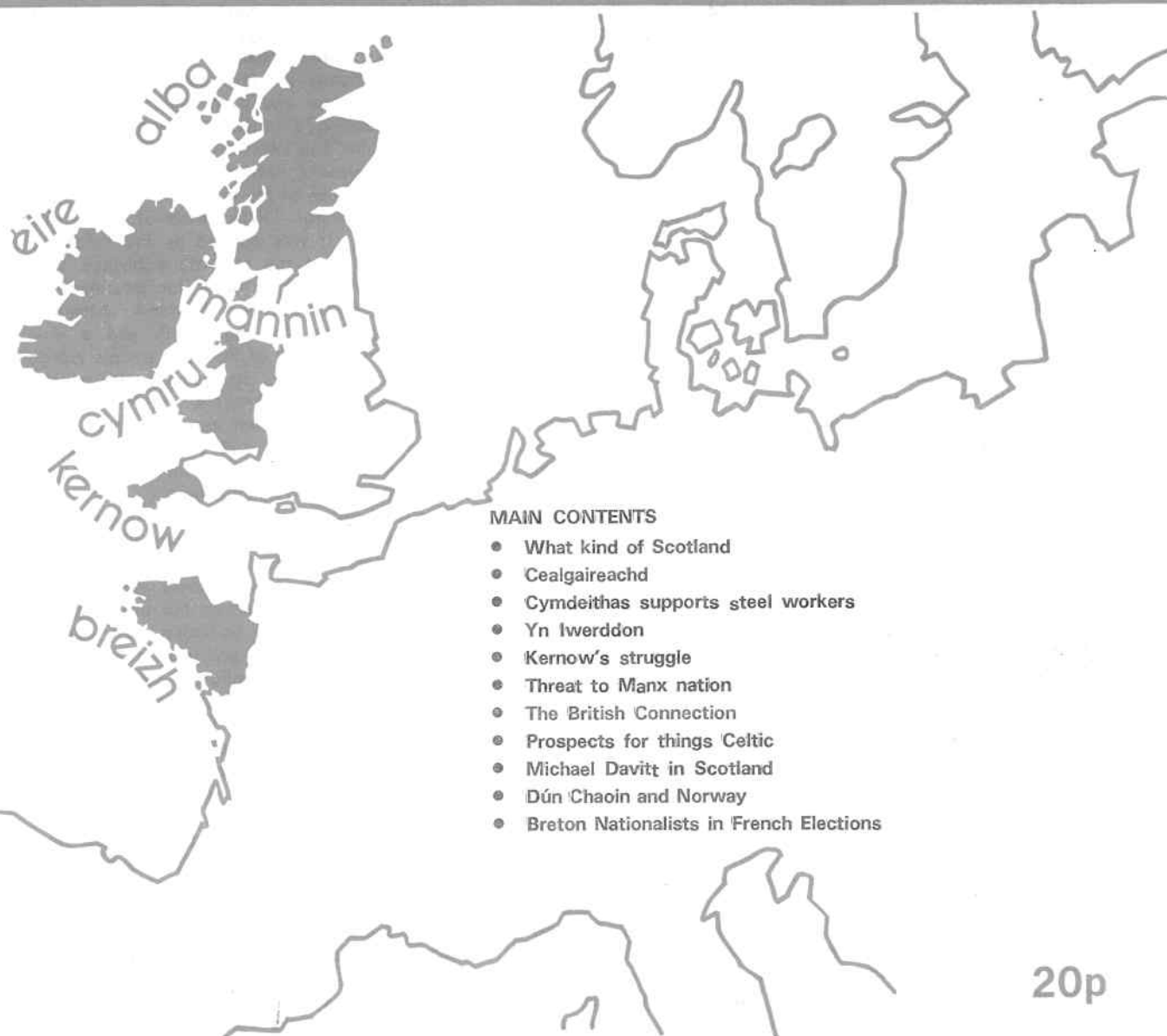


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Summer
1973
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No. 2

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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20p

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

ALBA

WHAT KIND OF SCOTLAND?

Over the week-end 7th-9th April a very significant conference "What Kind of Scotland?" took place in Edinburgh sponsored by the magazine "Scottish International" and organised by a committee including Bob Tait the magazine's editor. The programme was remarkably wide-ranging and the standard of debate from the speakers and also from the floor was such as to augur well for the Scotland which we begin to see could emerge from the ashes of a society which is obviously not the kind of Scotland we want. If a few of the contributions are highlighted here it is to be hoped that this conference may be referred to again when full texts of the talks are available. Our lives tend to be rather over-influenced by the doings and sayings of politicians so beloved by the media—so it was very heartening to learn that in many spheres there are people of such intelligence, integrity and humanity, and more important having some of the solutions to our problems though they cannot be tried out until we change the priorities of our society.

The first session was "What Kind of Society?". Dr. Aaron Esterson dealt with how we treat our "criminals" and "the mentally ill" — only two of the realms in which our society fails its members. Father Antony Ross, vice-chairman of the Scottish Parole Board, highlighted the role of the modern housing scheme ghetto in the production of our society's symptoms of malaise. The afternoon session brought "What Kind of Culture?" and David Daiches, originally from Edinburgh and now Principal of Sussex University and author of "The paradox of Scottish Culture," opened the programme with what might have been to some a rather controversial preface to his piece — "the role of higher education particularly university education." In this preface he put the very valid point that the most important area of education is the foundation, — in other words the primary school. David Kemp's subject was the press and he highlighted our present situation where all the media are under the strict control of so few people and this poses great problems in communication. The reporting or rather lack of it on this forum by all the so-called Scottish media is the greatest indictment of their lack of discernment of what is important. Bob Tait was concerned with the allocation of the Arts Council grant in Scotland. That more should go to literature we would all agree but please, not by reducing what goes to ballet, when Scottish theatre Ballet have made history with their wonderful production of "An Clo Mor" and enhance their reputation with each new production.

Later in the afternoon came "What Kind of Economy and Environment?", opened by Dr. Malcolm Slessor, who in his book "The Politics of the Environment — A Guide to Scottish Thought and Action" has presented his views — the absolute necessity of strictly controlled and balanced development of resources if we and our environment are to survive. He was followed by the professor of Political Economy at Aberdeen University, Donald MacKay, who presented the case for full economic exploitation and belief in the magic properties of "Gross National Product". The week-end showed that the audience preferred the views of Dr. Slessor. Professor Derick Thomson of Glasgow University and editor of "Gairm" spoke of his fears for the Gaidhealtacht under the onslaught of oil "development".

His quiet and gentle voice and manner were ironically the best of media for conveying to the listeners the bitterness of this last turn of fate after all the past exploitations, the genocide, the neglect, the relegation to reservation status, now, a last fling for the "developers". It is to be hoped that the ovation he got when he was finished means that people are not prepared to accept the situation as "inevitable" this time.

On Saturday evening was presented an entertainment "The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black Black Oil." Superlatives are inadequate to give any idea of the quality of this production and might result in incoherence so here are a few facts. It is a dramatisation of the history of the people of the Highlands and the clearances past and present. It is partly in English and partly in Gaelic, it has music, Gaelic songs, tragedy, comedy, wit, satire, cabaret and all based on unimpeachable research. John McGrath and the 7:84 Theatre Company are now touring the Highlands with this grand spectacular and from reports this talented company are experiencing a much deserved success. News of it will be got in "The West Highland Free Press" our new (one year old) weekly newspaper, not to be included under blanket references to the media.

Sunday forenoon "What Kind of Democracy?" was the session title. It was opened by Professor W. J. M. MacKenzie who used the recently published White Paper on Northern Ireland as a basis for postulating at least the amount of devolution for Scotland. Miss Isobel Lindsay was the speaker for the S.N.P. and a most able one. Obviously in her kind of Scotland people are going to be all important and policies are going to be made for them.

There were other speakers and it was unfortunate that the one dealing with that very important area of Scotland, the West Central Belt, with all its problems was very difficult to understand and it is to be hoped that what he contributed will be made available later.

The last speaker was by no means the least. Brian Smith of Dunoon galvanised a somewhat wilting audience into rapt attention partly by his brisk method of address but mostly by his information. We all knew about the Holy Loch and its Polaris nuclear submarines but the total extent to which Scotland has been used to house every nasty necessity for nuclear war came as a shock to most of us, and quite a few took part in the vigils during the Easter week-end organised by the C.N.D. at 7 of those bases. The majority of them are on the west coast but the east, halfway between Dundee and Aberdeen, at Edzell, has the very important communications centre. Again the media played down, or selected the unimportant aspects of, the C.N.D. Easter March and Vigils.

Father Antony Ross brought the whole symposium to a close with a resumption of what had been said. This was to have been entitled "What Action Now?" but in fact that would have taken another weekend. Action may take many forms and an essential in Scotland at the moment is better communications between the many worthwhile kind of people there.

One final but very important point of interest to all League members. A question from the floor about the situation in part of the United Kingdom — Northern Ireland where people are deprived of their liberty but not brought to trial had been answered by the S.N.P. speaker with the shock re-

sponse that it was none of "our" business and the I.R.A. were only a bunch of Fascists anyway. Father Ross made a point of coming back on this at the end and a few hundred more people in Scotland were told quietly but in no uncertain manner that what is being done in Northern Ireland at the moment is being done in their name, we all share the responsibility and while we shirk that responsibility innocent people go on suffering.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS—city and burghs

The municipal elections on Tuesday, 1st May, showed a record low poll in these the last ones before the re-organisation of local government in Scotland. The following is a table of overall results:

State of the Parties	Gains	Loss
Labour	28	25
Conservatives	13	8
Scottish National Party	5	3
Progressives	1	6
Ratepayers, Moderates and Independents	11	20
Communists	4	—

The Labour Party failed to gain outright control of Edinburgh or Dundee though they strengthened their position in Aberdeen and gained four seats from the Right Wing in Glasgow. In Perth they added 3 more seats to four gained last year thus having doubled their representation there in the last decade — 12 out of 24 seats. They continue to be the dominant party in Scotland, municipally, but they cannot feel happy with results which failed to reflect the decided trend to Labour of the previous month's elections in England.

The position of the Conservatives is difficult to assess where there are Progressives and Progressive-Conservatives standing.

The following table shows the voting of the 4 main cities:

	Edinburgh	Glasgow	Dundee	Aberdeen
Percentage poll	40.87	30.47	38.61	26.40
Labour	37.49	52.92	51.74	56.78
Conservative	34.88	31.74	—	37.68
Progressive	6.77	—	—	—
Prog.-Con.	—	—	35.71	—
Liberal	15.94	—	—	7.38
Scot. Nat. Party	3.92	9.76	—	.57
Others	.97	6.58	11.33	1.92

The Scottish National Party now have 9.76 per cent of the vote in Glasgow: in one ward there — Shettleston and Tollcross — they made considerable inroads into the Labour majority (down by more than 2,000 votes). S.N.P. 2,653 — Labour, 3,730. They won their first seat in Inverness and retained full control of Cumbernauld New Town: S.N.P. 16, Lab. 5.5 They did not contest any wards at all in Dundee where after the spectacular vote gained at the by-election in March all efforts are already being directed towards the coming general election.

They also gained a seat in Kirkcaldy where Labour has lost overall control. (This council did not support the now successful efforts of Fife County Council to escape butchering under the new local government plans. It was to have been split up between the Forth and Tay Regions. The Liberals gained Moringside in Edinburgh from the Progressives, St. Machars in Aberdeen from Labour and just failed

to take Kelvinside in Glasgow from the Conservatives by 15 votes.

The Communists made 4 clear gains — 3 of them they took from Labour in Lochgelly (in a mining district in Fife) and Cowdenbeath (also in Fife) now has the first communist civic head in the whole of Britain.

County Council Elections

The lack of interest in the County Council elections on Wednesday, 9th May, in most places was more than offset by the surprise results from Shetland where after an unprecedentedly high poll the convener and vice-convener of the council lost their seats. This council at the moment has a bill going through parliament (it has just had its second reading) which would give them certain controls over oil-related projects in Shetland. One of the successful candidates is chairman of Nordport an interested company.

Scottish Conservatives Annual Meeting at Perth

On Thursday 10th May at the above meeting the Scottish Tories by an overwhelming majority of 4-1 voted against Mr. Heath's proposed Scottish Assembly. However when addressing the conference himself on Saturday 12th, Mr. Heath reaffirmed his promise that within the lifetime of this parliament there would be proposals "to give the people of Scotland genuine participation in the making of decisions that affect them all — within the historic unity of the United Kingdom."

He also announced the appointment of Lord Polwarth, Minister of State at the Scottish Office, former chairman of the Bank of Scotland, for 17 years chairman of the Scottish Council (Development and Industry) as an oil "troubleshooter" with direct access to himself. This instead of the board of experts to integrate oil matters which had been expected.

Come Over The Sea To Skye

Dates June 16th-30th.; August 1st.-mid. September.

The Skye Crofting scheme is now in its ninth year and has attained permanent headquarters in a barn at Harman Lodge, Glendale. The work has greatly expanded since the original "help-on-the-croft days" and now ranges over many activities including local community projects (see last issue of Carn). The working day is from 10 a.m.-1 p.m. Lunch 2 p.m.-6 p.m. finish.

Social life and extra mural activities as varied as the work. Cost: the modest sum of £3.50 per week covers food, lighting, board and transport within the island. Camping equipment essential. For more details write to: Rob. Gibson, 81, Monifeith Road, DUNDEE (till end of June, after that 12, Seton Terrace, GLASGOW, G31 2HH., or Barbara Hine, 8, Orchard Terrace, Edinburgh, EH4 2HA.

CEALGAIREACHD MU GHÀIDHLIG ANN AN EIRINN

There has always been a great deal of hypocrisy on the part of Irish governments towards Gaelic. This is no more clearly seen than recently, as two important events show.

Anns a'cheud dol a mach fhuair "Conradh na Gaeilge" agus "Comhdhail Naisiunta na Gaeilge" a mach gu'n do dh'aontaich an riaghltais aig Lynch nach bith Gàidhlig air té de na cànairean oifigeil anns a'Mhargaidh Chumanta, ged a dh'agair iad aig àm an referendum gum bitheadh. Tha seo a'sealltainn aon uair eile (mar ghnòthaich Watergate cuid-eachd) gum bith riaghltais a'toirt a mach bhreugan 'sam bith airson cumhachd a chumail: chan eil dealachadh eadar riaghltais comunach agus riaghltais againne an diugh. Tha Achd a' Cheangail, ris a bheil an lamh aig Lynch, ag radh, "The official languages and working languages of the Community shall be Danish, German, English, French Italian, Dutch and Norwegian". Chan eil guth air Gàidhlig ann. Mar seo ged a tha Gàidhlig 'na ceud chàin, 's i an aon chàin oifigeil nach bith air a cleachdadh ann an gnothaichean laitheil anns a'Mhargaidh ùir mheadaichte. Cuirear Achdan àraidh gu Gàidhlig ach cha chuirear a h-uile fear dhiubh. Tha seo a'ciallachadh gu bheil laghanan ann a tha eiginneach air an t-sluaigh ach nach eil sgriobhte anns a'chànain a's fheàrr le cuid dhiubh.

'Se an dara comharra nach eil an riaghltais a'toirt cul-taich do'n Ghàidhlig gun do dh'aontaich iad nach bith deuchainnean Gàidhlig eiginneach anns na sgoiltean. Dh'agair Maol-shlainn O Caollai, ceann-suidhe de Chonradh na Gaeilge, gur h-e seo ceum a chumas Gàidhlig air taobh a staigh na Gaidhealtachd agus gur h-e seo an doigh as fheàrr a chur às do'n Ghàidhlig. Chàin e gu feargach luchd na Beurla leithid an comunn airson a chur às do'n Ghàidhlig, no an Language Freedom Movement mar a theirear iad gu mealltach, a tha ag agairt gu bheil iad a'bruidhinn as leth na moire-chuid balbh de luchd na Beurla.

Co-dhiùd tha cuid ann a chreideas gu bheil eiginn a'cur bacadh air taitneachd na Gàidhlig. 'Nam measg tha Earnán de Blaghd, am Ministear a chuir air bhonn pòlasai Gàidhlig na Stàite anns na 20'an agus a thuairt o chionn beagan "It was useful in its time to give the language status and to give impetus to the movement, but I don't think abolition of compulsion will do anything decisive. The language depends on whether large numbers of people can rid their minds of humbug about the semi-demi-semi nationality that is being promoted and take to real nationality."

CRAOBH-SGAOILEADH CUIMRIG

Dozens of members of the Welsh Language Society are going to prison as a result of the continuing campaign to force improvements to broadcasting in Welsh and to show that the fourth television channel should be for the Welsh language.

Air latha Naomh Dhaibhaidh rinn cuid de na buill aig Cymdeithas yr Iaith (Comunn na Càinain Cuimreach) ionnsuidh air togalaichean aig companaidhean telebhision. Fhuair cuid eile a steach do'n Bh.B.C. ann an Southampton agus chaidh coignear a steach do dh'oifis a'Bh.B.C. far an do reub iad leth-bhreacan an "Radio Times". Dhùin dà fhichead ball a h-uile dorus airson urach gu leth le bhith a'suidhe air na staidhrichean agus a'cur ghlas air na dorsan. Fhuair buidheann eile a steach do Roinn Craobh-sgaoileadh Thall-thairis

aig a'Bh.B.C. airson fianais a chur air a'ghrèidheadh fhathast a tha iad a'faighinn bho'n riaghltais. Oir ri thaobh 15 uairean anns a'Chumrig agus 2½ uairean anns a'Ghàidhlig gach seachduinn tha an Roinn Thall-thairis a'cur a mach 22 u. 'sa Pholainnaich, 31 u. 'sa Ruiseanaich agus 70u. anns an Arabaich. Tha am B.B.C. a'sior reusonachadh ann an dà dhoigh an aghaidh meadachaidh nan seirbhisean Gàidhlig — "doirbheadasan teicniceach" agus "doirbheadasan airgid". Ach a dh'aindeoin doirbheadasan teicniceach tha iad a'toirt seirbhis réidio fad is farsuinn anns an t-saoghal agus a dh'aindeoin doirbheadasan airgid tha iad a'craobh-sgaoileadh 720 uairean gach seachduinn ann an cànairean coimheach.

Chaidh càinteann annabarach troma an cur air na buill agus tha fianais ann gun do dh'ordaich Runaire an Dachaidh iad. Mar eisimpleir, 'nuair a dh'fhiach buidheann a'Chomuinn ri briseadh a steach do dh'oifis a'Bh.B.C. ann an 1972 chuireadh fiachainn ri briseadh a steach as an leth air thoiseach. Ach beagan air ais chuir a'chuirte feall as an leth — bagairt móran na's cudthromaiche orra.

Tha doighean eile anns a bheil na Cuimrich a'fiachainn ris an craobh-sgaoileadh a leasachadh. Tha iad a'diùltadh chis an telebhision a phàidheadh. Chuireadh an t-Urr. Emlyn John do phrìosan airson fichead latha air sgàth seo 'nuair a dhiùlt e na càine a phàidheadh ach leigeadh e mu sgaoil an deidh a'cheud latha, 'nuair a phàidh cuideigin a chàin. Tha amharus ann gur h-e cuideigin an aghaidh na càin a phàidh a'chàin air eagal gum bitheadh am ministear 'na mhartarach as leth na càin.

'Se doigh eile aig Comunn na Càinain gun do thoisich iad réidio mi-laghail Cuimrig agus tha iad a'dol a chur bacadh air na sanasan-reic air HTV ann an ceàrnaidhean àraidh far a bheil móran sluaidh a'fuireach.

Dé tha sinne d'déanamh mu chraobh-sgaoileadh Gàidhlig? Seach Cearnghall, is Alba an aon dùthaich Cheilteach far nach robh réidio mi-laghail fhathast anns a'chànain Cheilteach agus 's i an dùthaich a tha dhìth air gu'n ìre as motha.

A'FAIGHINN FILEANTACHD

Here is a good idea being started in Wales to help learners and at the same time give native speakers confidence in the value of their language and show them the interest being taken in their language these days. It is an idea which the Scottish Language Society should take up in Scotland.

Tha "Urdd Gobaith Cymru" a'déanamh liosta de thuathan-aich agus de theaghlaichean eile aig a bheil Cuimrig agus a tha deònach luchd-ionnsachadh a dh'fhailteachadh ann am broinn nan taighean airson a'chòmhradh aca a leasachadh. Tha "Urdd" a'faighinn iomadh ceist mar seo a h-uile bliadhna bho dhaoine a dh'ionnsaich a'chànain ann an clasaichean-oidhche no air réidio no air telebhision agus a tha airson seachduinn no cola deug a chur seachad còmhla a ri teaghlach a tha a'cleachdadh Cuimrig gu nàdurra. Chan e fàbhar a tha iad ag iarraidh: tha iad airson nam prìosan àbhaisteach a phàidheadh. Tha "Urdd" a'deasachadh liosta de dhaoine a ghabhas luchd-tadhal agus nach bruidhinn ach a'Chumrig a mhàin dhaibh. Tha iad 'ga sgaoileadh agus tha am fear-ionnsachadh a'rèiteachaidh an còrr.

Saoilinn gur h-e seo scéima a bhitheadh feumail anns a'Ghaidhealtachd airson luchd-ionnsachadh na Gàidhlig agus có na's fheàrr na Comunn na Càinain Albhannaich airson na h-obrach seo a ghabhail os laimh?

Gòrdan Bàrr.

CYMRU

THE LOCAL ELECTIONS IN WALES

The recent elections for the new County and District Councils confirmed Plaid Cymru's steady if slow progress. Many who had expected sweeping victory all over Wales must be disappointed. The Plaid vote was good nearly everywhere, even when seats were not actually won. It is important however to chalk up actual wins instead of finding comfort in being good runners-up, not only for Party morale but also because the youth of Wales, in its present mood, will begin to search for other means of expressing themselves than through the ballot box.

The new County Councils embrace about 3 of the old counties in the rural areas. Members will thus have to travel long distances to attend meetings; only older and comparatively wealthy people can afford both the money and time this requires. As a result successful candidates are generally in their sixties; it does not portend a new radical Wales in the near future.

Plaid Cymru failed to gain seats in Dyfed where even leading party figures were defeated. One explanation is that "national figures" cannot give much time to purely local issues. Another is that several candidates were put up at the last minute, with no record of working within their constituencies over the past years.

This was not so in Gwynedd and Glamorgan, where Plaid Cymru made the biggest inroads, even defeating leaders of the English established parties. In the Cynon Valley in particular, a number of seats were won for the Glamorgan County Council and also a third of the seats for the Local Authority in Aberdare. Several seats were also won in the neighbouring constituencies of the Rhymni Valley, Merthyr, Rhondda, and Pontypridd, an area which has been consistently strong for Plaid Cymru during the past decade and is becoming known as the "Plaid Belt". The most spectacular win of all was by Ted Merriman in Ogwr when he gained 4,000 votes, probably the highest poll for any candidate throughout Wales.

The rural areas, particularly in North and Mid-Wales, have no tradition of party politics in local government and most of the candidates still stand as independents. Several of these, especially in Gwynedd were Plaid Cymru members or supporters.

By and large, the overall result was not as good as expected but better than deserved. At least it was another important step in the right direction. J.B.

Cymdeithas Supports Shotton Workers

When steelworkers at Shotton, Flintshire held a rally recently to protest against plans to close part of their works making thousands redundant, a representative of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg was among the official speakers. The Society's ex-Chairman, Gareth Miles, pledged full support to the workers. "Cymdeithas yr Iaith have shown that a government can be made to change its mind, provided you're not scared of the word 'unconstitutional'," he said.

Shotton, only a river's breadth from England, is an area where Welsh speakers are scarce and Welsh nationalists scarcer. Many were surprised to see a Cymdeithas yr Iaith speaker at the rally, and more surprised at the friendly re-

ception the 3,000 crowd gave him. This does not indicate a nationalist revival at Shotton. It does suggest, however, that the often threatened backlash against Cymdeithas yr Iaith in English-speaking areas exists only in the minds of politicians who make such threats.

The involvement in Shotton can be seen as the language society's first real attempt to communicate at grass-root level in an English-speaking area. The logic behind it was expressed by Ffred Ffrancis on his release from prison last January. "It is the English imperialist mentality which is destroying the Welsh language that wants to close Shotton," he said. "From a London viewpoint Shotton steelworks and the Welsh language are both irrational. We must show the steelworkers that our fight is also their fight."

Such campaigns can hardly generate the same urgency among Cymdeithas yr Iaith members as those to revitalise rural Welsh-speaking Wales. Recent issues of the movement's monthly "Tafod y Ddraig" have carried a sometimes fierce argument between advocates of a Welsh ghetto in the West and those wanting to do "missionary" work throughout the land. Most members would no doubt agree with Tafod's editor, Dafydd Iwan, that the two policies are in no way contradictory but complement each other, and that the big need is for every member to play his full part in whatever field he chooses.

The support for the Shotton workers and the parallel campaign against holiday homes in rural Wales represent a new trend in Cymdeithas yr Iaith: a growing — and many would say overdue — awareness that a Welsh Wales of tomorrow can emerge only from the people living in Wales today. I.R.

Dafydd Iwan in Finland

Welsh folk singer Dafydd Iwan went on an eight-day tour of Finland playing concerts at Universities and promoting the cause of the Welsh language.

He told his audiences of the language situation in Wales and studied how Finland copes with its minority language, Swedish.

Dafydd, aged 29, a former chairman of the Welsh Language Society and a leading protagonist in the fight for an independent Welsh broadcasting service, said: "Naturally I have a special interest in the Swedish group in Finland because they are a comparatively small minority of not more than 300,000 who speak Swedish.

"They have their own university and are very likely to have their own TV channel."

Celtic Studies

33 of 122 students wishing to study Celtic languages were turned away at "British" universities, says G. A. Hughes (Welsh Nation). "The University of Wales must be brought to accept prime responsibility for providing places for all who wish to study Welsh and other Celtic languages. No rationing is justified for these disciplines. Failing this, Welsh-born staff at the sadly misnamed University of Wales must seek independent alternatives in alliance with academic bodies in such countries as Sweden, West Germany and the USA where Celtic studies are regarded with greater respect and seriousness than in the University of Wales."

THE WELSH THEATRE SOCIETY

The Welsh Theatre Society was founded several years ago and takes theatre in the Welsh language round Wales. It has to pay its way and is very much a commercial proposition. Its activities show what can be done in Britain, today, with a minority language and at a time when everything 'mass' is English and when the English are pushing the concept of 'Britishness' for all they can.

Driven ahead by selfless zeal and by the unstinting enthusiasm of youth, the Welsh Theatre Society is gradually establishing itself. It is to some extent helped in its efforts by having an Arts Council in Wales which is sympathetic both to spontaneous efforts and to the national, though minority, language of Wales. In many ways, Wales is fortunate in having an Arts Council which, while keeping well clear of the accusation of nationalism, is sympathetic to the language and 'does what it can' to help.

This leads us to an immediate look at the language in Wales, where Welsh hangs on in a dangerous and parlous state. For historical reasons, Welsh was spoken by more people in the 1911 census than had ever before spoken the language. Although the population of Wales had grown greatly, the Welsh language had kept pace and was then spoken by almost one million people. The number who can still speak the language is still well above half a million but this gives a quite erroneous idea of the state of the Welsh language.

Again and again, indeed usually, in Wales today one meets people who are speaking together in English although, individually, each had a wide and effective grounding in Welsh on a Welsh monoglot or almost monoglot hearth. Yet despite this grasp of a rich Welsh and their lamentably small grasp of English we see, or hear, these people, in their thousands, preferring their laughable pigeon-English to the very rich and literate Welsh of their upbringing. The matter is not one of knowledge, where the scales are tilted heavily against the dialectal pigeon English but is evidently one of brain-washing. In this the people of Wales show as deep and as wild a desire to be assimilated, as London shows to assimilate them; and it is in these discouraging circumstances that the Welsh Theatre Society struggles to grow.

The Society has two publications (one inside the other). Its major publication **LLWYFAN** or **PLATFORM** is published 'with the help of the Welsh Arts Council' and now contains the minor publication, **NEWSLETTER TO MEMBERS**.

One of its recent achievements was the staging of **PET-HAU BRAU**, a translation by Emyr Edwards of Tennessee Williams' drama **THE GLASS MENAGERIE**. The play, as shown at the 1972 Haverfordwest National Eisteddfod, earned the following **WESTERN MAIL** comment: "The performance was memorable . . . and the sensitive, careful production was admired by a responsive audience." With 3 nights in Cardiff, 2 nights in Cardiganshire and all the rest single nights, the Company took the play to Cardiff, Maesteg, Ystradgynlais, Carmarthen, Llandovery, Cross Hands, Swansea, Fishguard, Felinfach, Aberystwyth, Dolgellau, Harlech, Botwnnog, Menai Bridge, Colwyn Bay, Mold, St. Asaph, Llanfyllin. Aberystwyth was the link town, being a southern outpost of North Wales and a northern outpost of South Wales, and the Company's journey was a truly national

journey, even if the populous and mainly English-speaking areas of South Wales were omitted. Taken with the 100,000 at the Haverfordwest 'National' this journey shows the volume of support and energy being currently put into the Welsh language: even if, among the ordinary people, that language is in a parlous way.

ADFER

Adfer, the company formed in 1971, is moving into industry. The initial objective of the company was to counter moves by English people to buy second homes in Wales for occupation for only a few weeks of each year, by purchasing houses as they became available for renting to Welsh speaking families. Financial support was so encouraging that in a short space of time 16 houses had been bought and rented out to families that would otherwise have been forced to emigrate.

In the village of RHIW in Gwynedd Adfer (which, in English, means to restore) has bought an old school for conversion into a small factory. In the words of the dynamic chairman of the company, Emyr Llywelyn, "The company paid £7,000 for the building and we expect to pay another £10,000 in development costs. Our reserves have increased from £1,500 in 1971 to £40,000 in 1973. It is not enough to secure homes for Welsh speaking families, work must also be provided as it is useless depending on the Westminster government to bring employment to rural areas."

For many years now generations of young people have left the rural areas in search for work. Many of them never to return. The village of Rhiw is an example where young people can neither obtain work nor afford to buy houses. Clearly great things are expected of ADFER.

Details of investment in the company can be obtained from:

The General Secretary,
Bryn Twr, Pen Cae,
Llanarth, Ceredigion, Cymru.

Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg

A frightening report was recently published about the small village of RHYD in Meirionnydd. Ten years ago the village was a living Welsh speaking area but it was gradually bought up by people from the English midlands for conversion into holiday homes. These people spend a few weeks each year in Wales and contribute nothing in return. The language society organised a march through the village with about 150 people taking part. A proclamation was pinned to every door stating that members of the society would occupy every holiday home at it was contributing towards the death of the area. Wales is not for sale!

The best, and by far the most enjoyable, way of learning about our different countries is to visit those countries for ourselves. This month the major of St. Brieuc, Yves Le Foll and two hundred others from the same town came to Aberystwyth where a treaty of friendship was signed by the two mayors. This was the highlight of the visit by the Bretons to Aberystwyth where teams from the two towns also took part in football, rugby and hockey.

YN IWERDDON

Yn ei erthygl "The New Ireland" a ymddangosodd yng nghyfrol flynyddol yr Undeb Celtaidd 1972, dywedodd Séamus Ó Tuathail fod gan Brydain (hynny yw Loegr yn y cyd-destun yma) fwy o gardiau yn ei llaw nag erioed yn ystod yr hanner can mlynedd diwethaf. Llai na blwyddyn wedyn, gellir dweud nad yw hi wedi colli dim un o'r cardiau hynny. Yn wir, mae'n ymddangos, ac ystyried y tuedd cyffredinol yn Iwerddon, fod Lloegr yn dal i ennill y gêm, a'n bod ni'n agosach at y "Federal Deal" yr oedd Séamas yn son amdani nag oeddem ni llynedd.

Mae Gwladwriaeth 26 sir y De wedi newid llywodraeth, a chymblaid wedi 'i rhoi yn lle Fianna Fáil ar ôl llawer o flynyddoedd o reol gan y parti hwnnw. Nid oes llawer o dystiolaeth bod dagrau wedi llifo ar ôl iddynt fynd. Roedd pobl yn eisiau newid. 'Roedd rhai, hyd yn oed hen gefnogwyr Fianna Fáil yn teimlo eu bod hwy wedi colli eu delfrydau. Ond rhaid ystyried natur y Gymblaid cyn rhoi gormod o obaith ynddi fel cyfrwng diwygiad. Cyfuniad od dros ben yw hi o'r parti ceidwadol Fine Gael, olynwyr y "crysau gleision" gynt, a'r Blaid y mae'r Undebau Llafur yn draddodiadol wedi rhoi eu teyrnged, yn ariannol yn ogystal a thrwy'u pleidleisiau, iddi. Mae na arwyddion hefyd bod llawer o anhapusrwydd yn mhlith y rheiny ynglyn a'r Gymblaid. Clywir anghytundeb ymhlith rhai o aelodau cyffredin y Blaid Llafur yn dangos nad ydynt mor fodlon ar y sefyllfa â'u harweinwyr. Hefyd, er bod Llafur wedi cael tri o'r gweinidogaethau pwysicaf (Post a Thelegraffau, Diwydiant a Masnach; Llafur), Llywodraeth â Fine Gael yn y mwyafrif yw hi, yn naturiol, gan mai Fine Gael gafodd y mwyafrif o'r pleidleisiau yn yr etholiad. Llywodraeth geidwadol fydd hi felly, yn ol pob tebyg, a hyd yn hyn nid oes dim byd wedi digwydd i brofi y bydd hi fel arall. Mae'n wir ei bod hi wedi cymryd V.A.T. oddi ar fwyd ond ychydig iawn o wahaniaeth fydd hynny'n ei wneudd pan deimr effaith polisi'r Farchnad Gyffredin ar fwyd.

Un peth a wnaeth y Gweinidog Addysg newydd yn syth ar ol cael ei benodi (rhywbeth a groesawyd i raddau helaeth ymhlith "rhyddfrydwyr") oedd gwneud i ffwrdd a'r rheol ynglyn â'r Wyddeleg fel pwnc gorfodol yn yr arholiadau ysgol. Yn ei lle mae rhyw fath o "bonus" yn cael ei rhoi i'r rhai sy'n gwneud Gwyddeleg yn yr "Ard-Teistiméaracht" (yr arholiad sy'n cyfateb i'r G.C.E., lefel O, ym Mhrydain, a'r Baccalauréat yn Ffrainc). Rhaid cofio mai lleiafrif sy'n cyrraedd y lefel yna o addysg. Lleiafrif felly sy'n cael eu hannog i astudio'r iaith. O hyn ymlaen bydd anrhydedd neu bas yn y Wyddeleg yn cyfrif fel dau anrhydedd neu ddau bas mewn unrhyw bwnc arall. Lleihad ar statws yr iaith yw hwn heb unrhyw amheuaeth a rhaid bod hyn i gyd yn siom ac yn sgandal i genedlaetholwyr yn y gwledydd Celtaidd eraill sy'n ymladd dros statws am eu hiaith eu hunan.

Gyda hyn i gyd yn digwydd yn y De, fe ymddangosodd Papur Gwyn Westminster ynglyn â Chwe Sir y Gogledd. Anodd iawn fyddai crynhoi astudiaeth fanwl ar hwnnw mewn rhai llinellau. Yn fyr iawn, mae Lloegr, yn sylweddoli nad yw hi'n bosibl ddim mwy i reoli'r rhan yna o Iwerddon yn yr hen ffordd, yn trio dyfeisio ffordd newydd o'i wneud. Gobeithia, mae'n debyg y bydd digon o gymedrolion o blith y pleidiau Llafur a Chenedlaethol yn y Gogledd yn cael digon

ran i chwarae yn y gyngres newydd i roi taw ar y Gweriniaethwyr a'r rhai sy'n tueddu i'r chwith. Mae hi'n rhoi iddynt a'r un llaw a chymryd oddi arnynt a'r llall. Er ei bod hi'n gwneud i ffwrdd a'r "Special Powers" mae cynigiadau Diplock yr un mor ddrwg. Nid oes dim son am ddod a'i myddin o Ogledd Iwerddon, ac er ei bod wedi cyfreithloni'r Clybiau Gweriniaethol fel cymdeithasau gwleidyddol mae'n dal i restio eu haelodau a gwrthod mynediad i mewn iddynt i rannau eraill ei teyrnas. Mae'n debyg hefyd ei bod hi falch dros ben gweld Fine Gael, a'u traddodiad hir o dagu unrhyw anghytundeb a'r sefydliad, yn ol yn yr orsedd. Ymlaen â hi felly i'r "Federal Deal".

J.W.

"Escaped Baboon shot"

On remembering the visit of the English Lord Chancellor to Wales recently to give 'direction' to magistrates who were acquitting members of the Language society and his description of them as baboons, people were relieved, when the above heading was given prominence in the press, to read that the story related to a real baboon. The League is happy to report that at the last count all members of the society are alive and well.

"I found CARN very interesting, especially the article on the crofters' problems. I am sad to see the dominance of English, tho' my Breton friends won't miss French much. I would like to see more use of Celtic languages in summaries of articles in the Celtic languages. I know this would bulk out the periodical and add to the problems of the editor, but what is the C.L. for? I see no reason for translating Irish into Manx or Scottish, as their respective followers can read any of them without much trouble. Manx is easier for me than Scottish, and the C.L. would deserve well of mankind if progress could be made in persuading the Manx to return to Gaelic orthography entirely.*

With the Brythonic languages though, you have a real problem as they are wholly incomprehensible and an article in Welsh or Breton needs a summary in the other two Brythonic tongues and in one Gaelic language, preferably Manx, which seems to straddle the unhappy and widening gap between Irish and Scottish."

Barra Ó Tóibín.

* We are printing our Manx articles in Gaelic orthography.

"The entry into the EEC means that all the Celts will in the future be in at least one organisation together. Although I believe this step will be bad for us economically, and that perhaps it will be bad for the world politically in that it will tend to build up a new power-block yet in our political future as Celts it may be a very good thing. The reason why these huge, unitary, highly centralised powers were built up in France and England was imperialist and military. The compulsion to centralise more and more will now be slackened. Gwynfor Evans.

YDYW, YN LLYDAW Y MAE NAONED

Bu Naoned (Nantes) yn rhan o Lydaw ers dyddiau cyntaf sylfaenu gwladwriaeth unedig Lydewig yn y nawfed ganrif. Ond ar ôl 1789, chwalwyd pob math o undod ethnig a hanesyddol Llydaw yn ogystal â'r ochr economaidd Aeth Comité d'Etudes et de Liaison des Intérêts Bretons (CELIB), belled ag apwyntio comisiwn er dylanwadu ar gynrychiolwyr Loire Atlantique. Yn ei lyfryn, "Le sentiment d'appartenance bretonne en Loire Atlantique (74 p., 9 fr, Cooperative Breiz, 4 Allée des Ormeaux, La Baule — 44), y mae Yann Poupinot yn cyflwyno'r ddatl dros uno "départements" eraill fel Mayenne, Maine et Loire, a Vendée gyda Llydaw i greu Rhanbarth Orllewinol Fawr, a hyn gydag ystadegau manwl. Yr un ddatl economaidd hefyd sydd gan holl gefnogwyr y "Ouest" neu'r "Grand Ouest". Credant y byddai hyn yn tanseilio unrhyw wrthwynebiad ar dir economaidd a chymdeithasol gan fod Nantes yn ganolfan bwysig i ardal eang iawn y tu allan i Lydaw. Hon yw dinas fwyaf y Gorllewin ac yn fwyaf cymwys i arwain a datblygu fel metropolis y rhan yma o'r byd. Mae'n strategol yn ddaddearyddol ar aber Afon Loire ac mae ganddi ddiwydiannau a gwasanaethau cymdeithasol o bwys a chyfleusterau porthaddol penigamp. I gryfhau'r ddatl, dywedant hefyd y byddai rhanbarth ac iddi bum miliwn o drigolion yn llawer mwy derbyniol i fuddsoddwyr, ac yn wir, fod cymaint â hynny mewn nifer yn angenrheidiol os yw rhanbarth i fodoli'n effeithiol a chyda gradd o ymreolaeth iddi yn y Farchnad Gyffredin (3,400,000 yw poblogaeth Llydaw yn awr).

Ond pobl sy'n deyrngar i Ffrainc cyn bod yn Llyawyr yw cefnogwyr y "Grand Ouest", pobl fel Mr. Martray (Ysgrifenydd Cyffredinol CELIB I ac efallai "eminence grise" v CELIB II newydd). Yr oedd Mr. Lombard, Maer Brest, a llywydd newydd CELIB yn fwy ystyriol o'r farn boblogaidd pan ddywedodd nad oedd Llydaw am golli nac ei henw na' i henaidd na' i chyfle y tu mewn, i Magma diddordebau croes, diwylliannau gwahanol ac amcanion gwrthwynebol.

Mewn pleidlais yng Nghyngor Cyffredinol Loire Atlantique Fis Tachwedd diwethaf, yr oedd y mwyafrif o blaid dychwelyd i Lydaw ond gan ychwanegu'r tri "département" Ffrengig, sef Mayenne, Maine et Loire, a Vendée. Gwyddom fod y Gweinidogion Ffrengig wedi ceisio dylanwadu ar aelodau'r Cyngor fel na fyddent yn pleidleisio dros Lydaw Unedig, ac eu bod wedi digio wrth y Cyngor am dderbyn hynny. Sut bynnag, cyfaddefwyd y byddai canlyniad refferendwm yn Loire Atlantique yr un mor bleidiol i Lydaw Unedig. A fydd y Llywodraeth yn parchu barn y cynrychiolwyr ar y Cyngor? Mae'n ddigon posibl na fyddant. A beth fyddai effaith Llydaw Unedig arnom ni? Hoffwn ddyfynnu o Sav Breizh, Rhifyn II:—

"Ni ddaw rhyddid Llydaw o'r ffaith ei bod yn awr yn Rhanbarth Ffrengig. Yn y cyfamser, mae'n bwysig sicrhau y bydd y pump "département" Llydewig gyda' i gilydd yn yr un rhanbarth rhag i'r rhwygau lacio, a'r cylchoedd economaidd ymwahanu, ac i'r rhaniad rhwng Nantes a gweddill Llydaw ddwysáu. Cadw gyda'n gilydd, dyna ein prif ddyletswydd. A pharhau y Llydaw integrol, rhaid inni ei chadw, ac nid ar fap yn unig."

J.B.

(The debate about Nantes' return to Brittany reported here was conducted in the perspective of our country remaining in the French orbit and playing a peripheral role in the profit-oriented EEC. In a free Brittany, which implies that big commercial interests will be subordinated to those of the community, Nantes and Rennes will remain economically important, but two other cities will have to be developed so as to check the French influence: Brest, with its deep-water harbour, rid of the handicaps of its French naval and military bases, will be able to take full advantage of its proximity to the busiest sea-route in the world, and thus contribute to halt the eastward drift of the population of Western Brittany, while a new city capable of promoting an effective language and social policy as well as holding a healthy balance between the various Broioù (districts) should be built as our political capital, close to the centre, under the impetus of the revolutionary spirit which alone can free our country.)

A.H.

KERNOW

Schools. The Minister came to Helston to perform one opening ceremony for 240 locations where new school buildings have been completed at a cost of £1,300,000. That this has no relation with needs had already been stated by the Secretary for Education in the County administration a month before and by the Chairman of the County Education Committee a fortnight before. The first said, "... if we continue at this rate it is going to be many more years before ... replacing or remodelling all our 18th century primary school" (*The West Briton* 1-3-73); the second said, "... the increase both in numbers of students and in cost in this field had so far outstripped the increases in the schools and looked like continuing to do so" (*The Cornish Guardian*, 15-3-73).

Housing. The Greater London Council's venture in buying land for housing pensioners was noteworthy not so much for its part in raising the price of land and for its undemocratic treatment of a local Council with a long, long waiting list as for setting a seal on the arrival of the really big money in land and house property in Cornwall. Building employers had responded to the credit restrictions beginning in 1966 by letting the numbers of apprentices drop from 600 to 250 and now they want three times as many (*The West Briton* 15-2-73). The engineer and surveyor of St. Austell Rural Council "pointed out that it was becoming increasingly difficult to get builders to tender at all for council houses building. There is, therefore, a very strong possibility of council house building grinding to a halt" (*The Cornish Guardian*, 28-12-72). Recruitment of teachers has run into difficulties over housing and the Education Committee has been unsuccessful in getting help from four councils it has asked — Camborne, Redruth, Newquay, St. Austell — with Fowey. St. Austell Rural (*The West Briton*, 1-2-73). At Newquay (population of 12,000) the waiting list has exceeded 300, with "very many urgent cases," the council has been considering resumption of sale of council

houses though "the sale of council houses would in no way help the applicants on the waiting list," and "there were at present no new council houses under construction" (*The Western Morning News*, 26-9-72). On the other hand, a firm of estate developers at Newquay will build a million pounds worth of houses a year over the next three years! (*The Cornish Guardian*, 8-3-73). In this contradictory world, Bodmin, the only town which accepted overspill, is the only town which built over a hundred council houses in the first nine months of 1973 (*The Cornish Guardian*, 1-2-73). St. Ives built none but sold two in 1972 (*The Western Morning News*, 2-12-72). A number of councils have decided not to sell but there have been efforts to reverse decisions. A stream of criticism mounts in councils against the purchase of house property for summer holiday use only. The Council of the Isles of Scilly (independent of Cornwall County Council) agreed "that as a general policy the conversion of large houses, hotels, or guests houses into flats for holiday resorts be discouraged" (*The Western Morning News*, 21-2-73). Where are working people, the most Cornish part of the population, to go? Out? R.G.

Kernow's Struggle

As Kernow is treated as a County of England, the elections of the new kind of County Councils which took place on April 12 were of considerable importance to it. Unlike some English counties its borders have not been changed by the recent reorganization of local authorities and it now becomes a first tier authority in its own right. At best this will give it more power to control its own affairs and at the worst, it has retained its territorial integrity when so many counties and county boroughs have lost theirs.

The English political parties have made determined efforts to get control of as many of the new county councils as they could and in the majority of cases they have succeeded. But in Kernow the English political parties were overwhelmingly defeated for of the 79 members of the new council only four (three Conservative and one Labour) candidates were elected on an official party ticket, the rest were all Independents.

The new District Councils (to be elected on June 7) are particularly important to Kernow's future for they are to be responsible for giving planning permission and for housing and so the activities of these two departments of local government will be brought more fully under the observation and influence of the electors.

The housing problem is already with us but we will soon have the big oil companies here. They will make big demands upon land and property which will need to be adequately met and properly controlled. Holiday Camp and Fun Fair tycoons are eyeing Kernow greedily and need to be watched carefully, and completion of the M5 and other roads will greatly increase the influx of tourists which is already destroying our country to the benefit of only the 11 per cent of the population who profit from this industry.

All these threats to our way of life can be warded off by the new district councils but this will only happen if the Cornish wake up and take these councils seriously, carefully scrutinizing candidates and turning up, 100 per cent of

them, at the polls. A lively and maintained interest in local government is the only thing that can save Kernow.

There are still enough Cornishmen in Cornwall to control its destiny if they will stand up and fight.

Professor Charles Thomas director of the Institute of Cornish studies says that random samples taken in 1970 showed that 62.2 per cent of the population had been born in Cornwall and 43.3 per cent of the population had been born of Cornish parents.

As 33 per cent of any population can, if organized, control the whole population, we are still in a position of strength. (It should be remembered that Kernow is at present being controlled by the Hotel and Tourist Industry whose members form only 11 per cent of the population).

In practice it is found that a large proportion of "incomers" wish to keep Cornwall as it is and will rally to the Cornishman's support.

The various Cornish organizations should start to organize pressure groups in each district to ensure that pro-Cornwall councillors are elected and they should start at once. One or two such pressure groups have already been formed and are doing good work.

Professor Thomas was right in saying, "unless the public elected councillors who would put the environment right, Cornwall would end up no different from the Greater London area with a touch of Skegness."

— R. C. Boyd.

THREAT TO THE MANX NATION

Intense controversy has been generated in the last few years by the Manx government's policy of attracting rich settlers to Mann. The influx of rich English people avoiding U.K. taxes has triggered off a building boom, intense land speculation and a steep rise in house prices which makes it almost impossible for Manx people to afford houses. Many beauty spots have been spoiled by indiscriminate building of "luxury bungalows" costing between £20,000 and £90,000. A fairly typical advert in a Manx newspaper recently read: "Manx couple, expecting child, desperately require unfurnished house or flat."

Opposition to the "new residents policy" has been led by Mec Vannin ("Sons of Mann" — the Manx nationalist party) and the secret nationalist group Fo Halloo ("Underground") Mec Vannin has accused certain Manx politicians of corruption in their dealings with land speculators and has petitioned Queen Elizabeth to set up an independent judicial inquiry. This petition has been passed to the English Home Secretary, who claims ultimate authority over the island. The Lieutenant-Governor of Mann (strangely enough, London's representative on the island) has challenged Mec Vannin to make known their allegations to him and to supply him with evidence of corruption. This Mec Vannin has refused to do, saying they will talk only with London. Although significant numbers of manxmen have been unhappy about Mec Vannin's appeal to Queen Elizabeth, the membership of the party has risen dramatically, reaching the 1,000 mark early in May.

Fo Halloo continued its activities by hanging an effigy of Judah Binstock on Tynwald Hill (Binstock is the Paris-based speculator who has bought 2,000 acres of Manx land. He recently achieved some notoriety by buying and selling the

"Figaro" building). It has been suggested that Fo Halloo might have been responsible for the burning of show bungalows erected by one of Binstock's companies and for the threat on the life of Mr. John Bolton, a Member of Tynwald identified with the government's drive to attract rich new residents. However, the only certain activities of Fo Halloo (apart from burning Mr. Binstock in effigy) have been an efficient and witty poster campaign and the issuing of a much appreciated news-sheet carrying allegations of scandal and corruption among certain Manx politicians and lawyers. The concern felt by the Manx establishment over the protest campaign can be gauged by the fact that Charles Kerruish, the Speaker of the House of Keys, personally took action which ended with the fining of three young men for the trivial technical offence of putting up posters which did not bear the printer's name (the point being that the posters denounced the government's new residents policy). As Douglas Fargher pointed out on Manx Radio, these three were probably the first Manxmen to be prosecuted for a patriotic act since the nineteenth century. The identity of the leader or leaders of Fo Halloo remains unknown.

Some time before the present wave of protests, Tynwald had appointed a select committee to draw up a report on immigration into Mann. The report came out on 2 May and recommended that immigration should be regulated by a government tribunal. Newcomers with no Manx relations should have to get a resident's permit and pay at least £5,000 to enter. This sum would have to be 50 per cent of the value of any property they bought, built or rented. The money would be invested in Manx government securities to be used for financing government housing schemes geared to aid Manx people. People moving to Mann would have to register within 90 days and all residents would be issued with identity cards.

Tynwald has decided that the recommendation on the £5,000 "entrance fee" should be implemented, but rejected the view that all the money invested should be used for housing. The proposal to introduce identity cards was also rejected. Fo Halloo condemned the introduction of the "entrance fee" as "class legislation." B.

In Manx about Scotland

(There are fears that, while increasing Gaelic broadcasts to the islands and Highlands, B.B.C. plans will lead to the cutting of Gaelic broadcasts to Scotland as a whole to only one half-hour per week).

Cha nel a' B.B.C. cur mach claran do leur anns Gaidhlig. Reir an aireamh do shlaigh as Gaidhlig oc anns nAlbainn, ba cheart do bh seacht uaireann do leath sa tseachtain a chur da na Gailgearan. Ach cha nel ach dha uair do leath ra ghaodainn. Ta'n scial nas measa fost er a' teiliuis. Cha nel ach leath uair SA MHI ra ghaodainn anns Gailig Albainneach!

Ta Seiseacht Oibreachas na Eileanan Siar er ghra do bhel ad imnioch mo cheann iom-scaoile anns Gaidhlig sa tra ra thiot. Fodai do dean a' B.B.C. cur mach foda nas mu claran radio Gailgeach da'n Ghaeltacht fhin. Ach ec a' tra cheadain, cha deineach ad cur mach da nAlbainn uile ach leath uair sa tseachtain. Scriu Mnr Roderick Morrison de Seiseacht Oibreachas na Eileanan Siar ris a' B.B.C. soilli-seacha mach eagal na Gailgearan mo cheann a' chuis seo. Scriu e anns Gaidhlig as fhuaire freagairt curtoil do tabhai.

Stalinist Enemies of the Celtic League

The quaintly named B & ICO self-styled communists are an interesting example of the propensity of the extreme left to gyrations leaving them on the side of the right. By radical sounding exertions and neo-marxian semantics they end up endorsing the status quo.

Since they endorse the English Imperialist Supremacist attitude they deny the nationality of the unfree celtic nations within the United Kingdom. And being obsessed with the anglophone "thing" they don't comment on the situation in Breizh.

They are also the most assiduous peddlers of the "Two-Nations Theory" (revived) in Ireland and this might lead some to regard them as "nationalists" of a type. They are in fact, of their own admission, anti-national and virulently so. But as they admitted lately they were ignorant of the fact that the 'two nations theory' is old hat. They seem to be also ignorant of the fact that their model, Stalin — in his victory speech — celebrated the role of Russian nationalism in resisting German aggression and invasion in World War II.

Cymru and Alba are, of course, not nations in their eyes — they have even published a pamphlet to "prove" this theory as regards Cymru. That upwards of 70 per cent of the people in these countries designate themselves as Welsh or Scot is of no importance apparently. In 1970 Richard Rose published his pamphlet **The United Kingdom as a Multi-National State** (Strathclyde, 50p) and on p10 produced figures as to what the inhabitants of these countries think of themselves as. In Glasgow 1 per cent thought of themselves as Welsh; 4 per cent did not know or were mixed; 29 per cent claimed British nationality while 67 per cent asserted themselves as Scottish. In Wales 1 per cent were Irish; 13 per cent English, 1 per cent Scottish; 15 per cent British and 69 per cent Welsh. As Rose says "Even though the law does not recognise the status of Scottish or Welsh nationality, the residents of these lands subjectively assert this as their primary identification, when asked to choose from a wealth of alternatives." But then facts which cannot be strained through the eye of their pre-conceptions are ignored by the British and Irish "Stalinists".

One of their members was huffing and puffing, about the concept of "Ulster", in **The Welsh Nation** recently. Perhaps he should look at the map of Ireland depicting "The Historic Fiftths" opposite P.1 of Michael Dolley's recent volume (in the Gill History of Ireland series) **Anglo-Norman Ireland**. Michael Dolley teaches medieval history at Queen's University, Belfast and his map offers no consolation to the BICO correspondent of **The Welsh Nation**: it may not put the *quietus* on his huffing but it puts the *caidhpl bhaiss* on his "thesis".

They also endorsed the Fianna Fáil establishment's closure of the Dún Chaoin school in the Munster Gaeltacht — something one might have thought to be at odds with their ghetto or reservationist thesis about the Irish language — one wonders by what shifts they will get around to celebrating its opening by the new National Coalition Government in Dublin.

THE CELTIC CONGRESS (distinct from the Celtic League) will hold its annual gathering this year in Blessington, Co. Wicklow, from August 13 to 18.

THE "BRITISH" CONNECTION

Celts with British passports tend to be irritated by the casual comments these passports stimulate on the European mainland. "Oh yes! — English!", either in English or in the language of the country, is the purport of such comments. This apparent lack of comprehension is really an objective assessment of what is happening. A Scottish or Welsh applicant for a passport will have completed a space for Nationality on the application form. The requisite entry is "British"; the factual entry is "Scottish" or "Welsh". The question, to elicit a "British" answer should be "Citizenship". But the essence of the assimilation process is not precision but confusion.

The words "Great Britain", "British" and "Briton" were not settled on in order for us to retain our distinctively Cornish, (6-County) Irish, Manx, Scottish or Welsh identities. On the contrary, the specific objective was for us to lose our identity in becoming assimilated English people. If the assimilation process had been openly accompanied by the redesignation of our Celtic areas as England and of ourselves as English a hostile reaction would have been set up. In settling on words with a pre-English derivation our reaction was forestalled. If Cornish, Welsh or from Strathclyde we could claim to be more "British" than those who are assimilating us. These once congenial words have been put to an inimical use over too long a period for us to retrieve them. Great Britain is Greater England; British means pertaining to Greater England; a Briton is an Englishman by another name or an assimilated Englishman with Celtic or other antecedents.

If it is too late to reCelticise the meaning of these words it is still very necessary to keep pointing out their function and to avoid letting them continue to condemn us. Above all we should avoid using them ourselves.

Our own use of assimilationist vocabulary

All this seems very pedestrian, but merits being repeated because this assimilationist terminology is frequently used by those who ought to know better. This is best instanced from a quarter where it could be expected that all English propaganda would be regarded in a most critical light. Clann na hÉireann is an organisation for those who subscribe to the aims and objects of Official Sinn Féin in John Bull's home island. It now publishes a periodical paper *Rosc Catha*. The first edition included a brief Marxist analysis of the Irish situation based on the Clann's policy document. The analysis was excellent — up to a point. It was flawed by such expressions as "Britain, British Imperialism, British Capital, the British working-class." The inconsistency of all this was even to be inferred from the text, which quoted both Connolly and Marx.

Having been born in Edinburgh and having lived much of his earlier life in Scotland it was natural enough that Connolly would have been aware of the "British" confidence trick. After the outbreak of the first world war demonstrated how shallow was the internationalism of most socialists Connolly's staunchest "British" ally was John McLean. McLean was no North Briton, but combined Communism with Scottish Nationalism.

In the extracts from Marx the word "English" was used in contexts where the writer of the analysis made it "British." It is unlikely that Marx would have regarded this as

an improvement or as having greater precision. Having spent many years of his life in the reading room of the British Museum it is evident that he used the word "English" with deliberation.

Presumably Clann's use of this brainwash terminology was through thoughtlessness rather than as a matter of policy. Those who have tried to educate the English worker as to the merits of the Irish cause must be aware that the general attitude of the English worker verges from apathy to hostility. Those admirable if rare exceptions to the rule do not need to be bribed by what amounts to a tacit Irish approval of English imperialism directed towards the other Island Celts.

Rejection of this jargon by Irish Celts is not exactly a matter of sheer do-gooding. True enough in the Republic of Ireland it has never made much headway, except that in the negative sense "West Briton" was accepted as a term of abuse. However, in the Whitelaw area the catchcall 'Ulster is British' is accepted by many as holy writ.

Destruction of the "British" myth

The "British" myth was much nourished by the far flung Empire. In a sense the kowtow into the EEC marked the end of the expanded Empire. It could not have become far flung without first laying the foundation by the subjugation of the surrounding Celtic countries. The destruction of the superstructure has left the foundation too shaky even for the word Empire to be officially countenanced. Destruction of the "British" myth is the psychological concomitant of the political task of the reduction of Greater England to Little England. The time is therefore ripe to kill the myth with ridicule. It should be challenged on every conceivable occasion. Our Breton friends can help to challenge the myth in mainland Europe.

Destruction of the myth is now feasible, but it is a formidable undertaking. As the assimilationist terminology appears frequently in the legal titles of various institutions it requires a conscious effort to avoid using them.

England's Army

The "British" Army, as the most actively noxious of these institutions, provides the most obvious example of the difficulty of avoiding the conditioning jargon. With Scottish and Welsh units operating as part of the occupation force in Ireland it seems strange to speak of the "English Army." But neither Scotland nor Wales has any power of decision in matters of peace or war; neither is any interest of theirs served by the existence of Scottish and Welsh units. The correct description of such Scottish or Welsh soldiery is therefore that of mercenaries in the English service. In fact English Army casualties have included Irishmen employed in the same capacity of mercenaries.

The dilemma is not new, for men in this situation. At one time there were numerous fenians* in the English Army. Later, in 1920, there was a mutiny in the Punjab. From one of the books dealing with the episode "Mutiny for the cause"*** is taken the following extract:

"Resuming, the C.O.'s voice broke, and (as Joe Hawes and others recounted) his eyes actually filled with tears. He didn't want to threaten them with the penalty for mutiny. He wanted to appeal to them as men of The Connaught Rangers. He was proud to be their Commanding Officer, and, having served with the regiment for thirty-three years, he was proud, as he knew they were, of its glorious history. He

went on to call the roll of the battle honours inscribed on the regimental colours — battles in the Peninsular under Wellington, in the Crimea and South Africa, on the frontiers of India, and in all the other campaigns in which "The Devil's Own" had distinguished themselves. Many of the men listening to him had served with him in France and Flanders, and added to the 'Rangers' brilliant fighting record. Were they going to deface that record by mutiny? Let everyone, he concluded, forget what had happened that day. Let them return to their bungalows, and nothing more would be said about it — except that he would forward to the government of India their complaint about what they'd heard from Ireland.

It was evident from the expression on some of the men's faces that the colonel's plea had impressed them. Joe Hawes stepped forward. "Colonel," he said — and to address his C.O. in that way, and not as "Sir", was presumptuous for a 'British' private soldier in those days — "all those honours," said Hawes, "on the Connaught's flag were for England. Not one of them was for poor old Ireland. But there's going to be one added today, and it'll be the greatest honour of them all." . . .

As the mutiny reached its climax there was yet another instance of the old divide — and — rule policy even now in operation in the 6-Counties. Again from the same source:

" . . . The mutineers, with the exception of those on guard, has disarmed themselves, but disarmed helplessness, some of them might have reflected, had not saved the crowd at Amritsar from massacre. No doubt they were wronging England — and English, or rather in this case, Scottish and Welsh troops — by their fear of summary mass execution, but it has to be remembered that the latest image of what England was capable of in the eyes of these lads from Ireland had been projected by accounts of the doings of the Black and Tans.

"Like Agag in the scriptures, the invading troops walked delicately. They were obviously prepared for trouble. They, or their officers, may have known of the agreement made with the mutineers, but they were taking no chances. It did not go un-noted that the two infantry battalions were respectively Seaforth Highlanders and South Wales Borderers, though it may have been a mere coincidence that fellow-Celts had been selected to round-up the Rangers, and not the expression of the principle of divide-and-rule, or the desire to lighten the load of opprobrium on Saxon England, which some of the men at Jullundur suspected."

At present there may be some who in their naiveté or charity reject the view that the use of Scottish and Welsh troops in Ireland is a matter of deliberate policy. It is true that the Irish situation has put a severe strain on the English NATO commitment. The marked partiality evidenced by the military authority's reluctance to come to grips with the para-military UDA could stem from the logistic consideration that it would be impractical without reintroducing conscription. In default of such a measure the present reliance on voluntary recruitment in conjunction with the high incidence of unemployment in Scotland and Wales conduces to a higher enlistment rate by young, highly conditioned and jobless Scots and Welshmen.

Some of these will have already noted the discrepancy between the glamour of the recruiting advertisements and the sordid reality of service in Ireland. Were they to decide

to add a Connaught Ranger type honour to their colours it would not be likely that many Celtic League members would be the first to condemn their action!

* The Fenians. Name derived from the legendary Fianna of pre-Christian Ireland and applied to the republican physical force movement of the latter half of the last century. As the IRB (Irish Republican Brotherhood) it engineered the 1916 Rising.

** **Mutiny for the Cause** by Sam Pollock, (Lee Cooper Ltd.), 1969.

For B.B.C. Bilingual Programmes

With most individual League members active in organisations connected with their own nation it seems desirable to settle on objectives to which national/area branches/sub-branches can direct their attention. The London Branch has decided to apply pressure on the BBC to make provision for the thousands of Irish, Scots and Welsh in the area. The campaign is being organised by: Seán Ó Briain, 54 Eiderfield Rd., London, E5 0LF. (Tel.: 01-985-1432). There are different petition forms for signature by those of the appropriate nation. Each one has a text in the national language together with the English translation as follows:

"We deplore the discrimination against the millions of Celtic peoples domiciled in England, and the neglect of our culture and languages by the B.B.C. We demand that, with a view to remedying this blatant injustice, regular weekly bi-lingual programmes, concerned with Welsh, Scottish Gaelic and Irish culture should be broadcast.

We have not forgotten our Cornish and Manx friends, some of whom are members of the London Branch. But it is clear that the BBC would rule that their numbers in the London and South-East area would not warrant a similar provision.

These activities cannot be charged against Central funds which are already heavily committed to cover the League's publications: contributions from individual members who want to help in this campaign will be most welcome.

Brute Versus Brute

329 MPs to Westminster were assured last Summer that the brutal conditions under which sheep and cattle were exported to the continent were being corrected, but recent investigations revealed the contrary. Animals were being beaten, unmercifully left for more than 24 hours without food or water, packed tightly in trailers and boats over excessive periods. More information would be welcome but we can already state that we oppose this kind of trade for two reasons: a) the export of cattle on hoof from the Celtic countries is an example of colonial exploitation; b) the Celtic tradition is one of sympathy and understanding for animal and plant life (cf. early Celtic beliefs, ancient Gaelic and Welsh poetry). When brutality is allowed to prevail towards animals "for economic reasons", it also gets hold of relations between man and man.

We cannot make a protest however without remembering the numerous recent reports and complaints about the ill-treatment of innocent people by paratroopers in Northern Ireland, and also of prisoners in Long Kesh, Crumlin Road, Portlaoise and the Curragh.

PROSPECTS FOR THINGS CELTIC

Caesar and other writers from Antiquity testify that "the druids teach that winter and night have precedence over summer and day." This is no mere casual and fanciful statement. It implies a non-aristotelian philosophy which I have called the *giam-sam* philosophy, using the old Celtic words for winter and summer. It has wide-ranging applications in science, from physics to sociology, medicine and dietetics, in fact in everything. Its use is to provide us with general guidelines as to the effects of and expectations from any kind of initiative.

The following is a simple example of its working in some questions of Celtic interest. In order to help the unfamiliarised, the words denoting relatively *giam* properties are in capital, and those denoting *sam* are in small italics.

With us, from Scots to Bretons, things Celtic are very *OLD*. They are our *ROOTS*, and rooted *FAST* in the far-away *PAST*. Things English and French are relatively *recent* and *superficial*. Furthermore, we are in *UNISON* with our Celtic roots after such a long time, whereas the recent Anglofrench graft often shocks us in its novelty: it still possesses a considerable degree of *dissonance* within us.

All this, and more, makes it clear that, in us, things Celtic are *giam* and things Anglofrench are *sam*.

Three corollaries follow:

1) *Brilliance* — including financial success, democratic popularity with attendant V.I.P. status, Nobel Prizes, regional prefectorships, T.V. appearances, mass meetings, flags, medals and decorations, — is to be expected over-whelmingly in the *Anglofrench* field and not in the *CELTIC* one. All those who want to *show off* will generally do well to look for satisfaction to the former. They are likely to find disappointment in the latter.

2) *STABILITY*. In spite of their *LACK OF APPEARANCE*, *SMALLNESS*, *DULLNESS*, etc., things *CELTIC* are still very *STABLE* inside us, whereas the *brilliant* and *bloated* things *Anglofrench* are in a still very *unstable* position. The Anglo-French generally believe that they are on the brink of success in their work of anglofrenchification of our peoples. Experience will teach them that it is a much more *CONSIDERABLE* and *LONG* enterprise than they calculate, whereas the job of de-anglofrenchifying (dis-anglofrenchifying) will be found to be surprisingly *easy* and *rapid* (when and if really tackled — which it cannot be in present circumstances anywhere, including the Dublin State).

3). *Methods*. It is in the nature of *GIAM* to *CONTRACT* and *SINK*, and in the nature of *sam* to *expand* and *cover*. Therefore it is a profound mistake to expect an eventual reversal of the present anti-Celtic trend from the evolutive peaceful development of the present situation. There will of course be further reactive processes set at work, which the scientists express as the working of the principle of Le Chatelier, but they will not stop the overall result from being a steady increase in anglofrenchification. Our enemies show an awareness of this by trying to maintain a quiet general situation while minimizing and damping off the scope of the reactive phenomena.

There is practically no prospect for us in the proposition of *besting* the *Anglofrench* in their line of *Progress-Civilisa-*

tion-Consumer Society, etc. Yet it is to be expected in all times that most of our people when in the *dissonant* state of *youth* would hope to find this a congenial line. How then could a *GIAM* situation, which is necessary for *CELTIC* things to prevail, ever appear? Never, so long as this system endures. But it can appear with the *BEGINNING* of a new set of things implying an end abruptly put to the existing system. It is in fact when we notice the onset of a new *GIAM* situation that we can say that a beginning has occurred. Such are sunset in the day cycle, November 1st in the year cycle and the last quarter of the moon in the lunar month, as shown by the druidic Calendar of Coligny.

Therefore we can expect our opportunity to arise from some occurrence not in the nature of political evolutive progress (or decay, as you may name it as well) but of a catastrophic nature bringing in the beginning of a new set of things.

This could be, for example, an external military crushing of the anglofrench power (improbable at the moment and for some time to come). It could be an internal sudden foundering of a "revolutionary" nature, with much destruction appended. It could also be a biological catastrophe affecting preferably the most *sam* individuals and relatively sparing the most *GIAM* ones (they are *STABLE*, *SOLID*, *INERT*, *RESISTANT* to disease, accidents and all kinds of *changes* including *fashions* and *emotional rushes*, etc.). In any case it has to be the end of this Civilisation (= "Free world", Anglofrance, etc.) much in the same way as the Roman Imperial Peace perished in the events of the Fifth Century, to make place for a period appropriately named The *DARK* Ages (*OBSCURITY* is *GIAM*) during which, of course, the *UNROMANISED* Celts did fairly well.

That is to say we can have only a negative interest in all the proffered Saviours and Saving Devices for this Mankind actually on top. But, please, beware of their words! Many a one introduced as a Saviour may in *FACT* be the most trustworthy Destructor, and reciprocally. And of course the druidic teaching is that *FACTS* (*GIAM*) have precedence over *words* (= *sam*).

In conclusion, the *giam-sam* philosophy treats as *illusory*, i.e. *dissonant* with objectivity, any hope of ending the present *System* (= *Abstraction* = *Sam*) while safeguarding all its constituent *INDIVIDUALS* (= *CONCRETE* = *GIAM*) (and carrying them) into Another System. An end must be expected to affect both aspects together; the world of *WINTER* (*giam*) and the world of *Summer* (*sam*) are yet the same one world. If this one world really changes, it must be expected to show the change in both its opposite two profiles as well as in its facial aspect in-between.

Besides we cannot doubt that the probability of such an Event is rapidly increasing. Progress occurs at an increasingly accelerated rate. Of course the more ancient the past the stabler it was, the more recent the present the more unstable it is. It is therefore illusory to think this could be remedied, let alone braked. Self-accelerating reactions are known to chemistry as explosive. A similar process is bound to reach an abrupt and rather damaging end when it hits the limits of an already perceptibly strained human nature, and still more so when it intersects the already perceptible limits of an unprogressive Earth's superficial area.

NEVEN HENAFF

NOTES FROM DIARY 22-28/10/72

(The exchange of Gaidhlig and Irish writing poets initiated two years ago by Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge and the Scottish Arts Council has now become an annual event. Last Autumn the three Irish poets who visited Alba were Seán O Coisdealbha (Johnny Choil Mhaidhc), Art Ó Maol-fhabhail and Michael Davitt. They were accompanied by Tomás Ó Canainn, a piper, and by Colonel Eoghan Ó Néill, director of the Comhdháil. We asked Michael Davitt to set down his impressions of their hectic visit for CARN).

Sunday 22-10-72. Dublin sky was so blue and then Edinburgh so grey and windy, me and Johnny still in a state of mental confusion after Breandán Mac Gearailt's and Aoileann's wedding which had gone on through the night, so we weren't in much humour for the one big happy Celtic family diplomatic banter that greeted us but still it was to be the first step in the greatest highland fling I will ever dance. It was only natural to be a bit defensive at first so the quartet took a while to warm up and then Tomás Ó Canainn's piping got Trevor Royle's (Scot. Arts Council) son Sebastian foot tapping and hand clapping. When Johnny and myself had thawed out and were searching for a chip shop at 4 a.m. we discovered we suffered from the same anal discomfort, piles and spent the rest of the week, among other things, thinking of possible cures, the best being suí ar fhód dearg móna go maidin."

Monday 23-10-72: Edinburgh seems to have retained all the character that Dublin is losing gradually, it has beautiful cobble stone streets, and long rows of towering Victorian and Georgian houses (though I couldn't tell the difference) and everyone walks around with books under their arm. I never read Ulysses so I hadn't much in common with the tweedy Edinburgh literary set. Fuck Yeats. The first poetry reading in a hotel as guests of the Heretics wasn't very well attended and most of the audience were speaking in English but I was assured by a few poetry-loving students that they brought home with them some of the essential catharsis that a poetry reading should generate. Gaelic doesn't seem to be the lingo to speak in Edinburgh but to speak of; give me one Gaelic-speaking taximan instead of ten erudite pipe-smoking bibliophiles. Edinburgh is a beautiful city.

Tuesday 24-10-72: Two car-fuls of us headed north for Inbhir Nis accompanied by Dolly a beautiful singer from the Gaeltacht in Lewis, then there we were in the Station Hotel (which would have been perfect as a setting for a Victorian melo-drama) where I was refused entry to the dining room by either a French or Turkish waiter who pleaded: "a jacket at least sir", and I obliged for the sake of harmony, I was dying with the hunger anyway. We were sitting around the dinner table sipping French wine when Johnny came up with the second best job of the week.

"What would you do if you got a dose of piles in Scotland?" — "Go to the Scottish arse council."

Wednesday 25-10-72: A great day to be alive, windy, fresh. Douglas Eady who was with the help of a great bunch of Celts making a film about the whole thing took me and Johnny up the mountain road to where a huge iron gate is built and can only be passed by special permit. A Lord Lovet owns this land on which 15 miles of road was built by public money to accommodate heavy traffic to a power station which was being built on the other side,

anyway when the job was over he puts this iron gate across the road which is on the map as a public road. This reminded me that many of our own lakes and rivers and much of our land is still owned by lord this and lord that. Then we visited the Battlefield at Culloden where stands now a prefab sort of touristy thing displaying irrelevant data etc., and a poster which reads something like: "... repression is over in Scotland the language and culture is free to thrive, don't look back to the bad old days, we're all pals now."

I think the repression is there more than ever, the only thing that has changed is the method.

The reading in Inbhir Nis was fantastic. We could speak Gaelic-Irish, understand and be understood. Most of the men wore the fillleadh-beag and a young lad dressed in battle gear played the pipes. Art speaks quite a lot of Gaelic and as he works on Irish place-names pointed out many of their equivalents in Scotland which made me feel more than ever that we're all the one. I read my latest poem that night, one of the three I have ever written in English,

there is a landlord called Lord Lovet
whose actions no christian would covet
all you Scots use your weight
and tear down that gate
and up his fat arse you should shove it.

Thursday 26-10-72: Falling in love with Scotland now on the ferry to the island of Lewis, it was Tir na nÓg revisited as the sun was going down the Colonel pointed out the birthplace of Somhairle MacLéan the best known Scots-Gaelic poet of the century, a man of sorrow. We sang all the way across and Tomás piped. McKeon's export is a fine beer, I'd love to bring a few barrels home. David the Welshman offered this Envoy to my poem "sideways".

The whole thing is turning out to be more than a fling for me it's a sort of personal reconciliation and the island of Lewis in my own inevitable Celtic imagination is part Conamara bog, part Dún Chaoin cliff, Stornaway is Dingle, I could be at home.

Friday 27-10-72: Went to a Gaelic speaking school where there was great spirit and we played football in the yard with the children, Dún Chaoin National School kept flashing through my mind its yard was full of laughing children ten years ago but few people in Ireland have plans for small parishes, small schools, small people. Dún Chaoin National School had been closed down officially but was kept open by a strong-willed bunch of people these three years past. (It has now been officially opened again. Editor). Soon the creamery will close then the little church and Dún Chaoin will turn into a bungalow and lounge bar paradise for doctors and bank managers. That's how a whole culture dies.

There was a slight uproar at the reading that night in Stornaway when I tried to preface my poems with the above and one fellow called me an I.R.A. man and said if he and his pals caught me alone they would kick the shit out of me. After the poems there was a great night of song. I will always think of one song when my mind goes back to Lewis "Mo mháthair" I think it's called. I talked to Fionnlagh Mac Leoid in Gaelic for hours as if we spoke only different dialects of the same language.

Saturday 28-10-72: Scotland from the air, over mountains and streams to Glasgow. Must Gaelic die, Lewis die, must Dún Chaoin die? The language is the people who speak it. Free the people . . .

Michael Davitt.

ÉIRE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Victory went to the non-Irish speaking candidate of the Fianna Fáil party: a man whose personal integrity, charm of manners, family background and Protestant religion were probably the main factors influencing the main proportion of the very small turn-out he received. Opposing him was Tom O'Higgins whose candidature was hindered by the crude evocations of Arthur Griffith's insulting and racist remarks about Erskine Childers (this from the Minister for Finance, Richie Ryan) and of the tame (because a failure?) Fascist organisation of the thirties in Ireland, the Blueshirts. O'Higgins who was himself a teen-age Blueshirt was obviously embarrassed by these outpourings at the specially staged Fine Gael Ardtheis a few weeks before the election, and there is no doubt but that the floating vote was effected accordingly.

Freedom the Wolfe Tone Way by Sean Cronin and Richard Roche with an introduction by Jack Bennett, Anvil, Trá Lí, 70p.

This new book — a collaboration by three of the founding members of the Wolfe Tone Society in 1963 — is a necessary and clear restatement of the fundamentals of republicanism.

Two-thirds of the book is compiled by Cronin and Roche as a digest and narrative taken in the main from Wolfe Tone's own writings, including his diary of which Seán Ó Faoláin said "his merry, insuppressible, eager, all too human nature, so sceptical, so serious, so gay, so indiscreet, so utterly removed from all posing or false dignity, is a happy definition not merely of the man but of his ideals."

The other third is a long introductory essay by Jack Bennett, a Belfast Protestant Republican who applies Tone's principles to the complex problems of contemporary Ireland

Signs of Change

The opening of the Dún Chaoin school in the parish nearest to America was an augury of a fresh approach to the Irish language on the part of the new government.

The pre-election hopes of the anti-Irish lobby were scattered when Richard Burke, the new Minister for Education, introduced his new education policy which left Irish as an essential subject in all schools and raised its status, (as a voluntary subject) in the terminal secondary school examination, to that of two subjects (a status mathematics already has). A crash programme of providing much needed text books in Irish has already been promised.

More than 600 civil servants in Dublin have applied for admission to the Irish language courses offered by Gael-eagras, the government sponsored civil service social and cultural foundation.

There are some indications however that some of the government ministers look on the Gaeltacht as some sort of reservation, and do not realise the absolute necessity of seeing the fundamental interconnection between Irish in the Gaeltacht and Irish in the Gaeltacht. Plans, for a renewed 'civil rights' campaign in both Gaeltacht and Gaeltacht should put this to rights, when operative.

A new Irish medium primary school will be opened in Dundrum in the near future and inaugural and informed

meetings have taken place to formulate a demand for a similar school in Tallaght — which is also a Dublin suburb.

While these schools will have Government recognition the all Irish school in Belfast has not yet achieved that status, though negotiations are continuing.

Professor J. O'Meara who campaigned on what was interpreted as an anti-Irish ticket in the National University constituency of Seanad Éireann was unsuccessful despite his undoubted standing and popularity as a university teacher and administrator.

Dun Chaoin and Norway

On 3 June the Minister for Education officially opening the school at Dún Chaoin — which had been kept open by voluntary subscriptions for three years after his predecessor had ensored his civil servants' decision to close it — said:

Gach gléas agus gach fearas dá bhfuil againn a chabhródh leis an gcuspóir sin a chur i gcríoch, (sin Éire saor agus Gaelach) tá siad ag teastáil go géar. Níorbh acfuinn don náisiún é, mar sin, deireadh a chur le Scoil Dhún Chaoin.

More will be needed than the opening of the school in the West Kerry Gaeltacht where the population of Dún Chaoin has declined in a century and a half from 3,000 to a mere 183. The opening of the school is perhaps a good augury for the future and an indication of a real commitment on the part of the present Government to take the issue of the Gaeltacht seriously.

A lesson might be learned from Norway where the haemorrhage of people from the outlying areas is as major a threat to the balanced development of the nation as it is elsewhere in Western Europe. There every effort will be made to retain essential social institutions like schools. Even if there remains only six pupils in attendance there the communes decide to keep the school open while trying to build up the community anew. Regional development is an urgent priority there.

The extension of university education in Norway is an example of the serious efforts of Government to redress the centripetal attraction of Oslo. On independence the only university nucleus was in the capital. Later a very fine complex was built in Bergen. Then a third university was begun at Trondheim. But it is a university of temporary buildings and hired premises scattered all round the city — a handicap overcome by the obvious dedication of teachers and pupils alike. The reason for the 'temporary' nature of Trondheim's university premises is that the Government decided that priority, in the expenditure of the funds available for University development, must be given to the newer institute further north again in Trumso. When Trumso is finished, Trondheim will get its physical structure.

Although it was Oslo and environs which voted in the main for the Government's proposal that Norway should join the EEC whereas the hinterlands of the other university cities carried the referendum against the EEC, the Government has not decided to cut back on its regional preferentialism accordingly, but has pushed on with its admirable program.

Obviously there are lessons for all of us in the Norwegian saga as there are in the Faroe miracle about which Pobal Teo. in Dublin recently published Desmond Fennell's **Look at the Faroes**, itself in turn based on the fine report of their

investigatory team which the Shetland County Council authorities published a few years ago, and which is probably still available at (Thursoe).

Camanachd, Iomainiocht and Cuairteanna Filiochta

The second shinty/hurling game was played in Dublin's Croke Park recently. Has the time come — now that we are becoming more accustomed to each other — to try to synchronise the rules and to extend the contacts. Could a hurling match between two Irish teams be staged in Oban and a shinty display by premier teams from Alba be performed in Dublin? Is it visionary to hope for say the integration of Ulster and Alba as one division towards a hurling championship of the future?

The ceol, amhráin agus dánta formula is really working well (see elsewhere in this issue). Belfast should be included in the next Irish itinerary of the Scots however.

Could some such parallel visitations on a formal basis be arranged between the P Celtic countries? And how best can Mann be integrated into the Q Celt orbit of cuairteanna?

P. Ó S.

ALAN STIVELL IN IRELAND. The Breton folk singer, A. Stivell drew packed houses in Killarney, Kilkenny, Gorey and Dublin in May. We witnessed about 1,000 mainly young people responding enthusiastically to his interpretations of Breton, Irish, Welsh and Scottish songs and airs. He is succeeding in his aim of creating a modern Celtic music.

100,000 copies of his LP records have been sold.

LUINNEOG AR DIOL

An ghaoth a thagann ón spéir thalún go mioscaireach
Ag séideadh léi isteach go bun an chlasaigh
Ní thuigeann sí don mhalartú maraítheach, d'aon ghleorán
borb
Is gráin léi fuaime ar bith ach a scairt ghlan féin

Máthair an oilc is ea an t-airgead

Tá bothán tréigthe ina sheasamh mar chosantóir ar an laimpré

Is critheann cnámha an tí is téann an gála go croí na luaithe
Aon rud ná braith go dtí seo fórsa 'anála ní baol dó
Aimsíonn an ghaoth gach éinní luath nó mall

Máthair an oilc is ea an t-airgead

Lasann na réalta go mall gan taise os cionn an uaignis
Stór seoda — ní h-ea — ach domhain iontu féin
Nach gá d'aon phuth gaoithe dul á gcaoineadh, dá sábháil:
Stáid an tsuain lonnraigh mar a bheidh anseo, tabhair áird

Máthair an oilc is ea an t-airgead

Gabriel Rosenstock

ARDFHEIS

The annual Ardfheis of Conradh na Gaeilge was held in the small fishing harbour of an Daingean (Dingle) on the edge of the Kerry Gaeltacht. The venue seemed ideal; the people here have their roots still in the Gaeltacht and far from being aggressively English-language-conscious as in many other towns in a similar situation, are willing to speak Irish. Some 320 miles separate the town from Belfast and for the first time since 1926, branches of Comhaltas Uladh, the Ulster Assembly of Conradh na Gaeilge (10 counties in this case), were entitled to send delegates to the Ardfheis. Because of the distance, but even more so because that same week-end another event was taking place — Éigse Oirghialla, to commemorate the 2nd centenary of the 18th century poet, Art Mac Cubhthaigh, in his native district of South Armagh and across the border in Louth — only two branches from Uladh were represented, one from Belfast and one from Armagh.

In spite of the rival attractions for Irish speakers, the Ardfheis was well attended by some 200 delegates, with strong contingents from Dublin and all the Munster counties, sizeable delegations from Galway and Mayo and for the first time also a delegation from the Gaeltacht area of Rath Cairn in Co. Meath, where next year's Ardfheis is to be held.

Although the proceedings were conducted in a quite businesslike and efficient manner, with no lengthy diversions or long-winded speeches, inevitably there was not sufficient time to discuss all of the 34 motions submitted by the various branches.

The most important item on the agenda of the Ardfheis was undoubtedly the Declaration of Rights for the Irish Language and Irish speakers. This declaration is based on five basic demands.

1. Equal rights and status for Irish as for English in all areas of life under the control and influence of the State so that civil and human rights be extended to all Irish people.

2. The saving and extension of the Gaeltacht as a Gaeltacht (for native Irish speakers) to be one of the chief policies of the Government.

3. Every Irish child to have the right to gain a knowledge and understanding of their heritage by learning Irish.

4. The extension of the use of Irish to be Government policy.

5. Equality (Cothrom na Féinne) and international support for minority languages and cultures of the world.

Bríd Heusaff

Mic Léinn Ar Stailc

(The Students' strike which affected numerous French universities and secondary schools in March received widespread support in Brittany. Its immediate causes were: a) a law abolishing the option for students entering university to postpone military service till completion of their studies; b) the introduction of the D.E.U.G., a diploma sanctioning a 2-year university course, seen as conducive to greater social segregation. The participation of numerous vocational school students indicated as a deeper cause the dissatisfaction with a society dominated by money considerations. The only concession won by the strikers was the

dismisál of the staunch centralist minister of Defence, Debré).

O na billeóga nuachta laethúil — “APL Bretagne” a éisíonn dream den eite chlé atá báil ar bhealach le dearcadh náisiúnta na Briotáine, is cosúil go raibh an stailc faoi lán tseol sa dara leath de mí na Marta. Ar an 2 Aibreán rinne 15,000 mic-léinn ollscoile is meán-scoile léirsiú i Roazhon agus bratacha dubha, dearga agus Briotáineacha ar iompar aca.

Bhí cosúlachtaí móra idir an clampar seo agus a tharla i mBealtaine 1968. Ba léir tionchur na heite clé ar furmhór na manai: “Na scoileanna i seirbhís na bhfhostóirí”; “An tArm i seirbhís an chaipitil”; “An tArm ag ullmhú do chogadh frith lucht oibre.”

B’fhacthas dóibh nach raibh sa dlí nua seo ach bealach chun cosc a chur leis an íseal-aicme árd-oideachas a fháil. Taréis scor den chursa ar feadh bliana agus bheith faoi dian-smacht an airm, bheadh cuid mhaith de na mic léinn fágtha ar an trá fholamh agus gan dúil aca leanúint leis an staidéar. Maidir leis an D.E.U.G. bhí a leithéid de choinníollacha ag dul leis nar fhág sé aon rogha ins na cursaí staidéir ag na mic léinn, agus chinntigh sé go mbeidís ag féidhmiú don ÉACNAMAÍOCHT (cé leis í?) Ins na cursaí ullmhúchain don D.E.U.G. déantar fáil ins na hábhair a chothaíonn meon neamhspleách agus cuirtear béim ar na hábhair le bunús eolaíochta, mata fheidhmeach, easnamaíocht, bainistíocht. Déantar seo in ainm an ‘rentabilité’: ní fiú rud a dhéanamh mona mbíonn airgead ann. Tá an óige ag cur suas don brú seo, agus don seachrán intinne a thagann on sclabhaíocht agus an easpa smachta ar choinníollacha agus leadránacht na hoibre.

Bhí cursaí na Briotáine chun tosaigh i gcuid mhaith de na léirsithe.

I Roazhon d’éiligh na mic-léinn obair ina dtír fhéin.

I Naoned ghabh grúpa de “mic-leinn Briotáinise” seilbh ar halla i roinn na nDán, áit ar thaispeáin siad do na mic léinn eile tríd díospóireachtaí agus amhráin go raibh baint ag an Bhriotáinís leis an choimhlint sóisialach. Leis an mana beacht “Kaoc’h evit an DEUG” (kaoc’h = cac) chuireadar in iúl an baol a bhí ann nach mbeadh aon áit don mBriotáinís in ollscoileanna Brest agus Rennes feasta mar gheall ar an DEUG; chomh maith le sin ba bheag an seans a bhí ann anois go mbunofaí ollúntacht sa Léinn Ceilteach i Nantes Isé Jakez Derouet, clógráfoir, a thugann an breischúrsa i mBriotáinís san ollscoil sin (Nantes) i láthair na huaire gan aon íocaíocht.

D’fhiafraíodar leis “Cad tuige nar dúradh ar na meáin cumarsáide gur bhotáil 2,000 mic léinn i Roazhon go gcoimeadfaí an Roinn Ceiltise ansin? Táimid ag iarraidh eolas a scaipeadh faoin a bhfuil a cheilt ag an Ollscoil: cultúr na Briotáine agus coimhlint na ndaoine.”

Bríd Heusaff

AG FOGHLAIM NA BREATNAISE I gCAERDYDD

Is furasta Breatnais a foghlaim anois i gCaerdydd ní h-amháin toisc go bhfuil ranganna ar siúl ar fud na cathrach i rith trí ráithe na bliana beagnach, ach toisc go bhfuil gluaiseacht na teangan chomh láidir san anois. De thoradh na gluaiseachta san tá mothú nua le braith anois: tá tábhacht

na teangan á tuiscint níos foirleithne ná riamh, is tosnuíonn níos mó daoine á foghlaim gach bliain.

Tá an Urdd Gobaith Cymru (Gluaiseacht an Aois Óig i gCymru) chun chinn san obair agus in a n-áras sa chathair (Yr Aelwyd — An Teallach) áit a thosnúfodar le rang amháin ceithre bhliain ó shoin, bhí 150 ag iarraidh brú isteach ortha i mbliana. D’éirigh leo iad go léir a ghlacadh, ach ní fheadar cad a tharlós an Fomhar seo chugainn má bhíonn 200 ag teacht. Bíodh sin mar atá, má chuirtear san áireamh na daoine atá ag freastal ar ranganna eile sa chathair-san iolscoil, sna ceárd-scoileanna, is sna gnáth-scoileanna turas amháin gach seachtain, is féidir a rá go bhfuil tuairim is 600 daoine ag foghlaim go rialta.

Roinnt blianta ó shoin nuair ná raibh a leath ag foghlaim, ní raibh seans a ndóthain ag foghlaimeoirí an teanga a chleachtadh taobh amuigh des na ranganna. Bhí cúpla teach tabhairne is clú amuigh acu mar ionaid do náisiúinteoirí is cainteoirí Breatnaise agus b’shin an méid. Ach le méadú na bhfoghlaimeoirí ba léir go raibh gá le slacht éigin a chur sa scéal agus eagraíocht éigin a dhéanamh. Thosnuigh an obair sin anuraidh nuair a d’eagraigh lucht an Urdd sraith de ‘oicheanta caifé ar son na ndaoine fá na gcúram féin. Tionólaí iad i dtithe cainteoirí dúchais a bhí toilteanach fáilte a chur roimh foghlaimeoirí go h-áirthe. (Do thagadh cainteoirí dúchais chomh maith, ar ndóigh, le cruinneas is caighdeán éigin a thabhairt don chomhrá). An-áis ar fad a bhí sa scéim ach ní ró-gheal a d’éirigh leis ar dtús mar ní raibh slí acu leis an scéal a fhógairt ar fud na cathrach.

Tar éis tús na bliana nua an fomhar seo chaite agus 150 foghlaimeoirí ag brú isteach agus an scéal céanna ag teacht ó na h-ionaid eile, tháinig múinteoirí is foghlaimeoirí le chéile faoi choimirce an Urdd gur bunaíodh ‘Cymdeithas Dysgwyr Caerdydd’ (Cumann Foghlaimeoirí Caerdydd) chun fadhbanna foghlaimeoirí a phlé is a réiteach.

Toghadh coiste reachtaithe, agus shocraíodar ar iris mhíosúil a bhunú chun go mbeadh guth dá gcuid féin aca, agus caoi shimplí le oícheanta caifé is a leithéid a fhógairt. Maith mar tharla, tháinig an iris nua amach go luath san ath-bhliain, agus tá ‘Rhif trí’ (Uimhir a trí) de Yr Agoriad (An Eochair) againn um a dtaca so. Tá sí saor (5p.), tá sí símplí mar bíonn na h-ailt go léir, beagnach, scríofa ag foghlaimeoirí, agus tá sí suimiúil mar bíonn fógraí i dtaobh na n-ocáidí atá le teacht innti. Is fiontach an rud domsa go bhfuil ailt a fhoilsiú ag foghlaimeoirí, mé féin in a measc, ná fuil dhá bhliain slán caite aca ag foghlaim na Breatnaise, nuair is cuimhin liom ná raibh mé toilteanach páipéar a bhreacadh ‘e Gaeilge fiú tar éis dom bheith níos mó ná 14 bhliain á foghlaim. ‘Mol an óige is tiocfaidh sí’:—faraoir ná cleachtaití an ráiteas úd nuair a bhí mise im stócach.

Tá nuachtán eile againn a tháinig ar an saol le déanaí, sé sin, Y Dinesydd (An Cathróir) a bheidh againn gach mí as seo amach maraon leis an Yr Agoriad. Díreach ar son lucht Breatnaise na cathrach is ea Y Dinesydd idir foghlaimeoirí is cainteoirí dúchais. Mar sin níl sé chomh fusa le léamh leis an Yr Agoriad, ach in a theannta san tá sé an-áisiúil dúinn mar bíonn fógraí ann i dtaobh imeachtaí na míosa sa chathair. Ag léamh Y Dinesydd dó, is féidir don foghlaimeoir bheith istigh ar ghnáth-shaol na mBreatnach sa chathair. Agus ar ndóigh, beidh corr-fhoghlaimeoir ar éigin leis alt a scríobh ann, ag cur formaid orainn uile ionas go mbeimid ag iarraidh caighdeán Y Dinesydd a bhaint amach.

Summaries on p.22

BRETON NATIONALISTS IN FRENCH ELECTIONS

31 candidates were put forward by the Breton movement in the French general elections on March 4, 1973: 26 by Strollad ar Vro and 5 by the U.D.B. It was a remarkable event as the Bretons unlike the Welsh and Scots, had never before presented more than one or two contestants in such elections. There are 33 constituencies in Brittany. The fact that there was a S.A.V. candidate competing with every one of the five UDB men underlined the deep opposition between the two main Breton political organisations. The results must be viewed in historic perspective.

The national movement started in 1919 by young people around Breiz Atao evolved in 1927 into a "Parti Autonomiste Breton"; after a split in 1930-31, emerged the Breton National Party. Plaid Cymru was founded in 1925 and the S.N.P. in 1928. For many years, they also put forward but a few candidates in elections to Westminster. It is only after World War II that they gathered strength. But in Brittany the national party was then prescribed.

Here are the results achieved by nationalist candidates before the 1973 election:

April 1930: G. Mazeas, merchant, Gwengamp, 376 votes out of 16,777.

19-10-1930: R. Arot, worker, Roazhon, 100 (no money to distribute literature).

1936: O. Chevillotte, landowner, Montroulez, 2,680 out of 16,815.

23-11-1958: P. Lemoine, architect, Gwengamp, 3,527 (7.3 per cent).

18-11-1958: P. Lemoine, Kemper, 1,653 (3.84 per cent); G. Toubanc, Kemperle, 674 (1.67 per cent).

23-6-1968: P. Le Doré, teacher, Gwengamp, 1,002 (1.82 per cent); J. Bothorel, journalist, Roazhon, 1,157 (2 per cent).

Apart from the first two, these were general elections.

Chevillotte came ahead of the left-republican and the communist candidates. In 1936, a Comité du Front Breton had been created on the initiative of the Breton National Party: all the candidates in Brittany were asked to pledge support, if elected, to a series of claims, among which was the teaching of Breton in schools, and for that purpose to form a block of Breton MPs in the French Assembly. 15 rightists, 14 centrists, 12 leftists signed; of these respectively 6, 5 and 4 were elected. Between them they got 207,022 out of 686,707 votes cast. But as soon as they reached Paris they forgot their promises.

The Breton Movement was crushed in blood in 1944-46 because the nationalists had kept up their struggle for the freedom of Brittany while France lay defeated. 2,000 patriots were arrested, including writers, artists, teachers who had never engaged in politics. More than 1,000 were interned. Many had been murdered and others were now sentenced to death. A few escaped to other countries. The French endeavoured to besmirch the nationalists by describing them to the Breton people as fascists, thus hoping to destroy their national aspirations once and for all. They nearly succeeded. The movement remained extremely weak for twenty years. A national party would have been illegal. Only a few courageous individuals kept the national idea alive by publishing semi-clandestine papers, while a few

others like P. Lemoine dared to proclaim their Breton beliefs at elections.

But a complete change is taking place. Those born after the war have reached adulthood. Since the end of the sixties no one is afraid to proclaim his nationalism. Many young people have been influenced by socialist ideas and may differ from their elders in their concept of the future Breton State, but they are rediscovering Brittany in spite of the propaganda of the French mass media. Taking part in general elections is now possible.

The M.O.B. was the first political organisation to be created by nationalists after the war (1957). Prudence made it use federalist rather than openly nationalist terms. It declined after the departure at the end of 1963 of several of its young members who founded the U.D.B. socialist party. Its place was taken in 1971 by a new party, Strollad ar Vro, with Y. Fouere and J. Le Calvez at its head.

P. Lemoine was more successful in local than in general elections. On December 17, 1967 he was elected town councillor with 10,655 votes in Kemper (52,496 inhabitants). Arrested as a member of the F.I.L.B. in 1969, he was ill-treated by the police and was so gravely ill that he had to give up all electoral projects.

The following map shows in percentages the votes cast for Breton candidates who contested the general election on March 4th.; the U.D.B. figure is given below the S.A.V. one. In all S.A.V. got 30,166 votes and the U.D.B. 6,062. (In relation to the total votes cast in their constituencies, the average percentages achieved by both parties were much the same: about 2.5 pere cent, Ed. CARN).



Condensed from a report by Skourr Breizh ar C'Hevre Keltiek.

APPEAL TO READERS OF CARN
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Breton Press Comments

Breiz, April, explains the now percentage (2.50 per cent) of votes for the Breton party candidates as the effect of 100 years of brainwashing. When faced with the ballot box, the magic of the French system prevails over the temptation to be fully Breton. If all those who for the past 20 years favoured self-government had acted accordingly, it is 250,000, not 36,000 votes which the 31 candidates would have got. They thought it would be more useful to vote for French party candidates. The colonial reflex still operates: in Landerne, de Poulpique got a very high poll, one of his best arguments being that he had helped to build many schools which enabled young people to go and look for work in Paris.

According to Douar Breiz, the results depended on personalities (e.g. Mme Gouez was well known in the Kastellbriant area: she got over 6 per cent of the vote). SAV had too many candidates: for many of them there was no serious canvassing.

"Judging from a more general point of view the results are much more favourable to Brittany than would appear. Candidates who campaigned under other labels but who were favourable to the "Breton Movement" polled well and even got elected. It would have been better to support them than to put up unknown candidates.

The evolution in favour of Brittany among the young generations has not yet made itself felt at electoral level: this lag should be overcome by 1977."

In L'AVENIR, Feb. 1973, Yann Fouere asked: "What's the use of elections?" In France as in other Parliamentary democracies and in socialist States, it is not the Parliament, nor the ministers, nor even the President who decide in important matters, but the technocracies, the higher civil servants. Elections are a game. Even if 33 Breton nationalists took seats in the French Assembly, they would remain a very small minority. Many of them would risk being "digested" by the system.

Y. Fouere argues however that it is necessary to familiarise the Breton people to other criteria than those of unitary-centralistic French politics: Both SAV and UDB are federalist. Another reason is that MPs will take their seats in regional assemblies next autumn. Breton candidates, even without hope of election, can oblige the others to clarify their position on Breton problems, whereof they may be reminded when the Regional Assembly meets.

For A National Party

Prior to the March election, Strollad ar Vro took its stand halfway between pure capitalism and pure socialism; denied that a real Breton bourgeoisie existed (a response to attacks on this class by Breton leftists?); insisted on the need to be pragmatic urging that ideological preoccupations were a French legacy; proposed a "collaboration harmonieuse des classes" in order to overcome under-development, strong social laws being all that was required to protect

workers against excesses by employers; favoured the gradual participation of workers in management and sharing of profits, consultation with workers delegates in decisions on general policy, extending later to a share in decision making. The approach to problems should be experimental and not dogmatic.

The first annual general meeting of Strollad ar Vro was held in Sant-Malo on May 27, just after the FUEN Congress (24-25 May 1973). As we write, we don't yet know whether SAV spelt out in detail what its motto "Breton-nationalist and European Federalist" sums up. Will it emerge as a well organised national party or is it going to justify the criticism that it is a new version of the Movement for the Organisation of Brittany?

The divergences within the political movement which we have witnessed since 1964 throws doubt at times on the ability of our nationally-conscious countrymen to achieve the co-ordination of efforts which is required to remove French control of our affairs. The grievances of an exploited and culturally oppressed people risk being channelled into a class conflict with little Breton contents instead of giving impetus to a movement of national liberation. On the other hand a nationalist call to unite above the sectional interests will not impress workers who suffer daily from social injustice on the part of Breton employers and alien capitalists alike.

The U.D.B.'s emphasis on the class struggle and S.A.V.'s appeal to the "harmonious co-operation of classes" enables perhaps the Breton ideas to reach a wider spectrum of opinion than would be possible through a united nationalist front. The two parties could ideally play complementary roles if they recognised that there will be for a long time to come socially-conservative as well as socialist forces in our country, and if they avoided letting their differences degenerate into discord and demoralising ineffectiveness. But if their sectional image is sharpened, they will fail to bring the people to think of themselves as a distinct community with interests of its own.

They may win seats in local elections and oblige candidates of French parties to pay more attention to the Breton problem. Unless a collective consciousness of Breton interests develops and manifests itself in a political choice, they cannot win seats in French general elections. Whatever point there may be for isolated Breton deputies in taking up these seats in Paris, when a majority will be reached there will be no purpose in doing so.

The most useful role of the Breton parties in the near future might be to keep a watch on the performance of MPs elected in Brittany and to point out systematically that the Breton interests are not served by representation in French assemblies.

For a Breton party to be the best means of co-ordinating the political forces of liberation, it has to win more militant and more popular support than the other parties. It must propose a type of society more worthy of commitment than the exploiters society. It must not limit its aim to institutional changes (a Parliament entitled only to accommodate to the Breton "particularism" — a revealing term! — decisions taken elsewhere). It must define its social, cultural and economic policy as soon as possible, well before the founding of the State anyway: otherwise the revolu-

tionary fervour of the final stage of liberation will be lost before such a policy could be worked out and put into operation. It was the mistake of Connolly's followers in 1920-21 not to press for the adoption of the Social and Democratic Programme for fear of disrupting national unity. Yet the Civil War was around the corner and 50 years later 5 per cent of the 26-County population own 71 per cent of the State's assets and extensive urban areas still pay ground rent to the descendants of English baronets.

After centuries of alien domination, our countrymen have become conservative and wary of political engagement. Their wholehearted sympathy is needed in order to rebuild our nation on a new basis. It will not be forthcoming unless participation in all spheres of community life is constantly available to them to the extent of their ability (let us not engage in competition with demagogues). What must be clear in the programme of a Breton national party is a definite commitment to social aims, the end of exploitation of man by man and the exercise of individual abilities to the maximum compatible with the welfare of the community. These principles would have to be worked out for the various sectors of community life. Whatever other aims we would like the Breton community to adopt, there is I believe the basis on which most of those who are prepared to struggle for the liberation of our people could unite. Reserve or silence on this subject favours those who are trying to exploit the Breton crisis for alien purposes, and lends credit to slanders which have harmed the nationalists during the past thirty years.

ALAN HEUSAFF

GOUEL HOLLGELTIEK CILL AIRNE

(12-20 Mae)

(Every year the Panceltic festival provides an opportunity for Celts to meet in song, music, sport and other cultural activities. It aims at encouraging interceltic tourism but also at promoting the Celtic languages. On attending the last days of this Seachtain na gCeilt, we were satisfied that the organisers are in earnest about our nationalities and languages and deserve the support of those who want our cultures to break out of their ghettos, not expecting all their new manifestations to be in the pure traditional style!)

A-drugarez da strivadoù Con Ó Conaill hag e harperien eo ez eus bet aozet ur gouel ken bras evit an deirvet gwech. Ret eo dezho kaout arc'hant evit seveniñ o mennad, arabet eta bout re figus ma reont un tammig diouzh an droiadouriezh. D'hor meno o deus an aozerien ur spered broadel mat. Ma vez harpet gant tud a-zoare e c'hell ar gouel mont war wellaat. Emañ atav en ur par arnodel, ra vo digarezet mankoù 'zo. Da skouer, diaes eo displegañ en hevelep abadenn kanaouennoù ha tonioù hengounel ha re all eus an doare pop, ha pa vent en ur yezh keltiek, hep displegiñ da zivskouarnoù 'zo. Un hanter dousennad strolladoù kanerien yaouank eus korn-bro g-Cill Airne a gemere perzh er genstrivadeg-kan d'ar gwener noz, ma oa pep tra e yezhoù keltiek. Perak e rankas ar barner kavout kement a abeg enno? Ne oa ket hengounel o stil? Nann, dreveziñ fall an doareoù hengounel eo a raent! Perak ne vefent ket aotreet da arnodiñ? Gwashoc'h a kavjomp

ezvezañ kanerien ha sonerien vrudet iwerzhonat. Perak ne oa ket anezho eno? Ha fae a reont war ar gouel, pe an darempredoù etrekeltiek? Ma'z eo kompagnunezh sonerien vat ha barzhed gant ur spered broadel rik a glaskont, e Cill Airne a oa Finlay MacNeill ha Youenn Gwernig. Marteze o dije gallet an aozerien brudañ muioc'h abadennoù ar sizhunvezh, met tamall a rafemp da gentañ diseblanted renerien ar c'helaouennoù pemdeziek.

Displegadennoù Skosiz a oa ur bam o c'hlevout: holl ken seven ha pervezh, Arzhourien skoliet, klasel o doare, marteze betek re. Gant Skosiz a teuas ar maout a kenstrivadeg-kan ar gwener, en telennerezh d'ar sadorn, hag en abadenn shinty-hurling d'ar sul. An estlammusañ e voe F. MacNeill o tiskouez gant e viniou bras peseurt sonerezh eo ar pezh a anvont e skoseg ceol mór, sonerezh meur hag a zo aet da goll en Iwerzhon.

Ar c'h-Celtavision Song Contest d'ar sadorn noz a glask d'hor sonj drevezañ an Eurovision S.C. A-enep da Y Gwernig ne oa nemet merc'hed. Tra ma kane-eñ Distro ar Gelted, ur ganenn-stourm, e oa gant ar re all temoù a garantez pe drivliadoù diskuizhusoc'h, o tereout ouzh pobloù digudenn. Moarvat n'eo ket deut tezenn F. Fanon a-zivout an ere etre sevenadur ar pobloù gwasket hag o stourmoù-dieubiñ betek ar broioù kelt "tramor". Marteze e voe kavet ur vlaz re engouestlet gant son Wernig?

Son G. Rosenstock, kanet-mat gant Margret O'Brien a c'hounezas: unan eo a vije e-tailh da c'hounit en Eurovision ma ne vije ket un afer evit ar yezhoù bras. Perak reiñ pevar friz avat pa ne vez nemet c'hwec'h kenstriver?

Ni n'omp ket ran gant ar sport, met c'hoant hor boe da arvestiñ ouzh an abadenn shinty-hurling, evit gweletout pegen mat e c'hellfe tud boazet ouzh reolennoù disheñvel c'hoari a-gevret. Dont a reas an taol da vat. Buhezecoc'h eo koulskoude pa c'hell ar c'hoarierien tapout ar volotenn en o dorn, evel en hurling. Amañ avat e oa berzet. Al laz Oban Celtic a c'hounezas war Éire Óg, met e Croke Park, Dulenn, en derc'hent, o doa kollet a-enep ul laz iwerzhonat all.

Pevar faotr eus FALSAB Brest a ziskouezas penaos e vez gourenet dirak ur c'helc'had mat a dud, met an darn vrasañ ne voent ket gouest da welout mat ar c'hrogadoù, na da glevout an diskleriadurioù. Un druez ivez na zeuas gourener ebet eus Kernev-Veur.

Evit echuiñ, e karfemp aliañ da Vreizhiz pa zeuont d'ur gejadeg etrekeltiek klask muioc'h kompagnunezh ar Gelted all e-lec'h chom en o c'horn etrezo o-unan . . . (da c'hallegañ?). Ra zeuio ivez muioc'h a vrezhonegerien, evit na vo ket kredet emañ degouezhet Breizh e par Kernev-Veur pe Enez Vanav. Ha ra chomo er gêr ar re n'hellont ket serriñ o genou pa vez tud en o c'hichen o klask selaou ar ganerien.

A. ha B. Heusaff

Military Occupation

Another aspect of the despoliation to which the Breton people are being subjected by institutionalised violence, is the proliferation of military installations within a wide radius around Brest.

It is to the credit of **Le Peuple Breton** to have drawn attention, in a compelling manner, to the growth of this cancer in the N.W. of Brittany. In a first article (January 1973) it lists by localities the workshops, hangers, barracks, depots, radar and power stations, airfields, the most import-

ant naval base in Europe, "the formidable anti-atomic underground installations in Brest, the shipyards (building and repairs), dry docks, hospitals and other services, naval and technical schools for higher technicians and engineers, dry docks for atomic submarines, naval police, centres for medical research connected with the nuclear experiments in the Pacific, board of naval works, foyers and clubs, the Atlantic warship base, school-ships, dredgers, launching pads for atomic and nuclear missiles sited in various places. It enumerates further installations in the Plougastell peninsula and the hills behind Daoulas or near the Avon estuary; the underground jet fuel store, stock pile of nuclear submarine missiles (housed at inconceivable costs in bed rock), the Lanveog-Poulmig air base the whole Kelern-Roskañvel-Beg ar Spagnoled area monopolised by the army, the "Ile Longue" nuclear submarine base with all kinds of services attached. This is only a record of what is visible or of "realisations" announced in the press.

Nowhere else in the French-controlled territory is such a dense chequer-work to be found.

This occupation results in numerous limitations to freedom, for fishermen who are no longer allowed to dredge the roadstead for shell fish, and for visitors to one of the most picturesque areas of Brittany. It destroyed natural sites, put obstacles to the building of adequate bridges for civil traffic between Brest and Recouvrance. The military contributes little to industry and trade, it bridles the development of maritime commerce and fishing: the military presence is a major cause of the underdevelopment of this deep sea, perfectly sheltered, harbour situated close to the busiest trade route in the world. Such activities as have been recently generated (e.g. Thomson-CSF) are more or less under army control. The only employment opportunities are the "marine nationale", the army, the police or the state-owned "arsenal". This has created a widespread state-dependent mentality, with preference being given to former soldiers and seamen whenever vacancies occur in the military sector.

This picture brings us face to face with the reality of the power that binds Brittany to France, and that the setting up of a regional parliament could do nothing to modify. But the first step towards curing this cancer is to make the Bretons see this military presence as an enemy occupation, an obstacle to economic prosperity, a corrupting influence.

Breton Singers Manifesto

32 individual or group singers have issued a manifesto stating it as their duty to share in the struggle for the liberation of the Breton people. Popular creativeness, they say, is stifled by the bourgeoisie's use of the mass media. "We reject the enterprise of degradation run by "show-business" and pledge to remain in the service of the people". In fact these singers are frequently associated with actions in support of workers on strike, of FLB prisoners, of Breton language claims (Joint Français, Batignolles-Nantes, Orly-Lorient, Plémet, Pondivi, students' strike). Among the signatories we note Gweltas ar Fur and Servat (who sang at the Oireachtas in Dublin), Gwernig (selected to sing at the inter-Celtic new-song competition, Panceletic Festival, Killarney), Glenmor, Myrddin, Diaouled ar Menez.

Correspondence

Do'n "CHARN"

O, failte ort fhein, a "Chuirn ghuirm,
Le t'oran ceolmhor milis!
'S e seirm do bheoil 'sa' Cheitean og
A thogadh bron o m'chridhe.
(O welcome, green "Carn",
With your sweet melodious voice
It is the melody of your mouth
in the May morning
that lifted the sorrow off my heart.)

Years ago I struggled along as Editor of AIMSIR CHEIL-TEACH for long enough dipping my hand into my already empty pocket to keep it alive. Some of your readers may remember AIMSIR. When I could no longer continue it broke my heart to see AIMSIR cease. Yet now we have a new AIMSIR back singing the song of Celtic solidarity and love of language. Meal an naidheachd — congratulations! Piseach ort! Success to you!

In these long years I have learned two things and these are, firstly, that each of us six nations must dogmatically state that the only language that will be used in our respective education, life and work will be our own country's Celtic language. All the professions in our respective countries could be run in our own Celtic language in two years with a third of each profession doing a cram course of six months in the language and a further six months to make the change over. In these same two years the bulk of the population would be encouraged to get a simple but solid grip of the language and the schools and universities staffs would have gone over to using the language as the sole language of instruction.

Secondly, while we must step up cultural and economic support to our native-speaking areas we must realize that the big fight for our language is in the non-Celtic speaking areas.

While Dr. Douglas Hyde (An Craoibhín Aoibhinn) the great exponent of the revival of Irish has been warmly admired by me for all of my adult life I must confess that Hyde's idea that language-revival was nothing to do with politics is totally erroneous. To take this attitude up is only to invite the anti-Celtic language protagonists to take control as they are in everyone of our six nations today. In all the nations which successfully revived their language and culture e.g. Finland, Hungary, Israel it was firmly laid down **from the beginning of the State** that all central and local government work be carried through in the language of the country only. Once this is understood one can appreciate why the full flowering of each of our languages is frustrated because the people in political control are on the side of the conqueror's language and culture being at the same time indifferent and hostile to the Celtic language they are supplanting. This is well borne out in Seán Ó Tuama's recent paperback **The Gaelic League Idea** published by the Mercier Press, 4 Bridge Street, Cork at 60p. As a logical follow-up to this wrong attitude arises the myth, much beloved by the supporters of the non-Celtic languages and cultures that legislation cannot have any effect on language revival, or suppression. This myth is shown to be worthless claptrap by one of our greatest spokesmen and philosoph-

ers, namely F. G. Thompson, when he discusses "Gaelic in Politics" in the current volume of the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1971-72) — obtainable from the Secretary at 92 Academy Street, Inverness. Not only does he show the damaging effect of repressive legislation but he gives constructive proposals for the future as well as a good reading list.

Is it any wonder that the appearance of CARN is like the singing of the lark in the clear air to me!

"O failte ort fhein, a
"chuirn" ghuirm,
Le t'oran ceolmhor milis!"

Gilleasbuig Lachlainn Illeasbuig

We would like to draw your attention to inaccurate reporting in two items in the Alba section — "Nationalism" and "Jail", Celtic News No. 31.

The initiative on the National Convention of Scotland . . . was in fact taken by ourselves, although we were very encouraged at the initial enthusiasm with which it was taken up and developed by other bodies and individuals including the Stirling University Republican Club who were responsible for the organisation and running of the meeting at Stirling. We regret to say that subsequent developments have not been so encouraging for various reasons although the Committee is still functioning and adhering to its policy statement as being the only realistic basis for meaningful developments in Scotland.

On the question of the scandalous jail sentences imposed last year on three ex-members and one non-member (who was not, in fact, a Scot, although our Party by no means regards people's geographical origins as being of any importance) of our Party following their conviction on bank robbery charges, we enclose a copy of "Scottish Vanguard" with our statement on the matter. For your information, it was Matt Lygate and not William McPherson who exposed the role of imperialism in sending jobless men to murder Irish men and women, in the court and departed shouting "Long live the workers of Scotland."

With best wishes, Duncan Toms, Secretary, Workers Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist).

Protesting against remarks made in CELTIC NEWS about the use of Welsh troops in the Six Counties: "I accept the idea of a nation as a community sharing feelings and aspirations, not as an area of land in which a majority or a minority can compel the remaining inhabitants to accept their idea . . . Your journal could be a useful source of information if it would explain instead of hectoring. I hope that your new publication will exhibit a move away from violence of language and thought to greater humanity." Ch.R.

"I don't think the League has taken a firm enough line on Ulster. It is not enough just to refrain from condemning the methods of the Northern freedom fighters. Their methods and their objectives must be thoroughly endorsed. Perhaps I am expecting too much from the League too soon, although a friend here tells me that you have come a long way since the early sixties and now seem to realise that a thousand years of Saxon culture can't be destroyed by basket-making and country-dancing." An Irish prisoner.

KESCOWS KERNEWEK : NOSWYTH YEYN, KERENS, HA TEN DEWAS

(Yma nebonen orth an darras. Jenny a wra mos dhe weles p'yua).

JENNY: Dar! Harry ha Chesten! Deugh aberveth, sos. (Chesten a enter kensa, sewys gans hy gour)

CHESTEN: Ow, Jenny cowethes. Fatla genes, ytho?

JENNY: Harry coweth, dus aberveth totta; yeyn fest yu.

HARRY: Benatew y'n chy-ma. Ya, gwyr a leverta: yth yu an gwyns uthek tyn, (Jenny a wra degea an darras)

JENNY: Reugh dhym agas cotys; my a vyn aga cregy y'n portal. Yma Myghal y'n wolghva awartha. (Hy a wra garma) How! Myghal! Yma devedhys Jenny ha Harry — ow tos awoles esosta?

MYGHAL (dyworth an wolghva) Gwraf. My a wra dyeskyinna whare. (An re erel a enter dhe'n hel. Yma tan ylyn ow tewy y'n olas).

CHESTEN: Ah! Hy yu tom lowr omma. Tecca dan! Ow deudros yu kepar ha cleghy!

HARRY: My ynweth — ha scant ny'm bus muvya ow dywen, jevody!

JENNY: Goty! Ytho, esedheugh omma perfyth, agas deu, nes dhe'n tan, hag omdomma. (War hemma, Myghal a enter).

MYGHAL: Wel, fatla enough-why? Da yu genef dh'agas gweles arta.

HARRY: Ow, Myghal! Nans eson-ny owth omdedha orth dha dan.

CHESTEN: Namnag en rewys gans an gwyns.

MYGHAL: Soweth! Kemerer ten syker a vynta? Po yu gwell genes gwyn?

CHESTEN: Gwell vya genef gwedren a wyn, Myghal, mar plek.

MYGHAL: Da. Ha tey, Harry?

HARRY: My a vyn kemerer banna dower-tom mar mynta, sos, gan mur ras.

Richard Gendall

Summaries of "Ag foghlaim Breathnaise p.17

Gan bod mudiad yr iaith yn datblygu cymaint ers tro mae nifer y pobl sy'n eisiau dysgu'r Gymraeg wedi cynyddu dros ben yng Nghaerdydd. O'r blaen doedd ddim llawer o gyfle gan y dysgwyr ymarfer tu allan o'r dosbarth. Ond, yr hyn o bryd mae 'Cymdeithas Dysgwyr Caerdydd' wedi cael ei sefydlu, ac yn ei chylichgrawn 'Yr Agoriad' hysbysybir newyddion am nosweithiau coffi ac ati. Hefyd cyhoeddir erthygliau gan dysgwyr a gyda chymorth cylchgrawn newydd arall 'Y Dinesydd' mae cysylltiad newydd yn datblygu rhwng dysgwyr a Chymru Cymraeg.

The growth of the Welsh language movement has led to a great increase in the number of learners in Cardiff. In the past learners had little chance of meeting each other socially to practise but the new large numbers has led to the founding of Cymdeithas Dysgwyr Caerdydd (Caerdydd Learners Society) which through its magaéine *Yr Agoriad* (The Key) publicises coffee evenings etc. and with the help of another new paper *Y Dinesydd* (The City Dweller) a new link is being developed between learners and Welsh speakers.

CELTIC LEAGUE

CELTIC LEAGUE CONFERENCE 1973

The Annual General Assembly of the Celtic League will be held this year in Bala, Meirionnydd, on August 4-5. We hope many C.L. members and friends will attend. Matters for discussion and resolutions should be submitted before July 20. Proposals already received concern the development of our exchange and hospitality schemes, an inter-Celtic information service, inter-Celtic summer schools, co-ordination of contributions to CARN and its dissemination. The Annual Report will be supplied to those who will have notified us of their intention to attend by July 15. Bala is only a short distance from Rhuthun where the National Eisteddfod will be on from August 6 to 11.

CARN. TO CONTRIBUTORS

CARN has claimed much of the time available for League activity over the past five months. We have received very encouraging comments. We hope it will help us to gain new members, subscriptions from libraries, orders from bookshops. We offer 6 copies for £1.10 to individuals for re-selling and a 25 per cent allowance to bookshops.

We have some difficulty in distributing space adequately between the various countries and languages: it requires a great deal of coordination. We regret that we had to leave out many contributions because of space limitations: we may be able to use them later. Contributions are welcome: they must be clear, give the essential facts to which comments and views refer; avoid lengthy dissertations; be written in such a way that the editor can prune them without loss of meaning; make sure no overlap occurs with other contributions by contacting the editors or your national secretary. Since many national periodicals are now giving news from other Celtic countries, we should direct our efforts to analysing the most important developments in each country from a C.L. point of view.

A QUESTION OF MEANING

A Cornishman writes: "Although the Celtic languages must be encouraged as far as possible, I regard it as a backward step to give one-third of the new periodical to them. It is pandering to the whims of a few individuals. The common lingua franca is English, and after the Common Market entry it will also be French; the periodical should be entirely in English, and another edition, if possible, all in French. This concentration, this attachment to the Celtic languages is a very unhealthy affair for a progressive C.L. periodical. The name CARN is backward-looking and defeatist: it is associated with death. We need a progressive name showing belief in the future, in ourselves. CELTICA or CELTIC UNION would be better. We, the Celts, are not merely challenging the idea of Britain etc., we are putting a new concept in its place, the Celtic one."

J.L.

An answer to the objection in the first part is contained in the article about the Celtic League.

Regarding the title CARN; the AGM 1972 decided the title

should be a name which would be common in easily recognisable form to all the Celtic languages. CARN was proposed to the 10 members of the General Council, and proved less objectionable than CELTICA. A second consultation was held, when a choice was offered between 20 names: CARN was by far preferred to any other.

CARN has different meanings. It is only in Scottish that we find a connotation, not so much with death as with the commemoration of "heroes". The connotation we wish to stress is: a contribution to the building of something lasting, as if of stone, high, seen from afar. What is backward about that? And if "carn aolaih" comes to mind, so do the flowers and the crops which grow from its material! Besides, there is no future without a past, as well did the ancient Celts know when they said they were "descendants of the God of Death" . . . today we would more prosaically say "we are heirs to countless generations". Let us see to it that in its message CARN will help to build a future for the Celtic peoples worthy of the best in their past.

HOSPITALITY SCHEME

Four of our Scottish members have stated their willingness to join the hospitality scheme between the Celtic countries, of which the idea was adopted at our A.G.M. in 1972. They are, Mr. F. G. Thompson and Mrs. Denovan (see addresses on back cover), Dr. Gordon Barr (due to move to Skye, address from Mrs. Denovan), and Mr. R. Mac Donald. Guests are asked however to give normal warning time. Mrs. Denovan and Dr. Barr would particularly like to welcome Bretons, they believe a link with Brittany might give a better chance of awakening Celtic consciousness in Alba. Mr. Macdonald, Manor Farm, Muston, Filey, Yorkshire, England, spends holidays in Cornaig, Isle of Tiriodh (Tiree), Argyllshire, also stays in Edinburgh. He would welcome this year a 16-year-old girl, company to his daughter, to spend July and August with them — from any part of Ireland, Breizh, Cymru.

A. and B. Heusaff, Dublin, would in future like to exchange houses for a fortnight to 3 weeks, July or August; if possible house in West or South of Brittany. They welcome guests from other Celtic countries but require advance warning and in general can envisage accommodation only for one night.

Other C.L. members interested in joining this scheme should contact their secretary and, if they wish, specify their conditions. There is no general rule.

Canadian University library seeks copies of our annual volumes 1963-68. If you can part with yours, state price.

SALE OF CARN

A few members of the Celtic League sold about 50 copies of CARN Nr 1 at the Ardfheis (AGM) of Conradh na Gaeilge, an Daingean; 100 copies in Club Conradh na Gaeilge, Dublin; 40 at the Stivell Concert and 30 at the Fleadh Nua in Dublin; 70 at the Killarney Panceltic Festival. A total of 70 copies were sold by members and supporters of the CL in Cork, Cardiff and Bangor (N. Wales). Larger number of copies could obviously be sold if every member of the C.L. plays his part, either selling publicly or by showing copies to friends, particularly during summer meetings and gatherings. Order copies now — (but we must insist on advance payments (£1.10 for 6 copies)).



MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

All who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are entitled to membership. The membership fee/subscription to CARN is £1.00 per annum (minimum) in Alba, Cymru, Éire, Kernow, Mannin and England; 15 F. or £1.25 in Breizh and other countries, but for non-European countries we advise £1.60—payments entitling to airmailing. These rates are **barely sufficient** to cover our printing and posting costs, particularly in view of continuous rises in prices. If possible, therefore, add small donation. Members receive CARN free.

Send applications for membership/subscriptions to any of the following:

ALBA—Mrs. M. Denovan, 9 Dalglish Road, Dundee; **CYMRU**—J. G. Jones, 17 Heol y Domen, Y Bala, Meirionnydd; **ÉIRE**—C. Ó Luain, 37 Dún an Óir, Tamhlacht, Co. Átha Cliath; **BREIZH**—J. Derouet, 1 rue Géo André, 44100 Nantes, CCP 3264 47 Nantes; **KERNOW**—R. C. Boyd, Meadowsweet, Spar Lane, Illogan, Redruth; **LONDON**—J. Rh. Humphreys, 113 Loveday Road, Ealing, London, W.13; or to the General Secretary, A. Heusaff, 9 Br. Cnoc Sion, Baile Átha Cliath 9, Éire.

Want to learn Welsh? Adran Efyrdiau Allanol provides a course from July 7 to 24 in University College, Bangor. Breton Summer Courses organised by Skol an Emsav (30 Place des Lices, 35-Rennes) are orientated towards the use of Breton in an urban society, while at K.E.A.V. (c/o V. de Bellaing, 28 rue des 3 Frères Le Goff, 22 St. Brieuc) time is evenly shared between classes (for intermediate and advanced students) and entertainments. For those who understand but cannot speak popular Breton, Al Leur Nevez, c/o M. Madeg, 7 rue de Vaucelles, 95-Taverny, France) runs courses in spoken dialects.

Your application may yet be in time!

INBHIR NIS, IN ROMANIA?

The bulk of the material for this issue of CARN was posted on May 19 as a registered letter to Inbhir Nis, Alba. It arrived there on June 7, having apparently wandered as far as Giulia and Romania. Did someone in the Irish P&T mistake Alba for Albania? Or want to give us an example of compulsory English? We nearly got CARN 2 out on schedule . . . had our contributors mobilised to rewrite their articles before we could countermand the requests.

Letters

"I believe that we have had enough culture, education, etc., for the time being and that it is time to put the emphasis upon action. To be seen to be continually in action will bring us more support and will cause greater worry to our oppressors than will talking and writing." R.B.

Translated from Breton: "We are not a party, but we are in a position to explain what is happening in the Celtic countries. Considering that certain aspects of the C.L. activities have been taken up by other groups (S.P.I.) it is right to create a periodical which can go further in the political field. An important function of the League is to

remind of the importance of the Celtic element in the Breton struggle. Ph.S.

A Cornishman in London writing in Cornish, Breton and Irish (translated): "I have seen many improvements in Cornwall, many slogans in Cornish on the walls . . . The number of Cornish speakers is increasing. A new spirit is rising in our country." T.S.

A Breton, back from Cornwall: "the country is marvellous, I didn't feel a stranger in it at all, although after the trip in Ireland one could not expect a better welcome." G.S.

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