

# celyn

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## A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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30p

QUARTERLY PERIODICAL IN ENGLISH & IN CELTIC LANGUAGES  
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## EDITORIAL:

## Francophony

Many people in the Celtic countries must have rejoiced when R. Levesque's Parti Quebecois won a majority and formed a government. It showed that the values of the common market are not everywhere given priority and can be put in their proper place by a sound sense of nationality, fostered by the possession of a different language. The same happened again in Catalonia. But while we rejoice wholeheartedly with the Catalans - and may we here wish them further progress on the road to freedom, not forgetting that in French-dominated Roussillon they are still deprived of it - it is only the cynical who will have been amused to hear that those in Quebec who yesterday complained of linguistic oppression have already turned oppressors themselves. In their zeal to strengthen the position of the French language in the province they passed a law in July with the aim of imposing it on the 4000 Inuits of North Quebec, reversing the policy of the previous administration which had guaranteed the protection of their Eskimo culture. And when the Inuits demanded regional power in order to ward off the threat, Levesque sent his police to bring them to reason. The territory contains considerable natural resources!

What is going on in Quebec is therefore a development of the vicious form of linguistic imperialism which seems inherent in the French language, impelling the Francophones to encroach on the territory of other languages and to seek to eradicate them wherever they get a chance.

Let the French government's part in this drive be clearly known. It is quite prepared to offend other States by openly backing the Francophones within their borders and contemptuously treating their main languages within its own State borders as in Flanders, Corsica, Alsace and Lorraine. How is one to explain that official recognition of French is good for the speakers of one of its most differentiated dialects in Louisiana whereas the use of German is discouraged in the nursery schools of Alsace by the minister of French "Education" because it would be against "progress". [See Rot & Wiss. Nr. 22, bilingual, BP 132, R4, Strasbourg Cedex.]

## MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS - RENEWALS

Your membership fee or subscription for 1978 will be due for renewal now/before ..... 1978 to cover issues Nr. of CARN. Rates unchanged (see P. 24). We have finally caught up with our original schedule, having succeeded in publishing this issue before the end of 1977. In order to facilitate our bookkeeping, it would be better for subscriptions to cover the full calendar year. That is why we suggest - no obligation - that you make the next payment valid for receiving CARN up to Nr. 24.

Please give prompt attention to our request if your subscription has expired. We should like to impress on our readers that if we depended on the sale of CARN (at 30p per copy) alone, we would not manage financially. We need all the subscriptions we can get: £2 a year (or whatever the rate for your country) is not much!

CARN is published primarily for the members of the Celtic League. If we ceased to be an organisation, with definite aims, we should probably discontinue publication. It is no light burden for some of us. If you think, as we do, that there is need for a League of the Celtic nations, then, for the sake of our becoming more efficient, we should like to ask you to answer the questions on p. 24. We remind you that membership requires only agreement with our Constitution and regular payment of the annual fee.

## ALBA

### THA MI SGÌTH DE LUCHD NA BEURLA

Tha mi sgìth de luchd na Beurla;  
Tha mi sgìth dhiubh cheart da rìreadh,  
'S ann leam fhìn gur fhada 'n cèilidh;  
Tha mi shlth de luchd na Beurla.

### Màiri mhór nan òran

Is toigh leam a' Ghàidhlig a bàrdachd 's a ceòl,  
Is tric thog i nìos sinn 'nuair bhiodhmaid fo leòn,  
'S i dh'ionnsaich sinn tràth ann an làithean ar n-òig',  
'S nach fàg sinn gu bràth gus an laidh sinn fo'n fhòid.

### Iain Caimbeul, Bard na Leideig

Tha fios againn gum bheil e furasda, furasda, a' mineachadh naidheachdan mu'n Gàidhlig mar ar dùrachd. Tha fios againn gum bheil a' chànan chruaidh Shasunnach a' riaghladh air feadh na h-Albainn. Ach ged nach eil a h-uile bodach Gallda 'ga bruidhinn fhathast, chan eil na naidheachdan mu dheighinn na Gàidhlig cho dona idir, an latha an diugh.

A reir aithris, sgrìobh Eireannach air choireigin, anns an t-seachdamh linn, gun robh na atharraidhean 'na latha fhéin cho cudthromach agus cho domhain nach b'urrair atharradh eile comasach a' bhi ri teachd!

Mata, 'nar latha fhéin thàinig trè atharraidhean cudthromaich oirnn; 'sa chiad aite, chaidh an Ìmpireachd Shasunnach (far an robh a' Bheurla an aon chanain) leis an t-sruth. 'San darna àite dhlùthaich an Roinn Eorpa an Iar ri chèile, 'sa Mhargadh Chumanta far nach eil a' Bheurla Shasunnach ach té de iomadach cànan eile. 'San treas àite, chaill sinn ar riaghaltas ionadail ann an Alba. Chaidh a mhór chuid na cumhachd ionadail do na bailtean mòra no do dh'àitean dlùth riù i. Glaschu, Dun Èideann, Sruighle, Dun-frìs, Dun Dé, Obair-dheathain, Inbhir-nis. Ach dé mu dheighinn na h-Eileanan? Fhuair na h-Eileanan mu Thuath (Arcaibh is Sealtainn) a' chumhachd ionadail aca fhéin. Mar sin chan eil e doirbh ri fhaicinn gun d'fhuair na h-Eileanan an Iar sin cuideachd.

Mata, 'sna Eileanan an Iar bruidhinnidh a h-uile duine ach beag 'nar cànan Albannach againn fhéin, agus chan eil mòran iongantais ann, gun do dh'orduich iad an t-ùghdarras ionadail ur aca (Comhairle nan Eilean) a' bhi a' gnàthachadh na Gàidhlig agus a' Bheurla gu co-ionann. 'Se sin ri ràdh gum biodh a h-uile luchd-teagaisg nan leanaban fileanta 'sa Gàidhlig. Shoirbhich Comhairle nan Eilean luchd-teagaisg Ghàidhlig faighinn. 'Se sin ri ràdh, seach ann an Sgoil Sir E. Scott agus ann an Sgoil Seile-bosd, ach cuiridh iad ban-sgoilear no maighstir-sgoil anna aig am bheil a' Ghàidhlig, 'nuair a thigèas àite-teagaisg falamh ann.

Taing do'n "Schools Council" tha iad a' dearbhadh an fhòghluim dhà-chainnteach anns a' Chuimrigh, ach a nìd bithidh Alba a tighinn a steach cuideachd troimh nan Eileanan an Iar.

Bithidh a' Phroisect (Project) a dol thairis air trè bliadhnaichean far am bi na gillean agus na caileagan ag ionnsachadh troimh na Gàidhlig, agus (is mòr am beud) troimh na Beurla cuideachd. Cuiridh suas Roinn an Fhòghluim Albannach (S.E.D.) agus Comhairle nan Eilean le cheile £68,000. Tha dhà cheann a dearbhadh na Proisect (Project) an darna fear ann an Steòrnabhagh agus am fear eile ann an Cladach Circe-bosd, Uibhist a Tuath, far am bi triuir a rannsachadh fad gach latha. Bithidh Comhairle Cuideachaidh ann cuideachd ---- o'n Roinn an Fhòghluim Albannach, Comhairle nan Eilean, an "Joint Committee for Gaelic Textbooks", Oilthigh Obair-

dheathan, Colaisde an Fhòghluim Cnoc Iordain ann an Glaschu; fo stiùireadh Iain A. Mac-a-Ghobhainn a bha 'na Iar-Cheannard Cholaisde Iordain roimh seo.

Bithidh fichead bun-sgoil anns a' Phroisect bho Sgoil Bac ann an Leòdhas aig am bheil coighear luchd-teagaisg gu ruide Sgoil na Ceallan, Uibhist a Tuath agus far nach eil ach aon bhan-sgoilear. Tha na fichead sgoil tre nan Eileanan an Iar, a h'ochd ann an Leòdhas, a dhà 'sna Hearadh, a cheithir ann an Uibhist a Tuath agus a cheithir ann an Uibhist a Deas, té ann an Aoraisgeidh agus té eile ann am Barraidh.

'Sa bhliadhna seo chaidh stiùir iad na classaichean P 1-3 'sa bhun sgoil, a' bhliadhna seo P 4 gu 5, agus an ath-bhliadhna stiùiridh P 6 agus 7. Bithidh sia cuspairean aca: (a) Togaidh iad suidheachaidhean agus gnìomhannan far am bi a' Ghàidhlig a' chànain nadurra a chur na nithean sin an cèill. (b) Ni iad a h-uile sèorsa chuideachadh do'n fhòghlum tre na Gàidhlig mar leabhraichean, dealbhan, fuaimean &, no mar a theireadh luchd-teagaisg 'sa Bheurla - visual aids, and aural aids. (c) Teagaisgidh iad na luchd-teagaisg doighean-teagaisg 'sa Ghàidhlig. (d) Cuidichidh iad a h-uile sgoil eile 'sna h-Eileanan an Iar 'sa Ghàidhlig. (e) Siridh iad taic bho na parantan agus nàbaidhean. (f) Cumaidh iad ceangail ri daoine a dearbhadh nan Proisect (Projects) mar sin feadh an t-saoghail ge leir.

Bithidh buidhnean eile a' cur taic ris a' Phroisect i. Oilthigh Struighle, Bord Leasachaidh na Gàidhealtachd, luchd-chuir-amach - leabhraichean ainmeil ann an Albain agus ann an Sasunn, na Schools Department agus Grampian Television. Tha an Van Leer Community Education Project a cuideachadh cuideachd. Eadar-theangachidh luchd Van Leer leabhraichean agus cassettes air son na leanabhan oga agus classaichean P 1 gu P 3 'san bun-sgoil.

Gun teagamh bithidh an 'Schools Council' a' tairg-seadh. Mar eisimpleir, gheibh iad £43,730, thairis air dhà bhliadhna, air son "Teaching of Reading in Welsh".

Rud eile, bithidh aite-cleachdaidh a theagaisg na Gàidhlig air son nan oileanaich ri leantainn. Dh'fhoillsich a' Phroisect Fòghlum Dà-Chànanach (fo ainm CLATH) sia leabhraichean, "An Nead", "Luasgan", "Rud a chunnaic Uiseag" (clann aois coig gu seachd agus "MacCurraich agus an t-Isean", "MacCurraigh agus am Melòdeon", agus "Uilleam Bàn agus an Iolair" (clann aois ochd gu deich) cheana. Reicidh An Comunn Gàidhealach, Aber-tarff House, Inbhir-nis IV1 1EU iad.

Gu dearbh, b'fheàrr leinn Proisect Aon-Chànanach leis a h-uile cail 'sa Gàidhlig 'sna bun-sgoiltean feadh na h-Albain gu léir, ach seo agaibh rud uamhasach math 'sa chiad dol amach.

Chan eil e iongantach gun d'fhuir am BBC gun robh a' Phroisect seo comasach air cobhair a thoirt do na sgoiltean eile air feadh na h-Albainn.

#### Is obair-latha tòiseachadh.

Le sin, bithidh a h-uile leanaban, gille agus caileag, comasach 'sa Ghàidhlig (agus 'sa Bheurla cuideachd, duilich ri ràdh) feadh nan Eileanan an Iar. Glé mhath, fìor mhath dhà-rìreadh ach a reir an sheanfhaicail, "air mhèud 's ge'm faigh thu gu math, 's lughaid a gheibh thu gu h-olc." Rinn sin atharradhean feadh nan Eileanan an Iar, mar eisimpleir, 'sna bancan, far am bi ar cànan Albannach furasda ri fhaighinn air thaighean-banca agus air na "vans" aca. Ged nach eil na notaichean air an eadar-theangachadh ann an Albainn (mar 'sa Bhelgium) fhathast, 's urrain duine sam bith leabhar-seic (cheque-book) dà-chànaineach fhaighinn feadh na h-Albainn air fad. Chì duine sam bith Gàidhlig air sanasan tre nan Eileanan an Iar, far nach robh iad ri amh roimhe, eadhon air oifigean "British Airways"!

Eadhon feadh Alba gu léir tha ar cànan a' faighinn buaidh air inntinn nan duine agus tha sluagh aig am bheil a' Ghàidhlig a' cinntinn. Tha an sluagh a' tuigsinn, beag air bheag, gum bheil cànan Albannach againn. Ma gheibh sinn Àrd-Sheanadh na h-Albainn (Scottish Assembly) no mur faigh sinn Àrd-Sheanadh, feumaidh sinn a chur ar cànan Albannach 'sna sgoiltean Albannach uile ge léir mar mheadhon-fhòghluim. n Ni sin ar cànan cho làidir is a tha i 'sna h-Eileanan an Iar a nisd agus an deidh sin bhiodh sinn comasach ga deanamh cho cumhachdach ri cànan eile sam bith 'san Roinn Eòrpa!

Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich.

(The present educational project in the Western Isles could and ought to influence and be an example to all interested in the restoration of Scottish throughout the rest of Scotland.)

#### AN COMUNN ALBANNACH

A new organisation has been formed to promote the Scottish language. An Comunn Albannach differs from other existing organisations in its "national" approach to the language question in Alba. For example, A.C.A.'s main aim is the complete restoration of Scottish (Gàidhlig) throughout Alba. A.C.A. rejects the ideas that the Scottish language should be restricted to the so-called "Highland" areas, or that it should be treated as if it were the exclusive property of a minority of the Scottish population. The basic attitude of An Comunn Albannach is explained in its manifesto:

- 1) A.C.A. declares that its primary aim is to work for a Scotland which is entirely Gàidhlig in speech; that unless revival geared to this eventual goal is undertaken the continuing decay and ultimately, the complete extinction of both Scottish nationality and the Scottish (a'Ghàidhlig) language will be inevitable.
- 2) A.C.A. declares that the Scottish (a'Ghàidhlig) language is the essence of Scottish nationality, that it is the national language, and the main distinguishing feature of Scottish nationality.
- 3) A.C.A. recognises that the Scottish (a'Ghàidhlig) language is the vehicle of the continuity of national existence. The survival of the national identity depends on, and is inextricably bound up with, the survival of the national language. The choice is national linguistic revival or national extinction.
- 4) A.C.A. is concerned with the Scottish language and the Scottish national identity. The Comunn rejects the anti-Scottish, historically inaccurate and sedulously cultivated ideas of cleavage between sections of the Scottish population (i.e. the Highland-Lowland Myth and the Anglo-Saxon Hypothesis) which have done so much harm to the national consciousness and self-respect.
- 5) A.C.A. utterly rejects the notion that the Scottish (a'Ghàidhlig) language was or is the exclusive property of any one section of the Scottish population. The popular idea that there is a total identification between Gàidhlig and "Highland" is the most harmful idea - harmful to the Gàidhlig and Scottish cause - to be propagated by the enemies of Scotland and the Scottish language. Those who, consciously or unconsciously support the total identification between Gàidhlig and "Highland" are (in most cases unknowingly) collaborating with a process of alienation which has deprived the majority of Scots of their national language, of the knowledge of their original cultural identity and heritage, and which has led to the near-death of the Scottish nation and the Scottish language. Gàidhlig is Scottish, the common property of all Scots, not "Highland".



6) A.C.A. welcomes any moves to aid the Gàidhlig cause but declares its opposition to moves which aim to restrict the national language to the so-called "Highland" areas, and thus deny the majority of Scots full access to their own language.

The new organisation aims to establish and maintain links with all other Celtic language movements, and to establish closer contacts with the many millions of Scots and Scottish descended people who live overseas.

An Comunn Albannach's manifesto document, which includes a lengthy article on the history of the Scottish language, is available from: An Comunn Albannach, 48 Summerhill Road, Glasgow G15 7JJ, Alba - Scotland. All enquiries, requests for information, etc., are most welcome, and all enquiries will be answered.

## DEVOLUTION

It is unfortunate that we do not know the outcome of round two of the great devolution spectacular at the time of writing. At the moment one can only study the form of the performers. Over the past few months, especially at the Labour Party Conference, what Callaghan said could be interpreted as a resolve to make the issue one of confidence but as time has passed the voice has become fainter and fainter. Everyone may speculate on the cause of this - is it because with a serious economic and industrial situation facing him (we take it, that he is aware himself that, his talk of bright horizons is like Healey's so much pie in the sky) he cannot risk not being the one to put it all right? Perhaps he knows that the government will be defeated and that in spite of bearing gifts to the regions which produced the most anti-devolution Labour M. P. 's the last time there will still be too many Labour "rebels".

Mrs. Thatcher with her unerring instinct for being out of touch with the Scottish scene has ordered a whip on the voting and seems determined to make things difficult for the Tory pro-devolutionists. They are going to try to save some shreds of credibility for a Tory policy by putting down an amendment on each of the Bills (Scotland and Wales are to have separate ones this time) asking for a "constitutional conference reporting back to Parliament within 6 months". If this fails they will vote against.

The devolution undertaking is one of the main planks of the Lib. Lab. bridge and interest here will centre on how the Liberals would vote on a confidence issue if the Labour rebels brought the government's devolution bill to an end.

It is reported that one Labour M. P. a former supporter of devolution will support the government but campaign against the idea of the referendum that is promised to follow. His reason is the "lack of interest being shown in Scotland in devolution". Now, he is probably quite correct in this, because recent by-elections for local government have shown continued success for the S. N. P. - increased votes if not all out wins and quite appreciable results where candidates stood for the first time. Now this is done by convincing the Scots that with independence we might get started to solving some of Scotland's problems. Canvassing is showing a steady increase in support for the S. N. P. so it is possible that the electorate like the party are looking for solutions away beyond the Assembly promised us from on high. (The 'guillotine' motion imposing a time-table on the Bill for a Scottish Assembly was in fact passed in Westminster in mid-Nov. On 1st Dec. a move by Tory back-benchers to ensure that no Bill from the proposed Scottish Assembly could pass into law until Westminster had considered it was defeated by 282 votes to 245. - Ed.)

## SCOTS IN CAROLINA

Meyer, Duane. The Highland Scots of North Carolina. Raleigh, N.C., State Department of Archives and History, 1968. Reprint of the 1963 edition. 75pp \$0.50

This is a shorter version of a larger work bearing the same title plus the qualification, "1732-1776". The latter was published by the University of North Carolina Press in 1961. Both works are concerned with the emigration of Highland Scots to North Carolina from 1732-1776. Duane Meyer seeks to answer two major questions pertinent to Scottish-Carolinian history: (a) Why did these Highland Scots decide to immigrate and (b) why did these émigrés join the cause of the unpopular George III during the American Revolutionary War?

Tìr aineoil. Until 1718 pirates held the mouth of the Cape Fear strongly in their hands. After 1724 the area was opened for settlement. Lowland Scots were in the colony before 1700. The Highland Scots began settling in 1732. James Innes, Hugh Campbell and William Forbes were the first with Highland names to register land grants in the Cape Fear area. The colony became very populous over the next forty years. Land was granted to Highlanders in 1733, 1735, 1740 and in 1753. In the 1760's and 1770's there was a minor increase in landgrants to Highlanders. There was no increase in immigration after 1745; indeed there was a decrease in Highland immigration into the colony. The peak year was 1774.

Bràighdeanas. The settlers in North Carolina were one of three types: (a) owned their own plantations; (b) were tenants; (c) were indentured servants. Indentured servants had to work between three and five years. Those freed after 1741 got £3, a suit of clothes and could qualify for a grant of land. But there also were others who did a great deal of the hard work. The 1790 census showed that there were 717 slaves in Cumberland County where there were 2,834 Highlanders. The ration was 1:4. One third of the Highlanders possessed slaves. Farquard Campbell had as many as 50 and Archibald McDuffie as few as 13. The average slave-holder had about 28 slaves. Duane Meyer feels that the holding of slaves proves that the migration was led by men of "wealth and merit" [p.39]

Gàidhlig. The Highlanders were, of course, speakers of Gaelic. Although they were numerous in their communities, the Highlanders never constituted more than 50% of the total population. At Cross Creek, the Gaels were not predominant. Most of the settlers were non-Highlanders. Slowly, but surely, the Gaelic speakers adjusted to the language and customs of their new neighbours. The "educated" of the Highlanders spoke and wrote English. Gaelic remained the language of the "common people . . ." far into the 19th century. The last Gaelic sermon in North Carolina was preached in 1860. The language today is virtually unknown to those who live along the upper Cape Fear." [p. 46]

Diadhachd. "Many, if not most, of the North Carolina Highlanders were from Argyllshire; and Argyllshire was overwhelmingly Presbyterian by 1750 (4,000 Catholics and 62,000 Presbyterians)." [p. 42] In 1741 the community at Cape Fear wanted a permanent Gaelic-speaking pastor; despite a salary of £21, no one permanent came until 1758. The new pastor was James Campbell of Argyllshire, who had been active previously in Pennsylvania. Under Campbell's auspices three churches were founded. One of these, the church at Barbecue Creek, was attended by Flora McDonald, who was living at Cameron's Hill. Most of the members of these churches were Highlanders. Eventually

other settlers attended these churches so that it was necessary for Campbell not only to preach in Gaelic every Sunday, but in English as well. In 1770 the second minister, John McLeod, helped Campbell with his labours. From 1770 until the Revolutionary War McLeod was a Tory and fought with the Loyalists at Moore's Creek Bridge. He was captured; in order to secure his freedom, he had to promise to leave the colony upon his release. Campbell was a Patriot; because of his loyalty to the new, revolutionary nation, he had a falling out with the Highlanders and left his parishes.

**Ath-chogaidh.** The Highlanders were active in politics. Perhaps James Innes, who was the first to settle, is a good example of the Highlanders taking hold in the new environment. It was, of course, logical that they would become enmeshed in the throes of the Revolutionary War. However, theirs was a mixed feeling at least. For the Scots, for a third time in the 18th century, they were called upon to participate in a Civil War: 1715, 1745 and 1775! After much deliberation, mostly between July 1775 and January 1776, the Highlanders decided to fight in the Loyalist army. Their decision was not based upon any real loyalty to the House of Hanover or George III. Rather, as Duane Meyer argues convincingly, they were, as Argyllmen, traditionally loyal to Hanover; they feared reprisals against them in North Carolina as they had experienced them in Scotland; many Scots arriving in 1775 were retired British officers; and many Scots newly come in 1775 had received favourable grants from the English governor of the colony, Martin. An added factor was a romantic one; Flora McDonald's husband, Allan, was to command the Loyal Highlanders! Marching to the sound of the newly permitted pibroch, 1300 Highlanders went to war against their neighbours. The second in command, Colonel Donald McLeod, led the Highlanders across Moore's Creek Bridge into the open fire of the Patriots lying in ambush. 50 Highlanders fell in battle; 880 were captured and thrown into prison with common criminals. Their efforts to help Gov. Martin and the British crown failed. In 60 years the Highlanders had managed to choose the losing side of civil wars with 100% accuracy.

**Mear-chunnta.** In 1777 the Provincial Congress passed legislation directed against the Loyalists. This legalized the banishment of all nonjuring Loyalists. Flora McDonald and her family returned to Scotland. Others went to Florida, the West Indies or Nova Scotia. Some Highlanders remained, although the contempt of their neighbours was bitter for them. Many have speculated about the exact numbers of those who left and those who remained in North Carolina. Meyer contends that the exact numbers were unknown.

In 1781 Lord Cornwallis led an army into the Carolinas. In Cape Fear no Highlanders flocked to his ranks. They might have been loyal in spirit, but they showed him a cold shoulder. He left without gaining their support.

In three conflicts involving the House of Hanover and the Highlanders, the Highlanders lost the conflict thrice: 1715, 1745 and 1775. Each time they chose the losing side! Each time their independence of spirit and action was punished through retributive legislation. This accounts to some degree assuredly for the prevailing apathy amongst Highlanders today when the questions of priorities and loyalties in Scottish affairs conflict with each other.

Newsome, A. R. Records of Emigrants from England and Scotland to North Carolina, 1774-1775, Raleigh, N.C., Division of Archives and History, 1976. Fourth printing of edition of 1962. 30pp. \$1.00

Whereas Duane Meyer's book, The Highland Scots of North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C., 1968) deals with the whole period of Scottish Highland emigration from 1732-1775, A. R. Newsome's pamphlet is limited to the slender period of a two year span. It is in Newsome's work that the highly publicized and well-known reasons for Highland emigration are corroborated.

Of those who emigrated, most were farmers or labourers from "Argyle, Sutherland and Caithness". Asked why they chose to emigrate, the replies were either "Want of employ" or "High Rents and Oppression" or "Poverty Occasioned by want of work" or lastly "In hopes of better Employment". There were a few instances of wanting to follow one's trade or business in America. Low wages, high rents, low price for cattle, introduction of sheep and the exactions of the landlords were apparently more than outbalanced by high wages, cheap land and the absence of oppressive landlords in North Carolina.

North Carolina drew fewer emigrants (500 names, 100 families) than did New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Most Highland Scots went to North Carolina because their kinsmen had been emigrating to Cape Fear ever since 1739. There they had settled in the countries of Cumberland, Bladen and Anson. By 1775 there were about 15,000 Scottish Highlanders in North Carolina.

The commentary of a contemporaneous Scot suffices as a conclusion: "It is needless to make any comment on the conduct of our Highland and Island proprietors. It is self-evident what consequences must be produced in time from such numbers of subjects being driven from the country. Should levies again be necessary, the recruiting drum may be long at a loss to procure such soldiers as are now aboard this vessel." (Newsome, p. 1).

Leslie MacEwen.

## RADIO IN ALBA.

In about a year's time we are told there are going to be great changes in the whole radio service. There have been arguments back and forth as to the standards of the commercial stations Radios Forth and Clyde. Being beyond earshot it is difficult to judge but what does seem certain is that these stations have affected the audience for Radio Scotland and the changes envisaged are to double its output (eventually) and "radically change its character". If you are one of the miserable 10% who do your listening on this channel you may wonder what is in store. Especially since - "it is feared that about half of its existing audience will switch to Ian McIntyre's revamped Radio 4 which will be broadcast from Droitwich on 1500 metres with powerful boosters at Burghhead near Elgin and from Western Glen in Central Scotland".

In fact "such are the complexities of transmission that the U.K. service of Radio 4 will have a more comprehensive coverage of Scotland than Radio Scotland will have on 371 metres!"

Not much sign of devolution there. However our quaint native ways will be given scope "the Broadcasting Council have decreed that Radio Scotland must speak with a distinctive Scottish voice, etc.", but just to ensure that we don't go too far a Mr. Pickles from Radio Oxford will come to be in charge of the whole presentation.

So much for the future as, for the immediate past the Gaelic Mod was held this year in the North East at Golspie and there was great disappointment about the lack of TV coverage. Lack of funds was the usual weary excuse plus of course the "minority interest". Well to judge by the time given obviously we are a nation of horse lovers and show jumpers and we believe the words of wisdom of our Premier so precious they must be captured live. Could it be that as a very interesting "Arena

Theatre" TV programme showed the media are no more giving us the whole truth now than they were in the period before the 2nd World War.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment continues to rise in Alba and the number of school leavers and university graduates without work or any prospect of it is deplorable. Just when some good might have come of co-operation between the S.N.P. and the S.T.U.C. the latter body decided at the beginning of September to cut all direct communication with the S.N.P. It is hardly credible that with the unemployed in Scotland almost reaching 200,000, with the S.N.P. the only party with any constructive ideas and organising the only resistances to closures and redundancies these so called representatives of the workers of Scotland should commit this act of political hara-kiri. In 1974 they were to the fore in the battle against unemployment and in the heady days of the S.T.U.C. assembly in Edinburgh Mr. Milne suggested that their aims might be implemented only in an independent Scotland. This poses an interesting question. Will it only be if Mrs. Thatcher is installed in Downing Street that the S.T.U.C. will return to looking after the interests of the Scottish people?

The formation of the S.D.A. (Scottish Development Agency) was noted in Carn some time ago. It has been announced recently that they will be investing £11 million in the country. It is quite a figure to conjure with especially in the light of a report newly published: - 'Poverty: The Facts in Scotland', by a Mr. G. Norris in the Dept. of Economic Research at Glasgow University. This claims that 14% of Scottish people are living in poverty - "it is the greater extent of unemployment and low pay north of the border which is the most important direct cause of poverty there". Since the report finds that 12% of the whole of the U.K. are living in poverty this means that there are 10% more Scots suffering as a result of the present situation.

### NUCLEAR WASTE

However there is one thing that cannot be faulted and that is our geology. We are top of the list of choices for areas to dump nuclear waste. The experts have been probing around in various places including the island of Lewis but recently have concentrated in Ayrshire near a place called Dalmellington. There have been protests and they continue but let us hope that the "reprieved" areas will continue to protest and get help from the whole country. It has been voiced that people don't care where it is dumped so long as it isn't near themselves. This is hardly borne out by the outcry against the whole idea - there are many who are not soothed by the soft tones of those stating that the whole thing will be quite safe and that the reaction is purely emotional and shows an inability to differentiate between nice and not nice nuclear things.

### RESIGNATION

Frank G. Thompson, Stornaway, has resigned from the S.N.P. because of their handling of the Gàidhlig policy which he prepared since 1974 for the Party's National Assembly. His proposals were briefly; official status for Gàidhlig, its equal validity with English, its free use by its speakers (whether native or new) in all aspects of public life throughout Alba. The end aim: a stable form of bi-lingualism. His resignation followed the formation of a new S.N.P. Gàidhlig policy committee headed by an academic ... which was taken by him as signalling rejection of his proposals. Frank, who was editor of C.L. publications from 1968 to 1973 takes a prominent part in the Scottish Language struggle. Since 1966 he was very active in the S.N.P.

## BREIZH

### GOUVREZEL HA BRUDEREZH

Gouvrezel a zo atav e Norzh Iwerzhon. E Dulenn ez eo deut an dud da vout ken boas da gleyout ez eus tarzhet bombezennou, lakaet tan er staliou, lazhet soudarded, archerien, keodediz, "sponterien", harzet, ha boureviet ha kondaonet gwazed ha merc'hed da vloavezhiaou hir en toull-bac'h, ma ne fell ket dezho soñjal nag er reuz nag er pennabegoù anezhañ. Ne sell ket outo, n'int ket chalet gant unanidigezh Iwerzhon, ha n'eo ket diaes dezho kavout digarezioù. Ra vezo peoc'h, ne gousto netra dezho. Evit kaout koustiañs vat da gousket, e tegemeront diskleriadurioù o folitikerien koulz ha re an arme saoz a vez embannet er c'helaouennoù - fankigell a seurt gant an Daily Mirror hag a blij gwelloc'h dezho eget ar re bemdeziek iwerzhonat. Emeur a-du gant an urzh hag al lezenn, 'keta?

Komz a ran eus an darn vrasañ, eus muianiver ar Republik. Padal, darn a gav dezho n'eo ket dieub o bro, a fell dezho argas ar Saozon, a wel ne vo biken peoc'h ebet. E Norzh Iwerzhon ez eus un darn vrasoc'h e-touez ar re a zo Iwerzhoniz-ha-traken hag a c'houzañv diwar ar gwallziforc'h. Ne fell ket dezho pladañ mui. Ur bihan-niver. Hervez an demokratiezh n'eo deus ket ar gwir da stourm dre heg. N'eo ket bet aotreet dre zilennadegoù.

Un dra o deus, a ranker anzav, a zo kalon, ha muioc'h a youl eget an darn vrasañ hoil a-gevret. Ha prest int da c'houzanv kriz evit kas o mennad da benn, muioc'h eget an darn vrasañ troet da herzel outo. Kadar-net int ouzh ar rebechoù, ne reont forzh eus ar gwallvrud a reer dezho. C'Hwerv eo ar stourm. Lazhet e vez tud dinoaz, bugale, merc'hed. Gant o bombezennou ivez a-wechoù. Evelse e vez e pep gouvrezel. Ne nac'hont ket o atebegzh. N'heller ket trec'hiñ hep bout kriz.

Ha ne zeuint ket da skuizhañ buanoc'h eget o enebourien? "Ar prsk en dour..." An araeziou-kelaouñ bras zo a-enep dezho, div arme, div bolis. N'eus ket anv gant ar Saozon da 'n em dennañ. Ne embanner nemet an tu euzhus eus a stourm. An enebour a nac'h kement tamall a loenegezh a vez graet outan.

Al Luskad a-du gant ar Peoc'h zo bet skoazellet kement-a-gar en Alamagn, e Norvej ha zoken er Stadoù-Unanet, gant darn eus ar Gatoliged en Norzh ivez (ar Brotestanted n'eo deus ketgraet van). Degemeret eo bet o ziv renerez gant ar rouanez saoz, tapet o deus ar Priz Nobel (ijinour an dinamit), brudet int bet forzh pegement gant ar BBC. Dispignet tout ar arc'hant profet dezho, met peoc'h ebet. Heskinerezh ar soudarded zo gwashaet. 30 den zo adarre o klemm e Strasbourg en abeg ma voent bourevet, goude m'o doa prometet ar Saozon ne c'hoarvezfe ket mui. Talabao zo bremañ e Béal Feirste peogwir e vez lakaet ar merc'hed da ziwiskañ rac'h o dilhad el lec'hioù-gwiriekaat, dirak ar soudarded. Evel chatal er foar.

Hervez kelaouenn ar stourmerien, e oa hevlene e miz. Here muioc'h a berzhidi eget warlene e Kendalc'h - Bloaz Sinn Fein. Muioc'h a unaniezh, ha fiziañs en trec'h. Ur strollad sokialour, demokratel ha kengred en estrenvro. Meneg-et e voe an testenioù degemeret digant Euzkariz, Korsikiz, Gallaoed, Breizhiz (A.R.B. ha S. ar V.) ha. Lavarout a reont ez int prest da ren ar vro, da lakaat reizh ha peoc'h da ren ha da reiñ tro d'an dud da verañ o aferioù e gwirionez, kerkent ha ma vo bet argaset ar Saozon, al laeron estren, skraperien binvidegezhioù-natur Iwerzhon. 'M eus aon avat an darn



vrasan ne gredont ket, ne lennont ket, ne glevont ket ar pezh a lavaront.

Ar Saozon a lavar eo trec'het A.R.I. Ar re-mañ a respont ez int prest da genderc'hel 50 vloaz c'hoazh.

(The guerilla war in N. Ireland continues, in the midst of much propaganda - claims by the English to have broken the I.R.A. and expressions of confidence by the latter in victory.)

#### AR VRUD A RED.

Eus daou du em eus bet un adskrid eus ur pennad embannet gant "New Society", 4/8/77 dindan an anv "The Breton Brainwash" (Keith Spence). N'eo ket anat e pe vro e vez embannet ar gelc'hgelaouenn-se. Komz a ra eus Mirdi Breizh e Roazhon hag e ro meuleudi da Y. Ch. Veillard ha d'e goskor o lavarout emaint buan o trein ar mirdi d'ur greizennad goell-spered evit Breizh a-bezh. Diskouez a ra penaos e voe "desavet" ar vugale e doare da vout prest da venjin Bro-C'hall e 1914 eus an drouz-ziwezh tapet ganti e 1870-71.

Digant "Books Ireland" e oa bet goulennet diganin ur pennad a 1000 ger bennak diwar-benn an embannerezh e Breizh, da lakaat en o niverenn a viz Du. Gouezet em eus digant ur Skosad en Alamagn ez eo bet embannet. N'em eus komzet nemet eus al levriou hag ar c'helaouennou brezhonek, div-pe liesyezhek.

Yann Plunier eu deus kaset din un droc'hadenn eus ar gelaouenn gebeket "Le Devoir", enni ur pennad digantan e galleg oc'h ober stad eus un diskleriadur graet gant Kantan Ministr Kebeg dirak kannaded c'hall: "Evit diwall diouzh impalaerezhioù nevez, diouzh ar vaz an dimesaat-speredou, "folkloradur" ar sevenadurioù, e ranko un denegzh (humanism) bedel nevez bezan diorroet o tegemer kevroad (degasadur) andonell ha strujus ar c'humuniezhiou broadel". (E brezhoneg-pobl: n'hell ket an dud bezan dieub ha mont war-raok ma ne vez ket dalc'het kont eus o broadelezh wirion). Me n'on dare hag o deus sonjet ar gannaded c'hall, ha zoken Levesque, er Vretoned, en Euzkariz h. a pa zistage an dra-se. Roet en deus tro da Y. P. da ziskouez dre skouerioù niverus peseurt kismegans zo bet berniet gant ar renerien-Stad c'hall war an dud na gomzent ket galleg er C'hwec'hkorneg, hag int lorc'hus ha divergant o c'houlenn lakaat ar galleg da zistroadenn ar yezhoù all e kement bro ma oant mistri.

Tennet eo bet ma evezh war ul levr gant Jack E. Reece "The Bretons against France" embannet er Stadoù Unanet. Deskrivan a ra an Emsav breizhat - hag ar strolladoù/kevredigezhioù rannvroelourien o kregin gant an URB Klevet em eus o vez anv breman aliezh eus stourm Breizh er Stadoù Unanet - taolioù an FLB eo o deus douget ar vrud ar muian, war a lavared...

Ar gelaouenn bemdeziek "Der Bund", eus Bern (Bro-Suis) he deus embannet ur studiadenñ bervezh, ur bajennad klok bep gwech, e teir eus he niverennou (26, 27 ha 29 Eost 1977), diwar-benn "Strivadenn an Emrenerien e Breizh". Komzet en deus ar c'helaouenn, Christian Schwarz, ouzha bep seurt tud (menoziou dic'hortoiz gant lod anezho) ha pledin a ra da gement tuad eus ar "bountad breizhat". Diskouez a ra bout komprenet mat ar pezh a c'hoarvez er vro.

A. H.

(The Breton national problem and the French official attitude towards it were well documented in recent months in articles in Der Bund, Bern, end of Sept., New Society, early August and Le Devoir, Montreal.)

#### TRAWALC'H.

A series of bomb attacks were carried out in recent months but particularly in October, by clandestine Breton organisations, against buildings of the French administration in Kemper (prefecture), Brest, Gwengamp, Treveneug, etc...) An explosion blew up the booster near Alençon, controlling TV reception for Normandy and Brittany on October 23rd: damage was estimated at over 1 million Francs. Responsibility was claimed by a new group "Trawalc'h" (Enough!), which stated its aims 4 weeks earlier as being total independence for Brittany and a socialist system with minimum State control, inspired by the Celtic traditions. To achieve it: revolutionary action relying on the Bretons' own strength.

Subsequently in a statement issued afterwards on behalf of TRAWALC'H it was made clear that far from having sought to deprive the Bretons of information, as the government propaganda pretended, the action was an assertion of their right to cultural freedom and unbiased information. The haste with which the installation was repaired proved how indispensable the TV link with Paris is to the French imperialists for holding the Breton people in intellectual and cultural subjection. "We claim the right to have programmes produced by Bretons for the Bretons in accordance with a European and world outlook."

An FLB-ARB communique said that the October attacks were carried out to mark the anniversary of the death in action of Y. M. Kernhalegen. It denied newspaper reports that the FLB actions were connected with the flare-up of international terrorism. "Our struggle is rooted in our soil, it aims exclusively at liberating the Bretons from the French State domination."

#### A BRETON, NOT A FRENCHMAN: JAILED.

Yann Ber ar Mat, arrested in May for having refused to obey a call to the French army, was sentenced to 15 months jail by a military court in Rennes on October 21. He rejected the competence of the court: his lawyer referred to a 16th century edict exempting Bretons from military service outside Brittany, but the main point in his defence was that he was a Breton, not a Frenchman. In refusing to defend France, he was working for the safeguard of his people. An attempt by the State prosecutor assisted by an "expert"-psychiatrist to pass him for a paranoiac failed. (We hear a lot about dissidents in the Soviet Union being consigned to mental asylums, but the French liberal dictatorship is quite willing to treat its opponents in the same manner - those who resist its process of alienation are to be declared mad!)

On the eve of the trial a Committee of solidarity with Yann Ber organised a meeting in Rennes, followed by a fest-noz. There was a demonstration outside the "Palais de Justice" against his return to jail. Young people distributing leaflets had their names taken and have received summons to appear in court. A picket organised by the Irish branch of the Celtic League was put on the French Embassy in Dublin on the previous evening: it was attended by over 20 people. Telegrams expressing support for Yann Ber's stand were sent to the president of the military court on behalf of the branches of the Celtic League in the other Celtic countries, of Plaid Cymru, of Conradh na Gaeilge and Comhdhail Naisiunta na Gaeilge (the two main Irish language organisations), of Cowethas An Gof (Mebyon Kernow), the Western branch of Mec Vannin, the Anti-Militarist Alliance (Mannin). Signatures collected in Dublin and in Cornwall to the same end were forwarded to Yann Ber's lawyer.

The Editor of one Cornish newspaper wrote once to the French Ambassador in London and twice to the Minister of Justice in Paris to enquire of Yann but received no reply.

He has gone through the trial and imprisonment in the best of spirits. He has set an example to the Bretons who will no longer be fobbed off by Giscard-Mitterand noises and promises that "something" is soon going to be done to respect the "right to be different". He prefers to spend 15 months in jail (an opportunity to study Breton, among other things) rather than submit. As he stated in May: "Thousands of Breton conscripts were left, on government orders, to die of cold and starvation in the mud of Conlie near Le Mans in 1870-71; 240,000 Breton soldiers (twice the French figure in proportion to populations) were sacrificed in the 1914-18 war (allegedly to protect small nations ...); many others had died for the wrong cause in Algeria, Vietnam, Tchad ... This frightful waste of lives on a mass scale was not an error but a CRIME. For centuries, French control of the Breton affairs far from being providential had been disastrous. "Can a Breton still serve France without betraying his people?" A thousand times NO!!! To allow himself to be drafted into an organisation as definitely anti-social as the French army and to wear its uniform is more than a weakness, it is a degradation. ""

Yann Ber was happy to have received messages from friends in all Celtic countries. Spare occasionally five minutes to send him your greetings. His time will feel shorter. His address: Jean Pierre Le Mat, Maison d'Arret, Blvd Jacques Cartier, 35000 Rennes.

#### **BRETON NURSERY SCHOOLS - DIWAN**

The first nursery school using Breton as its medium was opened last May in Lambaol-Gwitalmezev by the association DIWAN (Germination). There is now a second one in Lenn Du near Kemper, with 8 children of which 6 are already Breton speakers. Diwan plans to open others within the coming year. They are stimulated by the example of the Basques of North Euzkadi who started in 1969 with only 5 children and who have now 16 ikastolas as well as two bilingual primary schools. To develop DIWAN depends on individual donations and on the proceeds of festounoz. So far support is forthcoming but the effort must be increased. To function properly each class needs the equivalent of £3500 a year. What will happen in two years when the children leave the kindergarten? Can voluntary primary schools be operated both legally and practically? What is the attitude of the French education authorities towards the North Basque bilingual schools? In Alsace they are opposed to Kindergartens in German. J.Ch. Bozec, the secretary of Diwan writes: "Our language will not be given its rightful place in the schools by asking only. We cannot wait any longer anyway. Some people are talking of teaching Breton in the schools as a second language or having a  $\frac{1}{4}$  hour of Breton a day in the primary schools. They should look at Ireland, to see that this alone would not save the language.

"To teach just a bit of Breton to the children would be a waste of time. For them to acquire fluency, we must have: 1) nursery schools using only the Breton language, since the influence of French outside is so powerful; 2) bilingual primary schools: they are not yet around the corner but if we succeed in developing the nursery schools we shall need them within a few years."

Our 3rd nursery school will be opened in Ar Releg, Plouneour-Menez, as soon as we get authorisation from an Academy inspector to use a public school which was closed 3 years ago. The Plouneour council is willing to let us have the building. Like the Lambaol council,

they voted to support us. The Kemper council however has ignored our request, we had to find a house ourselves in Lenn Du. \*

So far we have got no help from public funds. The Regional Council has decided, against advice from the Social and Economic Council, not to include us in its Cultural Charter proposals. This, we hear, was due to the Regional Prefet's intervention. Instead the R.C. proposed a 2-week course a year for the children, some help for those taking the Breton test in the secondary school Leaving Certificate examination and other such trivialities.

We are petitioning the Departement councils, due to meet in January, for a share of the subsidies due to be allocated to cultural associations. For the present we depend on the (good) will and generosity of our fellow countrymen, and others too. It will be a hard struggle but we have the will to win. It is our language's last chance. It is alright to publish books in Breton, to campaign for bilingual road-signs and more Breton on TV, but the FIRST PRIORITY MUST BE TO GIVE THE LANGUAGE TO THE CHILDREN. Otherwise in a few years who will read the books and the road-signs and watch the TV programmes?

Judging by the people's reactions, we have good ground for optimism. The Lambaol school for instance has been given a good welcome by the local population. We should like to contact people engaged in similar struggles in the other Celtic countries and elsewhere: I am sure we have a lot to learn from their experience."

We repeat our request to our Breton readers: GIVE GENEROUSLY TO DIWAN. Write a standing order, if you have a bank account, for a regular subscription to DIWAN, c/o J. Ch. Bozec, Hent Treouergad, Gwipronvel, 29290 Lokournan/St-Renan. DIWAN holds the key to our future as a people.

To our friends in other countries, we would suggest that they write, courteously of course, to the "Maire de Quimper" and to the "Secrétaire de la Mairie de Quimper" expressing surprise at the town council's negative attitude to the Diwan request, and pointing out that all other peoples are proud of their language.

#### **STIVELL: 'RAOK DILESTRAN' (Before Landing).**

This 33 rpm record just produced by Keltia III deserves to be widely distributed in Brittany as it would help the people to gain, albeit in summary form, a knowledge of their history, which the French "education" system carefully avoids giving them. The historical material is in Breton only on Side I, divided in a dozen tracks, which include 10 songs concerning the different periods of the Breton history and some readings in French (we understood there is also a version in English) to give a brief idea of the events and happenings of each period. Stivell has written the texts, composed the music; he is also the main performer, assisted by several talented musicians and singers. The text of the songs and their translation in French (or English?) is beautifully printed on the sleeve. Stivell's account and interpretation is as usual original and personal. Our readers will be particularly interested in his view of the struggle which opposed the ancient Celts and the Romans: it has validity for the present. Side II includes a touching welcome to his new-born son and a homage to his wife, but the other pieces concern to-day's struggle in Brittany: a mourning tune inspired by Y.M. Kernhalegenn's death, a song denouncing repression (Forbidden roots), another about 9 men jailed in 1975, and a persistent incantation "Breizh Digabestr -- Free Brittany". The first impression of some of the accompanying music is a bit weird,



but with repeated hearings they come to fit in well with a lively rendering and the great variety in mood and rhythm. The language stays close to the dialect of the Langonnéd area, in our view a handicap.

#### DEPENDING ON UNITY OF FRENCH LEFT?

As a socialist party working for Breton self-government the UDB is very disappointed at the failure of the French Leftist parties to reach agreement for a Common Programme prior to the March 1978 elections. They believe that the administrative and cultural reforms which they seek can come only from a radical change in the society of the French State. It is their policy when their own candidates fail in the first round of elections, to urge their supporters to vote in the second round for the best placed French-Left candidates. Yet, the French Socialist Party has only a slim chance of winning on its own, and if it can form a government it will be too weak, too preoccupied with "managing the crisis" to bother about the special problems of Brittany and unable, without the Communist partnership, to change the French pattern of government.

The UDB has probably no great illusion about the will of the Leftists to give more freedom to the "regions" and more especially about their understanding of our needs. The Communists are more attached to centralism than the Socialists, even though among these such decentralisers as the Bretons Pensec and Josselin carry little weight. The only Leftists with a positive attitude to "self-management" at all levels of society is the PSU. There was nothing in the 1972 draft for a Common Programme about regional reforms. Nor have the main Leftist parties proposed a comprehensive solution to unemployment in Brittany since then. They have kept silent or cool about the reunification of the 5 Breton départements in to one administrative unit. Neither the Communists nor the "Radicaux de Gauche" have joined the moderate "Front Cultural Progressiste Breton" founded by the teachers' organisation AR FALZ after it left the all-too-conservative and timorous Emgleo Breiz.

**Further Pointers:** both the Communists and the Socialists oppose the idea of a special statute for Corsica; the discussion of the proposals for a Breton cultural charter in the Regional and département councils has shown once more that the members of the French Left in Brittany, whatever their personal leanings follow strictly the instructions coming from Paris.

One can hardly talk there of ambiguity, but rather of cold calculations of political advantages to be gained or put at risk, in the overall French electoral game, by stating their positions regarding Brittany. The UDB itself is wagering its credibility by making its tactics so dependent on the vagaries of French parties. Le Peuple Breton published without comment letters from sympathisers urging the UDB to obtain firm commitments from these parties before the elections. If they refuse the UDB should recognise the permanent opposition between the French and the Breton interests and fight on its own (Any Parnell there?) But it is also mathematically certain that even though workers form a majority of the voters, a party laying so much stress on socialism as the UDB cannot win a majority of the Breton seats. Example: it is only after the Quebecois united in one party that they became a political force. The 17-year-old UDB cannot of course change its policies without risking disruption. But time has shown that their backing of the French Left in general elections should be conditional on stricter undertakings, if it is justified at all.

Meanwhile they are carrying on with the work of educating people politically in urban areas, factories, councils ... They organised a successful campaign during the first half of 1977 to win new members, distributing 100,000 leaflets, putting up 10,000 posters, holding over 100 public meetings. They have nominated candidates for the March elections in half of the Breton constituencies. Their demand backed by 10,000 signatures for the right to speak for  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour on the regional TV channel was fulfilled in September when three of their spokesmen explained on FR3 the UDB ideas in French and in Breton. Their election manifesto is to be published this month (November).

#### CUTTING DOWN TO FRENCH SIZE

The proposals for a Breton Cultural Charter underwent the process of discussion and voting in the Regional Council when this body met in Rennes under the chairmanship of the French government chief administrator, the Regional Prefet, around September 20. The Council approved the proposals put before it by the Conseil Economique et Social but only after considerable pruning. It would be idle to describe them in detail, we shall wait to see what the French government will do about them early in 1978. It is obvious that a good deal of party politics is being played around them: those members who belong to the French government majority voted "for" even though some of them are known to be hostile to the Breton language and culture; those belonging to the opposition abstained, pretexting that the government should first clarify its commitment (or was it not rather because the initiative had not come from themselves?); R. Leprohon, UDB, voted against because what Brittany needs is not a concession but the means to work out and implement measures required in her interest without reference to French politics. Symptomatic of the lack of real interest in the future of our language was the omission by the Council of the Breton nursery schools from the scheme of subsidies for our cultural associations, as if to anticipate the opposition of the French establishment to anything that would help Breton to remain the mother tongue of the coming generations. As for the money to be allocated to implementing the chart, the Council agreed to contribute 3.5 million Fr., while asking the départements for 300,000 Fr. each and the State for 6 million Fr. Very far below the 120 million Fr. suggested by the cultural associations; a trifle compared to what France spends on its Beaubourg showpiece and the Alliance Française; insignificant when one thinks of the damage done hitherto to the Breton-speakers!

French party lines were again followed when the proposals came before the département councils: they were adopted with the support of the government party faithful, and the abstention of the Leftists. Nobody said that too much was being asked. The Cotes-du-Nord vote had not yet been taken early in November. But the brightest note in the whole process was struck by the Loire-Atlantique Council: not only was the Left-Right cleavage avoided, the vote in favour was unanimous, and when it was suggested that this département, more than half of which was historically less influenced by the Breton language than the other four, should only contribute half their financial share, they protested that they would pay like the others. That gives the lie to those who are trying, with official backing, to foster among the people of the Nantes area the idea that they are not Bretons!

Whatever the French government does about the proposals, the fact that any measures deriving from them will depend for their realisation on the powerful French

administration inspires no confidence in their ultimate effectiveness. But it was an exercise in democracy: for the first time in centuries, the Breton people were able, through consultation and the vote of their elected representatives (however defective the process, however limited the politicians' understanding and liberty of manoeuvre) to give some expression of what our country requires in order to maintain its "cultural identity".

A. H.



Breton bombard and biniou players (early part of this century)

The prize founded by the International Committee for the defence of the Breton Language (secretary general C. Sterckx, 11-13 Parvis de St-Gilles, B-1060 Brussels) was awarded to Erwan ar Menga for his work "Breuriez Vreizh 1790". This book, dealing with the Breton Association and the struggle of La Rouerie to save Breton self-government during the French Revolution, was published by Nature et Bretagne, 38 r. J. d'Arc, 29000 Kemper, in 1976. Twelve works were presented to the jury, a close competitor to Ar Menga's was Y. B. Piriou's collection of "contestatory" poems, Ar Mallozhio Ruz (Red Curses), published by P. J. Oswald in 1974. The Committee's Board includes people of ten nationalities (Western and Central Europe, USA and Canada). They fulfil, with the limited means at their disposal, a role which should have been assumed by UNESCO.

**Irish Pen-Pal:** (slightly older boy or girl) sought by 17 year old Breton girl interested in art, yoga, occultism, Irish music. Write to Annig Pineau, c/o. I. S. Hainey, 315 Rte de Vannes, 44800 St. Herblain, Brittany.

A letter was addressed on behalf of the Celtic League to the Ambassador of Spain in Dublin to enquire whether Serge Dupont-Nedelec and two other Breton anarchists held in Carabanchel jail had benefited from a recent amnesty; if not, we wished to support the demand that they be speedily brought before a civil court for trial. Dupont-Nedelec, jailed in 1967, had for a second time gone on hunger strike. We expect a reply shortly.

**AL LIAMM**, bimonthly, approx. 90pp. The most important Breton language periodical. 40F Breizh and France, 50F other countries. To. P. Le Bihan, 16 rue des Fours a chauds, St. Servan, St. Malo. Money orders to CCP 5349-06 Paris.

## CYMRU

### IWERDDON

Ar y 3ydd o fis Hydref, fe ordeiniwyd y Parchedig Tomas O Fiaich yn Archesgob ar Ard Macha ac yn Briesgob ar Iwerddon i gyd, nid cyn iddo fod yn bwnc cryn dipyn o glebran yng ngwasg Fleet Street Llundain; ffaith oedd yn dangos yn glir dros ben nad oedd ei benodiad wrth fodd Westminster a sefydliad Lloegr.

Yn syth ar ôl i'r penodiad gael ei gyhoeddi, ar y 28ain o fis Awst, fe ymddangosodd erthygl yn y "Sunday Times" gan ryw Muriel Bowen (a gobeithio nad Cymraes mohoni chwaith, er gwaetha'i henw!) "arbeoigwraig" y papur hwnnw ar faterion Iwerddon a ffrind i'r diweddar Brain Faulkner, yn condemnio "the hard man from Crosmaglen" fel dyn "steeped in Nationalist sentiment" ac o gefndir "far removed from the more sophisticated professional and business people of the southern cities of the Republic" a bod ei benodiad wedi achosi wythnos o lid a dicter yn y cylchoedd hynny ac i seneddwr o Ddilynwyd mai "appalling choice" oedd. Dilynwyd hyn gan erthygl flaen hynod o gywir yn yr "Irish Press" bore trannoeth (ac y mae'n bleser i weld y gall y papur a sefydlwyd gan Eamonn de Valera fod yn gywir o hyd weithiau ar faterion cenedlaethol) yn condemnio, nid yn unig erthygl Miss Bowen, ond hefyd y math o bobl sy'n byw yn Iwerddon ac sydd mor barod i wasanaethu Lloegr drwy roi'r math yma o wybodaeth enllibus i unrhyw ohebydd o Saes sy'n galw arnynt. Fel y dywedodd yr Irish Press, Yr oedd yr adwaith i'r newyddion fod y Tad O Fiaich wedi cael ei benodi yn un allawen a brwdfrydig. Enllib tost oedd trio gwneud rhyw fath o "simpleton IRA chaplain" (yng ngeiriau'r I. P.) allan ohono.

I'r rhai ohonom sydd wedi bod yn weithgar ym mudiad yr iaith Wyddeleg yn ystod yr ugain mlynedd diwethaf, o leiaf, Mae'r Tad O Fiaich yn ffigur adnabyddus iawn. Yr ydym wedi dysgu i ddibynnu ar ei gefnogaeth, cefnogaeth sy'n filwriaethus, nid o gasineb at elyn ond o gariad at yr achos, ei wlad a'i iaith. Mae'r cariad hwn wedi tyfu nid allan o ryw sentiment wag, ond o ddoethineb a gwybodaeth hanesydd. Yr ydym yn ei barchu fel ysgolhaig, fel gwir Gristion, fel dyn hael, cymdeithasgar, gwladgarol a llawn o hiwmor.

Mae'r ffaith fod Westminster (a'r rhai yn Iwerddon sy'n gweithio dros Westminster, ffrindiau Muriel Bowen) mor ofnus ohono yn tanlinelli eu hofn a'u casineb o'r iaith Wyddeleg fel rhan mor bwysig o'r mudiad cenedlaethol. Trwy geisio ei baentio fel dyn treisiol yn sychedi am waed maennhw'n anghiofio mai un o'r pethau cyntaf a wnaeth e ar ôl ei benodi oedd condemnio trais o bob plaid - provos, yr U. D. A. a byddin Lloegr. Yr gwir yw fod Llundain yn ofni'r posibilrwydd bod yr Archesgob O Fiaich yn un sy'n medru helpu yn hynod o effeithiol i uno Catholigion a Phrotestaniaid yng Ngogledd Iwerddon. Mae wedi dweud ei hun mai dyma un o'i amcanion pennaf. Yn ogystal â hyn, mae parch gan y Doctor Otto Simms, Archesgob Protestanaidd Ard Macha tuag at yr Archesgob O Fiaich. Ymae wedi dweud ei fod yn ei edmygu yn fawr iawn. Mae gan y ddau ohonynt rywbeth mewn cyffredin, sef eu cariad at yr iaith Wyddeleg. Mae'r Doctor Simms yn Siarad yr iaith yn rhugl, Gwyddeleg yw iaith ei awlwyd. Gwyddeleg yw'r iaith mae'r ddau Archesgob yn siarad gyda'i gilydd. Rhaid bod dylanwad y ddau yma, yn gweithio ochr yn ochr a'i gilydd yn mynd i newid cryn dipyn ar yr awyrgylch yn y ochr yna o'r wlad, ac yn nynd i fod yn help yn y gwaith dros undod a heddych y wlad i gyd. Dywedodd yn newyddiadurwr yn Nulyn ychydig yn ol ei fod yn credu y gall yr Archesgob O Fiaich wneud i'r Eglwys Gatholig yn Iwerddon cymaint ag a wnaeth yr Pab Ioan 23 i'r Eglwys ac

i Gristnogaeth y byd i gyd.

Diddorol felly yw deall wrth ddarllen erthygl yn yr "Irish Democrat" mai amcan cyfweiliad Jim Callaghan a'r pab Pawl oedd i drïo ei berswadio i gadw 'r het goch i ffwrdd o'r Archesgob O Fiaich, hynny yw, peidio â'i wneud yn Cardinal. Fel arfer Archesgob Ard Macha yw'r Cardinal yn Iwerddon, fel oedd y diweddar Archaegob Conway. Beth bynnag, nid oes un rheol i ddweud mai rhaid i bethau fod fel hynny. Dywedir gan bobl sy'n agos iawn ar y Fatican bod Callaghan a llywodraeth Lloegr yn trio perswadio'r Pab i wneud Cardinal o Archesgob Dilyn, y Doctor Dermot Ryna yn hytrach nag O Fiaich. Mae pawb oedd yn adnabod y Doctor Ryan pan oedd yn Athro Ieithoedd Semitaidd yng Ngholeg Prifysgol Dilyn yn gwybod nad oedd ef erioed yn frwdfrydig dros yr iaith Wyddeleg. Yn wir, fe'i clywyd ar un adeg yn cyfeirio at yr iaith fel "Erse". Ar ddiwrnod dathlu canmlwyddiant Coleg Hyfforddi Sant Padrig yn 1975, yn Nulyn, dywedyd offeren a phregethwyd pregeth, i gyd yn Saesneg - gan yr Archesgob Ryan. Nid yw hi'n anodd felly i sylweddoli pam y byddai Llundain yn hapusach o lawer i weld yr het goch ar ei ben ef yn hytrach na phen Tomas O Fiaich!

Janice Williams.

The above is an account of the reaction of Fleet Street newspapers to the appointment of Mgr. Tomás Ó Fiaich as Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland. J.W.

#### FFRANGEG A LLYDAWEG: HANES DWY IAITH.

'Roedd yn ddiddorol iawn darllen erthygl yn y cylchgrawn "Télé Sept Jours" am raglenni teledu yn yr iaith ffrangeg yn y Val d'Aoste (Yr Eidal). Talaith ymreolaethol yw Dyffryn Aoste a Ffrangeg yw iaith y trefwyr, ("tafodiaith" Frangeg yng nghefn gwlad).

Dechreuodd Mussolini fudiad i Eidaleiddio'r dyffryn (poglogaeth 105,000); diarddeliad o'r iaith Ffrangeg ac enwau y trefi wedi en newid fel ha Thuile: Porto Litterio (enw ffasiol taid iawn).

Ar ôl y rhyfel (1939-45) bu'r dyffryn yn dalaith yrieolaethol ddwyieithog, ond trefniadaeth "genedlaethol" oedd y gwasanaeth sifil, felly Eidallwyr oedd yn cael y swyddi pwysig. 'Raedd y drefniadaeth yn eiddaleg ac felly daeth y dyffryn yn eiddaleg eto.

Yn 1970, cytunodd Teledu yr Eidal (R.A.I.): adael i Deledu Ffrainc adeiladu darlledyddion teledu yn yr Eidal. Ar hyn o bryd mae dau ddarlledydd yno ac fe fydd naw yn y dyfodol. Y canlyniad: my o'r plant yn siarad yr iaith Ffrangeg yn y dyffryn diolch i arian y Llywodraeth Ffrengig.

Yn y Cyfamser, yn Llydaw ... Yn ystod yn haf mae Radio Amorique (1) wedi cymryd lle'r rhaglenni dyddiol yn Llydaweg i drosglwyddo rhaglenni am y twristiaid Almaenaidd.

Ar y teledu mae newyddion yn Llydaweg dwywaith yr wythnos ... am un funud a trideg eiliad. Chwarae teg, mae cylchgrawn o drideg munud yn Llydaweg ... pob pythefnos!

Pwnc dyrys arall yw newyddion am Lydaw ar Télé-Bretagne a Radio Amorique. Mae gweithwyr y gwasanaeth euhunain wedi cwyno bod dim newyddion llydaweg gwir yn y rhaglenni (2) Enghreifftiau: 1) Trafodaeth gyda y Maer cymdeithasol newydd yn Roazhon. 'Roedd y cwestiynnau am ei deulu, ei wyliau ac yn y blaen. 2) 4 Mai 1977: 11 munud am Raymond Barre a'i gynllun economaidd. Dim ond ugain munud a newyddion rhanbarthol a rhaglen am y cyllun yn y prynhawn ac yn y newyddion "cenedlaethol". 3) 4-7 munud o chwaraeon (pob dydd!) yn y newyddion. 4) Emissions Regionales (am Lydaw) enghraifft: "Delta show in the Snow". (Rhaglen o Lyon); chwaraeou yn yr Alpau.

1) gweler erthygl "Celtic Radio".

2) erthygl yn "Le Peuple Breton" mis medi 1977.

The French T.V. service has established nine transmitters in the French speaking areas of Italy where less than 200,000 people use the language. This service has revitalised the state of the French language in Italy. This expenditure abroad contrasts unfavourably with the condition of Regional television or radio in Brittany, both in French and Breton.

#### TYNGED SIANEL 4

A.G.

Beth sydd ym meddwl yr Ysgrifennydd Cartref, Merlyn Rees, y dyddiau hyn tybed? Dyna'r cwestiwn sy'n poeni ymgyrchwyr yr iaith wrth feddwl am y datganiad a wneir yn y dyfodol agos ar fater y bedwaredd sianel. A yw brwydr y Sianel Gymraeg wedi ei cholli? A'r patrwm ar gyfer y dyfodol wedi'r cyfan fydd gwasgaru'r Gymraeg ar bob sianel? Ai Jac L. fydd yn ennill yn y diwedd?

Ar yr wyneb mae'n ymddangos fod mwy a mwy o bobl y dyddiau hyn yn gweld 'perygl' mewn sefydlu'r gwasanaeth Cymraeg ar y bedwaredd sianel. Cawsom ddatganiad i'r perwyl hwn gan Gymro mor oleuedig â'r Arglwydd Harlech ei hun! Ond y gwir yw, mae'n debyg, fod mwy a mwy o bobl yn ddiweddar hyn penderfynu gwneud eu safbwynt yn gyhoeddus - yn enwedig ar ôl marwolaeth y diweddar Jac L. Williams.

Beth fydd canlyniad yr ymgyrch bresennol i gynyddu rhaglenni Cymraeg i blant, gan ddefnyddio oriau gwag ar BBC-2? Yn ddiarwybod bron gall y syniad o gael rhaglenni Cymraeg ar dair sianel gydio a dod yn batrwm sefydledig nid yn unig cyn belled ag y mae rhaglenni plant yn y cwestiwn, ond hefyd i ehangu oriau darlledu Cymraeg i oedolion. Pan ddaw hi'n amser i gychwyn darlledu ar y bedwaredd sianel, pwy sy'n mynd i ganiatau 'ir holl raglenni hyn gael eu trosglwyddo yn eu crynswth i'r fan honno?

Yn ôl adroddiad yn yr 'Observer' yn ddiweddar, y tebygrwydd yw mai'r teledu annibynnol fydd yn cael gafael ar y bedwaredd sianel. Os hynny, a barnu yn ôl datganiadau'r Arglwydd Harlech a Syr Alun Talfan Davies, sianel gymysg ei hiaith fydd honno yng Nghymru, ac os cant eu ffordd, fe gedwir y rhaglenni Cymraeg presennol lle y maent.

Y perygl mawr wrth gwrs yw fod hyn yn rhwystro datblygiad gwasanaeth darlledu cyflawn fydd yn gwneud defnydd llawn o'r oriau brig. Fel y dywedodd Meg Elis mewn llythyr yn 'Y Cymro' ni all y Gymraeg wneud mwy nag ysgwyd ychydig ar fawd ei throed o dan y gyfundrefn bresennol. Mewn sefyllfa ddwyieithog, y Gymraeg sy'n dioddef yn ddi-eithriad.

A bod yn hollol deg mae'r rhan fwyaf, os nad y cyfan o aelodau'r ddirprwyiaeth a fu'n ymweld â Merlyn Rees a'r Awdurdodau Darlledu yn gweld y cynnydd mewn rhaglenni Cymraeg i blant fel rhywbeth dros dro ac nid fel cynllun i ddisodli'r sianel Gymraeg.

Felly hefyd Emyr Humphreys sy'n galw am sefydlu Bwrdd Teledu Cymraeg yn awr i ddarparu rhaglenni ar gyfer y bedwaredd sianel pan ddaw hi, ac yn cyfamser i ddefnyddio oriau gwag ar BBC-2. Mae hwn yn awgrym synhwyrol a ddylai gael cefnogaeth gref. Buom yn sefyll yn ein hunfan yn rhy hir: mae'n rhaid symud ymlaen.

**BRETAGNES** We have received the seven issues of "Bretagnes" - a literary and political quarterly (in French) sub. 45F, - 60F outside French state, Impasse de la Fontaine-au-Lait, Morlaix. Send 12F if you wish to sample a copy. Its first page says "what is important is the birth of a nation, what is significant is the creation of a literature". We might ask, in French?



## WELSH IN SCHOOLS SURVEY

The official Census of 1971 are the latest figures available showing the position of the Welsh language throughout Wales as a whole, but other individual surveys give us a fair idea of the situation in the meantime.

The latest of these surveys, showing a sudden and alarming decline in the number of Welsh speakers in the primary schools of Gwynedd, Dyfed and Powys, is depressing to say the least. The figures show that Gwynedd and Dyfed, traditionally the 'strongholds' of the Welsh language can no longer be described in such terms.

The report was written by a number of School Inspectors and they base their facts on detailed questionnaires that were sent to all headmasters in the three counties in 1974.

The report warns that if present trends continue there will be a serious shortage of Welsh speaking teachers in a few years' time.

Perhaps the most significant figures are those which show the degree of success with which English speakers have been taught the Welsh language. The figures reveal that, on the whole, the attempt to make monoglot English speakers fluent in Welsh, has been a failure (of course, little or no attempt has been made in this direction in some areas). The percentage of monoglots who have learned the language fluently are as follows: Anglesey 5%, Caernarfonshire 14%, Merioneth 20%, Montgomeryshire 1.8%, Carmarthenshire 6%, Ceredigion 15%, Pembrokeshire 2%.

If the education authorities and the individual schools cannot come to grips with the ever increasing influx of English children into the traditional heartlands of the Welsh language, we are facing a very serious situation indeed.

In Gwynedd, where the county council is dominated by nationalists (council meetings are conducted mostly in Welsh) the education policy looks good enough on paper. The problem is to implement the policy. It was encouraging, however, to learn recently that the council are thinking of allocating an extra £150,000 for the purpose of employing extra language teachers. The council rejected a motion calling for only £30,000 to be spent.

Area	Number of children					total	A as % of total	B as % of B+C+D+E
	A	B	C	D	E			
<b>DYFED</b>								
Carmarthenshire	5348	631	1897	5878	2442	16,196	33%	6%
Ceredigion	2683	483	1262	1020	493	5,941	45%	15%
Pembrokeshire	898	150	1340	1870	5879	10,137	9%	2%
Dyfed total	8929	1264	4499	8768	8814	32,274	28%	5%
<b>POWYS</b>								
Montgomeryshire	552	72	460	2371	1158	4,613	12%	1.8%
Radnor	7	-	64	81	2012	2,164	0.6%	0%
Brecknock	342	118	868	1356	1235	3,919	8.7%	3.3%
Powys total	901	190	1392	3808	4405	10,696	8.4%	1.9%
<b>GWYNEDD</b>								
Anglesey	3465	217	1281	1555	1105	7,623	45%	5%
Caernarfonshire	6439	929	1970	2936	771	13,045	49%	14%
Merioneth	1716	278	435	375	305	3,109	55%	20%
Gwynedd total	11620	1424	3686	4866	2181	23,777	49%	12%

### CATEGORY:

- A - Welsh-speaking from the start.
- B - non-Welsh speaking before starting school but fluent by now.
- C - non-Welsh speaking before starting school, but their grasp of the language improving.
- D - non-Welsh speaking before starting school and having a very limited knowledge of it.
- E - English speaking children, having no knowledge of Welsh.

The survey of course does not reveal the situation in Glamorgan and other parts of South Wales, and this must be borne in mind. Welsh schools and Welsh language teaching in these areas are increasing steadily. According to figures released in November there are now 9,241 pupils attending Welsh medium primary schools or departments in the anglicized parts of Wales, compared with 6,253 in 1970. In 1970 there were 4 bilingual secondary schools with 2,017 pupils. In 1977 there were 8 schools, with 6,001 pupils. These figures do not take into account those schools in the Welsh-speaking parts of Wales.

Nevertheless, the decline in the traditional Welsh speaking areas is very alarming and should cause grave concern to everyone. We must take action - immediately.

## WELSH DEVOLUTION?

On Wednesday November 16th the House of Commons passed, by a majority of 27, a time-table or "guillotine" motion limiting the time available for discussion of the Wales Bill. The effect of this success by the Government and its pro-devolution allies in the Nationalist parties and amongst the Liberals is to guarantee the ultimate passage of the measure by the Commons. It was the failure of a similar motion nine months previously which had seemed to sound the death-knell for the Government's devolution proposals for Wales and Scotland, at that time combined in a single Bill.

In the Queen's speech at the State Opening of Parliament the Government had promised another attempt to set up Parliaments for the two countries. Indeed Devolution was made the central proposal of the Government's legislative programme. A few days later the Wales Bill and the Scotland Bill were published. The separation of the proposals for the two countries into separate Bills was one of the concessions made by the Government to anti-devolutionists within the ranks of its own party. The implication of this demand was expected to be that the Government would give a higher priority to the Scotland Bill and might not be too dismayed if the Wales Bill were to fall by the wayside.

In substance the proposals for Wales contained in the new Bill did not differ from those in the previous Scotland and Wales Bill. An interesting addition is the duty laid upon the Welsh Assembly to review local government and to prepare proposals for reform for submission to Westminster. The purpose of this is to allay fears that the creation of the Assembly will permanently insert an extra tier into the pyramid of government. It is widely assumed that the Assembly would recommend the abolition of the counties with their powers being divided between the districts and the Assembly itself. By leaving it to the Assembly to come to this conclusion the Government are able to avoid coming into conflict at this stage with the counties, who would naturally resist their own abolition strongly.

The basic plan for an administrative body, with no legislative or tax-raising powers, and no control over economic affairs, remains. Plaid Cymru therefore continues to steer a course between enthusiastic support and outright opposition, ever-conscious of the feeling amongst its supporters that whatever its imperfections the proposed Assembly would be a step in the right direction, and that it would be some tangible achievement resulting from the decade of hard work which the party has put in since the emergence of nationalism as a major political force in Wales.

Although passage through the Commons seems certain, the Bill has still got to surmount some formidable

obstacles. Firstly the fortunes of the Government might take a dramatic turn for the worse and the pact with the Liberals might end as a result. Although the nationalists could sustain the Government in office in order to ensure the passage of the Bill they might feel it more prudent to let an election take place and indeed the Government might itself feel unable to struggle on. The Bill itself would of course fall if Parliament were to be dissolved and the possibility of any future similar measure would depend on the complexion of the next House of Commons. Secondly even if passed by the Commons, the Bill would have to run the gauntlet of the House of Lords. If at that time the fortunes of the Government were at a low ebb the Lords might have the courage to defy the Government by amending the measure substantially and causing enough delay to undo the work of the Commons guillotine by making the Bill run out of time.

But the third and most serious obstacle which the Bill must pass before being brought into effect is the need for endorsement in a national referendum in Wales. Few Plaid Cymru members would claim that the present proposals command enthusiastic support amongst nationalists, yet it is clear that the party will have to be the driving force behind any referendum campaign together with the trade unions, who are on the whole supporters of devolution. The stakes are very high. Although success would probably mean that a future Government at Westminster hostile to devolution would not dare to repeal the legislation, failure would make any measure of domestic self-government for Wales a complete non-starter for years, and the prospect of national freedom evolving out of an Assembly would disappear.

Keith Bush.

#### CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH CONFERENCE

A record 52 motions were debated at the Cymdeithas yr Iaith annual conference at Talybont, Dyfed, on October 14. - all in the space of one evening and one day. Inevitably, a number of motions could not be debated properly because of lack of time and the vital topic of education had to wait until late on Saturday night when most members and press representatives had left.

One motion deplored the society's failure to implement many of the 1976 resolutions. The reason could well be that a society with less than 2,000 members cannot reasonably be expected to implement so many resolutions effectively.

A motion calling for planning status for the Welsh language was described as one of the most important. Wynfford James, the retiring chairman said that the language had very little status in planning matters. The well being of the language should be the most important factor in County and District Council policy making, he said.

Other topics discussed were tourism, road-signs, the Swansea licencing centre, the Wales TUC, Breweries, Nationalized industries, broadcasting, the press, housing education, and the need to adopt different policies in different parts of the country.

The new chairman is Rhodri Williams and the two full time secretaries for 1977/78 are Aled Eirug and Angharad Tomos. The society is at present £2000 in debt. The treasurer, Sion Alun, needs a further £13,000 during the next 12 months to meet all the costs.

During the few weeks leading up to the Conference a total of eight members were imprisoned for periods up to a month for refusing to pay various fines.

A. G.

#### DANGER TO EISTEDDFOD'S FREEDOM?

The National Eisteddfod has recently created a new post of Director, with a salary of £8000. He is to be Mr. Emyr Jenkins, Programme Controller of BBC Wales, and he will be based at Cardiff, taking overall control of the Eisteddfod's affairs.

The Eisteddfod Council have also announced that they are asking the Welsh Office for an annual grant towards the running of the Eisteddfod - estimated at £400,000 next year at Cardiff.

Adfer, the movement of the 'Fro Gymraeg' (Welsh-speaking areas) has denounced this move saying that the Eisteddfod is in danger of losing its independence. By opening the door to the English State the Eisteddfod Council, they say, are accepting that the Welsh language and culture depend on government money in order to survive. The real crisis of the Eisteddfod is a cultural one because of its lack of roots in the Fro Gymraeg.

Emyr Llywelyn, Adfer's leader, has declared that he will not attend any future Eisteddfodau until they are based in the Welsh-speaking areas.

#### MORE TV FOR CHILDREN

Five Welsh-language movements have united together to call for up to 10 hours a week extra TV programmes for Welsh-speaking children and young people. The movements are Urdd Gobaith Cymru, Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin, Cymdeithas yr Iaith, Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru and Merched y Wawr. A deputation to meet the Home Secretary, Merlyn Rees, was led by Dafydd Elis Thomas, M. P. (Plaid Cymru, Meirionnydd), Tom Ellis, M. P. (Labour, Wrecsam) and Geraint Howells (Liberal, Ceredigion) on September 26.

The Home Secretary, it seems, is sympathetic - but the Welsh have had more than their fair share of 'sympathy' without action from so many government spokesmen. This time, though, it seems that the demands will be met to some degree . . . sooner or later.

It should be emphasized that the campaign is seen as a short term measure which is immediately practicable if the money is provided, and not as an alternative to the fourth TV channel.

A statement on the future of the fourth network throughout the U. K. is expected from Merlyn Rees early in the new year. In the meantime various calls have been made for Welsh programmes to be spread over four channels rather than confined to one. Ironically, it seems that this call has been strengthened since the recent death of Professor Jac L. Williams, who, until his death, was the only one to persist in declaring this view.

A. G.

#### NATIONAL FRONT IN ALBA

The National Front made its appearance in Scotland in the early summer. Their leader John Tyndall came to Edinburgh in June which event caused some nasty incidents on which he commented "there are too few National Front supporters in Scotland to maintain order, but that will not always be true". He promised to meet violence with violence and announced that they would be fielding 5 candidates at the next election. Mr. Robert Shirley, the S. N. P. candidate for one of the threatened constituencies advised to avoid all contact with them at all times but the tactics they have used in England since then show that that would be very difficult. Eventually at the end of August only one candidate was announced - that for Dundee East but the man himself withdrew after a predictable reaction which included the painting of anti-Nazi slogans on his walls. This was described from London as "political terrorism". It is to be sincerely hoped that this will be the end of them.

# ÉIRE

## GLUAISEACHT SÍOCHÁNA IDIRNÁISIÚNTA NA hÉIREANN

Seans gur chuir an teidil 'Irish Peace Group' seachrán ar chuid mhaith daoine nach ndeacha níos sia ná an teidil céanna nuair a fograíodh an cruinniú, chun an ghluaiseacht thuasluaite a bhunú, ar na nuachtáin ar na mallabha. Tá sé iontuigthe gur mheasadar nach raibh i gceist ach grúpa tacaíochta do 'Peace People' an tuaiscirt, ó tharla a leithéid a bheith ag teacht chun tosaigh ó am go chéile sa taobh sea tíre. Níl baint dá laghad acu lena chéile. Is eagrás nua (in Éirinn) an ghluaiseacht a bhfuil mar phríomh aidhm aige obair ar son dí-armála eithnigh, ar son cosc a chur le forbairt na nairm eithnigh, agus ar son cosc a chur ar Éirinn dul isteach i NATO. In ainneoin na naidhmeanna idirnáisiúnta seo, níl an teagras beag beann ar an gcoimhlint ins na sé condaeth. A mhálairt ar fad. De réir dearcaidh an ghrúpa is mar chuid d'airm NATO ata arm forghabhála Shasana ag fanacht ins na sé condaeth, agus cosaint bunáiteanna NATO síor chúis an airm bheith a choinneáil ansin faoi fathair. Da bhrí sin tá tarraingt siar airm Shasana mar cheann d'aidhmeanna na gluaiseachta in Éirinn.

Ba chúis diomá mar sin gan slua níos mó bheith i láthair ag an gcrúinniú, go háirithe ó bhí Sean Mac Giolla Bhríde ag tabhairt cainte uaidh. Ní minic a thagann sé os comhair phobail a tíre fhéin. Is cinnte go mba chóir fíricí na cumhachta eithnigh a chur in iúl do phobal i bhfad níos fairsinge. Ce go bhfuil fealsúnacht an eiseachais ag dul i dtreise sa taobh seo den domhan, is cás le móran daoine go fóill todhchaí na cruinne. De réir an fhealsaimh, Robert W. Gardiner, is don chine daonna atá dílseacht an duine dlite feasta, agus ní dona thír dhúchais. Ní gá go gcuirfeadh an tuairim seo isteach ar lucht tírghrá na náisiún gCeilteach, mar nach uathusan atá aon chuid den bhagairt eithneach ag teacht. Bíodh is go bhfuil déantús na nairm eithnigh ag leathadh i dtíortha ar nós an Ind agus an tSín, is ag an dá bhloc mór - Warsaw Pact agus NATO - atá furmhór na cumhachta eithnigh. Is ag dul i méid atá líon na nairm eithnigh acu; so bhliain 1976 bhí 12000 diúracháin eithneach ina seilbh, sin 1.3 milliúin cumhachta de bhreis ar an mbuama a scríos Hiroshima, agus dóthain chun an domhan iomlán a scríos. Ach ní hé sin iomlán an uafáis. Táthar ag leanúint den taighde, agus ar na gaoraibh tá leithéidí an bhuama inchinne, a chasán daoine ina ngeilt; an buama ciníocha a mharaíonn daoine de réir dath na craicne no an ghrúpa folá; agus chualamar uilig mar gheall ar an mbuama neodrónach. Tionscail an uafáis, an tionscal is mó ar domhan le breis is céad milliúin fostaithe ann (100 m) gan trácht ar na heolaithe is mó éirim i mbun an taighde. Tá práinn le malairt fostaíochta a chur ar fáil do na hoibrithe, an tairgead atá a chaitheamh ar arm a úsáid le haghaidh tionscail síochánta, agus na heolaithe a mhealladh le dul i mbun taighde ar chuid de mhór-fhadhbanna an domhain, ceist an ocras agus ceist an fhuinnimh, mar shampla.

Chomh fada is a bhaineann an scéal le hÉirinn, cé gurb í an taon tír sa Chomhfhargadh nach bhfuil i NATO, níl sí ag glacadh aon seasamh dearfa i leith dí-armála eithnigh. Níl Éire ceangailte leis na náisiúin neamhailínithe, agus is cosúil nár bhac sí le haon cheangal a dhéanamh leis an grúpa nua de náisiúin neodrácha a bunaíodh ag an gComhdháil i mBelgrade ar na mallabha, cé gur leo is mó a bheadh gaol ag Éirinn lena seasamh neodrach traidisiúnta. Bríd Ní Dhochartaigh.

(The Irish Peace Group, founded recently, has as its aims nuclear disarmament and opposition to nuclear proliferation and to Ireland joining N.A.T.O. This latter aim also leads it to call for British withdrawal from the North.)

## IS NÁISIÚN Í AN CHORN

D'éirigh leis an gCorn fanacht beo mar náisiún in aineoin míle blian de choimhlint le forlámhas agus le riail Shasana. Tá cor nua i ndán don choimhlint nuair a cuirfear plean réigiúnda Westminster i bhfeidhm. De réir an phlean seo, níl sa Chorn ach cuid den réigiún Iar Dheiscirt (Sasana) ina bhfuil an lár-ionad suite i mBristol. Dalta na dtíortha gCeilteach eile, sí an Chorn an chuid imeallach den réigiún, nach fiú móran í i gcomhtheacs an Chomhargaidh. Ceann de na fadhbanna is mó sa Chorn is ea an dífhostaíocht, thart ar 12½%. Is isteach sa réigiún a mealltar tionscail, i gceantar Bristol áit a bhfuil neart tionscail cheana féin. Níl le déanamh ag an dream óg sa Chorn ach bogadh leo go dtí Bristol ar lorg oibre, agus bheith ina fodar monarchan, mar a bhídis roimhe ina fodar gunna ag arm Shasana.

Gné eile den phlean réigiúnda is ea na ceantair riarúcháin 'eacnamúla', le haghaidh seirbhísí ar nós Oifig an Phoist, boird sláinte, údarás dlí (poilíní) board uisce, atá le riarú gan aird ar theorann na Coirne. Mar shampla is i bPlymouth atá an príomh oispidéal don Chorn a thógáil, agus is sa chathair chéanna atá an lár-ionad poist don Chorn.

Is ioma bagairt eile atá ar saol agus beatha na Coirne. Tá an tionscal iascaireachta ag fáil bháis; caitear fuíollach eithneach sa bhfairge timpeall an chósta; tá cibé mianraí atá fágtha sa tír a ndúshaothrú ag comhlachtaí iol-náisiúnta, agus áit an oige atá ag imeacht as an tír a tógáil ag dream na dtithe saoire agus ag sean daoine ar phinsin. Ach gan amhras an bagairt is mó ar thodhchaí na Coirne is ea cailleadh a féiniúlachta, an tír mar aonad a cur ar ceal agus a slogadh isteach sa réigiún Iar Dheisceartach nua seo. Tá an-iarracht a dhéanamh ag an gluaiseacht náisiúnta le blianta beaga anuas ar son athbheochan na teangan, agus an consias dúchasach a mhuscaill. Tá an dúchas lag, ró lag b'fhéidir le teacht slán ón mbagairt is deireanaí. Níl barr feabhais curtha ar obair na hathbheochana go fóill. Ach faoin bplean nua cén todhchaí atá i ndán don tír? Faoi láthair is beag ábhar dóchais atá ann. J. Treays.

(Despite many problems Cornwall still lives as a nation. However it is now severely threatened by plans to incorporate it in a South West Region centred on Bristol.)



The Irish Branch of the Celtic League placed a picket on the French Embassy in Dublin on the evening of the 20th Oct. The picket was mounted in solidarity with the young Breton, Yann Ber ar Mat, who refused to do military



service in the French Army on Breton grounds and who was to appear before a French Military Court in Rennes the following morning (see **Carn 19** and else where in this issue). Over two dozen people took part in the picket which was maintained for nearly two hours. A letter expressing support for Yann Ber and condemning France's treatment of Brittany and her language, addressed to the French Ambassador, was handed in to the Embassy. The Consul who accepted it claimed to be a Breton and to know more about Brittany and its problems than the Celtic League! Obviously annoyed and embarrassed he assumed that the best form of defence was attack and stated that before coming to picket the French Embassy we should get the Irish State to do something about the Irish language! He was told that the Celtic League had been active in that regard also but that at the moment we were directing attention to Brittany and its language and in particular to Yann Ber's stand on its behalf and there was no point in him trying to divert attention from that. Unfortunately despite press statements having been sent to the daily papers on the morning of the picket and further statements been sent along with photographs to the Sunday papers there was no press publicity resulting from the demonstration. The Irish papers certainly can not be said to have much Celtic consciousness and cases such as the above demonstrate all the more the need for this journal and the need to expand its distribution and sales. In addition to the picket a telegramme of protest was sent to the President of the Military tribunal and a letter of support to Yann Ber, both on behalf of the Branch. Many members and individuals also sent letters of support to Yann Ber and in a letter he states that all of these messages of solidarity were most welcome.

#### **AMNESTY CALL NOT ANSWERED**

In **Carn 19** we reported on the call by Amnesty International for a full scale public inquiry into the ill-treatment of suspects held for questioning by the Gardai, the police force in the Republic. The Amnesty report was sent to the new Fianna Fail government and publication was withheld pending the Government's reaction. The special committee announced by the Government in early October falls far short however of the type of inquiry called for by Amnesty. This committee will "advise whether and what, extra safeguards are needed to protect people in custody from ill-treatment or to protect the Gardai against unfounded allegations". The committee consists of a former President of the Circuit Court, the General Secretary of the Irish Council of Trade Unions and a former Garda Commissioner. The committee will sit privately and report directly to the Government and its terms preclude it from adjudicating on what has happened in the last two years. Complaints of ill-treatment are to be investigated by a senior Garda officer reporting directly to the Director for Public Prosecutions, who will decide whether there is sufficient evidence to justify prosecution. The committee will not investigate the allegations contained in the Amnesty Report.

The Amnesty Report, since published, found that in the 28 cases investigated, that mal-treatment appears to have been carried out systematically by detectives who appear to have specialised in the use of oppressive methods in extracting statements. Amnesty, in a letter to the Government, has called again for a full independent and public inquiry. The organisation said that the committee as established cannot effectively assess what extra safeguards are needed without knowing what abuses occurred in the past. The letter also made proposals for safeguards saying that suspects should be given immediate access to

lawyers and also be given a medical examination. It also further stated that incriminating statements should not be accepted by the Courts unless made in the presence of the suspect's lawyer. The letter welcomed the decision not to renew the seven day detention period which the organisation considered contributed to the ill-treatment of suspects.

The Irish Council of Civil Liberties has complained that the investigation into allegations of brutality would not be impartial and would neither establish the responsibility of those who had authorised or encouraged ill-treatment or torture nor the responsibility of those who had condoned such ill-treatment whether at administrative or political level.

A barrister on the Irish legal team which brought the torture case against Britain at the Court of Human Rights said it had been unnecessary and deceitful to establish a committee with the terms of reference as given. He said he could draft the safeguards required with his right hand while shaving with his left hand in the morning! The executive committee of the I.C.C.L. has turned down an invitation to make a submission to the Government committee and has re-iterated its call for a public and independent inquiry. The I.C.C.L. said that to make a submission would 'lend credence to the Government's inadequate substitute for a proper inquiry'.

The Prisoner's Rights Organisation (PRO) in a statement said "that while the Gardai themselves are allowed to examine allegations of mis-conduct by the Gardai no safeguards are effective". The statement also said that experience of the role of the Director of Public Prosecutions was not good. Cases referred had not been accepted as containing sufficient evidence for prosecution although the solicitors presenting the cases believed that they did. It went on to say that the new proposals were a sad disappointment from a Minister (Mr. Collins), who in Opposition had called for a public inquiry. The PRO said that it was advising its clients to boycott the committee.

It can be seen from the above that very little constructive is likely to emerge from the committee and that those brutalised will still probably find it extremely difficult to obtain any satisfaction.

Meanwhile it is reported that Amnesty will investigate RUC Brutality in the North, and some thirty submissions have been made to the European Commission on Human Rights in Strasbourg concerning the treatment of Irish prisoners in England. Submissions have also been made in Strasbourg challenging the operation of the Prevention of Terrorism Act - under which people can be detained without charge for seven days in Britain and deported to Ireland. Also submitted are cases involving the treatment of visitors to Irish prisoners in England and a case challenging the Home Office decision to open correspondence between prisoners and solicitors involved in proceedings to the European Commission.

#### **END BORD NA GAELIGE DEMAND**

The national executive of Conradh na Gaeilge has called for the abolition of Bord na Gaeilge and its replacement with a statutory state Board which would implement a comprehensive Irish language policy without delay. Bord na Gaeilge was set up in 1975 and has done virtually nothing to actively promote the language nor indeed has it the real power to do so. In 1976 in fact it returned £100,000 of the monies allotted to it and it has been estimated that it would be returning more than half its budget for this year. The Conradh na Gaeilge statement said that the Bord was little more than a smokescreen which was being used by Governments to hide their neglect of the Irish language.

The statement said the legislation which established Bord na Gaeilge bore no relation whatsoever to the type of legislation which was necessary for a board intent on language restoration. Calling for a new State Board the statement said such a Board should have over-all responsibility for the implementation of its policies regarding the Irish Language in all Departments and agencies of the State.

"Its immediate task should be to implement positive policies without delay in areas such as those now mentioned - the right of the public to do business through Irish with any section of the State system of public administration; the extension of the use of Irish in broadcasting; the business of all State bodies in Gaeltacht areas to be conducted through Irish; the establishment of an effective Gaeltacht democratic authority; the active promotion of Irish in education, and the provision of adequate reading material in Irish."

### NEW POLITICAL PARTIES

Recent months have seen the formation of two new political parties in Ireland. In the North the Irish Independence Party was launched with the main aim of securing a British withdrawal from the North. Active in forming the party was Frank MacManus, former Unity M.P. for Fermanagh-South Tyrone, and elements of the old Nationalist Party. The new party could pose some problems for the Social, Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) in some areas and some defections from it have already occurred. On its other wing the SDLP could also lose support to a new left wing party which it is rumoured ex-SDLP member Paddy Devlin intends to form designed to attract both Protestant and Catholic votes.

The other new party formed was in the Republic where in late November the founding conference of the Socialist Labour Party was held. The main figures connected with this party are Dr. Noel Browne and Mr. Matt Merrigan who both stood as Independent Labour candidates in the last election. Both men, along with many others associated with the new party, were members of the Liaison of the Left in the Irish Labour Party and Dr. Browne was in fact elected in a Dublin constituency. The Liaison had been in conflict with the ILP leadership over the Coalition issue and the relegation of socialist policies to the background. It would appear however that their support may extend further than ILP dissidents and that the new SLP could gain the support of a wider range of disillusioned activists. It remains to be seen whether they will do much better in the long run than other small parties which have appeared over the years on the Irish Political scene.

The future of another small political party was dealt a severe blow in early Oct. when the leader of the Irish Socialist Republican Party, Seamus Costello, was assassinated as he sat in his car in a Dublin street. Seamus Costello had been active in Republican and Socialist politics for over twenty years. He was recognised as taking a leading part in shifting the Republican Movement to the left in the sixties. He remained with the Official Movement when the Provisionals split away in 1970 but later following conflict with the leadership over their policy of military disengagement he was expelled and was active in the formation of the IRSP of which he became chairman. The party became engaged in feuding with the Officials and later suffered a further split in its own ranks. Seamus Costello had his base in north County Wicklow and was a member of the County Council and Bray UDC as well as a number of other committees and organisations. He was one of the first and most succes-

ful in bringing the politics of protest into the Council chamber and campaigned on unemployment, natural resources, housing, ground rents and trade union matters.

### FISHING

No firm proposals have yet emerged for the EEC Common fisheries policy. Discussions took place in October between the EEC Fisheries Commissioner, Mr. Gundelach, and Irish ministers on up-dated proposals. The measures were thought to involve, as before, a system of allotted catches but with elaborate controls involving log books indicating the quantity of fish caught and location and species along with a list of authorised landing places. Following discussions Mr. Gundelach described the Irish hopes of a 50 mile limit as "illusory".

A meeting of the Council of Ministers of the EEC in late Oct. failed to reach agreement and further discussions are scheduled for early Dec. With the policy to be implemented in 1978 it would seem something definite must come from this meeting unless a common policy on fisheries is deferred again. Fishing groups in Ireland have been keeping up pressure on the Minister for Fisheries to obtain a 50 mile limit. A meeting was held in late Nov. between the Irish Fishermen's Organisation, the Irish Fish Producer's Organisation, the British Fishing Federation, the National Federation of Fishermen's Organisations, the Scottish Fishermen's Federation, the Ulster Sea Fishermen's Assoc., and the North Irish Sea Herring Trawler's Assoc. The meeting was arranged by Bord Iascaigh Mara (the State Board for Fisheries) to enable fishermen to discuss their common aims and problems in relation to the EEC. It was attended by the Irish Minister for Fisheries, Mr. Lenihan, who after coming under pressure from fishermen gave a categorical assurance that he was seeking an exclusive 50 mile limit for Ireland in the renewed negotiations. Calls were made by the fishermen for immediate action to preserve stocks if agreement were not reached at the next Council meeting.

### NUCLEAR THREAT

In view of the lack of any official concern in Éire regarding the plans for expansion of the Windscale nuclear plant in Cumbria, England, it is slightly heartening to see objections being made by other groups. The National Co-Operative Council has made submissions to the official inquiry in Whitehaven. The Council said that it was unjust that one country, Britain, should build the largest nuclear plant and reprocessing station in the world at a site which was at a safe distance from its own major centres of population but quite close to the capital city and other towns of a neighbouring state, Ireland. The Council complained that the plant at Windscale is already piping contaminated nuclear waste into the Irish Sea which takes almost 14 months to renew itself. This discharge was endangering the spawning grounds of some fish and the feeding grounds of other fish. The Council asserted that there was already a danger of an explosion at Windscale and that the proposed plant would create an added risk.

**Scottish Worker:** Independent Scottish Left-Wing Nationalist monthly. 12 issues £2.50. To N. Easton, 60 East Stirling St., ALVA, Clackmannanshire, FK12 5HA, Scotland.

● **C. L. Secretary change:** Due to personal commitments John Rh. Humphreys has shifted from Secretary of the London Branch to Asst. Secretary. We thank him for his good work in that position which is now taken up by Micheál Ó Laoire.

# MANNIN

## THALLOO NY hALBEY: QUOI S'LESH EH?

The SNP plans to break up large estates in Scotland and calls for the setting up of a new Scottish Land commission. The party seeks to halt the exploitation of huge Scottish estates by both native and foreign individuals but stops short of advocating land nationalisation. It is difficult to see how the Celts can prevent the complete rape of their territories without nationalisation of land.

Ta Sheshaght Ashoonagh ny hAlbey er screeu skeeal mooar as scanshoil mychione thalloo ny hAlbey. Ta'n SNP ayns foayr jeh brishey seose ny steatyn-thalloon mooarey as cur er bun commishoon-thalloon noa veagh genmyssey steatyn nagh vel goll er stiurey dy mie. Veagh shellooderyn meerioosagh eginit nyn steatyn y chreck da'n chomishoon liorish keeshyn throme, er nonney nyn steatyn y hoie da eirinee-maillee.

Veagh shellooderyn joarree ceaut magh marish colughtyn ta coontey yn thalloo y ve ny ynesteeaght shickyry (safe investment). Ta shellooderyn ennagh cosney argid mooar trooid sheld, spooirt-gunn as yeeastagh er nyn dhalloo. Va'n theay boght va cummal er y thalloo ceaut magh ymmodee bleaantyn er dy henney. Son shickyrys, va scughey magh yn phobble veih cheer Ghaelgagh ny hAlbey nane jeh ny reddyn smoo scammyltagh ren rieau taghyrt ayns ny hellanyn shoh.

Rere skeeal yn SNP mychione yn thalloo, cha beagh agh sheshaghtyn Albinagh lowit dy stiurey steatyn-thalloon mooarey. Ayns lheid ny sheshaght, veagh kiare feed ass keead jeh ny shellooderyn-rheynn nyn Albinee, er y chooid sloo. As veagh ad eginit kiare feed punt ass keead punt (er y chooid sloo) y chosney veih'n eirynys. Ta'n SNP geeearree yn earroo dy vuill-eirinagh ta lesh lught-thie y vooadaghey. By vie lhieu tooilley kiartaghyn feeu y chroo er y thalloo. Dy jarroo, ta'n SNP geeearree yn pooar y ghoail veih'n phossan beg dy gheiney ta stiurey steatyn feer vooar ec y tra t'ayn. My vees bree ayns ny treeal-tyssyn shoh, cha bee sleih lowit thalloo y hymney tra t'ad geddyn baase. Veagh er ny sheckteryn yn thalloo y chreck da'n chomishoon.

Veagh yn SNP shirrey buill-eirinagh y reayll beg dy liooar. Ec y tra t'ayn, ta buill-eirinagh foast cheet dy ve ny smoo as ny smoo as ta sleih foast treigeil yn thalloo nagh vel goit ec chiarnyn-thalloon, colughtyn as joarreeyn.

Hannah, ta skeealyn ayns pabyryn-naight dy vel sleih ayns Cheer Vooar ny hEuropey goaill aggle roish treeal-tyssyn yn SNP as dy vel Hollannee ennagh er ve agglit ass. Feer vie! Ta Hollannee, Elveyshee (Swiss) as Giarmaanee er ve kionnaghey thalloo Albinagh cour spooirt as skibbyltee (turryssee). Ta'n lheid jannoo assee da ny Celtiee ooilley. Ta shin cummal ayns cheeraghyn ta deiney mooarey yn Cho-vargey coontey y ve nyn jeeraghyn cour laghyn-seyrey nyn lomarcen. Ta mee goaill aggle dy bee eh feer ghoillee shin hene 'endeil noi lioar-y-sheck mannagh veesmayd abyl nyn dhalloo hene y ashoonaghey. Myr ta fys mie ec ny Manninee, stroshey argid na graih-cheerey mastey ram jin. Aghterbee, ta mee jeant booiagh lesh treeal-tyssyn yn SNP: er lhiam pene dy re ashoonaghey-thalloon t'ayn, ga dy vel ad gobbal shen. Sonny's orroc. Brian Mac Stoyll.

## MANX CULTURAL FESTIVAL

We have received word that there is to be a revival of the Manx National Assembly, Yn Chruinnaght, next year. A letter from the President of the organising committee, Miss Mona Douglas, (a leading figure in Manx

Cultural affairs over the years) reads: "Competitive gatherings for the presentation of work in the arts and also in various crafts seem to be characteristic of the Celtic peoples. The Welsh National Eisteddfod is probably the best known of these to the general public, but we also have the Highland Mod in Scotland, the Oireachtas and the Pan Celtic Week in Ireland and the Cornish Gorsedd of the Bards. Until the establishment of the original Chruinnaght in the earlier years of this century Mannin had no equivalent festival and the only competitive gatherings held were the Fine Arts and Industrial Guild and the Manx Music Festival which was to some extent the child of the Guild and which still functions and is often spoken of by part of the original name: The Guild. Smaller competitive events run by churches and chapels adopted the Welsh name, Eisteddfod. The founding of Yn Chruinnaght resulted in this name gradually taking the place of Eisteddfod for these small events also, and in the connection it is still used frequently.

But now a real effort is being made to restore Yn Chruinnaght to national status and also expand it to include some Inter-Celtic classes on the lines of the Pan Celtic Week at Killarney though on a smaller scale. The bulk of the competitions will remain entirely Manx, with more emphasis on Manx Gaelic than was possible in the 1920's, and several non-competitive performances are also planned for presentation during the festival of five days duration, based on Ramsey and the North of the Island, as a major late-season event. It is hoped, however, that competitors from all parts of the island will enter in the various classes, and also individuals and groups from the other Celtic countries in the Inter-Celtic classes. Suggested dates: August 21st-25th inclusive."

Support is called for for this Manx national cultural effort and an appeal is made for funds. Contributions and requests for more information or syllabus of competitions should be sent to the Secretary, Mr. Ivor Crowe, Scacefel, Lezayre Road, Ramsey, Isle of Man [Phone: 81 2328].

## NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES

On Sunday 20th November, 1977, Mec Vannin, the Manx Nationalist Party, split assunder. The national executive of the party met to discuss M. V.'s association with the Anti-Militarist Alliance (AMA), an organisation recently formed of the Manx branch of the Celtic League and the Western branch of Mec Vannin based at Peel to oppose the presence of the British Army in the island, especially after its recent activities of harassment, and the use of the Island by NATO as a base; it is opposed to the same army having a permanent base in Man, which seems to be in the offing.

Many members of Mec Vannin, especially in its hierarchy, felt that opposition in this regard would damage their credibility and matters came to a head last week (c. 12th Nov.) when Peter Craine, the first and only M. V. member of the House of Keys, elected last November (1976), threatened resignation if those members of AMA who were also members of Mec Vannin did not resign from Mec Vannin. At the Sunday meeting a motion was passed to that effect by 10 votes to 9. But the AMA members refused to resign whereupon the loyalist element represented by the Eastern branch (based at Douglas) walked out and resigned en-masse. Among the resignations were Peter Craine MHK, party chairman David Keggin, vice-chairman John Garrett, secretary John Wright (ex-squadron leader RAF), and Audrey Ainsworth recently elected on an MV ticket to the Douglas Corporation.

It is the intention of the eastern branch to form another nationalist political party. Shorays Y Creayrie.



# KERNOW

## PANDR'A YLLYN-NY?

Ha ny ow pos ysyly po, dhe'n lyha, kerensedhek orth an muvyans-ma efan yu ny dhe gafos whans dhe weres pub gonysegeth y gyla. Yndella y te pur uskys y'gan brys an govyn-ma: Pandr'a yllyn-ny gul yn ober abarth bro aral, mar ger del vo dhyn?

Hep mar, trawthyow, nebes ahanan-ny a dhe ha kemeres ran yn nep dysquedhyans pynak. Y scryfyn agan hanow war dowl lyfrya nep prysoner po gul dhe govornans Pow Frynk ry termyn ayr dhe Vretonek. Bytegens nyns yu es dhyn-ny gonys adro dhe'n omlath y honen.

Un forth us dhyn-ny a'y wosa: dysky yeth keltiek aral. Sur lowr my a wor bos mur a dus hag us gansa dyw po tyr kens lemmyn. An re-na a yl convedhes kemmys plegadow yu. Saw nyns yu plegadow yn unsel mar mynnyn gul defnyth moy anodho.

Yn prof a hemma, predereugh an ystor byghan-ma. Deudhen a dheth a-dhyworth tre vyghan yn Breten. Esel an Gevren a dhalleth dhe gewsel dhedha yn Bretonek (drok lowr, yu res y veneges). Y aga honen a wor kew-sel an 'langach' yn ta mes usyes yns-y nans yu pell na vyth kewsys marnas Frynkek yntredha, ha'ga deu vaw, ymons-y hep gothvos tam-vyth Bretonek. Hep na hyrra lavarow, otomma devyn an lyther a dhanvonsons unwyth devedhys tre:

'... Hag yth esof-vy ow mos dhe dhysky dhe'n fleghes ynweh...'

Ya, my yu nep a'n degemerar, mes, cryseugh dhym, nyns yn rag braggya y teryvaf hemma. Ny'n gwraif mas rag prefy nag on-ny dyallos yn tyen.

In the political sphere we can do a little on behalf of our fellow Celtic nations. We sign petitions, write letters and sometimes even attend demonstrations (perhaps!) On the cultural plane things are very much more difficult. But many people who have learnt one other Celtic language will know what a pleasure it is - and not just a pleasure. By speaking, however badly, that Celtic language we are able to participate directly in the struggle to save it.

As proof let me quote a letter that came to me recently from two Bretons who stayed over here in the course of a twinning exchange. Neither of the parents was accustomed though perfectly able to converse in Breton and the children knew none at all.

'A me a zo vond ivez da deski ar begale' (sic)

'And I am going to teach the children too'

The great pleasure this letter gave me is not for my action but for the tiny hope it offers for a future generation 'bretonnant'.

J. H.

## LOCAL ELECTION.

For those people who put great emphasis on percentage results in elections the support for Mebyon Kernow is on the increase. In a recent district council by-election Mr. George Ansell, the official M.K. candidate, increased on the actual number of votes cast and doubled his percentage of the vote on a lower poll from when he stood as a candidate in the Cornwall Council elections last May. Mr. Ansell's 230 votes was placed second from an "Independent" candidate (-ex chairman of a Tory constituency association who has twice fought for them as a candidate in General Elections) with 313 votes. The two other contestants were Independents in 3rd and 4th place. 800 votes cast & 13% poll.



## UNEMPLOYMENT MARCH

On the 22nd October an unemployed peoples march, one of Kernow's first in recent times, was organised by the Cornwall Liaison Committee Against Cuts in Public Spending and Unemployment. The march started at the unemployment office in Camborne and ended over a mile away at the Pool Industrial Estate with approximately 50 people taking part. Taking part were the Liaison Committee, mostly consisting of Labour Party activists and Socialist Workers Party members and making up a quarter of the march were Mebyon Kernow members, a majority of whom are also Celtic League members. Prominent persons on the walk to highlight Kernow's unemployment problem were the Labour Party and Mebyon Kernow prospective Westminster parliamentary candidates for the area, Peter Tebbutt and Len Truran respectively; also a representative from the socialist paper - "Militant" and a local district councillor, Sidney Godolphin. Of these only Len Truran had not been officially invited to address the march when it arrived at Pool but an M.K. request for him to speak to the gathering was accepted. Out of the three official speakers, it was only the Cornishman Godolphin, a union convener at Holman's (now Compair Construction & Mining Ltd.) Works that accentuated the Cornish unemployment problem and it was only the leaflets being distributed by the national movement that stressed that we were there because of concern over Kernow's problem although having sympathy with those out of work in other countries. However, fair play to the Liaison Committee it was through their efforts that any march was organised at all, but in future, not only must the national movement be seen taking part in similar protests that may be organised by locally based organisations, they must arrange their own to back up the written with the active protest.

M.K. members have now been asked to join the Liaison Committee which was only recently set up to link the Labour Party with the unions and also to encourage a political consciousness in the local community.

In conclusion we could add that political demonstrations are rare in Kernow and that comparatively speaking 50 people is not a bad turn out!

J. Williams.

## Apology

In the last issue of Carn (No. 19) an article commented that Mr. F. Trull had been given an 90 day prison sentence for failing to pay arrears on a fine. Since that was written it has been made clear that an anonymous donor had been paying Mr. Trull's fine but had ceased paying for some unknown reason which had led to Mr. Trull's gaol sentence.

## AN WERYN

A new journal, with a first issue deadline on December 10th, has been initiated by members of the national movement. "An Weryn" (The People) will be a publication independent of any established group or political party but will be a forum for radical and socialist alternatives and ideas within a Cornish framework. It will keep in touch with minority struggles elsewhere, particularly in other Celtic countries.

Contributions, articles or ideas are welcome. (Price between 5 & 10p.) Contact: An Weryn, c/o 23 Basset St., Redruth, Kernow.

## C.N.P. PROGRAMME

In the September issue of the Cornish Nationalist Party publication, "The Cornish Banner", the organisation gives a synopsis of its programme for a self-governing Kernow with great emphasis being put on securing recognition of our country as a Celtic nation and the raising of the Cornish Language to the position of being the working language of a Cornish National Assembly and local councils. Also Celtic links in certain spheres of law, currency, defence, energy sources, etc. will be encouraged. For "The Cornish Banner" and/or the C.N.P. Programme write to: C.N.P. Publications, Trellispen, Gorran, Kernow.

## GORSETH KERNOW - MORE USE OF THE LANGUAGE NEEDED?

The Gorseth Kernow are to look into the possibility of widening the range of activities around the annual outdoor gathering. It is hoped to encourage choirs, bands, and singers to compete on similar lines to the Welsh National Eisteddfod.

Cornish choirs have even been known to learn a song in Welsh but as yet there are none that have attempted Cornish. The type of competition visualised may be the type of encouragement that is needed to induce them to sing in Cornish.

A new item at this year's Gorseth was the presence of a group of language enthusiasts known as Cowethas Yeth an Weryn Kernow, whose main aim is to encourage more use of spoken Kernewek. A leaflet was handed out to a large number of people, including all the Bards, giving a brief resume of the situation of the language at present, and urging more use of Kernewek where-ever possible, particularly by Cornish organisations and companies.

## MEBYON KERNOW MAYOR VISITS MANNIN

During the weekend of 30th-31st October 1977, as a result of an initial invitation made by the Manx delegation at the Celtic League AGM held in Kernow in August, Roger Holmes, Mayor of Liskeard - the first MK Mayor - visited Mannin and addressed a joint meeting of Yn Cheshaght Ghaelgagh and Mec Vannin at the Bowling Green Hotel, Douglas on the Saturday evening (30th). About seventy were present to hear his address on the present position of the Cornish language and the political aspirations and achievements of Mebyon Kernow and the politics of Cornish nationalism in general. Mec Vannin is the twin of Mebyon Kernow and the position of the Manx language is very similar to that in Cornwall; in this regard much interest was aroused among the audience and a lively discussion ensued. A buffet was served during the evening which proved a great success. Roger was the guest of Robard Carsalagh of Douglas who escorted him around various places of interest on the Sunday.

Shorys Y Creayrie.

## CELTIC ART: PICTISH SYMBOLISM

by Ian Gordan Bán.

"... Many times since this, my twelfth rebirth on earth,

Have I seen the mistletoe grow green on the oak....,"

so reflects the sixth century Celtic bard, Taliesin, as he laments the decline of Druidism in the face of Christianity. (1) But ironically it is this new religion which will advance his Druidic faith in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and although the rituals of Druidism that celebrate this doctrine have subsided, the forms of its pagan survival should give him cause for consolation; they could also give us renewed pride in Celtia. A study of Pictish incised stones of Scotland reveals a highly developed symbolism, (2) as particularly noted by the so-called "crescent-and-applied-V-rod" symbolism of spiritual rebirth.

Picts, or Cruithni in Gaelic, (from Latin, Picti, "painted people") were a confederation of tribes primarily living north of Scotland's Forth-Clyde estuaries, and who were identified by Ptolemy in the late third century A.D. (3) One such tribe was the Caledonians, whom Tacitus described as reddish of hair and large in size. (4) Much of their language was a P-Celtic type. (5) Given the dispersion of La Tene Celts in Scotland, (6) it seems unlikely that any of the Western Mediterranean aborigines would have remained unassimilated by A.D. 500, so that after this period one may classify the Picti or Caledoni as Celtic.

Their sculptural art presents an astonishing array of incised symbols. Perhaps the most fascinating is one of the most numerous: (7) the "crescent with an applied V-rod".

Cut into standing sandstone slabs normally varying in height to ten feet, the "crescent-V-rod" mainly concentrates in the Eastern half of Scotland. (8) This symbol dates from about 500 A.D. (9) into the ninth century A.D. (10) and emerges from a stylistic tradition based on an advanced application of geometry and technical competence. (11)

Although we possess no written record of the meaning of this symbol, (12) it is nevertheless possible to entertain an educated guess as to its interpretation. From existing data we first of all have the symbol itself as a self-evident guide. Beyond surmise it is no "mere decoration", because it is repeated essentially the same. (13)

Despite its progressive variations in texture, the prototype "crescent-V-rod" has a "fish-tail" terminal and an "arrowhead-like" terminal, such as at Clynemilton. (14) (Later types ignore this distinction.) (15) Significantly, the Book of Kells' snakes are rendered with these same divergent terminals, denoting a traditional style. (16)

The Golspie, Sutherland "V-rod" adds a connective arc between the intersecting head and tail lines. Also the Kintore, Aberdeenshire "V-rod" supplies a central dot to this type arc, whereas the specimen from the cross slab of Hilton of Cadboll converts the dot to a spiral, a common bone joint depiction as found on both the Pictish Burghead, Moray bull and the Dores, Inverness-shire boar slabs, stylistically repeated in the Books of Durrow and Kells. Even the fish tail terminal from Little Ferry Links, Sutherland is joined to its body stem by a similar dot enclosed by an arc. (17) Such joint representation of bone demonstrates that the "V-rod" is a zoomorphic shape, as can be clearly seen by an example of a "V-rod" entwined (in the form of a double 'S') with a "fleshed-out", relatively naturalistic snake - a common Celtic motif of two entwined snakes is thus recalled. (18)

Besides the "V-rod" depicting the spirit of the snake by its skeleton, a common prehistoric practice in Western Europe, the crescent symbol upon which this snake is applied or incised has been anciently recognised to represent the moon; in contrast to the circularly drawn sun, this crescent is not insignificant.

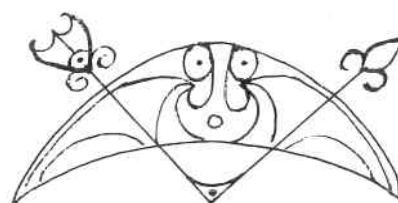
Second of all, further evidence of this lunar symbolism derives from the very association of the respective symbols themselves; however, their separate depiction nevertheless retains their uniqueness, despite their heraldic juxtaposition. That such association not only preserved their Druidic mystery but also strengthened their lunar focus seems logical. Furthermore, it is illogical to presume that no traces of older, Eastern myths existed among the Caledoni, who were in contact not only with the Graeco-Roman world but also with the Western Mediterraneans - (19) - influences unlikely without the Moon worship of Isis as exemplified by her Iberian serpentine cults (20) and possibly by the cosmos-charting Stonehenge. (21) We know that Isis, for example, was depicted with a boat-shaped gold dish and an asp (22) - strong associations. Also, in Greek myth the Moon related to snake-haired Medusa, regarded as the negative side of Isis. (23) But what of the mirror worn by Isis? (24)

Lastly we have evidence of the lunar symbolism of the "crescent-and-V-rod" from other symbols on the same stones: comb and mirror symbols are accurately drawn from contemporary artifacts. (25) The comb, for instance, directly relates to hair, which like the skin of the snake, is periodically lost and regrown. Likewise, the mirror's reflection associates the moon's reflection of the sun and Perseus' shield's reflection of Medusa. (26)

If demonstrably lunar, the "crescent-and-V-rod" fits into the context of Eastern and Celtic myth: man can conquer death is the theme. This theme is echoed in Isis' rescue of Orisis from the Dead; in the new Moon's replacing of the old; in the serpent's shedding of his old skin; in Pwyll's return from Hades; in the Christian's "rebirth". Always close to death, the Celt symbolized his immortality, compatible with the Cross and incised in stone.

**Footnotes:** (1) "The Return of Taliesin", from the Book of Taliesin. (2) Isabel Henderson, *The Picts*, ed. Glyn Daniel (New York, Praeger, 1967), p. 104. (3) ... p. 15. (4) T. G. E. Powell, *The Celts*, ed. Glyn Daniel (London, Thames and Hudson, 1960), p. 176. (5) Henderson, p. 29. (6) Colin McEvedy, *The Penguin Atlas of Ancient History*. (Penguin Books, 1976) pp. 59-89. (7) Henderson, p. 104. (8) p. 111. (9) p. 115. (10) Nora Chadwick, *The Celts* (Penguin, 1974) p. 94. [Although the symbol's production likely ended by the seventh century, A.D. in keeping with Henderson's conclusions, Chadwick indicates the decline of the Picts in the early ninth century, A.D.] (11) George Bain, *Celtic Art, The Methods of Construction* (New York, Dover, 1973), p. 55. (12) Henderson, p. 158. (13) p. 104. (14) p. 114. (15) *Ibid.* (16) Bain p. 112. (17) Henderson, p. 112. (18) p. 128. (19) McEvedy, *loc. cit.* (20) F. Lopez Ceuvillas, *La Civilizacion Celtica En Galicia* (Santiago De Compostela, Porto y Cia, 1953), pl. XVI. (21) James B. Lamb, *Temple-Tombs and Hill-Forts* (Windsor, Lancelot Press, 1975) p. 61. (22) Lucius Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, trans. by Robert Graves. (Penguin Books, 1950) p. 270. (23) Paul Huson, *The Devil's Picture Book* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1973) p. 247. (24) p. 245. (25) Geoffrey Bibby, 'The Celts' in *Horizon* (New York, American Heritage, 1965) Vol. VII, No. 2. p. 29. (26) Huson, p. 247.

Plate 1

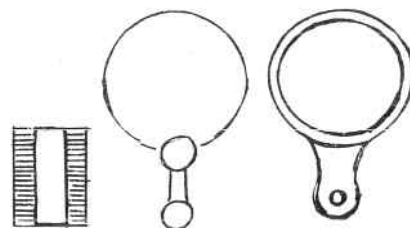


"Crescent-and-V-rod" Symbol+  
La Tene-Style Ornament.

Plate 2



Comb Symbols



Mirror Symbols

## CELTIC RADIO

The increasing cost of newspapers and magazines, combined with floating exchange rates, mean that many of us find it difficult to subscribe to all the Celtic journals that we would like to. There does exist an alternative source of information, however, via the radio. Of course the usefulness of the broadcasts varies and propagation is subject to atmospheric conditions, but winter conditions should allow listeners, in Western Europe at least, with ordinary sets to pick up broadcasts from Celtic countries. More serious DXers elsewhere, with more powerful sets may strike lucky. For those of us outwith Europe other possibilities exist in the BBC World Service. (1)

NB. All times of broadcasts are local time unless otherwise stated and are subject to alteration.  
VHF (FM) broadcasts are included by way of information only.

**ALBA (3)** The broadcasting situation in Alba has become more complicated recently with the introduction of four regional radio stations within the main service of Radio Scotland. These regional stations broadcast exclusively on VHF (FM).

**Radio Scotland:** 371 metres, 92-95 MHz.

Broadcasts the London produced Radio Four programme of the BBC with a strong Scottish bias, mainly news.

English	Gaelic
Mon 0615n	
-Fri 0640-0845n	0700-0718 VHF / FM
1200-1300	
1730-1800n	
1830-1900	
2350n	

Scottish news each hour between 0900-1600 plus times marked 'n'.

Sat. 1130-1300	
1535-1900	
2345	
Sun. 0930-1045	1045 MW / OM
2330	'bilingual'
	1600-1645 MW / OM



**Radio Highland.** 92-95 MHz.  
(North-West & Rosemarkie)

<b>English</b>	<b>Gaelic.</b>
Weekdays 0730-0800	1330-1440 'bilingual'
Sunday 1145-1215	2130-2200 2300-2330

**Radio Aberdeen** 92-95 MHz.  
(North-East)  
Weekdays 1300-1400 1830-1900

<b>Radio Orkney:</b> 92-95 MHz	<b>Radio Shetland.</b> 92-95 MHz
As Aberdeen plus	As Orkney.
0820-0845 1730-1800	

There are two commercial radio stations:

<b>Radio Clyde</b> 261m (Glasgow)	<b>Radio Forth:</b> 194m (Edinburgh)
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#### **Radio Free Scotland:**

A clandestine station that can sometimes be heard on the television when BBC broadcasts have finished.

Until September 1977 there were two programmes on the BBC World Service about Scotland, i.e., 'Scotland '77' (15 mins.) and 'Scotland This Week' (5 mins.) However the short news broadcast has been suppressed leaving Scotland '77 which usually takes one subject per programme e.g. SLP, SNP Conference or Nuclear Waste. (2)

#### **Scotland '77**

	Scandinavia	S.E. Europe	W. Europe	Iberia
Saturday	31.88, 42.13	as Scandinavia	as S.E.	25.53, 31.88
21.00 gmt	48.54, 50.21	plus 75.19	Europe.	41.75, 50.21

S. America: 19.66, 31.32, 25.53, 50.34.

N. & Cen. America as S. America plus: 48.43.

<b>Sunday</b>				
10.15 gmt	19.91, 24.80	13.82, 16.86	30.77, 24.80	19.91, 24.80
	30.77, 31.88	19.92, 24.80	50.21	30.74
	276	30.77, 31.88	276	

<b>Monday</b>			
02.15 gmt	276m	276m	276m --

S. America: 30.26, 31.32, 31.55, 49.96, 50.21

N. & Cen. America: 40.98, 48.58, 49.02, 50.21.

**Breizh (4)** In Breizh radio coverage is given by Radio Amourique and Radio Pays de la Loire (for Nantes and Loire Atlantique). Broadcasts are mainly confined to the morning and are usually on VHF/FM. Radio de la Loire will be excluded from this article as it has little to do with Breizh.

N. B. Summer broadcasts often very different.

**Radio Amourique:** 423 m ee VHF/FM  
214 m (Brest)

<b>French</b>	<b>Breton</b>
Weekdays 07.15-08.00	Wednesday et Friday
MW&OM 12.00-12.30	12.20-12.25 Brest only
VHF/FM 07.15-12.30	language lesson.
Sunday as above plus	11.00-12.00 VHF/FM
VHF/FM 18.00-19.00	13.00-14.00 MW/OM

**Cymru:** There are two national radio services in Cymru, (5) plus local radio.

**Radio Wales:** 341m  
(English language)

<b>Weekdays</b>	06.40-10.00	<b>Saturday</b>
	17.30-17.45n	06.50-09.00
	17.55-18.00n	12.30-13.00n
<b>Welsh news each hour</b>		18.15-19.00n
09.00-12.00 plus 'n'.		

**Radio Cymru:** 92-95 MHz  
(Welsh Language)

<b>Weekdays</b>	06.45-09.00	<b>Saturday</b>
	12.00-12.55	07.40-10.00
	17.45-17.55*	12.00-12.55
	18.15-18.45	18.15-18.25

**Sunday:** 08.15-08.50, 11.45-12.55, 16.30-17.00  
20.00-22.00\*, 23.00-23.15.  
\* MW/OM.

Other BBC broadcasts occur on the World Service of the BBC (2).

#### **Wales 77**

	Scandinavia	S.E. Europe	W. Europe	Iberia
Wednesday	276 m	31.88, 42.13	as S.E.	31.88
21.15 gmt		48.54, 50.21	Europe.	41.75
		276 m		50.21

S. America: 31.32, 25.53, 50.34.

N. & Cen. America: 25.47, 25.53, 31.32, 48.43, 50.34.

**Thursday**  
10.15 gmt See 'Scotland 77' Sunday.

**Friday**  
01.45 gmt See 'Scotland 77' Monday.

**Swansea Sound** At present the only commercial local radio station, broadcasting in Welsh

and English.  
95.1 MHz, 257m.

<b>Welsh Language</b>	<b>English Language</b>
05.55-06.00	05.50-00.00
19.00-21.00	except as for Welsh language.

News of Wales 13.00-13.30.

**Eire:** RTE (Radio Telefís Éireann) broadcasts in English, with some Irish Language programmes, using MW/OM and VHF/FM in the Republic. Radio Na Gaeltachta gives a limited Irish language service (5).

In the North BBC Radio Ulster broadcasts a mixture of BBC Radio Four and BBC Radio Two with a fairly good news coverage of local events. The BBC World Service also has a weekly programme about the Six Counties which also covers events in the South that play a part in Northern life (2).

#### **Radio Éireann**

240 m, 530 m (- this latter is high power - available in all Celtic countries & England.)

89.7 - 95.3 mHz, VHF/FM.

<b>English</b>	<b>Irish</b>
Daily 07.30-00.00	Mon: 16.30-16.45; 20.00-20.30;
	21.30-22.00; Thurs: 21.30-22.00;
<b>Wkdys. news at</b>	Frid: 15.03-15.15. News everyday
07.30-08.00	12.30, 16.00, 20.30-20.45.
08.30-09.00	
10.00-11.00	Sat. 07.35-07.55
12.01-13.00	08.15-09.00
13.30-15.00	10.00-11.30 (Bi-ling.)
17.00-18.30	22.20-22.45
20.00-23.00	Sun. 10.00-10.30
23.45	

**Radio na Gaeltachta** 240 m, 312m, 557 m (-local, low-power.)  
(Irish only) 89.1-97 MHz.

Daily: 18.00-21.00

**Radio Ulster** 224 m  
(English Language)

News programmes at	Ulster News at:
06.40-09.00	11.00, 12.55
17.00-17.32	23.55

#### **Ulster 77**

Scandinavia S.E. Europe W. Europe Iberia

Tuesday S. America, N. & Cen. America.

10.15 gm See "Scotland 77" Sunday.

19.45 gm	31.88, 42.13	24.80, 31.88	31.88, 42.13	19.91, 25.53
	48.54, 50.21	42.13, 48.54	48.54, 50.21	31.88, 41.75
		50.21		50.21

Wednesday: See "Scotland 77" Monday  
01.45 gm.

**Kernow** As yet Kernow does not have its own radio service. Local radio coverage comes under the South West Region of the BBC. However this region is one of only two regions which have managed to retain a regional news magazine programme on MW/OM when BBC policy was to confine regional programmes to five minute news bulletins on VHF/FM.

BBC broadcasts in Kernow 92-95 MHz, 206m, 397m.

Mon.-Fri: 06.50-08.45.

"local" news: 07.52, 12.55, 17.50

The local radio station Radio Plymouth broadcasts two hours of news per day but again does not cater exclusively for Cornwall.

**Mannin:** The medium wave (OM) broadcasts of Manx Radio are difficult enough outside the island at the best of times. Broadcasting is exclusively in English, at present, but a new influx of more Manx orientated staff augurs well for the future.

**Manx Radio** 232m

89 or 91.2 MHz

Mon-Sun: News at 07.15, 08.15, 12.15, 13.15, 17.15, 18.15.

Religious Programmes 188m. 10.00-14.00  
19.00-21.00

At the moment do not expect to find a truly national station when you tune in.

- (1) Many readers may well object to my inclusion of BBC external services on the grounds that they are propaganda broadcasts. This may well be true but then we must know our enemies.
- (2) As the five minute weekly news programme has been suppressed better coverage of Welsh, Scottish and Irish (Northern), affairs is promised in "Outlook" and "News about Britain". This is doubtful but I give the times of the broadcasts for information.

**Outlook:** Tues-Sat. 01.15, Mon-Fri 15.15-19.00 gm.

**News about Britain:** 00.09, 03.09, 11.09, 18.09 gm.  
plus 07.09 on Sat & Sun.

- (3) See Carn 16, p. 5, & Carn 20, p. 5.
- (4) See "Ffrangeg a Llydaweg" Carn 20
- (5) See Carn 16, p. 11.
- (6) See Carn 16, p. 10, 14.

I. S. Hainey.

## **WELSH REPUBLICANISM**

"I would like to comment on Eurig ap Gwilym's article on Welsh Republicanism in CARN 18.

He maintains that 'A nation's right to freedom, sovereignty and control of its own destiny is beyond and above all argument'. It is above and beyond all argument simply because it does not exist save in the pious platitudes of politicians and always concerning nations which are not part of their particular State. There is no benign committee that parcels out the globe to various nations which prove their case; nations acquire their freedom by fighting for it in whatever way is best suited to the situation and pray God it remain so for a nation which has no will to fight for its existence has no right to exist.

To maintain that the Act of Union is invalid is also a spurious notion. The English gained Wales by right of conquest and hold it by immemorial custom until such time as the Welsh conquer it back. If right of conquest is invalid then not only would the English be required not only to give back Wales to the Welsh but the whole of Britain as well; unfortunately we would not enjoy the sole mastery of this island for long, since the Celts conquered it from the Iberians, who probably conquered it from someone else themselves.

How a Republican can demand the revival of the Laws of Hywel Dda, which are ridden with monarchical philosophy, slavery, racialism and the idea that punish for murder should be graduated according to the social status of the victim is beyond me.

It should be remembered moreover, that the Act of Union was promulgated by Henry VIII, whose father came to the throne with support of the Welsh armies, and that its primary aim was to revoke the laws forbidding Welshmen from holding office, living in towns, carrying arms and riding horses. Furthermore the people of Wales throughout the period 1295-1536 sent deputations to the king asking permission to use the English Common Law rather than Hywel Dda's Laws in matters of inheritance. The monarch has not been an Englishman for almost a thousand years.

Bilingualism cannot be revoked just like that. Our historical, geographical, economic and social connections with England are too strong. Wales cannot be self-sufficient, therefore it must trade. Moreover whereas it would be desirable for everyone to learn the 5 other Celtic languages, it is a rather impractical suggestion. Our model should be Israel, where all officials and daily business is done in Hebrew, but most signs are bilingual and virtually everyone can speak English so that tourists and foreign business can know where they are and what they are doing.

D. ap C. Thomas.

[A careful reading of E. ap Gw. 's article indicates that the inalienable right of Wales to self-determination is not held in itself sufficient to achieve freedom. However, our correspondent seems to underestimate the value of the historical argument (based on the fact that no representative Welsh assembly ever ratified the 1536 Act of Union), first from a propaganda point of view (continuity in the claim to national freedom is an important constitutive element of nationality); also from an ethical point of view: the conviction and belief of the individuals involved in the struggle for freedom that they are right, that they are maintaining values which many generations before them already upheld, is by no means a negligible factor of determination to struggle and to win; finally, even though in the last resort most nations have established or regained sovereignty only manu militari, and even though regimes accede to power occasionally by use of force, in general they can be seen to be very anxious to de-

monstrate their legitimacy by referring to constitutions, legal acts, treaties, etc. Why should our national movements so lightly throw away their historical arguments? Of course there are other arguments which may be more determinant in winning popular support and achieving victory.

To say that a nation which has no will to fight has no right to exist is very debatable. It is an argument which serves the interests of the numerically and materially strong nations but not ours. Cymru, like Brittany, went down fighting with odds against them as much as 20 to 1 in some instances. We must look forward to some world order where naked force is restrained by the recognition of other than material values. The difference between the right of the Welsh to govern themselves on one hand, and the right of England to rule the country is that they have lived in it for umpteem generations and form the great majority of the population. The Iberians, if ever they came, are no longer identifiable there.

E. ap Gw. hardly meant to say that a free Wales should re-adopt the laws of Hywel Dda!!! but that they could serve as a platform from which the Welsh could base their policies, especially from an international point of view. It would be of interest to know better their basic principles and compare them with those of the English laws. That the Cymry asked to be heard under English law is historically consistent. After 1282 the towns (garrison towns) were in any case populated by English and Flemings, and the Cymry were not allowed in the towns, even to trade, until 1536. They had to appeal to the rulers laws if they wanted to change this situation other than by military means. There is proof, however that Cymric law was still being practised after the "Act of Union", one case concerning a land dispute in Dyfed is notable.

We are assured that, far from being backward, the Welsh Laws are considered by European mainland law historians to have been 400 years in advance of anything in Europe at that time, and as far as women's rights are concerned, they were well over 1000 years in advance of English law. We are told also that the Cymro was a free person in his land when 80-90% of the English were in some sort of bondage; that the first introduction to "civilised" English law was the beheading, hanging, drawing and quartering of the Welsh leaders. We should be very careful when dealing with "historical facts".

In this connection, a reading of "English Historians and Welsh History" by A. H. Evans, who is also the publisher (address: 83 Giants Grove Rd., Llansawel, ger Castell Nedd, Morgannwg), is recommended. Price £1.20p incl. postage.

We shall not comment here on the last paragraph. There was a misprint in E. ap Gw. 's article: "We reject bilingualism as an end project" should be corrected to: "... product".] A. H.

#### AVAILABILITY OF CELTIC AUDIO LINGUAL COURSES THROUGH ENGLISH LIBRARIES.

Most Celts living in England are probably not aware that they have the right to ask their local libraries to get Celtic language courses, such as those produced by Linguaphone, on their behalf. Probably, on approaching their local library they have been put off with some excuse. I can give my own experience as an example. A few months ago I went into the St. Pancras Branch of Camden Borough (London) Libraries. A Scottish librarian told me that Camden did not stock an Irish course, "because there is not a demand for it". A sarcastic smile crept over her face, "it's not much spoken except in one tiny enclave you know, and the Irish staff here wish they had never had to learn it". A similar line was used to some-

one I know who went into the Camden High Street Branch of the same library a few weeks before. In the case of Camden Borough this is particularly disgusting, as it covers Camden Town and Kilburn, areas with dense Irish populations. After phoning several people in the borough's library service and suggesting to the decision makers that it is a deliberate policy of discrimination, I was told they were going to buy a Linguaphone course.

As of 20th July, Camden now stocks the following courses:

Irish: Linguaphone (records)  
Welsh: Linguaphone (cassettes) and B. B. C. (records)  
Scottish: Unspecified publisher (records)

On 15th August another member of the C. L. went into a Camden Library, to put down his name for the Irish course. He was told "there has been heavy demand for this particular course. You'll have to put your name in the waiting list, but it will be about a year before it is your turn." Suddenly it is not a "no demand problem", but a "too much demand problem", within a month of the library purchasing the course!!!

Similarly London libraries, and those in other large centres, pride themselves on large foreign literature sections. But little or nothing is ever supplied in Celtic languages. Reference libraries occasionally stock dictionaries, but lending libraries hardly ever hold more than a "Teach Yourself" book. It is a symptom of our own inferiority complexes that we rarely demand what other linguistic groups are given as a right, access through the library service to our own literature. In London's Swiss Cottage library which advertises its broad based literature service, including Czech, Danish, etc., I was told "we leave those sort of languages (i. e. Celtic) for colleges to deal with". On pushing the point the librarian admitted evening classes used text books, and do not lend reading matter to their students.

I would be interested to hear from anyone who is finding difficulty obtaining audio courses/literature. There is a demand. We must make the point, perhaps in a concerted campaign, to get them to listen. As with any other aspect of our struggle, we have to repeatedly demand our rights before anyone takes any notice. (N. B. You can belong to a library if you live, work, or study in its area.)

Mícheál Ó Laoire, 5 Belton Road, Berkhamsted, Herts. England.

#### CELTIC CIVILIZATION AND ITS HERITAGE.

Jan Filip. Price £2.95 (paperback)  
£4.95 (hardback).

This is a revised second edition of Jan Filip's excellent reference book on Celtic Civilization. There is a tremendous amount of scholarship compressed into the 231 pages of this book; and the text is amply illustrated, for instance there are 49 different types of fibula illustrated on one page.

The history of the Celts has suffered a lot from woolly scholarships in the past, and it is heartening to see the tremendous amount of classified archeological evidence from the European mainland. Czechoslovakia (Bohemia) is exceptionally rich in these remains and Jan Filip is their most highly regarded expert on the Celts.

It is a pity that the recent Rosc exhibition of early animal Art in Dublin did not include examples from Czechoslovakia. Perhaps it is not too much to hope for an exchange exhibition from there in the future.

It comes as a surprise to realise the importance of the fortified towns or factory sites (oppida) in the life of the continental Celts from 200 B. C. onwards.



It is also interesting to note how Roman observers correctly noted the building arrangements of these fortifications and that Julius Caesar is being proved accurate by modern archeology.

For people living in Ireland where the word Celt, - Gael is in everyday if uninformed usage, it is of particular interest to read of the manners, dress and burial customs of the Continental cousins of our ancestors.

Much remains to be done in excavating the ancient sites but in Czechoslovakia as in Ireland the work is going on steadily, unhurried as is its nature.

Clíodna Cussen.

**LETTERS** A letter from a Scotsman, (name with Ed.) living in Stonehouse, Lanarkshire, complains of the perfunctory manner in which his local branch of the S.N.P. refused an appeal for a donation from the Gaelic College and Society. He stated that he found it hard to believe anyone in Scotland could behave so at this time and that when Scotland gets independence it will be its culture, Gaelic, etc. which will prove it a Scottish Nation, without which it would be nothing but a breakaway English colony.

## QUESTIONS

Do you wish to be a member of the Celtic League? .....

Do you wish to be an active member by:

- a) attending branch meetings ... and/or the A. G. M. of the C. L. ....
- b) contributing occasionally to CARN  
on which subjects .....  
in which languages(s) .....
- c) sending us press cuttings, reports, photos of events of interest .....
- d) taking copies of CARN to sell to friends, at meetings ..
- e) finding new members/subscribers ....., distributing C. L. leaflets.....
- f) finding outlets for CARN in shops .....
- g) taking part in occasional demonstrations of interCeltic solidarity by sending letters to authorities .....  
the press ..... participating in pickets .....
- h) representing the C. L. at gatherings, after consultation with the appropriate C. L. secretary.
- i) founding a local branch of the C. L. ....  
organising lectures .....

**DON'T DELAY IN RENEWING YOUR 1978 SUBSCRIPTION/ MEMBERSHIP.**

## MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

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

**Alba:** Mrs. Maire Denovan, 9 Dalgleish Road, Dundee DD4 7JN.  
**Cymru:** Antwn ab Osborn, 165A Witton Str., Northwich, Cheshire.  
**Breizh:** Jakez Derouet, Hent Kemper (Route de Quimper), Bourc'h(Bourg), Pluguffan 29S  
**Eire:** Cathal Ó Luain, 37 Dún an Óir, Tamhlacht, Co. Átha Cliath.  
**Kernow:** Ian J. Williams, Crowshensy, Clifton Road, Park Bottom, Nr. Illogan.  
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**FOR REPLIES, ENCLOSE STAMPED ENVELOPES OR INTERNATIONAL COUPONS-RESPONSES.**

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