg Llundain am y drafferth yng Ngogledd Iwerddon, erchylftraoedd yr I. R. A., rhyfel "grefyddol", a galw am gydwethrediad rhwng "y ddwy gymdeithas". Arf oedd yr Urdd Oren, a sylfaenwyd gyda help Lloegr, i ddistrwio'r "United Irishmen", cymdeithas wedi'i chyfansoddi o Gatholigion a Phrotestaniaid unedig, oedd yn gofyn am un genedl unedig a rhydd oddi wrth Lergr. Oddi ar hynny, mae Lloegr wedi defnyddio ac yn dal i ddefnyddio'r Urdd Oren i fathru pob ymdrech tuag at uno cenedl yn Iwerddon, a gweithio yn erbyn democratiaeth ar bob achlyrsir.

Yn 1848, pan oedd Iwerddon ar fin chwyldro arall dros ryddid, dan ddylanwad John Mitchel ac eraill, anfonwyd niferoedd o arfau o Gastell Dulyn at y "reliable Orange Lodges" yn erbyn y rhai oedd yn trio, unwaith eto, i uno ac i ryddau eu gwlad eu hun. Ar ddechrau'r ganrif hon pan ddechreuwyd sôn am "Home Rule" i Iwerddon yn Westminster, defnyddiwyd yr Urdd Oren, unwaith eto, gan y Toriaid i sicrhau na fyddai "Ulster" yn cael ei "gorfodi" i mewn i'r genedl unedig. Gyda help a chefnogaeth gan yr Urdd Oren y tynnwyd y ffin yng Ngogledd Iwerddon.

"Ond", medd rhai, y dyddiau yma, "onid yw hyn i gyd yn hen, hen hanes? Onid yw hi'n bosibl anghofio hynny i gyd yn awr ar i'r ddwy gymdeithas ysgwyd llaw a'i gilydd a setlo i lawr i gyd-fwy yn hapus?" Rhaid pwysleisio nad yw hi'n bosibl tra bydd yr Urdd Oren a'r hyn mae'n sefyll amdani yn bod. Ei phwrpas yw cadw goruchafiaeth rhai - lleiafrif trwy Iwerddon i gyd - goruchafiaeth mewn gweidyddiaeth, cyfraith ac economeg - a rhoi hawl iddynt ormesu eraill. Y mae hyn yn digwydd yn Ne Affrig a 'does neb heddiw yn dweud y dylai'r bobl ddu ysgwyd llaw a'r bobl wen ac anghofio pob pechod a chyflawnwyd yn eu herbyn.

Nid yw dweud hyn yr un fath a chefnogi lladd ond mae'n dangos nad yw hi'n bosibl i stopio'r lladd cyn dileu' achos am gŵyn. Mae gofynion yr NICRA - y gymdeithas dros hawliau' dinasyddol yn y Gogledd mor bwysig heddiw ag erioed. A ninnau'n mynd i'r wasg mae diwrnod o oymdeithas Oren - Gorffennaf y 12fed-gyda ni, yn dangos bod Ffascistiaeth yn fyw ac yn iach o hyd. Yn y cyd-destun hon mae son am "power-sharing" yn ofer. Nid yw rhannu yn gyson ag amcanion Ffascistiaeth. Dwy flynedd yn ol cynhaliwyd yr hyn a alwyd yn "streic" ymhlith y "teyrng-arwyr". Anodd yw credu sut i gellir cynnal streic heb yr Undebau Llafur yn ei arwain. Mae Jack Bennett, yn ei bamffld "Fourteen Days of Fascist Terror" a gyhoeddwyd rhai wythnosau ar ôl y digwyddiad hwnnw, yn dangos nad streic oedd, a'r ffordd y gwaeth arweinwyr yr Undebau Llafur ymdrech i arwain y gweithwyr yn ôl i weithio, y ffordd y rhwystrodd yr Orfenwyr iddynt, gyda byddin Lloegr yn edrych arnynt dan chwerthyn. Cofier hynny y tro mesaf y bydd Merlyn Rees neu Jim Callaghan yn son am "peaceful settlement". Mae'n hen bryd i ni gyd ail-ddarllen Ireland Her Own gan T. A. Jackson i gael y ffeithiau'n gywir.

(The above is a note on the origin of the foundation of the Orange Order and the use the English government has made and continues to make of it in its 'divide and rule' policy.)

Janice Williams.

## SEREN TAN GWMWL.

Fel mae pawb yn gwybod bellach, mae'r Unol Daleithau yn dathlu dau can mlynedd o ryddid. Ac er fod llawer o'i le ym mywyd Americanaidd heddyw, yn sicr ni fu gwlad erioed iw chymharu a'r wlad hone. Mae'n wlad fawr; mae'n wlad gyfoethog; mae'n wlad dosturial. Ni fu erioed gymaint o ymfudo yn hanes y byd nac i'r America o wledydd tlawd a gormesol.

A gallwn ninnau fel Celtiaid ymfalchio yn y rhan a gymerasom yng nghreadigaeth yn Unol Daliethau. Yn wir a 'ddarganfyddwyd' y wlad gan Madog neu St. Brendan yn y lle cyntaf? Arwyddwyd y Datganiad Annibynol gan un Frances Williams a anwyd yn Llandaf yn 1713. A beth am Thomas Jefferson a etholwyd yn lywydd? Ymfudodd ei hynafiad o Wynedd-ffaith a ymfalchiai Jefferson yn fawr ynddi.

Cymerodd y Celtiaid hefyd ran amlwg yn yr ymladdfa yn erbyn y Saeson. Ac mae'n debyg fod y Saeson yn adeg hono, fel heddyw, yn credu fod y Creawdwr wedi ei dewis hwy i reoli pobl 'isradol' iddynt. Ac mae'r hen draddodiad yn cymeryd llawer o amser i farw. Mae'n eirionig meddwl heddyw mae'r bobl mwyaf amlwg yn eu gwrthwynebiad i reolaeth y Saeson yn 1776 ydoedd y Presbyteriaid a ymfudodd o Ogledd Iwerddon.

Aeth y Celtiaid a'u hiaith gydag hwynt hefyd. Mae gan y Cymry papur newydd-sef 'Y Drych' - yn dal mewn bodolaeth. Ac hwyrach nad yw'n hysbys i bawb i rai cannoedd o bobl o Ynys Manaw ymfudo i'r byd newydd ddechrau y ganrif ddiwethaf. Nid yn unig y hwy a adeiliadodd yr ysgol gyntaf yn Cleveland ond yr iaith Fanaweg oedd eu hiaith bob dydd ac yn wir fe ddefnyddiwyd yr iaith Fanawg yn Ohio ar ol iddi ddarford yn Ynys Manaw ei hun.

Mae enwau y Celtiaid a gyfranodd i ryddid a datblygiad yr Unol Daliethau yn rhy hir i'w cofnodi. A ellid dychmygu y wlad heb yr elfen Geltaidd? Er mai'r Saeson a'r Ffrancod oedd yn ymsefydlwyr cyntaf, mae eu disganyddion heddyw yn y lleiafrif. J. Rhyd Humphreys.

(The above deals with the contribution of the Celts to the development of the United States. Could one imagine America without its Celtic influence? A Welsh language Newspaper is still in existence. Manx was spoken in Ohio even after it had ceased in Mann itself.)

## BOOTS Y FFERYLLYDD.

Having at first refused to consider the use of Welsh in its shops, Boots, the Nottingham based chain of pharmacies, has agreed to use bilingual signs in those shops where Welsh is in regular use and where at least one member of the staff is Welsh speaking.

The move follows limited direct action by Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg in the last few weeks.

This is part of the Society's campaign to make English based chain stores use Welsh in Wales. So far the reply from most organisations has been in the negative.

## RHEILFFORDD CYMRU (?)

British Rail have recently begun implementing a policy of Welsh first, or Welsh only on station name signs, as and when a particular station is renovated. In the case of place names where the Welsh and English versions are similar the Welsh version will be used.

However, two days after this policy became publicly known British Rail modified its policy. In the case of stations where the two names are very different, e.g.

Abertawe-Swansea it now appears that only the station names at either end of the platforms will be bilingual. The excuse is that the stations cannot be cluttered up with hugh signs. Further action on the part of Cymdeithas Yr Iaith can be expected.

#### HEALTH OR IECHYD.

Dr. Carl Clowes, one of the founders of Antur Aethairan, and well known campaigner for greater use of Welsh in the Health Service is again in the news.

Apparantly it has been the custom for some doctors in Y Fro Gymraeg to fill in official medical certificates needed to claim Social Security in Welsh. The official forms are monolingual English but local officials have naturally accepted the use of Welsh.

Finding this state of affairs unacceptable Dr. Clowes had Welsh versions of the forms printed. These too were readily accepted by local officials. Unfortunately London/ Cardiff have heard of the situation and are planning to put an end to the practise.

Surely officialdom must one day realise that eventually equal validity will be a reality? Why must we waste so much money and manpower in these futile skirmishes?

#### NATIONAL COMMEMORATION ASSOCIATION.

The Cymdeithas Coffa Cenedlaethol's (National Commemoration Association) basic objective is 'to restore a sense of national pride and to help promote the continuing existence of the Welsh identity through promoting knowledge, recognition and love of our nation's heritage, its language, culture and traditions, and its historical achievements, famous people/heroes, and patriots, their lives and times'. This they attempt to carry out by organising various commemorative activities, by erecting memorials and by publishing material designed to interest the Welsh people in their aims. They hope by holding commemorative events such as rallies, and parades and by organising weekend schools, tours and field trips to familiarise people with the history of Wales. It is intended to raise funds to set up memorials and plaques at famous landmarks and battlefields where Welsh people fought for freedom in the past. It is also a long term ideal to publish a quarterly Historical Review - to be titled 'Heritage' - which it is hoped would become a popular magazine of native history, custom and traditions.

The association would like to see September 16th, become the premier nationalist celebration day. It was on this date in 1400 that Owain Glyndwr and a small group of followers met at Glyndyfrdwy to finalise their plans for a revolt against the English rulers of the land and to proclaim Owain Prince of Wales. The following will be held for the third year running to commemorate the event: a talk and an exhibition at Glyndyfrdwy, a rally at Caer-drewyn near Corwen, and a social at Ruthin - all on Saturday 18th September, at 12-4 p.m., 3.30-5 p.m., and 8-11 p.m. respectively. A rally will be held too at 4 p.m. on December 11th at Cilmeri in memory of Llywelyn killed in a skirmish with English forces during the Battle of Irfon Bridge on that date in 1282: (This commemoration was attended by the Gen. Sec. and a group of Irish members in 1972 - see CARN No. 1). A number of other events and activities are also held earlier in the year; for further information on these and other details re subscriptions etc. write to:- N. C. A. Sec. A. H. Lewis, Dolcoed, Bronant, Aberystwyth, Ceredigion, Dyfed.

#### DINBYCH.

Despite objections from both the local and district councils and Cymdeithas Yr Iaith, the Greater London Council is determined to go through with its plan to buy 42 houses in Dinbych (Clwyd) for pensioners.

The North Wales coast is already so heavily populated with retired people that it has earned the name Costa Geriatica in medical circles. We cannot blame people wanting to retire to that very pleasant part of the world, but such a population imbalance does put a heavy strain on an area already suffering from unemployment and depopulation. Nor can it be said that the incomers provide work for the area of any assistance to the creation of a balanced economic structure for the region.

However, in the case of North Wales we have the additional problem that the incomers are from a different linguistic group. In the case of the coastal resorts, anglicisation was inevitable (but not irreversible) but when large groups of English speakers are deposited in inland towns where Welsh is the everyday language things are more serious. We have already seen the consequences of piecemeal house purchases by English speakers in our villages, apparently we are now to see the effects of whole estates being bought.

Demonstrations have taken place in protest against this ill considered scheme. As has been pointed out would the activities of Tai Gwynedd and Adfer in the region be necessary if there were 42 homes to spare?

\* \* \* \* \*

In Ceredigion however local authorities have agreed to buy police houses being vacated in a number of villages and to rent them to local people rather than see them put up for auction with the likely result that the homes would be bought as weekend homes or Tai Haf. This move is at least encouraging, as was the government's refusal to allow tax concessions on second home mortgages and its refusal to allow government improvement grants on s second homes.

#### STUDENT UNION.

At the Annual Conjoint Meeting on June 16th of the Representative Council of the Students' Union, Coleg y Brifysgol Abertawe, two matters of Celtic importance were raised on the agenda by Tim Lewis, General Secretary of the Students' Union. A Motion was passed with regard to the Dinbych plan mandating the incoming executive to write to the G. L. C. and to the relevant local government authorities in Dinbych opposing the scheme and supporting the local authorities opposition to the G. L. C.

The second motion was concerned with the imprisonment of the members of the Breton pacifist movement, Gwenn Rann, who were held without trial by the French authorities. The new executive was mandated to draw up a letter signed by all members of the executive (and all members of the Council who wished) and to send copies to the French Embassy in London, and to the French Government in Paris.

The only opposition to these two motions came from the Labour and Communist Party factions who voiced their opposition to the argument behind the first motion and attempted to block the second one by raising irregularities in the discussion. The motions were passed however and will be implemented as soon as possible. On behalf of the Celtic League here in Abertawe, and on behalf of the Students' Union here, I urge that student sup-

port for these Bretons, and for Gwenn Rann as a whole, be raised in Student Unions all over the Celtic world. Kiltia war-sav! Tim Lewis. (Editor: See Breizh - 'Why no trial for jailed Bretons')

### PLAID GAINS IN DISTRICT ELECTIONS.

Polling took place on May 6th for the 37 District Councils in Wales. The result was described by Plaid Cymru's Chairman Phil Williams as "easily the most successful election night ever for Plaid Cymru".

This was the first time that elections had taken place for this important tier of local government in Wales since local government was re-organised on April 1st, 1974. The members of the councils were elected in May 1973 so that Plaid Cymru was looking anxiously at these elections as an indicator of the party's progress over the past three years. In particular it was interested in the extent to which Plaid's successes in Parliamentary elections had had an impact on the party's strength, especially in the key area of Mid-Glamorgan.

Although gains by Plaid Cymru were expected, and the Labour Party was expected to lose ground, not only to Plaid, but also to the Conservatives in the more anglicised areas of Wales, most observers expected little change in the overall pattern of dominance by the Labour Party, which went into the election controlling 19 out of the 37 districts and with 668 out of the 1500 seats. Even these figures did not portray fully the pre-eminence of the Labour Party, since in 15 districts party political labels for candidates were the exception, local government in these areas being carried on at least outwardly non-political lines. Thus of the districts where there was a tradition of competition for seats by parties, Labour controlled 19 out of 22. Also, when various independents were deducted from the total number of councillors, Labour had 668 out of a total of some 926 councillors carrying party labels.

The re-organisation of local government itself was widely felt by the electorate to have contributed to the massive increases in rates over the past few years. Also governments in power regularly do badly in local elections. Again, the growth of Plaid Cymru as a political rival to Labour in many parts of Wales was seen as a likely factor which would lead to a decline in Labour support. In some areas there had been growing rumours of corruption amongst Labour councillors and these had resulted in charges against leading Labour local politicians, and this was expected to have its effect. But whilst a decline in Labour fortunes seemed inevitable, the disaster which they suffered in these elections in Wales was beyond their worst nightmares.

When the final figures were examined, Labour had lost control of eleven districts and had lost a third of their seats. The gains were made by the Conservatives, Plaid Cymru, and by Ratepayer candidates. Labour lost control of Wales's three largest towns, Cardiff and Newport falling to the Conservatives, and Swansea to the Ratepayers.

But it was Plaid Cymru which made the most spectacular advance. From 48 seats in 1973, the party leapt to 123, and from being no more than a minority group the party found itself in control in the Merthyr District and the largest party in the Rhymni Valley, with every hope of taking complete control there through by-election wins over the coming years. It would be wrong to suggest that Plaid did not benefit from the high level of anti-Labour feeling which in areas where Plaid is not yet strong benefitted

other parties. But this protest element should not be over-rated. Substantial progress was made by Plaid Cymru candidate even in areas where the party is not yet a viable alternative to Labour. There was also a significant gain in seats by Plaid in areas of rural Wales where non-party candidates were previously elected, as for example in Meirionnydd which although represented in Parliament by a Plaid Cymru member, Dafydd Elis Thomas, did not previously have a single Plaid District Councillor. In areas like this the fact is clearly demonstrated that it is the gradual and steady growth of the national movement which was the prime cause of Plaid Cymru's great advance in these elections.

The party is now eagerly preparing itself for next year's elections to the country's eight county councils. The party will be looking for gains all over Wales, but especially in Gwynedd and in Mid-Glamorgan. In the case of Mid-Glamorgan the party can now aim realistically to take control of the authority which would be an historic moment indeed in Wales's fight for freedom.

Keith Bush.

### TAFFY WAS A THIEF.

It is a common English observation that other people lack a sense of humour. This is particularly the case where the current "Irish" jokes are concerned. When pleasantries regarding, say, the exploits of the Royal Navy against the Icelandic "pirates" are made a predictable English reaction is that they are in bad taste. If the Irish tend to lack humour where Irish jokes are concerned or Scots as regards mean Aberdonian jokes the Welsh as represented by Mr. Gwynfor Evans were also at fault when he complained to Messrs. Hamlyn, the publishers, about one jingle in their book "Best Nursery Rhymes Ever".

Hamlyns took the view that the poem no doubt stemmed from the misdeeds of one individual Welshman and that it would clearly be viewed in that light. In fact it has been traditional English policy to provide archetypal figures for their Irish, Scottish and Welsh "Fellow Britishers" which show them in a poor light. In Shakespeare, for example, they can readily be classified as variations on his lower-class clowns.

It seems irrelevant whether the nursery rhyme in question was written spontaneously because of an individual theft in which the thief happened to be Welsh or as a piece of deliberate racist propaganda. Whatever the origin it has served as part of the process by which the English denigrated their Celtic neighbours. Children are highly receptive to what they learn in their earliest years so the rhyme can hardly fail to have had the effect of inculcating a considerable degree of suspicion towards Welsh people.

My own attitude towards Welsh people was one of reticence until Cornish Nationalism began to be of increasing importance to me. Analysing this reticence, I could find no valid foundation for it whatsoever. Nevertheless, it clearly had a motive and I could only conclude that it must have been the pernicious nursery rhyme. Mr. Evans did well to make a formal complaint to Messrs. Hamlyn.

#### The first of the offending verses read:-

Taffy was a Welshman,  
Taffy was a thief,  
Taffy came to my house  
And stole a leg of beef.

Owen Tregarthen.

## DHÁTHEANGACHAS AGUS ILTEANGACHAS SNA TIORTHA CEILTEACHA.

Go h-inmheánach sna tíortha Ceilteacha cnámh spairne go minic é ceist an dátheangachais. Polasaí dhátheangach atá in ainm agus a bheith ag Saor Stát na hÉireann ó bunafodh é. Ní shin le rá gur déanadh miondealadh críoch-núil ar bith ar an scéal. Bhí sé i gceist an Ghaeilge a aithreimiú ach ní raibh sé i gceist riamh gearleanúint ar bith a dhéanamh ar Bhéarla tar éis a mbionn de shíonafí ag an LFM. Síleadh go bhfoghlaimíodh muintir na hÉireann Gaeilge le fonn ach deis a dhéanta a chur ar fáil ach ní raibh duine ar bith ag súil go gcaillfidís a gcuid Béarla. Nach é an dara teanga oifigiúil é? Ní raibh i gceist ag Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge riamh ach tús áite a thabhairt don Ghaeilge. Cé uaidh a bhfuair siad an sampa ach ón bPíarsach é féin? Bheifí ag súil tar éis leathchead bliain go mbeadh léargas soiléir éicint ar an scéal ar fad. Mo léan gear níl. Tá sé deacair teacht ar bheirt ar bith gurb é an tuiscint cheanna atá acu ar dhátheangachas. Ní hé ámháin sin, tá daoine eile go damanta ina éadan anois nuair a fheiceann siad an toradh atá air go dtí seo. Le roinnt blianta tá iarrachtaí déanta an cheist a chforadh. Chuir an tOllamh Máirtín Ó Murchú a Diglossia ar fáil. Rinne Conradh na Gaeilge staidéar ar an scéal. D'fhoillsigh Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge 'Bilingualism Today' leis an Ollamh Jac Williams as an mBreatain Bhig. Tá corraí san aer ach fos féin tá cúrsaí dhátheangachais lán le poill agus le bearnaí in Éirinn. Níl aon insint scéil ar an leatrom a d'imir polasaí dhátheangach an rialtais ar mhuintir na Gaeltachta. Ar chuala aon duine riamh faoi dheontas do mhuintir na Gaeltachta le Béarla a fhoghlaim cé go raibh an Béarla éigeantach éigeantach dáiríre? Níor leor pas sa scrúdú a stór agus dearmad a dhéanamh air arís go deo. An té nach raibh Béarla aige ní raibh tada aige. Ní dheanadh caighdeán a chodail amuigh cuis le scrúdaithe a fháil. Ní bhfuair géabha na Gaeltachta riamh annlann ghandail na Gaeltachta. Tá sé thar am an scéal ar fad a phlé go forleathan, oscailte.

Ón gcomhrá a bhí agam le daoine as na tíortha Ceilteacha eile ceist gan réiteach í ceist an dátheangachais acusan freisin. B'fhéidir go bhfeadfaí an Bhriotáin a fhagail as an áireamh. Níl aitheantas ar bith ag a dteanga siadsan faoi stát na Fraince. Tá an cath á riar go tréan acu leis an mBriotánais a tharrtháil on ngearleanúint fhóchmhar atá a dhéanamh uirthi. Tá feachtas láidir i réim sa mBreatain Bhig ar son an dátheangachais. Ní mórán de lucht labhartha na dteangacha Ceilteacha atá fágtha anois nach bhfuil dhátheangach. Fiú nuair nach bhfuil stádas ar bith ag an teanga náisiúnta - cosúil leis an mBriotáin - tá na comhludair nó na daoine aonarach a labhraíonn an teanga náisiúnta ag plé dá mbuíochoas féin le suíomh dhátheangach. Níor mhiste dóibh áird a thabhairt ar an scéal in am. Tá go leor le foghlaim acu ó chás na hÉireann.

Chomh maith le díospóireacht inmheánach an dátheangachais tá díospóireacht eile a bhíonn ag déanamh buartha do na Ceiltigh. Ar cheart dóibh teanga Cheilteach a úsáid mar lingua franca in áit an Bhéarla agus na Fraincise? Fíor-bheagán daoine a bhfuil an dara teanga Ceilteach ar a dtail acu ach tá siad ag eirí níos líomhaire. Cuirtear moltaí éagsúla chun cinn ó am go h-am - glacadh leis an teanga Cheilteach is láidre nó a mhalairt ar fad. Níor chualas go dtángthas ar shocrú fós ach idir an dá linn tá ciorcal bunaithe sa mBreatain Bhig do Cheiltigh atá ag foghlaim na Breathnaise nó atá ag iarraidh í a fhoghlaim.

I mbliana beidh cában acu ar pháirc an Eisteddfod le fáiltiú roimh na scolairí, le imeachtaí a chur ar fáil dóibh agus ar ndóigh le Breathnaise a labhairt. Beidh daoine ann a bhéas ag magadh faoina leithéid de smaoinemh. Cinte ní rud forleathan a bheadh ann go ceann fada ach is críonna an beartas é ar a lan bealaigh do Cheiltigh. Dá mbeadh eolas ar na teangacha Ceilteacha ag teaghlaimithe na bhfoclóirí ní bheadh an oiread den 'Bhéarlachas' le sonnrú ar thearmaí nua. Is gearr ó dhamnaigh iriseoir an Ceilteachas ina alt san Irish Times mar gheall gur trí Bhéarla a dhéanann Ceiltigh cúrsaí idir-Cheilteacha a phlé. Murach an ghníomhaíocht idir-Cheilteach atá ar siúl le beagnach fiche bliain anuas is cinte nach dtiocfadh an lá go deo a gcuirfeadh Ceiltigh eolas ar a dteangacha. Mura bhfuil an t-eolas sin acu cheana féin is ar éigin gur orthu san atá an locht. Dála an scéil cé mhéad dá chomh-Éireannaigh gur féidir leis an Gaeilge a labhairt leo? Maidir le lingua franca cár fhága muid an Esperanto nó an Ido - na teangacha tacair. Níl a fhios agam. Tá siad an-easca ceart go leor ach an bhfeadfaí cúrsaí casta na polaitíochta agus an chultúir a phlé go sásúil iontu? Duine ar bith a bheadh ag fíodmhagadh faoi bheartas le teanga cheilteach a chur chun cinn mar mhéan cumarsáide idircheilteach níor mhiste dó cuimhníu ar pholasaithe teangan Shasana agus na Fraince. Caitheann siad airgead gan chúntas chuile bhliain lena dteangacha a scaipeadh ar fud an domhain - ní mar dhara teanga - ach mar aonteanga.

Beidh Comhdháil na dteangacha Ceilteacha ar siúl in Éirinn i mí Lúnasa. Níor mhiste dó díriú ar na fadhbanna teangan seo b'fhéidir. Níor mhiste don Chonradh Ceilteach amach anseo an díospóireacht a bhrostu. Bain-eann ceist inmheánach an dátheangachais leis na gluaiseachtaí teangan sa chuile thír ach níor dhochar ar bith do Charn an sceal a scagadh agus a chuid moltaí féin a dhéanamh.

Basil MacConRíogh.

(This article discusses the need for a wider debate on bilingualism in the Celtic countries and on the adoption of a Celtic language as a lingua franca amongst the Celtic peoples.)



## ÚDARAS PICKET.

At the end of May a well-attended picket, organised by Gluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta (Gaeltacht Civil Rights Movement) in conjunction with Conradh na Gaeilge (and its youth organisation - Ógras), was placed on the Department of the Gaeltacht to demand the immediate setting-up of the badly needed and much called for Gaeltacht Authority. Representatives from all Gaeltacht areas attended and following the picket a short meeting was held which was addressed briefly by delegates from the different Gaeltachtaí and the President of An Conradh.

## EDUCATION THROUGH IRISH.

Irish was the normal medium of instruction from earliest times up to penal times in the schools of Ireland. This situation differed from other European countries where Latin was the norm. When National Schools were established in the 19th century they had no place at all for Irish. It was only in 1907, fourteen years after the establishment of Conradh na Gaeilge (The Irish Language Organisation), that even bi-lingualism was permitted in Gaeltacht (Irish speaking areas) schools.

P. H. Pearse (one of the leaders of the 1916 rebellion, executed by the British - Ed.) that careful educational visionary, was the first to set out on the road to education through Irish in the English speaking anglicised part of Ireland. He established St. Enda's in Cullinstown House in Ranelagh, Dublin, in 1909, before moving it to Rathfarnham at which stage he established St. Ita's in its place in Ranelagh. The first was a boy's school, the latter a girl's. They were the first bi-lingual schools outside the Gaeltacht. Donn Piatt, who was a pupil of of Pearse's described his methods in a lecture in 1967. He would it seems, teach each lesson twice, once in Irish and then in English. Piatt said that he himself had tried this method as a teacher of mathematics and while it was beneficial both to the pupils knowledge of maths. and of Irish it had not in itself made the children into Irish speakers.

On 3rd Sept. 1917 in No. 70 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, Miss Louise Gavan Duffy opened the doors of Scoil Bhride, the first All-Irish school in modern times. Scoil Bhride therefore broke new ground entirely. Not alone were all subjects to be taught through Irish but the school itself was to be a mini-Gaeltacht. Irish was to be the language of classroom and playground, of internal business and sociality. All this the school succeeded in doing. Not by compulsion but by encouragement. The school earned itself a high reputation scholastically. It ran into difficulties financially as a private school and in 1926 became a national school coming in 1931 to Earlsfort Terrace under the aegis of the University College, Dublin Dept. of Education with a university chaplain as manager. In the same year Colaiste Mhuire was established as a boy's secondary school in 27 Parnell Sq., a historic building frequently used by the men of '16 in previous years. A tribute is due to E. de Blaghd and Gen. Mulachy for their vision in this work for both schools. Three years previously the Irish primary schools (two) had been established in the model schools in Marlboro St. This was part of the programme initiated by the Free State government following its establishment. In January 1922 Irish was made a compulsory subject for all national schools and infant classes, where teachers were qualified, and later all the higher classes were to be taught through Irish. Intensive courses were provided to qualify teachers. An Gúm, the government publishing agency, was established to provide Irish textbooks. Underneath are given tables showing the number of primary schools in the 26 counties from 1930 to 1970, the number of all Irish schools - designated 'A' schools - during this period also and the latter shown as a percentage of the total. Similiar tables show the total of secondary schools, all Irish ('A') schools and the percentage for the period 1927/8 to 1972/3 and also the same statistics for the number of pupils involved.

Out of the 52 all-Irish primary schools outside the Gaeltacht in 1970 (only 24 by 1972) there were 19 schools in which the number of pupils were less than 50 and 8 where the number of pupils was between 50 and 100; (only 3 and

TABLE I.

Total of Primary Schools and number of All Irish ('A') Schools from 1930-1970.

Schools	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
Total	5, 378	5, 073	4, 879	4, 880	4, 450
'A' Schools	228	623	523	420	251
%	4%	12%	11%	9%	6%

TABLE 2.

Total of Secondary Schools and No. of all Irish 'A' Schools from 1927/8-1972/3.

Schools	27/8	32/3	37/8	42/3	47/8	52/3	57/8	62/3	67/8	72/3
Total	281	311	336	371	404	441	489	557	595	573
'A' Schools	13	47	97	104	102	97	81	85	52	26
%	4.6%	15%	28.8%	28%	25.5%	22%	16.5%	15.2%	8.7%	4.5%

TABLE 3.

Total No. of pupils and No. of pupils in Secondary 'A' Schools from 1927/8-1972/3.

Pupils	27/8	32/3	37/8	42/3	47/8	52/3	57/8	62/3	67/8	72/3
Total	25, 561	30, 966	36, 092	38, 787	43, 780	52, 151	66, 221	84, 816	118, 807	162, 000
Total A	1, 126	4, 503	10, 234	10, 987	10, 941	9, 374	11, 771	13, 790	10, 917	4, 572
%	4.3%	14.8%	28.3%	27.6%	24.9%	17.9%	17.4%	16.2%	9%	2.8%

6 respectively by 1972). The smallest of these schools will be closed or amalgamated under the centralisation policy of the Dept. of Education, unless a different policy prevails. As can be seen there was a continuing rise in the number of all Irish primary schools until the fifties and a catastrophic drop since then. The same is true of the number of all-Irish secondary schools. As far as the number of pupils receiving secondary education through Irish is concerned it can be seen that a small temporary increase was registered in the early sixties but as the total number of secondary school pupils increased greatly from 1967 onwards, due to the introduction of free secondary education (prior to this only those who could afford it received such education), so the number of 'A' school pupils declined. So resulted a sharp decline in the percentage of pupils doing their work through Irish and this percentage is now even lower than it was in 1927.

Outside the Gaeltacht there are only a handful of schools at primary or secondary level teaching through Irish today. Even in the Gaeltacht recent enquiry has shown that many schools and many subjects are taught through English. It is feared that many national schools on the edge of the Gaeltacht into which English speaking areas, such as the suburbs of Galway city for example, have penetrated will soon be converted to English as a consequence of the introduction by the Dept. of Education of new committees of management.

What happened in the early fifties to cause this? More than any other reason advanced has been the absence of Irish textbooks. There were a number of ostensible reasons for this. The standard spelling was introduced in 1947, standard grammar in 1953, there was a general adoption in the fifties of the standard European script - the Roman script - and curricular reform commenced. These were however excuses - with a little goodwill on the part of the authorities one or other of the schemes advanced by interested parties could have been put into practice. But the planning branch of the Dept. of Education had decided on a policy of amalgamation of schools and Irish was an obstacle to this. The ministers in the

Department - and the list includes all the major Fianna Fail Party figures; Lynch, Haughey, Colley, Hillery, O'Malley, Lenihan, Faulkner - did nothing. This of course was the period when Fianna Fail started putting the policy into practice and the other major political party - Fine Gael - had long been taken over by the anti-Irish brigade.

This phenomenon was of course noticed by the official language movement who did little but pass resolutions and submit reports to the government. But a new phenomenon began to appear, at first slowly and in recent years at greater pace; the ordinary Irish speaker or supporter decided that he or she must do the job themselves.

(To be continued in CARN 15.) Micheal O Breartuin.

(Editor: In Ireland primary schools cover the age range 4-12 and secondary schools 13-17/8. Primary schools were managed by the local parish priest (or minister) but management committees with some parental control are now being introduced. Secondary schools were run by religious orders with a few exceptions. It is only in recent times that the full range of subjects became available in the state technical schools and more recently still that, first comprehensive, and now community schools (with parental representation on the management board) were founded by the state, (local authorities).)

#### COURTS.

The protest of Tomás Ó Monacháin, who refused to pay a fine imposed on him in a court (for a nominal planning offence), in the Donegal Gaeltacht because the judge would not deal with his case through Irish, without an interpreter, was brought a stage further when Tomás was arrested and lodged in Mountjoy Jail on the 21st June. On receiving word of his imprisonment the Dublin Regional Committee of Conradh na Gaeilge put a picket on the jail and issued a statement deploring his arrest and pointing out that, as he had argued, Section 71 of the Courts of Justice Act 1924 stated that in Gaeltacht areas judges should be able to conduct cases in Irish without an interpreter. An Conradh called for the implementation of this section and the quashing of the sentences on Mr. Ó Monacháin. An application for an order of Habeas Corpus was refused as was a further one. The picket was maintained each night until Mr. Ó Monacháin was released on bail on the 25th and a fund was set up (with almost £100 being collected locally in a few days) to help defray his expenses and pay any costs involved in pursuing the case to the High Court as Mr. Ó Monacháin intends. During his imprisonment many messages of support were received and were broadcast on Radio na Gaeltachta.

#### RADIO NA GAELTACHTA THREATENED.

An attempt to alter the popular broadcasting times of Radio na Gaeltachta - 6-9.30p.m. - to the ridiculous hours of 11a.m. - 1.30p.m. and 6-6.45p.m. was halted following widespread protests from the Gaeltacht communities and listeners and language bodies throughout the length and breadth of Ireland. It is thought that this was the first step in what could be an attempt to downgrade Radio na Gaeltachta and incorporate it in a bilingual Western Regional Station. Members of the RTE Authority such as Charles McCarthy and J. Maguire (ex-editor of the Western People) are known to have called Radio na Gaeltachta racist and divisive - favourite terms now of those wishing to eradicate the Irish language. In any attempts to downgrade Radio na Gaeltachta they have in Muiris MacCongail, Head of Radio na Gaeltachta and O'Brien's (Minister for Posts and Telegraphs) man in RTE a willing tool. Obviously a close watch must be kept on developments.

#### TORTURE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Allegations of torture and ill-treatment North and South continue to be made. A Republican Club member in Belfast said he was so badly abused by the RUC Special Branch that he tried to commit suicide in Springfield Road police station. Along with two others he was arrested and accused of murdering a police constable. The three men said they were beaten several times by the RUC and were repeatedly threatened with assassination either by hanging, stabbing or shooting. Finally, one man (referred to above) signed a statement admitting the killing. During the time the three men were held all requests to let relatives or a doctor into the station to visit them were turned down. The Falls-based Association for Legal Justice also claimed that people from Catholic (Nationalist) areas of Belfast were being subjected to torture and blackmail at Springfield Road, and Castlereagh police stations. They cited a number of cases in which people were punched, choked, had hot water thrown on them and were threatened with serious charges like murder if they did not admit to less serious charges. The redoubtable Rees meanwhile attempted to nullify these claims and others of unjustified shootings by the army by stating that they were only propaganda against the security forces! In the South a man sentenced by the Special Criminal Court claimed that he was beaten and tortured by detectives and Gardai several times following his arrest in Co. Cavan, and that he was threatened with being taken to the border and handed over to the UDR. When convicting the man of being a member of the IRA and of failing to account for his movements Mr. Justice Pringle directed that the man's statement be forwarded to the director of Public Prosecutions 'as the court regards the accused man's allegations as a very serious matter which should be investigated'.

The findings of a five-year follow-up study by psychiatrists on 13 men who suffered psychological torture at the hands of the British Army in the North reveals drastic after-effects - both psychologically and physically among the victims. Professor Robert J. Daly, UCC, addressing the American Psychiatric Association at Miami Beach, Florida, said that the official British view was absolutely wrong. 'If people are being tortured by these methods anywhere' he said 'there should not be any lies about it. It should be admitted that the effects are worse than those of physical torture'. In his paper - 'The Psychiatric Effects of Counter-Insurgency Operations' he said that the individuals examined experienced considerable psychological suffering and psychosomatic problems. Marked anxiety, fear and dread, insomnia, nightmare and startle responses were the commonest symptoms. 'Depression had been almost universal and weeping attacks were common. Family upset had also been marked' he continued.

'Psychomatic symptoms such as peptic ulcer, headaches and diarrhoea have emerged quite quickly. The emergence of serious illness in the group of hooded men (one of whom has since died) points to the drastic nature of this particular procedure.' He stated that 'the personality tests pointed to a more severe traumatic neurosis in the hooded group, who emerged as more intelligent, more conscientious and more conservative. This might suggest potential leadership types and offer a clue to the reason for the selecting of the sample to interrogate-in-depth'. He noted that 'despite the dramatic and sensational aspects of the hooding procedure, attention should not be drawn away from men exposed to more old-fashioned techniques where the psychological trauma was in some instances very severe'. The study is the first of its kind to be carried out anywhere in the world.

## T. V. PROTEST.

In Dublin at the end of June four people appeared in court for refusing to pay their TV licences as a protest against the disgracefully small amount of programmes in Irish offered by RTE. One case was dismissed due to the wording in Irish on the summons referring to the 100 days of September - the absence of a 'h' making all the difference! The three others had fines imposed on them or in default 7 days in prison. The three, Cáit Bean Uí Chadhain, Flann Ó Riain and Íte Ní Chionnaith stated after the court that they would not pay the fines and that they would rather go to jail. Íte Ní Chionnaith said that 2.2% of programmes in Irish was scandalous. She wanted a full spectrum of programmes in Irish for all the people of the country. Television was the most powerful weapon presently in use to foist Anglo-American culture on the Irish people. It affected all sections of the community but particularly parents who wanted to rear an Irish-speaking family. The Southern State was an neo-colonial state and that was why the authorities opposed Irish and all things Irish and national. They were always aping the British. They knew a strong Irish culture would whet the people's desire for independence and national freedom and this would put an end to the present neo-colonial State and to their own power. Television could mean the life or death of the language. Iníon Ní Chionnaith produced a paper listing the day's programmes: 385 minutes, of which five were in Irish. This she said was 1.3%. Such a service was an insult.

## ENGLISH SPEAKERS TO INVADE GAELTACHT?

The question of influxes of English or French speakers into the remaining Celtic language speaking areas of the Celtic countries is a problem common to all our countries. (See Cymru.) In Ireland this problem was highlighted again when planning permission was granted by Galway County Council for 20 luxury houses in an Spidéál village on the edge of the Conamara Gaeltacht only about 10 miles from Galway City.

An appeal was made against this by the Community Council of An Spidéál who were backed up by other bodies including Conradh na Gaeilge, The Co-operative Movement, The Department of the Gaeltacht, and others and an oral hearing was held. Apart from the linguistic issue there were sound planning reasons why such a development which would interfere with the local communities should be resisted. The hearing provoked a stream of misrepresentations and spurious and insulting comments (cries of racist!) from that anti-Irish body quaintly and ironically calling itself The Language Freedom Movement. Some commentators tried to tell us that the purchasers of these luxury houses would be stimulated into learning Irish - naiveté or cuteness on their part - who knows?

These houses, being luxury homes and selling on the open market, would certainly be bought by people from outside the Gaeltacht. Using the consultants figures this would mean an influx of 120 persons into a village whose population is 160 according to the 1971 census. Would the newcomers speak Irish? A study was carried out in 1968-1969 by the Social Sciences Research Centre at University College, Galway, of a varied group of 85 persons who had moved to the Galway Gaeltacht from elsewhere. It was concluded that only 16 of them spoke Irish regularly to the local people. Most of the 85 lived in the area immediately to the east of An Spideál. Both the authorities and the anti-Irish brigade must know that plans like this will eliminate the native Irish speaker as surely as any well-laid scheme of cultural genocide. This may be the aim of the latter. It remains to be seen whether the former intends to collaborate.

## CELTIC LANGUAGES CONFERENCE.

The Celtic Languages Conference sponsored by Conradh na Gaeilge will take place in Rath Cairn, Co. Meath on Friday, Saturday and Sunday 20th-22nd August. Participants are asked to arrive on Thursday 19th as the opening plenary session will begin early on Friday.

The main work of the Conference will be undertaken in commissions which will discuss (a) the political and economic environment, (b) language rights, (c) education, (d) the media, (e) interCeltic cooperation, (f) language community development, and (g) methods of work and struggle.

Accommodation will be available in local houses (bed and breakfast £2.50p per night, other meals optional). A field will be available free of charge for campers and indoor camping facilities will also be available free of charge.

Rath Cairn is situated about 35 miles from Dublin. It is populated by an Irish-speaking rural community which originated following the acquisition of land by people from Conamara about 40 years ago when large ranches in the area were broken up.

All Celtic language organisations of standing are being invited to send representatives and a large attendance is hoped for.

Discussion documents are being prepared on all the subjects of the Conference. In addition the opening plenary session will be addressed by an expert on each topic (other than the person who drafted the discussion document). Furthermore the debate in each commission will be opened by a speaker chosen by the international preparatory committee.

This conference is probably the most important of its kind ever held in the Celtic Countries and Celtic League members are urged to support it in every way. Further information from: An Rúnaí, Conradh na Gaeilge, 6 Sráid Fhearchair, Baile Átha Cliath 2, Éire.

● There has been a great deal of interest in a new book in Irish by a member of the Celtic League, Nollaig Ó Gadhra, John Boyle O'Reilly agus an Glór Gael-Meiriceánach ("John Boyle O'Reilly and the Irish-American Voice").

This book covers a wider field than its title might suggest. Ó Gadhra examines the involvement of the Irish emigrants in the freedom struggles at home since they became a significant force in American politics in the last century. John Boyle O'Reilly was one of the founders of that tradition. Readers of CARN will be particularly interested in the book because of its examination of O'Reilly's attitude to other oppressed peoples in the United States - native Americans ("Red Indians"), Afro-Americans and Jews - as reflected in the columns of the Pilot, the Boston newspaper of which he was editor.

The author is a member of the National Executive of Conradh na Gaeilge and past president of an Comhchaidreamh (an organisation of University graduates, now defunct and replaced by Athchaidreamh). He has also published a biography of Gandhi. An English-language version of the book is projected with the North American public in mind.

Tá John Boyle O'Reilly agus an Glór Gael-Meiriceánach foilsithe ag Foilseachain Náisiúnta Teoranta (FNT) ar £1.50p.

# KERNOW

## YETH AN WERYN.

Orth AGM Scoren Gernewek an Kesunyans Keltek, ervyras o dhe formya bagas lows rak avonsya usyans a Gernewek kewsys. Lyes dallethyoryon noweth an yeth a breder bos Kesva an Tavas Kernewek ow mos war forth re scolhygethek. Yth yu ysyly ughella an Kesva na vyn Kernewek dhe bowes marnas mater studhya. An Scoren Gernewek a wor nag eson-ny parys dhe vos formyans bres-elek kepar ha'n "Cowethas an Yeth Kembrek" (Cymdeithas an Iaith Gymraeg). Mester Mervyn Davey re gusulyas hanow an bagas noweth-ma dhe vos "Yeth an Weryn", hanow a wra pesya hep mar. Tewlys yu dhe omvetya yn fenough (pup seythen del waytyn) yn nep le a'n bobel kepar ha tavern, le ma na vya cumyas kewsyl sawsnek un owr. Y fyth dhe'n lyha un barth an Orseth Kernow a yl dyghtya an kescows, den po benen nep a wor kewsyl kernewek yn ta lowr.

Kensa cuntellyans an bagas yu ordyns dhe'n whetegves a vys Est yn Truru mes y whaytyer metya warbarth yn ranydyow aral Kernow wosa henna. Mar myn denyth omjunya genen, scryfens mar plek dhe scryvnyas Scoren Gernewek an Kesunyans Keltek. Jowan ap Wyn Tomas.

(The Cornish Branch of the League held their A. G. M. on Monday 5th July. (The new Chairman elected is Mr. Mervyn Davey. The Secretary, Mr. Ian Williams was re-elected.)

The A. G. M. decided that as the official Cornish Language Board (Kesva an Tavas Kernewek) was heavily involved in the academic side of the language, the Cornish Branch of the League should be used as a platform to launch an informal group to promote the speaking of vernacular Cornish. It was proposed also to have only one organiser/official who would be competent in the language and this should be branch member Mr. Julian Holmes. A suggested title for the group was Yeth an Weryn (Language of the people).

## CORNISH NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The three main organisations within the framework of the Cornish National Movement: the Cornish Nationalist Party, the Cornish Convocation (formerly: Stannary Parliament) and Mebyon Kernow have had an initial meeting which has resulted in the setting up of a Cornish National Congress where four delegates from each organisation can meet regularly to find common ground. The initial meeting was convened by an elected member of the Cornwall "County" Council and was chaired by the Secretary of the Cornwall Conservation Forum as independent mediators. Following this first meeting which attracted front page attention from one of our normally indifferent newspapers, the "West Briton" (sic.), the Conservation Forum official stepped down as chairman (perhaps after pressure from non-sympathetic conservationists) but the position was easily filled and several meetings of the Assembly have taken place as a result of the first initiative.

## MEBYON KERNOW.

This year one of the national parties of Kernow saw its twenty fifth birthday. Mebyon Kernow's 25 years has taken it from a purely cultural pressure group, which looking back from our present position had to overcome impossible odds - Kernow having been drawn fully into the English political system and having no vernacular lan-

guage at that time to enhance the cultural difference to that of England, - to a political movement which is gaining strength. Five official M. K. candidates stood in the District Council elections. Of these, two were elected, one in East Kernow and the other in the West of the country and the other three had results that were nothing to be ashamed of. What the national movement has learnt from the results is that a Mebyon Kernow label in local council elections where traditionally Cornish public support goes to "independent" candidates has no adverse effect and for one M. K. candidate increased his vote on his previous independent status. Official M. K. candidates were also elected onto the Parish Council at Marazion.

The Mebyon Kernow A. G. M. held on the 26th June in Helston was disappointing from the point of membership attendance and the ardent speeches from the chairman and secretary fell on the ears of active and committed members; but this is the type of address M. K. 's absent members have said they wish to hear from their leaders and it is a pity more of them could not make the time and participate for one day in the year, when Kernow's future is at stake. The A. G. M. was certainly no discredit to the officers of M. K.

During the meeting Mr. Richard Jenkin emphasised the need to increase pressure on the Cornwall "County" Council by putting official M. K. representation on it, by way of the "County" Council elections next year. Also that M. K. 's funds are hard won and must be taken care of, perhaps referring to the ease with which some members would deplete funds by proping up "dead ducks" or donating to good causes that do not necessarily help the national movement with its political liabilities in the future.

Because there was a marked absence of members from a few strong branches in central-East Kernow and because there is obviously a mild contention over a majority of M. K. activities being held in West Kernow we should see future A. G. M. 's and conferences moving to the East and North of the country.

## AN GOF COMMEMORATIONS.

Although the exact commemoration day of the 1497 rebellion was on the day following the M. K. general meeting, it was put forward to coincide with the A. G. M. The Commemoration to Myghal Josef an Gof and the Cornishmen who followed him, took place in the square of an Gof's own village from where he started, St. Keverne on the Lizard. There was no obvious representation from any party other than Mebyon Kernow. The Chairman and Secretary of M. K. gave speeches. The Secretary, Mr. Leonard Truran said, "We are here tonight to honour the memory of two Cornish martyrs who were savagely put to death after leading the last foreign army to attack London. That army - foreign in English eyes - was an army of Cornishmen that set out from St. Keverne to draw attention to the injustice that the Cornish were suffering at that time. The biggest injustice was the injustice of unbearable taxation - taxes levied to support the king's wars against our fellow-Celts in Scotland." He later went on to say, "We are separated from our own culture, language and traditions by the insensitivity of the administrators in Cornwall - often non-Cornish - who are the agents of centralism". Following the commemoration, a concert was held, and artists included Richard Gendall and two groups, 'Quylkyn Tew' and 'Tavas'.

The following day at Tyburn near Marble Arch in London where on Tuesday, June 27th, 1497 Myghal Josef and

Thomas Flamank were hung, drawn and quartered, Michael Payne-Jago an M. K. prospective parliamentary candidate addressed Cornish exiles and representatives from Cymru and Alba. He said, "Once again the Cornish are in revolt and are prepared to fight every way possible in today's accepted and constitutional way for their independence and Cornish way of life ...."

#### **KERNOW AT BORDER - GORSEDD.**

The Department of the Environment based in England has now given permission for the Cornish people to put **KERNOW** on the border signs. After repeated requests the Gorsedd a Gernow (Cornish Gorsedd) received word via the Cornwall "County" Council that permission had been given to insert Kernow on all border signs as long as the cost was covered by voluntary donations and these have not been slow in coming.

The new Grand Bard of the Cornish Gorsedd is Mr. Richard Jenkin, chairman of Mebyon Kernow, who received 13 votes to 12 cast for the other candidate. The close voting may show that some members of the Gorsedd Council are apprehensive about Mr. Jenkin's political standing as not all are sympathetic to the national cause even though their position as Bards gives them access to undeniable evidence to back up Kernows right to self-government. The previous Grand Bard, Mr. Trevanion, was chairman of a Liberal constituency association.

#### **CORNISH NATIONALIST PARTY.**

A representative of the 'international affairs bureau' of the Breton party U. D. B. recently visited Kernow for discussion with prospective parliamentary candidates of the Cornish Nationalist Party. The C. N. P. has submitted documents to the House of Commons Select Committee on Direct Elections to the European Parliament with a letter calling on the committee to affirm that Cornwall will be treated as a single constituency for election purposes. The letter concluded: 'the historic traditions and culture of this ancient Celtic land link it with Wales and Brittany rather than Devon or other parts of south-west England'. The European Branch organiser, Pieter Huisman, has been active in pressing and publicising this demand. The European branch has also represented the Party at the Inter-Frisian conference held at Ljouwert, Fryslan, at the end of May and at the conference of the European Movement about 'Cultural Minorities in Europe' held at Bemelen, Netherlands, towards the end of July.

#### **I. D. A. REPORT.**

The Cornwall Industrial Development Association, in a 200 page report, have recommended that French should be taught to every Cornish child from his or her first day of school as a step to fostering better trade and cultural links with Europe. The Cornish Nationalist Party have welcomed the report which encourages the natural basic industries, and argues that state aid given to firms to move in should be handed over for distribution amongst indigenous industries and that local communities should be maintained by cottage and craft industries. Large centres of population are not encouraged. (Editor: see 'French Imperialism - New Look'.)

On Mannin traditional rights of way are under threat following a recent decision of a tribunal to close a public pathway in Peel used by local people for hundreds of years at the demand of the Marchioness of Queensbury. Some 120 footpath disputes are to come before this same tribunal. Secretaries of the League wrote to Manx papers to protest against this and to support the Manx people in this struggle.

## **MANNIN**

#### **TINVAAL AS KIARTAGHYN SHIBBALTAGH.**

Laa Tinvaal shoh chaie - shoh yn chruinnaght, rere shennaghys as beal-arrish, s'cliahtey lesh-ny Manninee veih lhing Ree Ghorree Crovan as tammylt roish shen chaglym ry cheiley dy chlashtyn ny leighyn noa er nyn loayrt magh as aghynyn as neuaashidyn er nyn gur roish y Chooyrt dy gheddyn couyr - va possan dy leih aeg kion-fenish nagh row nyn saie lesh dellal er lhev va jeant ayno Cooyrt Tinvaal ny s'moghee er y chiahtyn roish y laa shen, oo haishbynee ad nyn neuaashidyn trooid foagraghyn er y Chronk Chasherick roish my ghow nyn jiarnyn ain ny h-ynnydyn oc. V'ad gaccan mychione chadlym y Chooyrt va cummit dy follit as aynehen ren ny fir-oik resooney magh treealtys va currit roue liorish yn Chiannoort nagh jinnagh Reiltys Vannin e yeearee ass y noa dy lowal aghin phersoonagh veih peiagh erbee ayns Mannin ve currit roish Co-chruinnaght son Coadey Kiartaghyn Shibbaltagh t'ayns Strasbourg - v'eh er Mannin y lheid y yannoo mansh Sostyn Jerrey Geuree mleeaney, agh ec y tra shen dobb Reiltys Vannin shen y yannoo. T'eh jeeaghyn dy ren yn kiannoort shoh er y fa dy row ram aghynyn neuchooie, myr doogrt eh, currit lurg cooish y ghulley va built lesh y clat-cheyl nurree, as e chooish cummit sease ec y 'National Council for Civil Liberties' ayns Lunnin. Reagh yn ard-turreyn ain cruinnaght Tinvaal y chummal dy follit er y leshtal dy jinnagh eh skielley as jeeill da "friendly settlement" eddyr Strasbourg, Mannin as Sostyn jeh'n chooish shoh dy beagh ee foshley da'n phobble. As myr shen chard eh rish Tinvaal aghin y Chiannoort y chooney lesh as t'eh braew shickyr bunnys nish nagh bee eh jeantagh da dooinney erbee syn Ellan shoh aghin erbee y chur roish y Cho-chruinnaght ayns Strasbourg; as er shen bee Mannin kiangle ee hene rish y Rank, y Ghreig, y Turk, as yn Chibyr nagh vel ny h-enmyn oc scrut rish y Cho-chruinnaght shoh. As she oyr imneaght eh shoh da'n Reiltyn Sostnagh smooineagh nish bagh vel monney kairail ec yn Reiltys ain rish cairys gheiney. Ta shen dy ghra - faagail cooish ny slat-keyl ry-heu, dy jinnagh cooish elley roish sooillyn y phobble y irree, myr sampleyr, dooinney goit ayns laue dy olk liorish ny fir-oik ny built liorish ny polleenyn, cha voddagh eh e aghin er shoh y chur roish er chor erbee.

Cre'n torch dy vondeish by vie lesh yn Reiltys tayrn ass shoh cha doigym noadyr. By hreisht lesh y Chian-noortys ain yn treealtys shoh y chummal gyn-yss da'n phobble, agh nish t'ad corree-jiarg dy vel fys my-e-kione mooie mast'ny sleih, as hannah ta deiney goaill toshiaght dy accan as dy heet dy ve boirit ass towse lesh y red, as t'ee cur lesh drogh - ourys er ny fir-oik as ta sleih fenaght as briaght jeh - cui bono?

As er shen hug nyn jiarnyn nish, as creenys gyn jerrey oc, cuirrey foshley da'n Reiltys Sostnagh dy chur stiagh er kiannoortys Vannin as er reddyn gagh laa ny Manninee - er ileh lurg da Sostyn ve sleaydit trooid y laagh ass nyn leih ayns Strasbourg dy reggyrt er cooish nagh by vian lhieu. Foast er shen ta paart dy leih ayns y reiltys Sostnagh gearree geddyn rey rish Mannin myr 'tax haven'; she sorch dy red eh shoh vers cur siyr er y laa tra choaylys Tinvaal e pooar as e ardcheim, tra vees ny Manninee currit fo smaght ny Sostnee, dy slane; as ta sooillyn ny Sostnee chyndaait rooin dy neu-ymmyrchagh. Ga dy bee cooish ayn rheynnys shin veih Sastyn laa ry heet, cha nee shoh yn chooish.

Shorus Y Creayrie.

## SLANE LHIU RISH HARLAND AS WOLFF?

The London government is reported to be considering running down and even shutting Harland and Wolff's shipyard in Belfast.

Ta skeealyn goll mygeayrt dy vel reilys Lunnin smooïnaghtyn mychione cur er colught Harland as Wolff ayns Beal Firshtey dy leodaghey, ny eer dooney dy bollagh. Ta ny Goaldee smooïnaghtyn myr shoh er y fa dy vel palchey argid theayagh ayns y cholught shoh. Ayns ny jeih bleaney ta er ngoll shaghey, ta £137 milliun sluggit echey, ta shen dy ghra, y lieh chooid jeh'n argid ooilley va currit da colughtyn-lhuingeey syn Unnaneys Reeoil. Myr shen, vel eh feeu dy chumreil 10,000 dy 'ir-obbre Veeal Firshtey gobbraghey, ga dy vel y chooid smoo jeu nyn 'leighalee'? Ta colught Harland as Wolff er chosney ard-ghoo lesh ny lhongyn t'ad er nyannoo, as drogh-ghoo er y fa nagh vel cuirrey er ny chur da "Catolee" dy obbraghey daue. She colught "leighalagh" t'ayn mie dy liooar.

Ta deiney ayns reilys Hostyn corree er y fa dy ren olteynyn "leighalagh" veih Ullee ayns ard-whaiyl Westminster votal noi'n clattys ry-hoi ashoonaghey troggal lhongyn sy Ghoal, ga dy row ny olteynyn cheddin shassoo son ashoonaghey ayns ny Shey Sheadinyn hene! Ta Reilys Obbre Hostyn er jeet dy ve feer voirit mychione cur slattyssyn trooid ard-whaiyl Westminster as v'ad jerkal rish cooney ennagh veih Ullee. Cha daink y cooney shen noadyr er y fa dy row ny "leighalee" shickyr nagh jinnagh ny Goaldee ceau tooilley deiney ass obbyr ayns Nerin twoaie. Cha lhisagh ad er ve cho shickyr.

Feed blein er dy henney, va 20,000 dooinney gobbraghey da Harland as Wolff, daa cheayrt ny smoo na'n earroo nish. Dy beagh y colught doont, rahg yn earroo jeusyn ass obbyr ayns Nerin twoaie seose gys 16 sy cheead as ny smoo. Cha nee ny fir ta gobbraghey da'n colught hene veagh ass obbyr nyn lomarcán. Ta'n colught shoh er reaghey fo-chonaantyn (sub-contracts) mooarey lesh colughtyn elley as veagh foddey ny smoo na jeih thousane dooinney ceaut magh ass obbyr. Verragh dooney y cholught builley agglagh da ny Shey Sheadinyn. By vie lesh sharvaantyn theayagh Hostyn y colught dy ghooney: yinnagh shen sauail argid. Foddee nagh bee ad daaney dy liooar shen y yannoo. Agh fodmayd ve shickyr jeh un red. My vees y colught shoh doont sheese ny cummit bio, red erbee vees jeant ec ny Goaldee, bee eh jeant son ocsyn hene - son argidys Galdahg, ta shen dy ghra. Brian Mac Stoyll.

## HE WHO PAYS THE PIPER CALLS THE TUNE.

Chairman Mao says 'Power grows out of the barrel of a gun'. I would not disagree. But I cannot believe that the worthy Chairman left the proverb in that incomplete state. To paraphrase Mrs. Beeton, first get your gun. And guns do not grow on trees. Guns have to be made, and making them requires economic power.

In our impatience, our sense of injustice, our anger and our bitterness at the arrogance and insolence of those who presume to impose themselves and their alien cultures over us, we often forget some of the fundamental truths which govern human affairs, and which we ignore at our peril. Let me spell them out in detail.

- 1) Most people are incapable of detached rational thought. To quote another proverb, 'you can fool all the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time, but not all the people all the time'. But most people can be fooled most of the time. For evidence, you have only

to look around you. This means that most people's ideas and opinions are totally bound by the prejudices and traditional thought-patterns of their own tribal group. And one of those prejudices which is universally held is that wealth equals quality. The richer you are, the 'better' you are. Sometimes, a community goes so far as to entrench these concepts of quality into a caste system, as exists in India, and South Africa, and as is developing in Soviet Russia.

- 2) Wealth is power, and power is wealth. It is easy for the rich to become richer. They can manipulate the system. The Communist bosses, or the capitalist bosses, they both manipulate the system for their own benefit. If you have power without wealth, your power is illusory and shortlived. Because wealth is, by definition, the ownership of, or the control over assets. And if you control assets, you have power over those who need them. Ask any Arab.

- 3) Most people like power. They like it not merely because of the opportunities it gives them, but because they can make other people do things. Like behave in certain ways to gratify their own whims.

To sum up, the power that each of us has as an individual is determined by his economic strength. The power that each society has is determined by its economic strength. And the quality of the culture of a society is also judged as a function of its economic strength.

How, you may ask, does this affect us. To illustrate the argument that I am putting forward, let us consider a relevant experiment now happening. In the Isle of Man, 15 years ago, when the writer was forced to emigrate, the population was falling. The Manx language was a music hall joke. Manx culture was almost dead. The Manx government asked for help from the British (mercifully it was refused). And the Manx Government was totally powerless to prevent the U.K. government from riding over it roughshod on at least two matters, the question of Manx Radio, and the seizure of Manx continental shelf mineral rights. In the last fifteen years, the emphasis has been on the development of economic strength. Yes, it has brought problems. But the Manx language is now reviving. And reviving strongly. Manx culture is in better health than for a century. The Union Jacks are being quietly removed. Manxmen do not have to emigrate. On the contrary, work permit legislation has had to be enacted to keep the English out. And the British listen to us now, when we have something to say.

Now I know that the pursuit of wealth has its bad sides as well as its good. I know that materialism is harmful, that moneymaking can be destructive. But I would rather be alive on the back of my tiger, that be dead inside somebody else's tiger. And as I see it, there is no alternative. The choice is unpalatable but inevitable. To survive we must be strong.

Given, therefore, that we must develop economic strength to protect our individual Celtic societies, it is worth looking at some of those factors which contribute to economic growth. Notwithstanding Marx's views on the Labour Theory of Value, which is about as revealing as the Theory of Adam and Eve, we can identify certain indispensable elements in Economic Growth.

- 1) Land. It is helpful to have land, but not essential. Hong Kong managed to grow very successfully without much.
  - 2) Raw Materials. Again, it is useful, (ask an Arab) but not indispensable to have a supply of raw materials.
- (Continued on page 24)

## CELTIC LEAGUE SOCIAL COMMITMENT.

I would like to express general agreement with the views put forward by the Breton Branch Secretary, Jakez Derouet, in CARN 12. In relation to his comments about 'Synthesis' (CARN 9 p. 23) I would concur with him in not agreeing with the proposals made. It seems to me that the allocation of basic human needs to each of the ideologies listed is simplistic in the extreme. A much more subtle analysis is required. I also agree basically with Jakez in his remarks on 'Celtic Spirituality' (CARN p. 2) - as elucidated by him it does not make sense to talk of foreign ideologies. Alan J. Raude's contention for a Celtic spirituality may well be valid but it would appear that there is need for more discussion and definition of the 'Absolute'.

As far as the need for a social commitment is concerned I am in agreement with Jakez Derouet. The struggle for free Celtic nations should embrace the political, economic, cultural and social aspects. Social freedom must imply an alternative to the free enterprise capitalist system and that alternative has to be effective control by all of the means of production etc. for the benefit of all. The need for such a commitment was last discussed by the League at its A.G.M. in Alba in 1971. An addition along the lines above to the constitution was proposed by the Irish Branch. Agreement on the proposed motion was not achieved as two Branches opposed it strongly. However an amended motion was eventually accepted and became article 1. (e) of the League's Constitution; i.e. recognising that, on achieving freedom, the national resources of each Celtic country must be used for the benefit of all the people of that country'. The key word there is 'national'. Some people, I now find, are interpreting this as 'natural' which, as the meaning of the word 'national' itself makes plain, it clearly is not. The use of the following word - resources - may have led to the confusion as there was and has been of course much talk about 'natural resources' - meaning mineral, oil and gas wealth. National resources means to me all the resources of a nation, i.e. its land and agricultural production, its industry and industrial production, its services etc., and of course its mineral, oil and gas wealth. I would agree with the addition of the clause proposed by Jakez Derouet to our constitution (with minor additions perhaps) and the deletion of article 1. (e). This should make our social commitment clear and explicit and remove any confusion existing with relation to 1. (e).

Cathal Ó Luain.

Alternatively 1. (e) could be amended to include the above detailing of "national resources".

Referring to the standpoint of our friend Jakez Derouet (CARN 12, p. 2) I would point out myself that my views do not really differ from his own. I would never advocate the establishment of any "theocratic" rule, which could be nothing else than an oppressive clerical bureaucracy. For the very same reason I reprove marxist socialism, which is, at its best a dogmatic religion, and at its worst a sophistic scholastica, with dialectics as an all-way tool to justify the doings of the ruling (atheistic) clerics, however murderous and imperialistic they may be.

It must have been clear that by socialism as a foreign ideology, I mean materialistic socialism in its extant forms Russian, Saxon, French. I do not mean, of course, what should be a Celtic socialism in the line of Robert Owen,

Lamennais, Emile Masson, etc. This ideal socialism has always been clearly the leading purpose of all our liberation movements, aiming at restoring, by social justice, the integrity of our peoples, which implies discarding the rule of the alienated bourgeois "middle" and "upper" classes who were the tools and profiteers of foreign oppression. Among these profiteers were as well such apparently sentimentalistic bourgeois people who indulged in wondering how nice the "folk-lore" of their native servants was, while they themselves were with fat bodies and restless souls partaking in Saxon or French life and culture. Such people are by no means to be considered useful to the liberation struggle.

On the other side, materialistic socialism implies that economics are the sole clue to all human problems, and that culture, language, spirituality are mere superstructure phenomena. Were it so, our struggle would be senseless. Fortunately, we still have clear minds to show another way. Herefore I can refer to the opinion of our countryman Y. Person (Professor in Paris University, in Ar Falz, new series, No. 1, April-June 1973): "Socialism ... is nothing else than constructing a world of free people, bound by solidarity, but disalienated. This means a world commonwealth of human groups having gained back in every respect their autonomy, that is to say their freedom to create on their own. This cannot be, therefore, but an ideal, and the struggle will have no end. As soon as a regime will call itself socialist, we can take for granted that it shall not be so."

Actually a great number of governments pretend to be socialist. Is there any of them we could take as a model for our Celtic future? I don't think so, but this does not mean that we should not fight for our social ideal. This is, I am sure, J. Derouet's thought, as it is Y. Person's. Economics are means, not a panacea. We should not, therefore, react blindly as though anybody who styles himself "socialist" would be on the right side and worthy to be welcomed in the liberation movement. At present, we see foreign-bred inquisitors, adepts of the foreign creed of class warfare, searching for the class enemy within our liberation movements, which is sheer nonsense. Such people (mostly offspring of alienated bourgeois) are either dangerous maniacs or paid by our oppressors of to-day or tomorrow, to foster division among us. National freedom, social freedom, spiritual freedom cannot be separated.

A. J. Raude.

I read with interest Jakez Kerouet's remarks, "Has the Celtic League Any Social Message?", in CARN 12. While I feel that his basic appeal to the League to establish a "minimum social basis" is perhaps justified and quite laudable, I cannot in good conscience allow his arguments on behalf of socialism to go unanswered.

I think it is important in discussing this to understand the sharp distinction between the existence of property and the flourishing of a capitalist economy. All societies throughout history have, to some degree or other, recognised the existence of property; capitalism, however, as M. Derouet is using the term, only came into existence in the fifteenth century of this era in Italy and did not become dominant in Europe until the seventeenth.

It must be remembered in any political discussion in a British or Continental framework that Europe as a whole has no libertarian tradition. Even the United Kingdom, with its history of safeguards and individual freedoms, is not a state based on liberty, but rather one founded firmly on the principle of a strong central government with almost

unlimited powers. This difference in political tradition between M. Derouet and myself can explain the total lack of sympathy I have for any bureaucratic arrangement, whether socialist or not.

M. Derouet speaks repeatedly of a society that will "give to all the means to participate effectively in the national affairs, i. e., to control production and the exploitation of natural resources for the benefit of all". In a capitalist system, a corporate entity can control only a quite limited portion of the resources, due to the natural laws of competition and economics, and this competition to a major extent tends to keep any one entity from achieving an overly large voice in affairs. In a socialist state, on the other hand, one entity - the government - controls all resources at all times, and can use these resources for whatever ends it wishes.

M. Derouet states that "this is a fundamental right which cannot be dissociated from the struggle for national liberation". Any such debate on socialism is a political debate distinct from the contest for our survival. My perceptions and desires for the Celtic peoples are quite divergent from those of M. Derouet, yet we can both belong quite comfortably to the Celtic League as it exists now. He is free to dream his dreams of socialism, whilst I ponder at length on the glories of Culloden, and neither of us is the poorer for that. Forcing socialism on the League only would change our organization from a multi-faceted body to another homogenous unit of political unwieldies, and, may the Good Lord spare us this madness!

M. Derouet writes of "controlling resources for the benefit of all". Now, how is this done under socialism, a system where the centralized influences force everything to the common level of mediocrity and dissolve brilliance and even competence in a bath of mean averages? Surely the free enterprise system, with the inherent rewards for competence it provides, is far more efficient than any statist environment!

M. Derouet appears to have much greater confidence in the fundamental benevolence of men than I do. His presumptions that, under socialism, all men would automatically be gentle and kind to their compatriots is to deny the basic weaknesses of human nature. Socialists are no more altruistic than are capitalists; all are ultimately driven by the same self-interest and self-concern.

Lastly, it seems absurd even to discuss socialism in a Celtic context. Perhaps some areas in Scotland or Wales, and even the industries in the other lands, could lend themselves to socialism, but the remaining areas could be no more amenable to statist control than they would to rice farming. The entire culture of the Celts is one of self-reliance, local independence, and private property, all of which combine to deny a role to state interference in the lives and liberties of our peoples.

James Small.

**Editor:** The above contribution from an American member (condensed from a much longer submission but using his own discreet sentences) is as can be seen on quite a different vein from other contributions to date on this topic. The assertion of limitation on the control a corporate entity can exercise does not accord with the documented facts of the power which multi-nationals do wield and have wielded over the destinies of people and of small nations. With regard to the last point the culture of the Celts contained many ingredients which had much in common with socialism and it is quite relevant to the Celtic countries of today to discuss it and the forms of it most suited to our countries and their needs.

## FRENCH IMPERIALISM NEW LOOK.

The French have taken seriously the statement made by Winston Churchill at the end of World War Two - "The empires of the future will be those of language and spirit". The intensification of the offensive of French cultural politics is described in a pamphlet titled "The French Language as a Weapon of the Politico-Cultural Imperialism of France" by Dr. Julius Balbin from Essex County College, Neward, U.S.A., published by the "Stichting voor Internationale Kommunikatie, Kasteenstr 231, Amsterdam, Holland. Vast sums are spent officially to spread the French language and a campaign against the intrusion of foreign words led to a law introducing strict controls particularly on the State Broadcasting system. A High Commission for the defense and expansion of the French language was created by De Gaulle. The aims of this commission were: to make French the common language of the former French and Belgian colonies in the five continents of the world in the space of twenty years - these areas have a population of 100-150 million; to have French adopted as the European language - Mr. Pompidou stated (19/5/'76) that if French did not remain the first working language of 'Europe' after the U.K. joining the European Economic Community, then Europe would never fully be Europe; to encourage the teaching of French as the first foreign language in the greatest possible number of countries.

Francophonie includes countries where French has been spoken for 1000 years (France proper) plus its minorities (Brittany etc.), parts of Belgium and Switzerland and Black Africa, where 1-2% can speak it fluently but where only one in a thousand thinks in French. The plan is no longer one of linguistic politics, no longer one of trying to impose its language as international in economic, technical and cultural relations but is one of trying, where they think they can get away with it without internal complications, to exterminate indigenous languages and cultures. In other words linguistic politics. IT IS VAIN THEREFORE TRYING TO GET FRENCH RECOGNITION FOR BRETON. Such moves can only have meaning as a way to mobilise Bretons.

The protagonists of the French policy of cultural imperialism claim that that policy will secure the introduction of a way of thinking, feeling and living conforming to human dignity! To reach that stage however it is necessary to impress on a people that their native language is prestigeless and fit only for savages. To do this the mythology of the clarity and precision, the harmony and the beautiful sound of French is dinned into their ears. French was not 'the human language' at the time of the enlightenment but the language of sectarianism (p26).

Today French needs full support from French government agencies. The Service des Oeuvres Francaises a l'Etranger began in 1920 camouflaged under cultural exchanges. Cultural missions have grown out of military missions and today the Alliance Francaise is all over the world and enjoys official financial support. There are today 40,000 French teachers teaching 500,000 foreign students. 8,500 of them are military conscripts and this number has grown from 92 in 1963 to 2,000 in 1964 to that number now, truly a phenomenal growth.

Add to these 450,000 active teachers from the foreign countries themselves. Teaching methods are updated (Centre de recherche et d'etudes pour la diffusion du Francais). 400,000 books were sent out for non-commercial distribution in the period 1969-'70. In order to

finance its politico-cultural imperialism the French government spent 685.5 million dollars in 1966 and this had risen to 845 million in 1970. Of this latter amount 350 million was strictly for language. These are official figures of the Directorate General for Cultural etc. Relations. Compare this to only 13.8 million spent on scientific relations! As the author of this excellent and revealing pamphlet states 'I do not at all intend to defend the linguistic and cultural imperialism of the Anglo-Saxon powers; it is clearly the most dangerous of all others. However such isolationism as demonstrated by the intellectual and political leaders of France comes close to being a sort of national hysteria'.

## LETTERS.

I refer to CARN NO. 10, and to the notes attached therein to my letter.

I would like to nail my colours even more firmly to the mast, as follows:- 1) I don't care at all what happens to a few intellectuals when I see socialism providing to the millions rights basically denied to millions by capitalism, i. e. legal right to work backed by the economic basis for full employment, prices unchanging over decades, wage increases which therefore are real increases, complete housing of a good standard, a thorough education leading to use of a civilised texture of life, and many other things. 2) Of course, I do care about what happens to a few intellectuals but capitalist media do expose themselves by contradictions between the lines and these contradictions do support Socialist sources of information (which, contrary to A. H. 's assertions, are less difficult to check than capitalist ones).

It is extremely important for A. H. to recognise that he does not deal with the absence of crisis in the socialist camp (one of my main points, under rights and individuality), that he accepts my remarks about Solzenitsyn by passing irrelevantly to "other examples", that at his semantic level lawbreakers are obviously better off in a labour camp than in a prison, that several of the socialist countries are not single-party states (5 parties in G. D. R. 3 parties in Czechoslovakia), that the social system of socialism is not apparently conservative (to the writer) and is obviously highly successful, that conflict with the social system (very limited according to occasional admissions by BBC World Radio) is determined either at the level of the collective in which the individual is always involved (e. g. writers in their own body, which is based on a code of behaviour) or at the level of a court if the law has been broken (there is a structure for altering the law). In any case, when you conflict with society by wanting to replace the right to work by the capitalist dictatorship of the employer, there is no doubt you are a criminal in intent.

Finally, what were my "assertions which will evoke doubts and provoke rejection" and was this said in order to create prejudice?

The main point, however, is - always - not whether nations will be socialist but that in due course they all will be; for the small nations it is simply the sheer need of those who create the values being able to keep the values of finance the life of their traditions. Royston Green.

## Crisis of Identity.

I am in complete agreement with the views expressed by "A. B." in the article "Crisis of Identity" (CARN 13). Like the author I believe that the Scots are essentially a Gaelic Nationality and that the survival of national identity depends on the revival of Gaelic speech through Scotland.

Ultimately this is the only alternative to complete assimilation by the forces of anglicisation.

I think we in Scotland can learn a great deal from the Cornish Revival. Of course there are differences between the Scottish and the Cornish linguistic situations but the way in which Kernewek has been promoted as the symbol and living vehicle of Cornish identity is an example of what could be done for Gaelic in Scotland. A link could be re-established in the Scottish consciousness between Gaelic language and Scottish identity which would make possible a national linguistic revival.

At present in Scotland, Gaelic is usually seen as a "problem" of little or no interest to anyone except a tiny minority of Scots - the Gaelic - speaking inhabitants of the northwestern "fringe". Because of this, it is imperative that those genuinely interested in the Scottish Revival must concentrate much of their effort on promoting an interest and knowledge of Gaelic, its history, influence etc., among the English-speaking populations in all areas of the country. No longer can Gaelic afford to be treated as if it were the prerogative of a minority. It is the Scottish language and that is how it must come to be recognised.

R. E. Boyd.

## Celtic Languages Courses?

At the moment I'm one of a growing number of Welsh people learning their own language. If I attain reasonable fluency in Welsh I hope to go on to learn as much of the other five Celtic languages as possible, and from what I've seen so far, I'd find it easy enough to obtain plenty of good publications to do this. However, in spite of the wealth of material available, I feel there is still an important gap which the Celtic League can, and should, fill.

All the books I've come across for learning Breton are written in French, and as my knowledge of French is very limited, I cannot learn Breton without first learning a language which holds no interest for me. Similarly, most Bretons will need to plough their way through English before they can tackle the other five Celtic languages.

As well as the problem that Breton and the other five are separated by being subservient to different languages, English is very much different in its underlying structure than the Celtic languages, which share many basic similarities. From the little I have studied of French, it seems that the same holds true, yet learning any Celtic language (as a second language) can only be achieved through the medium of English or French. On the other hand, if I learn Scottish through the medium of Welsh, it need never be laboriously explained to me how and where to use the word "THA" (which is, in English terms, a very odd word, not quite a verb, but often used in a similar way) as Welsh has its direct equivalent in "MAE", and the Irish have "TA". (I suspect Cornish, Breton and Manx have their equivalents - do they?)

Surely amongst the C. L. membership there are people with the know-how to write courses for learning Celtic languages through Celtic languages? Admittedly the outlet for such books would be fairly limited (except possible in Brittany and, to a lesser extent, here in Wales), and to cover all possibilities would require 30 such courses (teaching each of the six through the other five). To cut costs, though, they could be published in pamphlet form and initially limited to courses through Breton to test the feasibility and viability of the scheme. In any case, the language movement in each country may prove willing to help.

The Celtic League is "a link between the Celtic

nations" (see front cover of CARN). What better way of promoting links than by fostering not only the native tongue in each country, but also the other five? Any offers? Stephen Llyn.

Editor: We certainly agree with Mr. Llyn in his proposal.

The question is while there are people amongst the C. L. membership who know two or more Celtic languages have they the skill to layout such courses and of course the time? We would hope so and would support the idea in so far as we can by facilitating contacts and if possible by helping to raise funds for publishing such courses. Might it not be easier to begin with to attempt to provide Breton-Welsh, Welsh-Breton, Irish-Gaelic, Gaelic Irish courses due to the similarity between the two Goidelic and two Brythonic languages?

#### The Corsican Language.

In CARN No. 12, Corsican is described as a Tuscan dialect, quite close to literary Italian. This view is by no means generally accepted. Actually, all linguists agree that southern Corsican is closely akin to north Sardinian (or Gallurian), not to Tuscan; but the main points of difference between Southern and Northern Corsican are by no means Tuscan, but refer rather to Lengo-Adocian peculiarities (e.g. *v* pronounced *b*).

The fact is that a high degree of confusion has developed from the work of the linguist F.I. Falcucci, an Italian who aimed at uniting the Corsican vernacular to official Italian. This he achieved by concealing Corsican sounds under Tuscan-like signs: e.g. he wrote the *di diornu* (day) with *ghji*-, thus *ghjiornu*, to liken it to *giorno*, whereas the Corsican sound-evolution goes just opposite to the Tuscan one: Latin - *hodie*, *oculus*, *viaticum*, *clamare*; Tuscan - *oggi*, *occhio*, *viaggio*, *chiamare*; Corsican - *heddie*, *ottiu*, *viatiu*, *tiamà*. All this has been evidenced by the publications of the Centru di Studi Regionali Corsi (28 ter, Corsu Paoli, 20 - Corte - Corsica).

A. J. Raude.

#### A DEFINITION OF CITIZENSHIP FOR NATIONALS OF THE FREE CELTIC NATIONS.

A resolution passed at last year's A.G.M. in Mannin - referring to a definition of Manx citizenship - that 1) Manx nationality be given legal status; and 2) Manx citizenship be available only after five years of residence, subject to an examination as applicable in other countries - could be expanded as a basis for a definition of citizenship of other Celtic Nations as they gain independence. Thus I would like to put forward the following ideas, to form the basis of discussion on this subject - to be eventually, if allowed, debated upon at this year's A.G.M. in Eire.

1) That each of the Celtic Nations on independence retain their separate national identity and nationality for its citizens, while co-opting within a formal association of Celtic Nations - with possible 'special status' for citizens of one member nation within any other member nation - possibly 'joint' citizenship?

2) Qualification for citizenship, should be defined as:-  
a) By birth and subsequent residence in that country.  
b) By residence for a period of five years, subject to an examination in the laws, history, culture and customs of the country.

Excepting citizens of the other Celtic nations, or those with a strong proven ancestral link with the country (at least two grandparents?), the qualifying period of residence to be reduced to one or two years - still subject to the examination.

c) By being a child or dependent of a person qualifying under (b) above, but those over voting age having to meet the requirements of (b).

3) As citizenship is a privilege - it should be liable to be withdrawn as a punishment for anti-social behaviour against the community - for a set period - say five years minimum.

4) The right of residence in a country, except as that of a secondhomer (or similar), should be a basic right - provided the persons concerned respect the laws, history, culture and customs of the country of residence; even if:-

a) They are not yet able to qualify as citizens; or  
b) They qualify for citizenship, but decline, and wish to retain the citizenship of their country of origin.

5) All other things being equal the citizens of a country should have a right of employment before non-citizens, excepting where non-citizens can contribute skills, training or experience not held by citizens of that country.

These ideas are put forward for discussion, as I think some definition will have to be needed for the Celtic nations as they become independent - it is worth considering that our nations are likely to be desirable places of residence - with the probable collapse of England when it is no longer able to prop up its decaying economy by exploiting our nations natural resources. Do (or will) we want a mass exodus of people to our lands (5% of England's population is equal to 50% of Scotland's, and 500% of Cornwall's!) There will have to be controls - do we also want tax haven seekers, retired people, 'simple life' seekers and secondhomers flooding into what will be our better off nations. There are many other problems and ideas that have to be considered - so I put this forward for consideration, leading to a possible resolution for this year's A.G.M. in Eire.

John Treays.

A member of the Celtic League who lives in Fresno, California, U.S.A. tells us he is President of the Celtic Cultural Society of Central California. He would like to know if there are any similar societies in California. Members, and readers of CARN, in that region if they know of such or have an interest in that type of local activity should contact Sean MacEnri, 564 E. Cornell Ave., Fresno 93704, Calif. Perhaps the members of the Cultural society would like to become members of the League or subscribers to CARN? Information on those from the Celtic countries who were associated with the American struggle for independence would also be welcome.

Celtic League A.G.M. will be held on Saturday 28th and Sunday 29th

August in Halla an Aghasaigh (ground floor) 6 Harcourt St., Dublin 2, from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. both days. On Friday at 8 p.m. at the same venue a lecture 'The State of the Language and the Nation' will be delivered by Pádraig Ó Snodaigh, writer, historian, Pres. of Conradh na Gaeilge, and editor of CARN. Members are asked to make a special effort to attend the A.G.M. and should write to the Irish Secretary if accommodation is required.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: CARN 14 is the second issue for the 1976 subscription. All members/subscribers if they have not done so already are asked to please remit their fees/subscriptions now to their national secretaries.

## INDEPENDENCE THROUGH THE RULES AND

### INSTITUTIONS OF THE E.E.C? A POSSIBILITY?

In an edition of "Scots Independent" (the newspaper of the Scottish National Party) last year there appeared an article concerning Mrs. Winne Ewing M. P.'s speech to the E. E. C. Parliament, in which she mentioned that an E. E. C. official had told her that Scotland could become - "the leader of the down-trodden regions of Europe!"

Pondering on that article since and a statement "After the Referendum Yes", by Colin Murley, of Mebyon Kernow, which could be applied to other parts of Europe I thought - could something not be developed out of these statements? Within the E. E. C. are many oppressed and ignored nations, being exploited by their rulers, along with ethnic groups, who mainly through war, have found themselves "united" as minorities within nations of alien ethnic and cultural origin. These include the Germanic population (of Austrian origin) in the Trentino-Alto Adige Province; and the French population of the Valle D'Aosta Province of Italy; the German-French border areas of Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar; the peoples suffering French oppression, such as the Basques, the Occidians, etc; the Celtic peoples under French and English 'rule' - Bretons, Cornish, Welsh, Manx, Irish (both 'Loyalist' and 'Republican' factions in Ulster are basically Celtic in origin) and Scots.

Perhaps within the E. E. C. (since we are forced to be there) some form of 'union' could be formed between these groups - for united political action within the E. E. C. set-up - to make "a nuisance of ourselves" - or so we can win freedom for our peoples - use our rulers/oppressors institutions against them for our benefit. There is already the nucleus of such a link, among the Celtic nations within the E. E. C. (note the Isle of Man is not in the E. E. C., but they are forced to follow its rules) and in the Celtic League. This could lead onto better understanding between our nations once independence has been achieved, especially if we help each other, concerted, united action is better than individual, disunited attempts.

On a personal basis I believe the peoples of the earth will move towards some form of "World Government" BUT not through such overlarge mass beauracratc 'super-states' such as the E. E. C., but through the working together of the peoples of small states each with their own ethnic and cultural identity, working with each other but preserving their own individuality. The 'super-states' with their mass uniform amorphous 'non-identity' cannot lead to any form of 'union' - it is better through individual identifiable groups coming together, because they need to and want to.

The idea of working together through the institutions of the E. E. C., will need to be gone into in depth, there may or might be levers we can use in the 'Treaty of Rome' or in other E. E. C. rules and regulations, also to be considered are the European Convention on Human Rights and the United Nations Charter and Declaration of Human Rights including in the last named, clause 2 of Part I - Article I:-

'All states, including those having responsibility for the administration of Non-self-governing and Trust Territories and those controlling in whatsoever manner the exercise of that right by another people, shall promote the realization of that right in all their territories.

Also of course clause I of the same Article:-

All people and all nations shall have the right of self-determination, namely, the right freely to determine their political, economic, social and cultural status.

It is realized that these are rarely used, or have attention paid to them. But most of the states of the E. E. C. have 'acknowledged' them, it might help to 'jog their memory' and make them feel 'uncomfortable', BUT it has to be done in a united, concerted fashion - together.

John Treays.

### CYMRU - BREIZH TWINNINGS.

Two towns in Cymru have been twinned with two towns in Breizh within the last year. The Celtic Association Gwenn Rann was active in promoting these twinnings. The first twinning made was between Guerande (Breizh) and Dolgellau (Cymru). A Breton delegation went to visit Dolgellau in September 1975 and a return Welsh visit was made to Brittany in November. Many contacts were made between political and cultural movements in the two countries. It was a discovery for Bretons to hear Welsh people speaking Welsh (and English) and to learn that children are taught their own language in their schools. This compares badly with the situation of the Breton language in education - Breizh is much more colonised than Cymru. Over the last nine months many exchanges have been arranged between schoolchildren of the two towns. From the 2nd to the 12th of August Welsh boys and girls will stay in homes in Guerande and in 1977 Breton children will visit Dolgellau during the same period. Also this summer several Breton families will spend 10 days with Welsh families and will receive their Welsh friends next year.

The second twinning made was between Le Pouliguen (Ar Poullog Gwenn, Breizh) and Y Bala (Cymru). As in the case of Guerande the Breton members of the twinning committee are cultural militants. The Breton delegation came to Bala at the end of May and made good contacts; the Welsh return visit will take place in September. The two towns involved in the twinnings in both countries are from the same areas. Dolgellau is 20 miles from Y Bala and Ar Poullog Gwenn is only 5 miles from Guerande. It will therefore be possible to arrange cheaper collection and travelling of children and families in the future. Through these Celtic exchanges the young people will learn that Welsh and Bretons, belonging to the same civilisation, are brothers and have, as Celts, the same struggle.

Jakez Gaucher.

### KERNOW - U. S. A.

With the present emphasis on the American 200th anniversary of independence the broadcasting media has had a 'field day' with documentaries on American history. In a recent television series (local) on the subject no mention at all was made of the significant contributions the Cornish, especially the hard-rock miners, had made to the rise of the American nation. The Cornish Nationalist Party expressed surprise, in a press release, that no mention had been made of the Cornish peoples important role in America's development when in metal mining their role had been crucial. At their Spring Conference the members of M. K. had turned down a proposal to send greetings to the American Government on their 200th anniversary because of the treatment by Europeans of the native American "Indians".

(Continued from page 18)

ials. The Japanese are singularly short of raw materials. So is Singapore.

3) Labour. It is a disadvantage to have too many people.

But the Isle of Man grows happily with 60,000. Much more important than the numbers are the professional and technical skills of that population.

4) Capital. Now here we have something important.

Capital is that reserve of assets which help us produce more without themselves being consumable. Like Combine Harvesters (try eating one). Or like schools, or ships, or computers. Such a reserve is only built up by foregoing consumption. In any economic system the source of such reserve is profits. (Taxing profits to spend on consumption reduces the reserves.) Thus a high level of profits will produce high investment, and a high level of increase in reserve, or as the Economist puts it a high level of Capital Formation.

5) Enterprise. This is not a factor which is often found in the writings of mathematically minded economists.

But nonetheless it is vital. It is the propensity to take risks. It is the propensity to get off one's bottom, to defy convention. It is a function of liberatism, of individualism, of pride. Of course, the other side of the coin is greed, selfishness, and materialism, but since we cannot have the one without the other, we must simply try to cope. But enterprise is the catalyst, without which

the other factors of production are powerless. It is enterprise that has contributed to the growth of Germany, Sweden, Japan etc. And it is the crippling of enterprise in the United Kingdom by its ludicrous tax system that has caused the economic decline of that entity. (Why, oh why, did the Irish have to copy it?)

So, to sum up so far, if you want your country to be strong, it must have economic power. And that means high Capital Formation, and the encouragement of enterprise.

But, a word of warning. The Capital Formation and the Enterprise must be yours, not somebody else's. To invite foreign industry into your country is not conducive to creating economic strength. On the contrary, it secures the fetters of alien control even more strongly, a point not missed by Julius Nyerere of Tanzania when he threw out foreign business, and launched Tanzania on a path of self help.

The moral of my story should by now be clear. If you are concerned for the future of your country, be it Scotland, Ireland, Mann, Wales, Cornwall, or Brittany, your first priority must be to build the economic strength of your country. By all means hold Festivals, and Congresses and other cultural events. But remember that he who pays the piper calls the tune. Make sure that the payer is you. And that means encouraging economic growth, and recovering your assets presently in the grip of the foreigner, like Scottish oil. C. A. Cain.

#### MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

All who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are entitled to membership. The membership fee (entitling to CARN) and the subscription rates are £2.00 for Ireland and Britain; 20F (or equivalent) for Brittany and Continental Europe in general; \$5.50 (or equivalent for non-European countries (this includes airmailing). For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the secretaries:

<u>Alba:</u>	Mrs. Maire Denovan, 9 Dalglish Road, Dundee DD4 7JN.
<u>Cymru:</u>	Antwn ab Osborn, 165A Witton Str., Northwich, Cheshire.
<u>Breizh:</u>	Jakez Derouet, 89 Boulevard des Anglais, 44100 Nantes-en-Bretagne.
<u>Eire:</u>	Cathal Ó Luain, 37 Dún an Óir, Tamhlacht, Co. Átha Cliath.
<u>Kernow:</u>	Ian J. Williams, Crowshensy, Clifton Road, Park Bottom, Nr. Illogan.
<u>Mannin:</u>	Miss Patricia Bridson, Bell Cottage, Derby Road, Peel.
<u>London:</u>	John Rh. Humphreys, 113 Loveday Road, Ealing, London W. 13.
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