

# cairn

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## A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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# ALBA

## OBH OBH! AR SGOILTEAN!

Còig bliadhna air fhichead dh'fhàs Ealasaid Hanover 'na ban-rìgh Shasunnach agus 'na bana-Ìmpire Shasunnach.

Tha fios againn gum bi Stiùbhartach òghail a ris 'na rìgh (no 'na ban-rìgh) na h-Albainn fhathast; agus is urrainn do na Sasunnaich cumail greim air na Hanoverianaich gu Latha-Luain agus go brath.

'Nuair a dh'fhàs Ealasaid 'na ban-rìgh, ghairmeadh i Ealasaid a dhà — mar a tha i gus an latha an diugh. Cha robh na h-Albannaich toilichte idir. Cha robh Ealasaid riamh roimh 'na ban-rìgh Albannach. Gu dearbh, rinn a' chiad Ealasaid murt na ban-rìgh Màiri againn.

Thilg a mach bosca-litrichean (agus EIIR air) le spreadhadh air an Innis, Dun Eideann. Cha do chuala sinn mòran dheth an deidh sin.

Fhuair na h-Albannaich làmh an uachdar aig an uair sin, ach bha na Sasunnaich buadh-mhor san àite mu dheireadh.

Chunnaic ar naimhdean gun robh sinn fiosrach air ar n-eachdraidh Albannach 'sna laithean ud. Ach thàinig an dà latha oirnn oir cha mhòr nach eil ar n-eachdraidh air a teagaisg 'nar sgoiltean Albannach an latha an diugh.

Thairis air na bliadhnachan chaidh ar sgoiltean a dholaidh, gu h-àraidh an deidh 1965 'nuair a chur an S.E.D. a mach an leabhar suarach d'am b'ainm "Primary Education in Scotland".

Gus a sin bha a h-uile maighstir-sgoil, 'na sgoilear agus 'na dhuine uasal; agus a h-uile ban-sgoilear 'na sgoilear agus 'na bean uasal. An deidh a' fòghluim gliocais ann an oilthigh no colaisde agus ann an colaide-teagaisg, agus an deidh dearbhadh fad dà bhliadhna bha iad uidheamaichte.

A h-uile Lunasdal nochdadh maighstir na sgoile iad an seomair-teagaisg aca, na sgoilearan òga agus clàr-cuimhne (register) agus cuimhneachan air na cuspairean ri theagaisg.

Bha iad tèarainte, cinnteach. Cha b'urrainn do dhuine sam bith (seach Runaire na Staidhe e-fhèin) a chur iad air falbh o'n dreuchd aca. Cha tig na fir-sgrùdaidh ach uair 'sa bhliadhna.

Bho'n a bha na tidsearan 'sna laithean ud saor bha iad sgoilearach, dìcheallach. Bha deagh theagaisg 'sna sgoiltean. Bha a h-uile maighstir agus ban-sgoilear a' teagaisg gu sona fad an latha, seach maighstir na sgoile agus bha paipearan na sgoile aige a sgrìobhadh.

Agus bha corr is deich siorramachdan air fhichead ann an Albainn 'sna laithean sona ud. Bha taghadh aig na luchd-teagaisg a thaobh sgoil agus ughdarras siorramachdail.

Ach an latha an diugh, a bhròinein, is tràill a tha ann a h-uile tidsear gun inbhe. 'Se sin ri ràdh a' mhòr chuid de na daoine a tha a' teagaisg. Oir tha ioma luchd-teagaisg an latha an diugh nach eil a' teagaisg idir!

Cò tha na daoine seo dìomhain gun ghnòthach? Tha iad na's beartaiche na na luchd-teagaisg a tha a' teagaisg. Tha iad d'am b'ainm comhairlichean (advisors). Tha iad 'nan Gestapo, a' geur-leantainn nan luchd-teagaisg agus a' cumail taic ris an riaghailt ùr grod.

Tha iad mar thighearnan 'san Fhraing 'san ochd linn deug, bòsdail, beachdail, cruaidh-chridheadh, an-ìochdmhor agus gun fheum sam bith!

Tha maighstir na sgoile a nis 'na Hitler beag dìomhain bho'n a tha runaire no dhà aige a nis. Tha an cumhachd aige a chur air falbh tidsear gun inbhe sam bith, no a chur stad air an tràill bochd a' teagaisg ann an sgoile eile anns an

siorramachd. Tha iar-mhaighstir no dhà aige a nis cho leisg ris e-fhèin.

Agus tha na "uaislean" nuadh a' nis a' cur dragh agus geur-leanmhainn air na fìor luchd-teagaisg. Agus na h-"uaisleann" seo, iad-fhèin gun ghnòthach, gun sgoilearan òga sam bith a theagaisg, dìomhain. Obh obh! thàinig an dà latha!

Chan eil tèaruinteachd a thaobh obair leis na tidsearan a tha a' teagaisg, gun inbhe. Chan eil cothram aca ri teagaisg gun dragh agus geur-leanmhainn idir.

Leis a sin, tha na cloinn a' call leis an riaghailt ùr a tha coltach ri "1984" le Sèdras Orwell.

Mar a thuirt sinn, tha na cloinn a' call cuideachd, 'sa chiad àite, cha mhòr nach eil an creideamh Crìosdail air a theagaisg an latha an diugh (ach 'sna sgoiltean chaitligich, a tha tèarainte fhathast).

'San darna àite, cha mhòr nach eil Eachdraidh na h-Albainn air a teagaisg (dh'fhaighnich caileag, aois aon bhliadhna deug — Cò Wallace?)

'San treas àite, cha mhòr nach eil Eòlas na Cruinne-cé air a theagaisg idir (gille, deich bliadhna dh'aois, air a laithean saora ann an Spàinnt, agus cha b'urrainn dà nochdadh a pharantan c'àite an robh an Spàinnt air a' mhap Roinn-Eorpach 'nuair a bha e ann!)

'San àite mu dheireadh, cha mhòr nach eil mòran de theagaisg tre na Gàidhlig — ach bha sin daonnan tearc — ged a tha i canain na h-Albainn gu léir! Obh Obh! Obh Obh!

Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich.  
[An account of the sorry plight in which most Scottish teachers today find themselves.]

## ABAIR FACLAN!

A pocket sized Scottish dictionary by Jake MacDonald & Ronnie Renton obtainable from Mingulay Publications, 29 Waterloo Street, Glasgow G2 6BZ, Alba. Cost £4 post free.

It is fashionable to say that "Small is Beautiful". This is a good description of the above Gàidhlig — Beurla: Beurla — Gàidhlig dictionary.

It sets the tone for all future Scottish dictionaries of all sizes by dint of its unique valuable features.

Both sections give the inflections of the article with the noun, a welcome innovation, so: CARN is given as "càrn: an carn, a' chuirn, na cuirn (m.) cairn". It also gives an indication of what prepositions are used after particular verbs and use of entries with practical phrases. Prepositional pronouns are given in full under the first person, e.g. bhuam, bhuat, etc.

This small dictionary brings in its 162 pages a modern breath of fresh air into the world of anyone interested in learning Scottish and every page can be studied with great benefit. For instance we find on page 78 that for "every Tom, Dick & Harry" we have the neat phrase "a h-uile mac màthar".

Coupled with the well-known Teach Yourself Books: GAELIC by Roderick Mackinnon (95p) published by Hodder & Stoughton (or David McKay Company Inc. in U.S.A.) the learning of the basis of the Scottish language is within the grasp of any determined student.

Gilleasbuig Mac Mhuirich.

CRANN-TARA: Scotland's Radical Quarterly. Socialist, nationalist, independent. Annual subscription £2.00 for 7 issues, inc. p. + p., (Overseas £2.50p (£ 6.00)). Crann-Tara Publications, c/o N. Easton, 54 Powis Place, Aberdeen, Alba-Scotland.

## TIME FOR THOUGHT

As predicted in the last CARN — between the events of the spring and the coming events of the autumn — the annual meetings of the parties and the STUC — the only thing to report on is the discussion and heart-searching following the voting jamboree.

So far as the Labour Party (in Scotland) is concerned not much is to be heard but that is hardly surprising. .... the people who could have been the largest group in an Assembly in Edinburgh this autumn — putting into effect policies and plans long prepared by at least 3 of the parties in Scotland, are relegated to the Westminster back woods with nothing better to do for the next few years than yap impotently at the high class heels of our Tory overlords.

These latter with no remit from the Scottish people to do so are abroad in our land again — their assured public school accents telling us our fate — Moss Morran will go ahead (the petro-chemical complex on one of the more attractive parts of the Forth coast in Fife,) that public expenditure cuts will be implemented — that three sites in Scotland with one in the north of England have been chosen for the short list of possible sites for the dumping of nuclear waste — that aid to our ailing industries will not be forthcoming, etc., etc.

Now that is what one expects from Tories, but who gave them this opportunity? The Labour Party will pay dearly in Scotland for this betrayal and the consensus now is that their seemingly secure position in Scotland is none so secure after all. Whether the electorate voted for them because they promised devolution or security of work (for those still lucky enough to have it), is irrelevant — we will get neither and the electorate are not likely to be duped again on such a major scale.

It will be interesting to see how the Labour Party — Scottish Branch deals with this. The early seventies was a time of intense political activity and thought — (perhaps only with the irritation of the Tories in power will the pearls of wisdom of the others be produced) but it is certain that Scotland will suffer more than ever and that the Tories will not care. Whatever changes there have been in Scotland one factor has been constant — the support for the Tory Party has declined steadily over the past twenty years. This means we can be sacrificed in favour of the south-east of England and its ever increasing affluence and Tory votes. So if all worst fears are realised, the culprits — the Labour Party will be the ones to suffer. Perhaps however the real betrayal for which they will suffer this poetic justice will be the original one back in the late forties and early fifties when the Scots and Welsh were told that under socialism we would all be equal and would not require archaic organisations such as "Home Rule". Let us hope it is true — "you can fool some of the people, etc."

The SNP having had time to digest the facts has reacted in an entirely admirable way. A public debate in the papers, especially the "Scotsman", by way of articles and letters has kept the public aware that there has been division of thought in its ranks and this honesty will do it nothing but good.

A group was formed called "the Interim Committee for Political Discussion" for short "Icepick", and now fortunately called simply the '79 Group. In an article in the Scotsman on June 15th — "Radical Strategy for an SNP Survival", Stephen Maxwell the

Party's publicity vice-chairman, gave a brief resumé of the group's suggested line of thought and action and the reasons why. Very briefly, that the policies should be more radical and that the appeal should be to the people of Scotland — meaning those who voted for devolution and probably those whose survival is linked to that of Scotland. Those who have rushed to attack this stance would have us believe that it is all so simple — independence will have us all happy and of course the beer-barons and the landowners will join in the rejoicing. It is unfortunate (or perhaps really fortunate) that within the SNP, it is mostly the prospective candidates who rush in to bludgeon any criticism or self-criticism with blunt weapons such as the words "pseudo-intellectual, Fatuous leftist feeling", etc.

Basically the debate within the SNP has three main strands — that of the '79 Group, that of those who wish to emphasise and increase the "social-democratic" content of the policies and that of those who want a return to what they claim was the successful line — the simplistic one of "independence" (never mind what kind).

There have been other suggestions mooted too — a return to a broad independence movement — another "covenant" etc. The SNP conference will be held in Dundee in September and no doubt with all the policy discussion and the choosing of a new chairman on the retreat of Mr. Wolfe it will be particularly interesting. Having the party's representation at Westminster reduced to 2 cannot but have a most salutary effect — no chauvinistic rallying cries — a return to constructive policy making and no time wasted on attacks on the other parties whose shortcomings are plain to be seen.

M.D.

## GAELIC AND EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

An Comunn Gaidhealach addressed an appeal to Scottish candidates for the European Parliamentary election, appealing for their support for official Community action on minority languages and cultures, including Gaelic.

In recent years, links have been established with the offices of the Commission in Brussels both directly and through the lobbying of members of the European Parliamentary delegation during the last session. A spokesman for An Comunn said:

"There are recent signs of interest by the Commission in minority languages and the pleas of groups throughout Europe are beginning to get through. The new elected Parliament could do a great deal to firm up this interest and see it converted into a programme of official support and investment. It would be a tragedy if the interests of Europe's minorities were to go unheard in the Community's first elected assembly."

## AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH, MEUR DHUN-EIDEANN

**New Secretary:** Keith John Scammell, 32 Saint Mary's St., Edinburgh, EH1 1SU, Scotland. (Tel: (031) 557 0403.)  
Ceiteach Iain Sgaimeal, 32 Sraid Naomh Mhuire, Dun-Eideann EH1 1SU, Alba. (Fon: (031) 557 0403).

Various events from September onwards, including Ceilidhs, concerts, and weekend courses, throughout the year — for details and membership — contact secretary.



Iain Crichton Smith. **The Village**. Club Leabhar, 1976. pp. 133, £3.50; paperback £1.50p.

**An òglachas** Iain Crichton Smith (Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn), a Gaelic poet and short-story writer in his fiftieth year, has written a collection of twenty-two contracted tales which centre about the happenings, past and present, in a small Gaelic-speaking community on the coast. Be this An t-Oban or Am Pabail or even Uig; the biographies there could have been lived anywhere. Everywhere. It is not that Smith attempts a Celtic version of Thornton Wilder's *Our Town* (1938), although an analysis of their common ruralities and their universal themes might well prove literarily fruitful, but that he puts into prose form much that dominates in poems like "Do Ruairidh MacThomais", "A' Chailleach" and "Aig A' Chladh".

**Anns an toiseach bha 'm Facal.** *The Village* begins with a Free Church service during which the author relates the true, private and innermost thoughts of various members of the congregation, including the learned minister. The complex emotional problems of the parishioners present are peeled bare to exposure. Small towns and small, intimate churches are indeed as unfathomable as Christianity itself. "If it had been simple it would have died long ago." (p.9)

**An òganach.** Cameo performances by the youth of the village are highly perceptive. In "Sunday", the child narrator depicts his *Sabaid* activities. Passively, but intelligently, he listens to the cryptic, English-language references to sexual experiences that the girls Annie and Rhoda fell mutually safe in sharing. "The Delicate Threads", too, is pubescent. The first-person narrator here plays a mischievous satyr. He removes the "s" from "Mrs." on an envelope, thereby causing a love-letter to fall into the hands of a cuckold husband. And later, closer to home, the little rascal catches his mother in a compromising position with a *fear-brosagail*. "After all, my father didn't name me Theseus for nothing." (p.21). His every wish became his mother's command. So much for this *seanna-cheann* who might well represent the author as a boy.

**Is cam is dìreach an lagh.** Morality is a primary theme for Smith. "Jimmy and the Policeman" is a biblical lesson in brotherly respect and tolerance. It is surely not the letter of the law, but its proverbial spirit that should motivate a policeman and a pickpocket. The humorous encounter between the two in Jimmy's home results in the "return of a policeman to ordinary humanity." (p.97). This meeting of apparent opposites evokes congenial parallels to Frank O'Connor's "The Majesty of the Law", where both the policeman and the misdemeanant are older, wiser and more appreciative of the precepts of a higher morality that underlines all law-giving and compliance to law.

**An t-Uthachd.** "Farewell-cruel-world-letters" sum up the meaning of a suicide's life for himself primarily. Often they are meaningless to others. However, this is not so in *The Letter*. Here the local school-master no longer wishes to be a party to the moral corruption of the young. He forswears the conspiracy of the false values that doom the people of his village. For the inhabitants of *The Village* he prophesizes a moral sell-out and moral suicide that reminds one of the

pathetic fate of the St. Kildans through humourless missionaries and teachers. Because of his moral attachment to this town, he chooses to die there rather than to immigrate elsewhere. His reason for this might well echo Iain Crichton Smith's own creed for writing and living in the "Celtic Fringe". Or, to put it in his own words: "One can only work creatively in one particular place at one particular time, in a place where objects are known long enough to be converted to symbols, and become beautiful and enduring and permeated with the hue of one's life-blood". (p.90).

**Anns a' chrioch bha 'm Facal;** "So old Betsy is dead, who belongs to my days of childhood in this village ... dead in the house she inhabited alone for twenty years..." (p.111). With the demise of this older woman, *The Village* makes full circle. Here the older and wiser woman recollects the warnings of old Betsy against her marrying "A' chreutair. Don't marry that man." (p.111). Now abandoned by the man she had married despite all warning, she thinks that it would be good to marry Seumas Macleod. Good, steady Seumas Macleod who has always been there with his questioning eyes, waiting. To live is to leave the village like so many Scots have done down through the centuries. To remain is to resign one's self to the limited prospects in *The Village*. "After a while our ambitions, thank God, grow less." (p.113). But do they really?

Leslie MacEwen.

#### **£20,000 BOOST TO GAELIC TEACHING**

Highland Regional Council's special committee on Gaelic language and culture are to make £20,000 available this year to provide three additional Gaelic teaching posts.

The cash will also be provided in 1980/81, provided the regional council allocate a special budget to the Gaelic committee for that year.

This boost for Gaelic was reported to the region's education committee and along with the two posts provided for in their own budget it will bring the total number of Gaelic teachers available in the Highlands to five.

The location of the two posts funded by the education committee has yet to be decided, but they may go to East Ross and East Sutherland where a special interest in Gaelic instruction has been shown.

The Gaelic committee agreed to give the education committee the final say in the location of the three extra teachers, with preference perhaps for West Coast areas, but not to the exclusion of the East Coast.

The Gaelic committee also urged that strenuous efforts must be made to persuade the Government to recognise the special need for this type of post by specific financial assistance.

A note of caution was sounded by the deputy director of education, Mr. J. M. Macleod. He warned that Gaelic teachers were difficult to come by and while they would do their best, it might not be possible to fill all the posts.

8 people went on a two day trip to the Isle of Man, organised by the Irish and Manx branches. They toured the Island and attended a special traditional music session held in Peel.

# BREIZH

## DARVOVDOÙ BRAOUAC'HUS EN IWERZHON

Nag ur c'harmadeg da heul an daou daol drastus kaset da benn gant Arme Republikan Iwerzhon en un devezh: lazhañ Lord Mountbatten war un dro gant re all eus e familh, ha 18 soudard en ur c'horn all eus ar vro!

Mountbatten oa un den dozh, oadet 79. E-pad ar brezel bras diwezhañ e oa bet unan eus ar benn-gadourien vreizhveuriat. Dezhanañ e oa bet roet pep beli evit diskregiñ diouzh India e 1947. Un haroz e oa. Eontr da bried ar rouanez, kar da bep seurt tiegezhioù roueel. O skeiñ outañ he deus taget ARI un den brudet ha doujet, pimpatrom an urzh hag ar sevenadur kornogel. Un taol ouzh ar penn. Reuzius e oa diskar 18 soudard. Met dreistholl en abeg d'an aotrou bras eo ez eus savet ken stank mouezhioù ankeniet ha kounnaret. Ken en Iwerzhon hag e Breizh-Veur. C'hoarvezet eo dres pa oad o prientiñ donedigezh ar Pab da Iwerzhon hag e oa anv ez aje betek Ard Macha ivez. Bremañ ned aio ket. Ur skeud zo deut war an droiad illur hag a dlee atizañ ar feiz katolik en Iwerzhon. N'eo ket an eskibien, nag ar c'hardinal O Fiaich, a zo diwar-lerc'h o tiskuilhañ paotred an heg. Karout a rafe darn gwelout ar Pab ouzh hen ober ivez, ha groñs.

E-touez an traou heverkañ er c'harmadeg eo an unvaniezh a zo emziskouezet er c'helaouennoù saoz. N'eo ket a-walc'h dezho berniañ kunujennoù war choug ar "vesterd diaoulek". Kareziñ a reont gouarnamant Dulenn peogwir ne ra ket muioc'h evit herzel ouzh ar stourmerien guzh da oberiañ adal goudor ar Republik. Dic'houzout a reont ez eo e-kreiz kêrbenn Bro-Saoz an hini e voe lazhet Airey Neave, ha n'eus nemet 3% eus argadoù ARI hag a vez kaset da benn war an harzoù. Ha ma tispign ar Republik ur sammad pounner evit evezhiañ an harzoù ha derc'hel e-leizh a stourmerien en he frizonioù, n'eo ket a-walc'h! E c'hallfe an Tevezeg Jack Lynch respont d'ar Saozon ez eo ganto ez eo bet savet ar Speurenn ha dezho he diwall!

Ar gudenn zo unan bolitikel ha neket milourel. Kefridi gentañ Lynch zo diwall na zic'hlanno an dispac'h d'an tu-mañ eus an harzoù. An darn vrasañ eus tud ar Republik a c'houl bevañ e peoc'h, met dre ar vro a-bezh ez eus kalz ivez hag a zo a-du gant amkanioù ARI ma n'eo ket gant o doareoù-stourm. A-du arall mennad ar stourmerien eo troc'holiañ Stad ar 26 Kontelezh p'o devo echuet en Norzh. Degaset e vez soñj a se da bolitikerien ar Su gant ar Saozon. O enebour boutin eo ARI.

Evit lakaat Jack Lynch da soublañ d'o goulennnoù ex eo dirollet ar Wask saoz eta. A-unvouezh koulz lavaret. Komzit eus kontrollerezh ar Wask er broioù komunour! Amañ ne c'heller ket prouiñ e vez sachet ar c'herdin gant ur burev bennak en "Establishment", doareoù soutilloc'h a zo, met an efed a zo heñvel e penn ar gont. Ar Sunday Express a gomz eus Iwerzhon evel "your ramshackle stinking country". Lynch a oa "dibalamour" o chom hep distreiñ diouzhtu eus e ehan e Portugal, digalon e oa! Sellit, an Itron Thatcher, o lammat er c'hentañ karr-nij, gwisket e dilhad-soudard, o tont da frealziñ al Lealourien hag an Arme, hag o tiskenn e-kreiz "korn-bro ar forbanned"! Dav vo da Lynch diskouez hag ur mignon eo pe un enebour, lezel an nerzhioù breizhveuriat da boursu pao-

tred ARI en tu all d'an harzoù, ha diermaeziañ ar re a vo klask warno hag a dec'hfe d'ar Republik. (Seurt traoù ne vezont graet d'he broiz gant Stad ebet.) Dileuriad bras ar gouarnamant saoz e Norzh Iwerzhon, H. Atkins, a lavar e vo roet muioc'h a emell d'an SAS, soudarded-spierien aotreet da lazhañ stourmerien diouzh ma tereo. An hini diwezhañ da vezañ bet lazhet ganto ne oa ket ur stourmer met mab un den hag en doa diskliet d'ar bolis e oa kuzhet armou e-barzh ur c'horn eus e bark. Un aozadur lealour kuzh, an UFF, gwallrudet evit al lazhoù euzhus kaset ganto da benn e-touez Katoliged ha n'o doa perzh ebet er stourm, o deus roet prouennoù splann emaint oc'h adkregiñ.

Hiziv, goude obidoù Lord Mountbatten, e vo divizoù etre M. Thatcher ha J. Lynch e London. Ar Saozon ne fell dezho komz nemet eus diogelroez. Damvenegoù zo bet e felle dezho skandalat an Tevezeg. Hemañ avat a bouez war ar ret ma'z eo dreistholl klask un diskoulm politikel. Pledañ d'ar pennabegoù ha neket d'an efedoù. Ahendall ne ray arsponterezh hag an heg nemet gwashaat. Abaoe daou pe dri bloaz ez eo sac'het kement luskad politikel, hag er gouloù — se e kresk ar gouvrezel.

N'eo ket en aergelc'h leun a drivliadoù hag a zo bet estaolet gant ar media saoz e kavo Lynch tro da vezañ selaouet hiziv, ha ne fello ket d'e genbrezegerezh moarvat pledañ d'an tuioù politikel, rak kement hag anzav e vefe ez eo bet rediet d'hen ober gant ARI. Koulskoude ec'h ouzer na gred ket pennoù an arme saoz e c'hellont trec'hiñ dre an armou. N'int ket re chalet: gant ar gouvrezel-mañ e tastumont skiant-prenañ evit an amzer-da-zont! Anzav a reont he deus bremañ ARI un frammadur start (adurzhiaour e kellouigou a 4 pe 5 den, emren, hep darempred gant ar re all), hag o deus kalvezerezh arnevez — da skouer ar vombezenn pellgontrollet — koulz hag e-leizh a zanvez-tarzh. Evit a sell ouzh o youl e talvez lenn an arroudoù-mañ eus un interviw roet e dibenn Eost eus o ferzh: "Mountbatten ne vo ket an hini diwezhañ, skeiñ a raimp adarre ouzh ar pennoù. Ken a lavaro ar Saozon emaint o vont da sachañ o skasoù ganto. D'al Lealourien e vo en em ober diouzh ar saviad nevez .... Ret e oa skeiñ ouzh ar pennoù evit lakaat ar Saozon da deurel pled. Oad an den ne vern ket, met al lec'h a zalc'h er genreizhad enebour. Doujet, kalonek? Ni ivez hon eus kollet seurt tud. Dezho da gompren mar karont. Ni ivez a c'houzañv.

E krede bezañ un tourist en Iwerzhon. Eñ hag a oa ken bras e levezon war e dud, petra en deus graet evit lakaat o levrierezh da gemmañ? Tevel, evit un den eveltañ, oa bezañ kengiriek eus dalc'hidigezh ar 6-Kontelezh, ar boureverezh, muntroù an SAS. Arabat da seurt tud krediñ e c'hellont kemer o retred.

Dieuber India .... Breizh-Veur zo atav ur galloud impalaerel en Iwerzhon. Pa vint aet skuizh o vallozhin e rankint en em c'houlenn hag eñ a dalvez ar boan chom en Iwerzhon. Tud dizrouk a-gevret gantañ: ober a reomp dalc'hmat diarbennnoù evit mirout a lazhañ tud digablus. Arabat eveljust d'ar soudarded kas bugale ganto en o c'hirri-arsailh..... Gouzavet hor boa e tagfemp uhelgargidi, ar re a lak ar Stad vreizhveuriat da vont en-dro en Iwerzhon.

Fougasin a raent e oa divi ARI. Gwelout a reont: o c'holl brasañ en un devezh abaoe 1920 er vro-mañ. An arme saoz eo a zo digalonekaet. Ret e vo dezho mont kuit..... Ni zo boas da c'houzanv. Hor gopr a vo Iwerzhon hep "Brits".

Ur youl-dir hep mar. Met ma n'eus ket a-walc'h a dud a-du ganto, peseurt kemm gwirion a c'hellint gwerediñ? Emañ Lynch o paouez lavarout ne c'houlenn ket

ensavadurioù holliwerzhonat evit ar mare, met asant al Lealourien rannañ galloud gant ar Vroadelourien er 6-Kontelezh. Ur giladenn eo, heuliad ar c'harmadeg kenlusket gant nerzhioù ar status quo. Bec'h a vo c'hoazh.

Alan Heusaff.

[Following the death of Earl Mountbatten and 18 British soldiers at the hands of the IRA the English Press blamed the Irish Government of so-called failure to prevent attacks across the border. On the eve of an Irish-English conference Jack Lynch stressed the urgency of finding a political solution but Mrs. Thatcher would hear only of Irish participation in tougher security. The IRA announced it would continue to hit prestige targets till the English withdrew.]

## **BRITTANY IN PRISON**

The 15-year sentences passed on Montauzier and Cheneviere (CARN 25) did not stop the FLB. Of the actions carried out during the winter and early spring, the most striking was the destruction of the summer residence of Commissioner Le Taillanter, who had led the hunt against the FLB. Two dozen people were immediately arrested, including four women, bringing to nearly 40 the number of Bretons in jail for nationalist reasons.

Of those arrested in the Summer of 1978, 7 were provisionally released over the year but 16 were kept in jail for almost 15 months without trial, contrary to European Convention on Human Rights. All are now due to go on trial on September 17 before the State Security Court.

Faced with recurrent attacks on State agencies, the French authorities have adopted a harsher attitude towards the Bretons and the Corsicans. They are using their monopoly of the mass-media to try and isolate the activists morally, and they would undoubtedly like also to reduce the audience of those Breton organisations which abide strictly by the State's law. The public is not expected to see the contradiction between calling the FLB an "association de malfaiteurs" and bringing its presumed members before a political court. The press, with one or two exceptions, readily co-operate in misrepresenting their motives or observing a black-out about them.

The conditions under which detainees and prisoners are kept have become downright vicious, combining crude physical violence with extreme psychological pressure. One of the women twice attempted suicide after questioning and one of the men had a ruler pushed into his anus. To questions put by two MP's the "Justice" Minister answered that the rules of detention were being observed. Publications in Breton or about Brittany are diverted to the State Security Court and go no further.

Collections made by the humanitarian association Skoazell Vreizh enabled it to distribute some £18,500 between the prisoners, their dependents and their legal counsels. Contributions to this fund will be most welcome in view of the increased demand resulting from the recent arrests. (Secretary Pierre Roy, 29 rue J. Turmel, Rennes.)

The acts for which these people are in jail were described as "the cry of a dying Brittany" by their dependents' association. It is not the damp squib called "cultural charter" which can belie that cry. Several wellknown personalities staged a succession of hunger strikes early this Summer in order to try and

effect the release of some prisoners who maintain they have not committed any acts of violence. To no avail.

In the forthcoming trial, an attempt is likely to be made, with the help of partisan "information", to stir popular aversion by linking the accused with men who took part in the Breton struggle before and during the last war. If such a link proves anything it is that they then foresaw the destruction of the Breton nationality which a generation, born after 1945, is resisting by various means, and that they themselves did not give up their resistance. Let nobody be fooled by French State propaganda! Ask the French Government to give freedom to the Bretons, by implementing its own 'Cultural Charter' for a start, instead of resorting to further repression.

## **DIWAN GROWING**

The first congress of the association of Breton nursery schools DIWAN — a word meaning *germination* — was held in An Oriant in June, with parents, teachers and delegates of support committees taking part. Commissions were set up to promote its activities.

Started two years ago with 5 children, DIWAN now groups 12 schools with a total of 150 children. Experience gained in the first three is positive: the children learn to speak Breton without inhibitions and the apprehension felt by some parents that they might be disadvantaged in the practice of French has been proved groundless. The best results are achieved when the children have a happy family background and at least one of their parents constantly addressing them in Breton.

Thanks to donations and percentages from the proceeds of concerts given by Breton musicians DIWAN has managed to balance its budget so far. £80,000 were needed during the past year. There are plans to open several other schools — this is going to put a severe strain on the association's finances, and more particularly on schools in rural areas. All are operating free of charge but getting no support from public funds. DIWAN is seen by many as the Breton language's last chance. The French government obviously holds the same view, having refused to include the association originally among those entitled to help under the Cultural Charter. However, it was allowed about £4,400 in 1978, and £11,000 in 1979. It is not represented on the Cultural Council.

Please send contributions to: J.C. Bozec, Hent Treouergat, Guipronvel, 29 290 Saint Renan, Brittany.

## **INSUBORDINATION**

In a "memorandum sur l'insoumission bretonne", Yann B. ar Mat, Yannig Coraud and Noel Even recount their experience when they refused the call to the French Army (see CARN Nr. 20 and 22). They describe the pressures exerted on them to make them change their minds, their trials and imprisonment. Even was not allowed to see his dead mother, but was brought by police to see the coffin before burial. Argument used to try and soften him: "Without the Bretons, France would surely have lost the 1914 and the 1939 wars, because they were courageous". His reply: "Then they were strong enough to defend themselves, they did not need the French army". Ar Mat and Even were subject to "psychiatric" examination, the latter was declared



"histero-paranoiac", the former paranoiac and psychorigid. Coraud could have saved himself trouble if his father had agreed to sign that he was psychiatrically inapt for military service.

Anti-Soviet propaganda has a lot to say about political dissidents being kept in mental asylums. Here are three examples which show that some people in France would readily apply such methods. In fact, the Breton farmer Joseph Le Coent was thus put away last year when he opposed a regrouping of land parcels which he found contrary to his interests.

### CANTONAL ELECTIONS:

The UDB, which stands for Breton self-government and socialism, presented 34 candidates in the March cantonal elections. (Cantons are administrative units grouping roughly from 4 to 8 communes.) They got on average 5.64% of the vote; eleven got percentages higher than 6.7%, the highest achieved in a similar election 6 years ago when there were only 7 UDB candidates. Three who exceeded 10% were previously elected to commune councils.

The UDB emerged from these elections, which are free from the sensory deprivation and circus of lavishly financed Paris-oriented general election campaigns, as the third force on the Left in Brittany. The party is strongest in the western half of the country, its candidate came ahead of the French Communist and Socialist candidates in the Plouescat canton.

### EUROPEAN ELECTIONS:

For these France was declared to be a single constituency, so that any regional representation in Strassburg might be ruled out as far as that State was concerned.\* The French Communist and Socialist Parties connived with the two main Right parties in keeping the mass media practically all to themselves. Who can still expect a better deal from the French Left than from the Right for the peripheral "minorities"? The UDB failed to form a common list with other small groups. The party wisely refused to associate itself with the setting up of a list "Europe-Regions" backed by a large number of Breton personalities holding in common their opposition to French centralism but headed by the wealthy J. Edern Hallier, said to be a famous writer and a man of imagination (he was going to set up a shadow Breton government ....) but hitherto a complete unknown in the Breton struggle. Anyone, particularly if he has money, should serve for many years in the ranks before being allowed to the top. One might have thought the lesson had been learned from a similar meteoric appearance in 1972 and the subsequent collapse of Strollad ar Vro. Whatever happened to "Europe-Regions" — lack of money to print the papers or some legal hinderance, the monthlies which supported that list have said nothing more about J.E. Hallier after the elections.

(\* See Celtic League A.G.M. Resolution.)

● According to Le Peuple Breton, 220,000 new jobs will need to be created within the next 7 years in Brittany. This would represent an effort twice as great as for the rest of the State territory, without even taking into account the jobs which will be lost during that period. It cannot be done unless the Bretons gain control of their own affairs.

### TRIBUTE TO CAMILLE LE MERCIER d'ERM

It is now a year since C. Le Mercier d'Erm died in Dinard. As long as Brittany will exist his name will be honoured and associated with the Breton 20th century renaissance. He strove daily to avert the smothering which threatened his nation. He exalted Brittany like a glorious mother and stood up with a chivalrous spirit to the vile attacks of her detractors and calumniators. He was preoccupied with her future. He saw many signs of recovery. "If only a man would arise who might be her heroic incarnation and galvanise all her scattered energies, the freedom which was thought impossible would be realised!" He admired President Woodrow Wilson as one who wanted to promote freedom in the world and whose supreme merit was to try and bring about the Society of Nations in spite of the imperialists' resistance. He proclaimed his faith in universal federalism which would guarantee Brittany a place among the world's United States and the means to have Breton taught and used, if so wished, alongside with French. In 1919 he persuaded the president of the Union Regionaliste Bretonne to submit to the Peace Conference a petition in favour of the Breton language and right of self-determination.

In 1911 he had founded the Breton National Party with the assistance of — among others — Louis N. Le Roux. He thought that moral unity, based on an awareness of Breton history, and the national instinct, would transcend all the common petty divisions. He advocated Celtic unity. In his poem "Irlande a jamais" (1919) he praised the memory of the heroes of the 1916 Insurrection. He left a remarkable body of poetry in French, devoted to the Breton nation, its people and its land, and inspired by his passion and his generosity. In praise of Yann-Vari Perrot, the priest-patriot assassinated in December 1943, he wrote:

"Je te vois, ame simple et grande,  
Quand l'espoir chemine a tatons,  
Entrer vivant dans la legende  
Et dans l'histoire des Bretons ..."

He was for non-violence and opposed to all forms of oppression. In 1919 he composed his poem "La Guerre?..." expressing his inner revolt and horror of war. He used classical meters (collection: Les Exils, 1909), as well as parnassian (Les Berges du Desert), romantic (Pour Celle qui doit venir) and lyrical (Leda, 1919) forms.

In 1919 he published an "Anthologie des Bardes et Poetes Nationaux de la Bretagne Armoricaire" (latest edition 1977), of which Anatole Le Bras said in a foreword: "A whole century of poetry is condensed here, the first really in which Brittany tried to give literary expression to her genius, since her admirable popular songs, gwerzioù and sonioù, have only recently been collected".

In 1937, he earned the title of historian with the publication of "L'Etrange Aventure de l'Armée de Bretagne" — 1870-71" (latest ed. 1975) where he brings to light and examines documents concerning the disastrous conditions under which the Breton soldiers drafted in to relieve Paris where kept in a camp near Le Mans, their loyalty being suspect in the hour of French defeat.

Let us honour the memory of this great Breton patriot, poet and historian. Loik Camus.

AL LIAMM: Bimonthly, approx. 90pp. The most important Breton language periodical. 50F Breizh and France, 60F other countries, but 80F airmail. To: P. Le Bihan, 16 rue des Fours a Chaux, St. Servan, St. Malo. Money orders to CCP 5349-06 Paris.

## NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL

The controversy over the building of nuclear power stations in Brittany arose once again earlier this year when Mr. M. Boiteux, Director of Production at EDF (Electricité de France), in an interview with the daily "Le Matin", said that the regions which rejected nuclear power would have to pay more for their electricity than those where such stations would be built. He added that the Western half of France would then be penalised compared to the Eastern half.

This was an obvious warning to Brittany where the French government intends to build two nuclear stations: one at Le Pellerin, in the Nantes-St Nazaire area, and another in Plogoff, in Finistère, very near the "Pointe du Raz", one of the most beautiful areas in Europe.

The threat of dearer electricity, said Mr. Boiteux, concerned primarily the industries. Brittany without nuclear power will not attract industries, no jobs will be created, the emigration of young people will be accelerated and with it the process tending to turn the country gradually into a desert devoted only to tourism.

Mr. Boiteux' remarks were a bit too timely to be a mere coincidence. Opposition to the two nuclear stations was getting stronger (1) while EDF and the French government were insisting that France badly needed such stations to meet its future energy requirements. But the attempt to pressurise the Bretons provoked sharp reactions. Boiteux was denounced by the Union Démocratique Bretonne as wanting "to punish those who rejected the nuclear stations. It is necessary to recall that the five départements of Brittany, together, produce more electricity than they use, (2) that power cuts are due to a badly-equipped network whose improvement has been sacrificed to the requirements of an ambitious nuclear programme, and that nuclear power is less and less competitive compared to coal power stations."

Mr. Le Pensec, socialist MP, called the whole affair a "blackmail", and Alain Chenard, Mayor of Nantes, said that such a pressure on public opinion was "unworthy of a state industry". But the French centralist Marcellin, President of the Regional Council and former Home Minister, simply declared the Mr. Boiteux's remarks were not aimed at Brittany since "the General Council of Finistère and the Regional Council had already agreed to the building of nuclear stations!" Knowing Mr. Marcellin, it is very doubtful that he was trying to crack a joke! (3)

The two bodies (General Council of Finistère and Regional Council) have indeed given the "go ahead" to the French government's projects. But the hostility to those projects is such that it is not at all certain that the stations will be built in time (1985-1990) — if at all. (4)

People in Le Pellerin and Plogoff feel very strongly about the problem, so much so that a twinning has been arranged between the two towns to show their solidarity in this matter. It is also quite likely that some Bretons, faced with the stubborn and undemocratic attitude of the French government, will try to resort to violence against the riot police when they come to crush the inevitable demonstrations. Once again, one can ask: who is actually and basically responsible for the violence in Brittany. (See the pamphlet "Where responsibility lies ....", referred to in CARN 23.)

The reasons for the hostility to nuclear power are both personal — people will have to leave their land — and ecological: what will the effects be on the flora and fauna? The water rejected by the nuclear

stations will raise the sea temperature to such an extent that fish and shellfish could be destroyed, thus jeopardising the livelihood of the local population?

In that respect, experts point out that 14 miles around the nuclear power station built on the Spanish coast, the sea is dead: no more fish, no plankton, no sea-weed. Moreover, this dead area is spreading gradually. And the Spanish station was only an experimental one!

People are also worried about radiation, because, once the station will have ceased to work (in about 25 years), it will remain radioactive for 24,000 years! To guard it, security measures will have to be extremely tight. One can expect that a large police force will be needed to defend the site against possible terrorist attack. It is likely, therefore, that a "nuclear society" will become synonymous with "a police society".

Another source of worry is the safety of nuclear reactors. What would happen if a leak occurred, or if a bomb fell on the station, in war? In this respect, the choice of Le Pellerin is extremely bad. Nearly one million people live within 30 miles. The Nantes area itself, with 450,000 inhabitants, is only 10 miles away. In case of accident at Le Pellerin, about one million people who could be contaminated!

It is to be noted that the United States is now thinking twice about the building of nuclear power stations: between 1973 and now, only 37 orders have been placed and 39 have been simply cancelled. The Rasmussen report, on which the issuing of building permits for nuclear stations relied as regard to safety, has been proved erroneous. And in the States, no nuclear power station can be built within 20 miles of a major city!

President Giscard d'Estaing, gave an assurance that "no nuclear power station will be imposed on the people if they don't want them". But that was in 1974, during a presidential campaign .....! Y.L.

### Notes:

- (1) During the past 12 months, numerous demonstrations, in which tens of thousands including elected representatives took part, were staged at Le Pellerin, Plogoff, Brest, Kemper.
- (2) Production exceeded consumption every year between 1971 and 1978. For the last year it was 9920 million Kwh (9027 if line losses are deducted) as against a consumption of 8623 million Kwh. (Figures supplied by EDF, Nantes.) The margin was decreasing because of lack of EDF investments. A deficit could be said to exist only if Loire Atlantique was left out, the two main generating stations being in that department.
- (3) The Communist leader Marchais, touring the official Region - Brittany last winter, also backed the Plogoff project, as if he did not know the above figures nor realise that only the multi-national companies stood clearly to gain from its realisation. He thereby disregarded the local communist opposition to it.
- (4) In July the area where the nuclear plant is due to be built at Plogoff was made "private property" by the local people who intend to build a sheepfold.

The association "Evit buhez Menez Arre" fears that EDF might try to concentrate all its forces on the nuclear plant at Plogoff whose completion would break the morale and resistance of the Breton people.



# CYMRU

Annwyl Olygydd,

M'arnai ofn nad wyf o blaid yr "Esperanto Celtaidd" o gwbl, gan na chredaf gall y fath fenter lwyddo.

'Rydym i gyd yn yniwybodol o'r ffaith nad yw "Esperanto" ei hun wedi bod yn aruthrol o lwyddianus a chredaf hefyd ei fod yn bwysicach dysgu yr ieithoedd gwreiddiol yn eu disgleirdeb na dysgu rhyw fath o "lobscows" ohonynt i gyd.

Er hyn, 'rwy'n yniwybodol o'r anhawsterau yn ystod y Gynghres Cyd-Geltaidd ond pahan na allwn ganiatáu i'r siaradwyr ddefnyddio eu hieithoedd eu hunain, gyda system o offerynnau cyfieithu, tebyg i'r hyn a geir yn ein Heisteddfod yma yng Nghyngir (ac mewn sefyllfaoedd eraill) er niwyn y rhai na ddeallent yr iaith?

Teinilaf y byddai hyn yn fwy buddiol o lawer — yn wir y byddai'n help i'r rhai ohononi a geisiau dysgu iaith Celtaidd newydd.

Yr Eiddoch yn gywir, Gwyneth Miller.

## EISTEDDFOD REPRIEVED

The Eisteddfod Court did not after all confirm the plan of the Council to establish a permanent site for Wales's national festival, as was expected when CARN 26 went to press. Rev. Dr. Gwilym Williams, the Anglican Archbishop of Wales, led its opponents to victory by 145 votes to 105 in Aberystwyth on 14th July.

By now the ordinary members of the Court are getting rather doubtful about the competence of the Council, which landed us in crisis by buying the new pavilion (it looks like a blue prefabricated factory) for the Wrecsam Eisteddfod (1977). It seemed a bargain at £250,000 and the Council, a collection of writers, academics and clergymen, but a bit short of practical business sense (at the time their accounts were three years in arrears), didn't worry about the cost of moving it — nearly £150,000 a time for putting down and tearing out concrete foundations for the steel girders, etc. That was a matter for the local committees set up in each area which the Eisteddfod visits.

These local committees had been surprisingly successful in keeping the Eisteddfod profitable up to 1976 despite inflation — they contained shop-keepers, farmers and other small businessmen, much more financially adept than the prestigious Council members — but to meet the sudden addition of over 40% to the cost of holding each Eisteddfod was beyond their ingenuity. Hence the panicky proposal that the Eisteddfod's site be fixed, backed by an accountant's report based on false assumptions that this would cause neither a reduction in the numbers coming to the Eisteddfod nor in the donations which keep it going. These were absurd notions that for over half the £226,000 given to help this year's Eisteddfod in Caernarfon came from individuals, firms and local governments within ten miles of the town; the Eisteddfod depends on volunteer help; and, judging from the accents heard around the Eisteddfod field, at least half the audience usually comes from close to where the Eisteddfod is held. The people of whatever area was selected for a fixed Eisteddfod wouldn't go on supporting it in this way year after year, and ideas that other areas would be willing to "sponsor" a festival which they never saw were obviously unrealistic.

Faced with the prospect of losing half the Eisteddfod's income and more than half its audience (for many of those who follow it from place to place do so to see different parts of Wales), the Court decided it would be better to continue to travel Wales in a vast tent. The alternative seemed to be to become a meeting of a small clique of intellectuals, which is what the Oireachtas tended to become when it met year after year in Áth Cliath (Dublin), an arrangement altered in recent years in order to take the Oireachtas to the people. Many speakers on the 14th July emphasized the missionary role of the Eisteddfod. The unusual sounds of the Lord Mayor of Caerdydd and the Chairman of South Glamorgan County Council trying out their Welsh last year might raise a laugh with some, but without the Eisteddfod they wouldn't come into that much contact with the language (and we should remember that powerful Welshmen trying out their English caused great amusement to Shakespeare and his contemporaries and look where that led to).

The latest news is that the Common Market may provide a grant, which would allow the steel pavilion to continue to be shifted round Wales. If so, we may yet have the best of both worlds; but ultimately nothing can save the Eisteddfod from disaster if those elected to high office in its Council don't possess both business sense and an understanding of the social and cultural functions of the great institution entrusted to their care.

Ifan Lloyd.

## SIANEL GYMRAEG HANDED OVER TO ENGLISH

### BIG BUSINESS

In her speech outlining her new government's policy, the Queen made it clear that the Fourth Channel was part of the spoils of victory and the Conservatives will hand it over to their richest supporters to make as much as they can out of advertising interspersed with cheap television programmes. (One can't blame them for wanting two right-wing channels for the BBC, which has two channels, has become startlingly left-wing of late.) The Queen's Speech also said that the government intended to encourage the Welsh language by letting it have the Fourth Channel. This apparent contradiction was soon resolved: the Welsh programmes will be between 4 p.m. and 7 p.m., a time in which the advertisers aren't interested for the very good reason that few watch television at that time; so presumably extremely few people will see the Welsh programmes. Public expenditure cuts now make quite doubtful when this service will begin and whether, even for those who are able to, it will be worth watching.

Many, like the late Jac Williams, who expressed doubts about the Fourth Channel said that what really matters, if the Welsh language is to be saved, is that there should be "Welsh Language Programmes at Peak Viewing Times" on some channel or other and that that should have been the slogan. They clearly had a point: throughout peak viewing time, 7.30 p.m. to 9.30 p.m., most Welsh families, including some I know are keen supporters of the language, sit with their eyes glued to the goggle box, lapping up a mongrel Anglo-American culture — if you can use so polite a word as culture to describe incitement to murder like "Kojak". The government's decision, in effect to abolish the Sianel Gymraeg before it even started, means that they will continue to do so.

Ifan Lloyd.

## AID TO WELSH INDUSTRY CUT – DOES IT MATTER?

The Conservatives' programme included the reduction of subsidies to industry and no-one can say they don't keep their manifesto promises. Aid to the "assisted areas", which includes the whole of Cornwall, Scotland and Wales as well as the North of England, has been cut by £233 million a year (more than a third of the total). Mid-Wales from Meirionydd to Brycheiniog (Brecon) will cease to be an "assisted area" from 1982, and the percentage paid by the government of development costs in North and South Wales has been reduced. There have been loud complaints that these cuts will increase unemployment in Wales. Whether this is true depends on whether the previous policy ever did anything to reduce unemployment; and many economists have doubts about that.

### Or is it Aid for U.S. Industry?

Vast sums have been spent to create extraordinary few jobs. According to Rebecca No. 9 (Spring 1977) the accounts of Gulf Oil reveal that the company got £13.5 million to persuade them to build an oil refinery at Aberdaugleddau (Milford Haven), which they intended to build there anyway, as it is one of the finest natural harbours in Western Europe. As the refinery employs 350 people, each job cost the government an unnecessary £38,500. Three other oil companies have built refineries at Aberdaugleddau but their accounts don't reveal how much they got in state subsidies; Paul Donaldson, author of "Economics of the Real World" etc., suggested on BBC television that it may have reached £200,000 per job provided.

Nor has this process stopped: the Financial Times estimates (20 July 1979) that Ford's will receive £150 million from the government for building their new engine plant at Penybont ar Ogwr (Bridgend), so every job there will have cost £30,000 to £40,000, not counting whatever the American investors put in. Considering that the total spent in development grants during the period 1968–75 in the Welsh "region" (sic) was £208 million, it can be seen what a large proportion of the funds goes to create a very few jobs, in highly capital-intensive plants. According to Welsh Nation (June 1979) during the financial year 1977/8, when the Welsh Office and the Welsh Development Agency (WDA), which now select the recipients of largesse, gave Ford's and a U.S. oil company £150 million, the Small Business Unit of the WDA lent (it gave nothing) only £0.5 million to Welsh businesses; which, because they are small, are almost by definition labour-intensive and can create an extra job for an investment of £10,000 or less.

### Creating Unemployment?

If labour-intensive industries are taxed in order to subsidise capital-intensive industries (as they are in Britain especially now we are moving from direct to indirect taxation) total employment will fall: the costs and therefore the prices of the former will increase so sales will fall so jobs will be lost; while prices of the latter will fall and their sales increase, but, since they are capital-intensive, jobs won't be created to match the lay-offs in the labour-intensive industries.

In other more direct ways the assistance given to the "assisted areas" has actually harmed them: as the money goes to foreign companies almost entirely, they establish branch factories in Wales which, even if they

are labour-intensive, tend to drive Welsh firms out of business by taking away their workers for, while the government grants or an upturn in trade lasts, they can afford to pay higher wages and, when the good times end, the branch factory just closes down, leaving the situation worse than to begin with. So Wales has become a land of fly-by-night branch factories, forever threatened by closures:

No. of employees in factory	No. of factories with head-office in Wales	outside Wales
25 – 99	907	1,062
250–499	40	139
1,000 +	7	42

[from C. Tomkins and J. Lovering "Location, Size, Ownership and Control Tables for Welsh Industry" 1973]

Even among the smallest Welsh factories the majority are controlled by foreigners; and when one looks at the top twenty employers in Wales, 14 have their headquarters in England, four in the U.S.A., one in Canada, and only one in Wales.

My American readers, as well as those in some other countries, will be surprised that companies can be driven out of existence by a competitor operating with government subsidies, without having any right of appeal such as exists in U.S. law; indeed without even knowing why, they were driven out of existence, for the grants are often awarded secretly at the discretion of irresponsible civil servants, and not all companies are as candid as Gulf Oil. Such however is English law as is explained in "Unfair Competition by Public Support of Private Enterprises" (Law Quarterly Review, April, 1979) by Thomas Sharpe of Dñn Dñ University (they have the same problem of English and quisling bureaucrats dismantling local industry in Scotland).

Common market rules also demand that aid to industries should be "transparent", i.e. that economists should be able to work out its effect, but the English civil servants take no notice of that rule, though they have bowed to Common Market requirements (and those of the International Monetary Fund) in abolishing the only effective aid ever given to the "assisted areas", the Regional Employment Premium. (This lasted from 1967 to 1976 and was a direct subsidy for every man employed, instead of ham-fistedly trying to encourage employment by subsidising capital; it didn't discriminate between native and foreign firms; and it did do something to compensate for Wales's adverse balance of payments produced by living under the fiscal and monetary controls of a government in Westminster and price and wage levels produced by London-based businessmen and trade-unionists.)

### Absurdity and Waste:

There is something very odd about a policy, supported by the Labour Party whose M.P.'s are now objecting bitterly at its curtailment, a main effect of which was to transfer money from British taxpayers to American shareholders, who must be laughing all the way to the bank at the thought of their supposedly socialist benefactors. It is just as peculiar to find nationalists objecting to its curtailment when another of its effects has been to transfer the bulk of Welsh industry into foreign ownership. Taking the stance of a neutral economist, it seems remarkable to me that anyone expected to solve the problem of unemployment in the North and West of the United Kingdom, and frequently over-full

employment in the South-East, by encouraging capital-intensive industry in the North and West; logic has been turned on its head. The policy never looked like succeeding: at the rate at which jobs have been bought for Aberdaugleddau and Penybont ar Ogwr, it would have cost £4,000 million to provide work for Wales's 90,000 or so unemployed, soon to be joined by another 8,000 thanks to the recently announced end of steel-making at Shotton; such a sum could never have been provided by the friendliest of governments.

The Conservatives have no answer to the problem of the "assisted areas" including Wales except to try and economise in a rather unimaginative way on the money being wasted. The oil companies, for instance, are still to get grants, but smaller ones. Instead of mindlessly resisting all cuts, what is needed is concentration of what funds are available on improving the infra-structure (e.g. communications, training facilities, etc.), which will help all firms, not just immigrant ones.

Ifan Lloyd.

### EUROPEAN ELECTION RESULTS IN WALES

The first direct elections to the Common Market "Parliament", held on 7th June, resulted in three of the Welsh seats being won by the Labour Party and the remaining one by the Conservative Party. Interesting is the fact that two of the four members are women. Given current Welsh attitudes, I'm afraid this just means that the institution is regarded as completely unimportant because it has, for the moment, no power. (There are no women among the 36 Welsh M.P.'s at Westminster.)

Experts talked too much about the "swing" which had supposedly taken place since the General Election only five weeks before, to produce the following distribution of votes: Labour 41.5%; Conservative 36.5%; Plaid Cymru 11.7%; Liberal 9.6%, with both Conservatives and Plaid Cymru getting a higher proportion of the vote than they have ever received in a General Election. As, however, only 34.4% of the two million Welsh electors turned up to vote on 7th June, as against 79.3% on 3rd May, every party lost votes. Dislike for the Common Market is general and it is clear that, if a 40% vote had been necessary to set up this "Parliament" as it was to set up a Welsh Assembly, it would have failed miserably. 60% of the Labour and Liberal voters, half the Tories, and one third of the Plaid Cymru voters stayed at home, not just to boycott the Common Market, but because, in many parts of Wales, it was the fourth time in less than four months they had been asked to vote. There were community council elections on 24th May, in which Plaid Cymru did well also. Its voters tend to be very committed. It had the additional advantage in the European election that, unlike the three English parties, Plaid Cymru has never favoured the Common Market.

### Erratum

There were four seats in which Plaid Cymru's share of the vote increased in the General Election on 3rd May — apart from Gorllewin Caerdydd (Cardiff W.) with its special circumstances — not three as I stated in CARN 26. My apologies to readers of CARN and to John Lasarus Williams, who increased our vote in Môn (Anglesey) from 19.1% to 20.3%.

● After such a convincing vote on 1st March against decentralized government, it is at least logical that the new Conservative administration should centralize government even further: there is to be a standing committee of the House of Commons at Westminster to investigate Welsh affairs. The Welsh Council, which used to give advice to the Secretary of State for Wales in the English cabinet, an appointed body but consisting of people living in Wales, has been disbanded. Though a standing committee has in law more or less the powers of a US congressional committee, in fact it will be more subservient than the Welsh Council for it will have a Conservative majority (though no such majority exists in Wales), who will be bound by the strict party discipline of the English Parliament to support the views of the Secretary for Wales, Mr. Nicholas Edwards, right or wrong.

● The Conservative Party believes that decisions about educational policy should in all circumstances be left to the county council — unless, it now turns out, that county council is trying to prevent the genocide of its nation. Mr. Nicholas Edwards, the new Secretary of State for Wales, has no intention to allow Gwynedd County Council to stop the process of anglicization in the schools, so he has issued instructions halting that council's policy that all children in its schools must learn Welsh.



"Delegates outside the Celtic Tent at the Eisteddfod, Caernarfon, immediately after Celtic League A.G.M."

● 584 signatures were collected during the Eisteddfod, Caernarfon, for a petition organised by the Celtic League, protesting against the detention of 19 Bretons, without trial, for more than a year and urging the French Authorities instead of using oppression to give Brittany the means to safeguard its language and culture.



## CAERNARFON AGUS AN EISTEDDFOD

Ba dhoiligh suíomh níos feiliúnaí le haghaidh Eisteddfod Naisiúnta Cymru a shamhlú. Tá Caernarfon suite i gceartlár an cheantair is treise labhairt na Breatnaise, Sir Môn (Oileán Mona) siar uaidh ar thaobh amháin agus condae Gwynedd ag sineadh soir, ó thuaidh agus o dheas ar an trí thaobh eile. Ba léir d'aon chuairteoir go raibh an Bhreatnais a labhairt go forleathan ar an mbaile féin — baile atá ar chóiméid le Droichead Átha a bheag nó a mhór — idir na sean mná ag déanamh a gcomhra ar na chosain nó ins na siopaí, agus na páistí ag imirt ar na sraideanna, chomh maith le daoine idir eatorra. Is féidir a rá gan bhréag go bhfuil daoine i Gaernarfon nach gnáthach leo labhairt as Béarla ach go hannamh, go bhfuil saol iomlán a chaitheamh acu i mBreatnais agus iad gan an Béarla ar a dtail acu. B'shin díreach a duirt bean amháin linn agus ba léir narbh mhór a taithí féin ar an mBéarla agus gan í mórán thar triócha bliain d'aois. Is ar éigin go bhfeicfeá aon fhógra nach raibh dhátheangach, agus má b'aonteangach a bhíodar ba mhinicí i mBreatnais ná i mBéarla iad. Go fiú na biachláir lasmuigh de na priontithé bhíodar dhátheangach, agus nuair nach raibh ba léir go hionduil gur strainseirí a bhí ina mbun.

Ní i ngan fhios do mhuintir an bhaile a bhí an Eisteddfod ar siúl agus dearfhainn go mbeadh líon maith de phobal an bhaile ag tabhairt cuairt air i rith na seachtaine. B'amhlaidh don tseanbhean lena rabhamar féin ar loistín chuagha sí ann De Luain agus bhí rún aici freastal ar an Gorsedd freisin. Sé an Eisteddfod an príomh scéal nuachta ag na nuachtáin laethula 'áitiúla' mar atá an Western Mail agus an Daily Post; bíonn neart pictiúirí chomh maith le torthaí na gcomórtas agus cur síos ar na himeachtaí a bhfoilsíu chuile lá i rith na seachtaine. Mar a chéile leis an Radio agus leis an dTelevís, cé gur tharla go raibh HTV ag dul ar stailc an tseachtain sin i mbliana; bíonn puball mór ag gach ceann acu ar an bPáirc agus síor taifeadadh a dheanamh ar na himeachtaí agus ar na hiomaitheoirí. (Agus bhí na himeachtaí sa paibhiliún mór a gcráladh beo ar an dTelevís inmheánach dóibh siúd lasmuigh ar an bPáirc go mba spéis leo iad acu narbh fiú leo an táille £2.50 breise a íoc ar an doras.)

In ainneoin sin uilig ní fheadfa a mhaíomh gurbé Caernarfon an baile is dúchasaí ná is tíriúla i Gymru. Tá blas gallda éicint ar an áit agus tá níos mó ná cúis amháin leis. Ar dtús is baile turasoireachta é ina mbíonn plód mór daoine i gconair ar feadh an tSamhraidh; na sluaite ag síor triall ar an gcaisleán mór maorga, nó ar na duiche álainn maguaird. Ní taobh le gnó an Eisteddfod a bheadh baile dá leithéid ní hionann is bailte eile nach mbeadh an cháil cheanna orthu. Cúis eile an oiread sin daoine ón taobh amuigh bheith ag cur futhu sa cheantar agus an greim atá acu ar chursaí gnó, go háirithe gnó na nóstán is na dtábhairne, príomh tionscail na háite mar is beag tionscail eile atá i Gaernarfon. Ón méid a bhí le feiceáil againn féin níl aon ghrá ag an dream seo don Bhreatnais nó d'aon rud gaolta lei; mar a thaispeáin bainisteoir an ostaín ina raibh teacht le chéile againn nuair a chuir sé stop ar an dtoirt le amhrán i mBreatnais a chasadh se mbear, agus ghlaigh ar na poilíní nuair a casadh ceann i nGaeilge. Is cosúil go bhfuil sé i gcoinne an dlí bheith ag ceol ins na tábhairní gan ceadúnas speisialta chuige

sin, ach de gnáth ní cuirtear an riail sin i bhfeidhm le linn an Eisteddfod. Don Sasanach áirithe sin bhí an dlí níos tabhachtaí na an Eisteddfod. I dtábhairne eile darbh ainm 'The Harp', bhaineamar triail as an mbeagán Breatnaise a bhí againn, ach d'fhreagair an fear óg taobh thiar den chúntar nach raibh an teanga sin aige; d'imiomar gan an bia a bhí le fáil ar sladmhargadh a ordú. (Bfhéidir go mba Eireannaigh iad siúd?) Dar ndóigh tá cuid de na himircigh sasta an teanga a fhoghlaim agus glacadh le nómhaireacht an phobail dúchasaigh. D'inis bean a tí dúinn go raibh a hiníon fhéin pósta ar Shasanach ó Londain a bhí ar a dhícheall ag foghlaim na Breatnaise agus an páiste a thógáil le Breatnais acu. A mhéid díbh a bhéas ann sea is lú an seans go dtarlódh a leithéid. Is cinnte go mba leasc leis an duine coinsiasach gan an teanga a fhoghlaim agus an oiread spreagadh atá ann chuige. Gan amhras sí an teanga an oidhreacht is ansa le cuid mhór de phobal Cymru agus tá gach iarracht a dheanamh í a chaomhnú in ainneoin gach brú agus bagairt, agus ní beag ceachtar acu.

Bríd Heusaff.

[The above considers the very strong position of the Welsh language in Caernarfon where this year's Eisteddfod was held. In spite of being widely spoken by young and old alike, nevertheless the position of Welsh is under strong threat from tourism and the control of many businesses by non-Welsh speaking immigrants.]

## CONSTITUTIONAL CASE RE. IRISH LANGUAGE

Justice Liam Hamilton of the High Court is expected to deliver his judgement soon in what has probably been the most significant legal case to date involving the Irish language.

Tomás Ó Monacháin, an architect from Co. Down, who now resides in the Donegal Gaeltacht has instituted a case in which he seeks an order of mandamus from the High Court. This order, if granted, would note the failure of named district justices, of the Attorney General, of the Taoiseach and of the other members of his Cabinet to comply with their statutory obligations in the appointment and assignment of district justices to Court Areas which have Gaeltacht areas under their jurisdiction. It would also direct the Government to rectify the situation.

The case was heard before Justice Liam Hamilton on 3rd, 4th and 5th July of this year. The importance of the case lies in the fact that it shall, once and for all, clarify the legal implications of the status conferred on the Irish language by Bunreacht na hEireann (Constitution of Ireland) which states:

"8.1. Ós í an Ghaeilge an teanga náisiúnta is í an phríomhtheanga oifigiúil í.  
(The Irish language as the national language is the first official language.)

8.2. Glactar leis an Sacs-Bhéarla mar theanga oifigiúil eile.  
(The English language is recognised as a second official language.)"

The outcome of the case is expected to cause acute embarrassment to the Government. Should the plaintiff win the case the claim of Irish-speakers that it is their right to be able to do their business through Irish with any department or sector of the public services without difficulty, hindrance or inconvenience shall have been vindicated. This shall force the Government to radically

alter and upgrade the position of the Irish language throughout the civil service, state bodies, local authorities, health boards and the juridical system.

Should the case be lost, however, the unbreachable chasm which lies between the provision of official status for the language and the practical implementation of such a status shall be exposed yet again. This in turn would force a government which is supposedly committed to the restoration of the Irish language to take definite steps for the provision of a practical status to the language and thus prevent the Constitution from being held up to public ridicule.

Conradh na Gaeilge is urgently preparing its final campaign in support of its Bill of Rights for the Irish language which it intends to launch when the result of this present court case is announced. The final draft of this Bill is in the press.

### Background

The history of this case stretches back to 11.11.1975 when Tomás Ó Monacháin was accused by the Donegal County Council in the District Court at Bun Beag with illegally parking a caravan in Míin Doire Dhamh. The case was adjourned to the next sitting of the court on 19.1.1976. He was fined £5 and ordered to pay expenses of £23.75. He was again charged with a similar offence on 11.5.76 and this time was fined £8.80 with expenses of £23.85. An tUas Ó Monacháin refused to pay the fines and was imprisoned in Mountjoy Jail on 21.6.76 until 25.6.76 when Justice Hamilton in the High Court released Ó Monacháin on a personal surety of £5 on condition that he would appeal to the Supreme Court the High Courts refusal to grant Ó Monacháin an order of Habeas Corpus.

An tUasal Ó Monacháin contends that the Government in appointing District Justices Michael Larkin and Patrick Keenan Johnson to the District Court which has jurisdiction over the Donegal Gaeltacht failed to comply with Paragraph 71 of the Courts of Justice Act, 1924, which states:

"So far as may be practicable having regard to all relevant circumstances the Justice of the District Court assigned to a District which includes an area where the Irish language is in general use shall possess such a knowledge of the Irish language as would enable him to dispense with the assistance of an interpreter when evidence is given in that language."

A Mandamus order is a legal process whereby the High Court directs a lower court or tribunal or person or body in which either authority or power has been vested by statute, to implement such power or authority under its jurisdiction according to the law.

\*\* I have tried to produce a common Celtic language. All the vocabulary comes from the Celtic languages as do the methods used for distinguishing tense - though these, in common with the other suffixes, have been slightly adapted. Unlike Mr. O'Duinn with his Pan-Gaelic and Mr. Dreyer (whose letter caused me to change my language in many ways) I have kept initial mutations, though I have restricted them in many ways and have written them so they can be easily recognised as such. The reason for keeping mutations is that I believe them to be amongst the most important as-

(Cont. on p. 23 col. 2)

### IRELAND 1979

"I grieve to say", said Sir James Graham in an early 19th century letter to Peel, "that South Wales bids fair to rival Ireland. Poverty and the misconduct of landlords are at the root of crime and of discontent in both countries".

There is of course a deep truth in this, a deeper one than most will allow, and a deeper one than the English Liberal press will discuss or allow to be discussed in their presentation of the current (i.e. since 1966) crisis in Irish history.

All Celtic countries know what it has been to have had a polity destroyed, a culture despised and eradicated and campaigned against, and to have their wealth used ruthlessly for foreign benefit and their people as cannon-fodder (too often unfortunately - such can be the success of empire in the mind in the long run - in their wars of imperialist aggression elsewhere. It is often heard that the English will fight to the last Celt and the French are not reluctant in this wise either!). But the tragedy, in terms of united understanding between the Celtic peoples, unfortunate enough to have come under England's sway, is the number of times throughout history that soldiers from one Celtic country have been used against another. Irish Regiments of the time or of Militia have been so used. The Breadalbane Fencibles, a Gaelic speaking unit from Scotland, and the Ancient Britons, a Welsh speaking unit from Cymru, were in action in Wexford against the United Irishmen in 1798 (so too were the mostly Irish speaking North Cork Militia!).

From our immediate point of view now the reality is not so much the use of these troops in that way - God knows Celts in English garb have left a legacy of Hate for England, mostly in the building and protecting of that Empire on which the sun never set - but that their use has caused mutual hostility, antipathy and misunderstanding between peoples who are partly or completely part of the English hegemony. And that very result has only been to England's advantage, since the totally calculable anger of friends and relatives of soldiers killed or injured in that service has been generally directed at the immediate cause of the death or wound - the people currently in recourse to the arbitrament of arms or the heat of riot against England - rather than at the real, perennial, and fundamental cause of that particular manifestation of the endemic problem which is England and English aspirations and English rulers.

At a time when our understanding of the nature of imperialism has become more acute and perceptive; when its ramification in cultural imperialism, neo-colonialism, check book rule, and supranational enterprises are becoming more clearly understood; when the emergence of what are called 'third world' states to independence in varying degrees has shown the lot of Celts now and in the past in all the more acute a light, one would have hoped for and expected more understanding, mutual appreciation, and awareness, and - more importantly yet - common activities in co-operation towards ridding England once and for all of the burden of its nearest and earliest annexations.

But the use yet once more of troops from regiments with Welsh and Scottish names in the north of Ireland has hindered that progress towards joint activity. Welsh troops - forbidden to use their own language in barracks in England or Wales are encouraged to use it as a code to baffle the Irish when stationed in Ireland. Welsh

so abused by the English has too often derision attached accordingly by their fellow Celts in Ireland. So often have Scottish regiments been used that a tartan cap band is the most recurrent motif in depictions of England's soldiery on nationalist posters, cartoons and graffiti.

The problem is not an easy one to understand, or to solve, but it can only be solved in Ireland, and among Irish people with the benevolence and help of others. The present phase of war in Ireland – the longest sustained phase (whether one takes 1966 or 1968 or 1969 as the initial date) since the 9 years war ending with the defeat at Kinsale in 1601, a defeat which had as one outcome the plantation of six Ulster counties – four of them among the six counties of Northern Ireland, and two of them now in the Republic of Ireland – is exacerbated by the fact that many of the people known as “loyalist” have the “laager” mentality known to us among the Europeans and their descendants in Rhodesia and South Africa. It is no wonder to us to note in this regard support of South African white attitudes among those loyalists or to have seen copies of *Rhodesian Commentary* – the Smith government's propaganda handout – being issued free from loyalist stalls in Belfast. Their fears and apprehensions have been unscrupulously played upon, by Irish politicians such as Carson and Paisley, by English politicians such as Randolph Churchill and Enoch Powell, and by colporteurs of religious fears and hostilities for over a century.

There is a sufficient backlog of ill-will and hostility in Ireland to keep Irish people busy in assuaging it for a long time to come. That process is being hindered – to put it mildly – by the English presence and can only be accelerated by their withdrawal. All Celtic peoples should urge this continually – and insofar as they cannot assist in the process (and indeed they can in an atmosphere of peace) they should try insofar as possible to avoid being used to their own, and to Ireland's detriment, by England and its ministers.

P. Ó Snodaigh.

## **THE IRISH LANGUAGE – ITS SIGNIFICANCE TO CELTS AND TO THE WORLD.**

**A View of the Irish Language** edited by Brian Ó Cuív.  
(Dublin 1969)

This is a good introduction to the past of the Irish tongue and its present situation – twelve talks broadcast on Radio Eireann by leading modern Irish scholars covering the linguistic development of Irish, the history of its literature and oral traditions, the decline of Irish and attempts to revive it, and their connexion with political history.

A Celt who wants to study these topics could not find a better book to start from. Brian Ó Cuív, for example, explains how the Irish spelling problem, which bedevilled the language until 1947, arose: just after the literati had worked out a standard orthography in the 12th century, a drastic pronunciation change occurred; and the confusion produced by English invasions made it impossible to agree on revised spelling. As the change involved the dropping of internal consonants, it was unfortunate for P-Celts trying to learn Irish; e.g. “bliadhain” in its original form is more recognizable to a Welsh-speaker as “blwyddyn” (year) than “bliain” which it has now become.

There is much, too, about the “Gaelic” type-face (which was never used for Scottish Gaelic). Elizabeth I of England was responsible for its introduction; she thought it would reconcile the Irish to Protestantism if they could read the Bible in a script of their own (perhaps it would have done had the translators not taken 120 years to complete and publish their work). Another irony, not mentioned in “A View of the Irish Language”, is that the type-face was based on a script almost certainly imported by Welsh monks evangelising Ireland in the 6th century, while the type-face in which this article is published and to which most of us are accustomed is based on Carolingian minuscules, a script developed at the court of Charlemagne, very largely by Irish monks.

But a Celt should not stop at this book. It leaves unanswered many questions of great importance to those trying to preserve Celtic, or any other, languages; probably because the broadcasters wanted to avoid being too controversial. Why has the revival of Irish been, so far, a complete failure? Not for lack of effort, which was equal to that made to revive Hebrew, to judge from Tomás O hAilín's account of the Gaelic League between 1893 and 1915; but Caoimhín Ó Danachair's gloomy tale of the Gaeltacht's decline shows that it has led to no such success. Then I thought: what would have happened to Hebrew if a corner of Upper Galilee had been designated as the place to speak Hebrew, and the rest of the Israelis had gone there for summer holidays to speak Hebrew for ten days in the year? Instead they chose to talk Hebrew in their new commercial capital, Tel Aviv, and let Upper Galilee take care of itself. We need to maintain a “Bro Gymraeg” in Wales; for how long will we succeed if policies outlined by Gwilym Roberts at last year's Eisteddfod are not implemented to create a viable urban Welsh-speaking community in Caerdydd?

The most significant sentence in the book is this: “there was now less reason for the existence of a voluntary movement, since the State had taken over its functions”. (p.99). In 1915 the Gaelic League made the independence of Ireland one of its aims and decided that that would save the language. In Wales too, for the last ten years we have seen Cymdeithas yr Iaith ever more involved in aims tangential, to say the least, to their original aim. Of course, it would help if the English state would get out of the way and stop using our taxes to ram its language down our throats. It helped when it got out of Israel in 1948; but no Israeli expected their state to supply the place of a voluntary movement. One volunteer is worth ten pressed men or a hundred paid bureaucrats. For at least ten years after the foundation of Israel, Hebrew remained the language of a minority of its population and thousands of volunteers worked to teach it to her new citizens. If they hadn't, Israel might be almost as English-speaking today as Ireland.

I don't intend to discuss now what Maureen Wall has to say about the decline of Irish – she is quite right to argue that there were other factors than Daniel O'Connell or the National Schools because the retreat began before either was born: I hope that the Editor of CARN will let me write an article or two on why Irish declined some other time. There is one subject she does not touch on: what were the economic, cultural, and social consequences of the decline of Irish? Even Rev. Martin Brennan, whose contribution puts the Christian case for nationalism and reviving the Irish language forcefully, hardly touches on them. On this part of



history has descended the Great Silence.

**The Great Silence** by Seán de Fréine (Westport 1965).

In 1963 Desmond Fennell wrote of "the shameful fact that in our forty years of freedom not one book which can be called an important contribution to thought has been produced by an Irishman living in Ireland". Two years later that important contribution to thought arrived, explaining incidentally why there were no others, and Ireland and the world took no notice whatever.

The Great Silence, which is not only de Fréine's subject but has enveloped his book about it, is the silence of Irish historians and other intellectuals — their refusal even to think — about the consequences of the replacement of Irish by English in their country, "an event the like of which has not befallen any other European nation in a thousand years". If the sciences of anthropology and sociolinguistics contain any truth, the effects of this event must have been far-reaching.

So they were, argues de Fréine: emigration of labour — Liege is as close to Coventry as is Limerick but has anyone ever seen the unemployed of Belgium queueing up for jobs in English car factories? emigration of capital — Ireland is supposed to have been poor but how many know that Irish investment made a considerable contribution to the industrialisation of Germany in the second half of the 19th century, when one of the three great mining companies of the Ruhr was the Hibernia and Shamrock Co., run by Herr William Mulvaney? and emigration of every other talent.

The founders of the Irish Free State knew well that to create a state was not enough to create a nation. "The biggest task will be the restoration of the language" said that eminently practical man, Michael Collins, just before he was killed. What is a nation? It is a group of communities engaged in intense dialogue with each other. There is a false idea that they must agree with each other — that Irishmen must all be Roman Catholics, an idea developed from Daniel O'Connell; that Welshmen must all be Non-Conformists, which I was taught in my youth; or all Socialists, which is what I am told nowadays. Such an idea only arises in a nation in crisis, and usually worsens the situation. We do not feel that a Dutch businessman is more or less Dutch than a Dutch communist. Their dialogue is with each other — and very intense it'll probably be at times: and if we found that the Dutch communist was communicating more with French communists than other Dutchmen, we would expect that he might not stay Dutch for very long but would soon be wearing a beret, smoking Gauloises and showing other signs of acquiring French culture.

A culture is what the group of communities will form out of their dialogue. The Irish, de Fréine says, have come to think that culture means kilts, clans, Gaelic football, folk dances, hurling, and Irish script, and that these prove that they are a nation. These are only frills (and false frills in several cases) and prove not that the Irish are a nation but that they have been one, for these are consequences, not causes, of nationhood. But, he argues, the dialogue amongst the Irish is coming to an end: the Irish intelligentsia read *The Economist*, *The New Statesman* and *Encounter*, not Irish magazines; the masses watch English television programmes; and he gives a table showing how few books were published in Ireland in 1960:

	Population	No. of books pub.
Iceland	0.2 million	620
Albania	1.2 million	422
Israel	1.8 million	1,576
New Zealand	2.7 million	1,214
Irish Republic	2.9 million	230
Norway	3.4 million	3,256

The Irish read books published in England and are acquiring the consciousness of Englishmen. No Irish author can hope to succeed unless he writes for the English market, says de Fréine, and the facts of his own work seems to prove that point.

In every respect additions to modern Irish culture — bingo, football pools, zebra crossings — are English. Nations borrow from the cultures of others, as suits their needs, but if, as de Fréine asserts, the Irish borrow from only one and probably the least suitable one, considering that that one is the sick man of modern Europe, have they anything but a provincial variety of English culture? If it were a free choice, it would prove that the Irish were very stupid, but it isn't: the magazines, television programmes and books have ensured that no better possibilities exist in most Irishmen's minds.

All Celts should read this book; both those who believe already that it is necessary to revive our national languages — when I referred in CARN 24 to the need of Cymdeithas yr Iaith to bring its Manifesto up-to-date intellectually, it was of de Fréine's book and some works mentioned in his bibliography that I was mainly thinking; and those who think that our nations can be revived and enjoy a stable existence through the medium of English or French. At Plaid Cymru's last summer school I heard two of our parliamentary candidates argue this: no-one would deny that several nations speak English with cultures which are different, often disturbingly so, from one another — Australia, England, the United States, even New Zealand manages, as shown above, a considerable literary production of her own — so why not Wales? De Fréine crushes this argument: Ireland is too close for a separate English-language culture to be viable — he points out that the same seems to apply to English-speaking Canada vis-a-vis the United States culture; a fortiori it will not be viable in Wales, whose capital is 105 minutes by train from Paddington Station, London. In an English-speaking Wales the dialogue will be dominated by the mass-media of London. However independent, in legal theory, we might become, our society would be dominated by English ideas of the time and would operate in tandem with English society — on the back-seat of course, for a provincial culture never controls the handle-bars.

But this book is important far beyond our Celtic scene. At present about one language dies out each month. The speed of destruction is increasing. By the end of the century as many as 500 out of the 4,000 or so languages now used may have ceased to exist. Does it matter? There are some who view with pleasure the prospect that English, French, Arabic and Portuguese could annihilate all the languages of Negro Africa. I keep on hearing people, often Welshmen, saying that it would be so nice if everyone could talk to everyone else — preferably in English! My great-grandfather thought that Welsh was the language spoken in Heaven, and English was spoken in Hell. De Fréine gives much evidence to suggest that my great-grandfather was right on the second point.

It would be insulting for someone who is not Irish to repeat what he has to say about the decline in social and cultural behaviour of the Irish since they have taken to speaking English. He is harsh, but nothing he says is without parallels in other Celtic countries where the same process has taken place. So far it has only happened in a corner of Europe. What will occur if it is extended to whole continents?

The only problem about this book is that it is very difficult to find. I have never seen a copy in a book-shop in Wales, where everyone ought to be reading it. Part of the reason may be that de Fréine is also concerned about the future of the Roman Catholic religion and seems to be writing to those who belong to it (it may be reasonable to assume that every Roman Catholic has read Jacques Maritain, but not everybody else has). However, de Fréine's argument in no way depends on Christian doctrine, unlike that of Rev. Martin Brennan in "A View of the Irish Language", so the atheist can skip the parts he doesn't like. The main reason for the Great Silence which has enveloped "The Great Silence" is, I think, that the English-speaking world has as little desire to learn about the consequences of the spread of their language as have the Irish intellectuals of whom de Fréine complains.

However difficult it is to get hold of a copy, read this book. No-one knows how a language can be revived and what the effects of that revival will be, until he knows how a language is destroyed and what the effects of that destruction are.

Ifan Lloyd.

### AN NUACHT TO BE DEMOTED

It was "rumoured" some time ago that Radio Telefis Eireann planned to transfer the TV news programme AN NUACHT from RTE1 to RTE2.

The public reaction to this "rumour" was so strongly hostile that it seemed as if RTE had altered its plans. We are now informed, however, that the change is going ahead as planned and that the necessary organisational changes are in fact being made by RTE.

In a press statement Conradh na Gaeilge state that they totally oppose this plan. "It is nothing less than the latest twist in RTE's hostile policy to Irish. It is the second blow suffered by the language and by the Irish-speaking community at the hands of the new RTE Authority which was apparently stocked with people favourable to the language. The first blow was the confiscation by stealth of the Radio na Gaeltachta VHF network. This was, of course, perpetrated to enable RTE to give the Radio 1 VHF network to Radio 2, the 'juke-box of the air'."

This latest plan of RTE indicates the need for a strong stand being made by all supporters of the Irish language against the position of Irish on RTE. To meet this challenge Conradh na Gaeilge is therefore reorganising its Broadcasting Campaign to provide more people with the opportunity to participate actively in it."

### CELTIC LEAGUE BADGE: — the symbol of Celtic Unity, the Celtic Knot.

Metal badge with knot (La Tène design) in silver, ringed in black and silver, on a green background. Available from national secretaries (see p. 24). Price 75p, postage free, but 10p extra airmail outside Europe, 27p extra for registration.

## KERNOW

### ESETHVOS KENETHLEK KEMBRY

Wosa dathel vur, y fu ervyrys gans Lys an Esethvos sewya an gys usadow, hen yu dhe synsy an Esethvos Kenethlek bledhennek dres oll Kembry, yn tyller dyblans pup bledhen. Herwyth hengof, yth a an gol gwasek-ma dhe bup randyr an vro may fo gwelys gans pupoll ha may fo gorrys egin kembregeth yn Cornel pynak an vro.

Prak, ytho, y teth an dhathel dhe'n Lys y'n kensa le? Wel, kepar ha puptra a wher y'n dedhyow-ma, yma Esethvos Kembry ow codha yndan goll arghansek pup bledhen. Ober bras yth yu cuntell arghans dyworth cowethasow dres an vledhen ha kyn fo an seythen hy honen sowena vur pupprys, ny yl an Esethvos dyndyl lowr a arghans dyworth an dus a'n vysyt. Bytegens, an brassa coll yu godhevys yu awos cost uthek a dhon an drehevians a vu prenys nans yu nebes bledhynnow a un desedhyans dhe'n le mayth a an nessa cuntellas. Herwyth an pyth a vu deryvys y'n paperow-newodhow, nep hanter mylvyl a bunsow yu tewlys dhe ves yndella pup bledhen. Tus re welas an pavylyon-ma po dhe'n Esethvos po dre'n bellwolok a alsa crysy yn ta an fygur-ma dhe vos gwyr pan brederyr a'n pellder ha forth cales del gefyr ynter Kerdyth (1978) ha Kernarvon (1979) rak ensompel.

An tybyansow a vu avonsyes rak gwytha an Esethvos stak yn un le cres ha drehevel pavylyon ena o dres oll awos cost ma na vo res a bysy arghans pup bledhen a bup onen pynak ha kefrys awos bos chons a wul cres kenethlek gonegeth dhe Gembry oll.

Erbyn an towl, y fu leverys kens oll y fya Esethvos hep gwryth y'n pow mar pe res dhodho bos stak. Ynweth, mur a Gembroyon ny wrussa nefra mos dhe'n Esethvos, ha dres oll, fleghes kembrek a wrussa kelly spas dhe gemeres le y'ga gol. Tra aral, cost bras a vya res dhe brena an 80 erow a dyr hag ewna an pavylyon del dhegoth orth cost martesen a £1.6 mylvyl. Worteweth an brus ha'n gusul a vu drehedhys, ha gans 145 vota dhe 105, o dhe wovyn orth Consel an Esethvos may whyllo fordhow a wul defnyth a dylda ma na vo terrys ha kellys an hengof a wandra oll adro.

Tyr owr ha hanter a vu res dhe dhos dhe'n ervyrans-ma yn Aberystwyth mes un dra yu sur; an govyn-ma a wra omsevel anoweth yn Kembry kens es re bell. Kyn fo an Esethvos sowyn fest yn kever gonegeth, yma costow ow tos ha bos ughella pup bledhen ha prederow arghansek a dal bos pos war bennow rewlyon an Esethvos. Ha ny yn Kernow ow talleth worteweth war agan hens wor tu hag Esethvos Kenethlek Kernow, y tal dhyn whythra an pyth re wharfe yn Kembry, kepar del wren herwyth usadow, ha dysky yn ta alenna.

[The debate in Wales as to future policy in the siting of the Eisteddfod has been given prominence by the media recently. Basically the choice is to have a permanent base or to continue the tradition of visiting all parts of Wales. The arguments are predictably financial in origin. As Cornwall moves closer to the establishment of her own National Eisteddfod (Esethvos Kenethlek Kernow), it will be important to observe closely and learn from the Welsh situation.]

Kernewek ny vyth clewys yn fenough y'n bellwolok. Un le may whaytyr hy clewes a vyth y'n Orseth Kembry. Soweth y'n vledhen-ma, kannasow Kernow nyns o Kernewegoryon ma na vu res areth y'n yeth kernewek. Tus yowynk Kernow yu serrys mur awos henna. Kyn nag yu fowt an dhyw gannas aga honen dres eghen, Gorseth Kernow a dal bos sur danvon Kernewegoryon y'n bledhynnow a dhe.

[No Cornish was heard at the Welsh Gorsedd this year. The Cornish Gorsedd must ensure that Cornish speaking delegates attend in future.]

### EUROPEAN ASSEMBLY ELECTION

If the results for the Cornish National Movement in the 1979 Westminster elections were a little disappointing the voting support given to the nationalist candidate in the recent Euro-Election was a little less so. Richard Jenkin, Mebyon Kernow's Chairman and Grand Bard of the Cornish Gorsedd, stood in the joint Cornwall and Plymouth Euro-constituency as the Mebyon Kernow and Cornish Recognition candidate. Of the 172,000 who voted in Plymouth, R. Jenkin received a handful of votes from Cornish exiles. It was from the 117,000 'Cornish' voters that he obtained the majority of support. His 10,205 votes came as a surprise to many and especially to those in the news media, it would seem from their comments on the result. It is almost certain that without the Plymouth vote, there would have been little between the results of the Mebyon Kernow, Liberal and Labour Party candidates. Some way under R. Jenkin in the results table came the Ecology Party candidate with 5,000 votes. Their candidate was supported by the Cornish Nationalist Party, but this is another story.

Certainly it was not a unanimous decision within M.K. to contest this first Euro-Election, a large section of activists wanted a boycott, but it did give M.K. the opportunity to attempt a campaign covering the whole of Cornwall. Taking into account the fact that most of those active in this campaign had in the previous weeks and months been contesting local government and Westminster elections and that a large number of the population would not have received the candidates hand-out, it was an exceptional result. J.A.T.

### Euro Election Results:

Cornwall and Plymouth Constituency.  
Tory 94,650 (55.16%); Labour 36,681 (21.38%);  
Liberay 23,105 (13.46%); M.K. 10,205 (5.95%) [8.73%  
of Cornish vote]; Ecology 5,125 (2.99%); Anti-  
Market 1,834 (1.07%).  
12% of votes cast needed to save £600 deposit.

### Kernow Pan-Celtic Festival:

For information on this years Perranporth Pan-Celtic Festival write to: M.R. Davey, "Meneghyjy", Withiel, Nr. Bodmin.

● Mebyon Kernow's magazine "The Cornish Nation", from: Trewolsta, Trewirgie Hill, Redruth, at 25p each, plus post, or £1.50 for 4 issues (includes post).

● Cornish Nationalist Party's magazine "The Cornish Banner", from: Trelispen, Gorran, Nr. St. Austell. Price 50p. Subscription £2.50 (Overseas airmail £4.).

### CORNISH ASSEMBLY:

Concern about the problems that have confronted Cornwall over the past year — the closure of mines and Falmouth Docks; the invasion of Cornish fishing grounds; the joining of Plymouth with Cornwall to make a Euro-Constituency even after almost total opposition from councils, political and non-political organisations, representative of the Cornish community, etc., etc., has led to the formation of a Cornish Assembly. The decision to form such a body was taken after a meeting of delegates from 33 organisations "representative of Cornish life". The chairman of this new assembly is an officer of Mebyon Kernow, the secretary was a local Labour Party candidate in the last general election. The treasurer is an ex Grand Bard of the Gorsedd, and prominent Cornish Liberal.

Those who remember the attempt to form a Cornish Congress, by the Cornish Nationalist Party, Mebyon Kernow and the Cornish Convocation (perhaps better known as the revived Stannary Parliament), several years ago will hope this new body will have more success in finding ways to sink their differences and will wish it well.

### MINE RE-OPENING

April and May of 1978 saw nearly 700 men loose their jobs with the closure of the Wheal Jane and Mount Wellington tin mines. Now Wheal Jane is about to re-open and by the beginning of 1981 should have a workforce of 300. Cornwall's new benefactors (sic) are Rio Tinto Zinc, who are to spend up to £8.5 million to put it into production (without Government aid as they and the Tory press like to emphasize). Those of the old workforce who have not been tempted away from Cornwall by a substantial advertising campaign in the local press and of whom many will still be unemployed will be a convenient pool of labour to start off the new operations. Local job centres are confident that many of those who left Cornwall but are still on their register of ex-miners will return to find work in the re-opened mines. — The exploitation of Cornwall's resources, human and mineral, is about to start where it left off. J.A.T.

### M.K. WILL FIGHT NUCLEAR POWER STATION

Suggestions that a nuclear power station should be built at Hayle, in West Cornwall, have been condemned by the St. Ives constituency executive committee of Mebyon Kernow.

At a meeting in August, it was agreed to set up a sub-committee to fight any such move and to work with other interested groups.

In a statement issued after the meeting, the executive committee said: "It is with the gravest concern that we view the proposals of the Central Electricity Generating Board to build a nuclear power station in Cornwall.

In particular we condemn the view of Penwith Council (the district Council for the area), that they would favour the building of a nuclear station at Hayle."

The committee felt that to take such an arbitrary view without consultation with local people was totally irresponsible.

● "An Weryn" — Cornwall's Radical Magazine, from: 23 Basset Street, Redruth. 15p each + p. & p. £1.20 for 6 issues (N. America £2.50).



## LETTER

"Your Cornish notes in the last issue of CARN merit some comment — the recent election performances of both CNP and Mebyon Kernow suggest that neither movement has a strong hold on the Cornish population. In the local elections MK candidates regularly finished bottom of the poll. In the parliamentary elections CNP's performance was certainly not so good as that of MK but then the CNP is newly formed while MK is nearly 30 years old and has been fighting such elections since 1970. CNP is both a young party and consists largely of young members. Unlike MK, the CNP expresses commitment in its programme to a united Europe and to a confederation of the six Celtic countries within such. These comparatively novel ideas (in Cornwall) together with its ties with progressive movements, especially ecological, and with native and third world movements throughout the world no doubt loses the CNP some support among reactionary elements in Cornwall. Mebyon Kernow can move which way it wants but while there is a Cornish Nationalist Party (the CNP) solidly committed to Europe, to close links with the other Celtic countries and to progressive movements, our colleagues in these other Celtic countries need have no fear regarding the future course of Cornish nationalism."

James Whetter.

## PEARSE STORIES IN BRETON

IMBOURC'H, — also the title of a Catholic Breton language monthly devoted to religious and political studies — has published an illustrated re-edition of four stories by Patrick Pearse. They were translated from Irish into Breton by Loeiz Andouard, and first appeared in GWALARN (Iosagán, Barbra, Eoinín na n-Eán) in 1934, or in STUDI HAG OBER (An Sagart) in 1948.

There are a hundred full-page drawings by Juliana Brohan, which convey well the simplicity of life portrayed in these stories. The book will be of help to Irish/Breton readers who are beyond the initial stages of learning Breton/Irish. It is intended by its editor, Youenn Olier, as a Breton contribution to the centenary commemoration of the birth of the great Irish patriot. £4.40p. Available from An Siopa Ceilteach, 6 Sráid Fhearchair, Áth Cliath 2.

● A new Breton party, Strollad Poblek Breizh, was founded this summer. It takes an outspokenly nationalist stand, its aim being the foundation of a Breton republic. It rejects all compromises with French parties. "We aspire to the freest and most democratic type of society, in which there will be no exploitation of man by man, and a brake will be put on industrial growth". Further details from S.P.B., BP48, Parame, 35400 St. Malo, Brittany.

**AN ERE Keltiek:** No communication has been received from the secretary since January. This breakdown cannot be attributed to the 4½ month Irish postal strike, although there is no indication as to why letters from the secretary general were not answered. Consultations are taking place with a view to rectifying this regrettable situation. Meanwhile Breton members, or intending subscribers, should address correspondence to the secretary general or to the secretary of the London branch.

## MANNIN

### POOAR CHESH-VEANAGH AS YN CO-VARGEY

The leaders of the EEC are solidly behind a big expansion of nuclear power in Europe. This has a direct bearing on the controversy as to whether Ireland should build a nuclear power station.

Ta'n ashoon smoo niartal sy Cho-vargey, ta shen dy ghra yn Ghiarmaan, ayns foayr jeh troggal tooilley stashoonyn chesh-veanagh (nuclear) ayns gagh cheer. Bare lesh yn Ghiarmaan ny stashoonyn shon y ve kionnit voee. Shen y fa dy vel ny leedeilee Giarmaanagh cho corree as y Vraseel (Brazil) giarrey sheese yn earroo dy stashoonyn chesh-veanagh t'ee son troggal sy tra ry-heet. Ga dy vel ymmodee sleih sy Ghiarmaan noi yn phooar chesh-veanagh, ta Schmidt as e cho-reiltee dy slane soiet er coorse chesh-veanagh.

Sy Rank neesht, ta'n reiltys dy bollagh ayns foayr jeh mooadaghey ny stashoonyn chesh-veanagh sy cheer. Dy jarroo, foddee ta ny Frangee ny smoo ayns foayr jeh pooar chesh-veanagh na ny Giarmaanee, kyndagh rish genney geayil sy Rank. Cheumooie jeh shen, ta ny Frangee er cheau argid erskyn towse er fo-vooiraneyn chesh-veanagh (nuclear submarines). Ayns cooishyn chesh-veanagh, ta reddyn caggail as reddyn sheeoil dy kinjagh mestit ry cheilley.

As erreish da Thoreeyn Hostyn v'er ngeddyn y varriaght syn ard-reihys sjerree, ta Bnr Thatcher abyl dy hoiilshaghey magh e graigh er yn phooar chesh-veanagh.

Mannagh vees drogh-haghyrt feer vooar cheet ayns stashoon chesh-veanagh ennagh, son shickyrys bee yn earroo dy stashoonyn chesh-veanagh sy teihll goll seose goll rish yn jouyl hene. Ta bunnys gagh reiltys goaill aggle dy jig spooilley, cragh, dunverys as caggey mannagh jean pooar chesh-veanagh "lhienney y vaarney" vees ayn tra vees yn ooill ceaut dy bollagh. Ga dy vel ram sleih gra dy re boghtynid shoh. Ta momentum mooar ec ny claryn chesh-veanagh. Mannagh jig caghlaa mooar dy tappee, beemayd cummal ayns sorch dy "steat chesh-veanagh", myr ta Robert Jungk er chur raau dooin.

Ayns ny cheeraghyn Celtiagh, ta Mannin, Nerin as yn Chorn er scapail veih stashoonyn chesh-veanagh choud's shoh. Kyndagh rish gloyr-vian caggail Hostyn as ny Frank, ta ynnydyn chesh-veanagh dy liooar ayns Nalbin, Bretin as y Vritaan. Ec y tra t'ayn, ta arganys mooar goll er mysh troggal stashoon chesh-veanagh ayns Nerin, ayns Loch Garman. By vie lesh bockyn mooarey yn Che-vargey yn stashoon y ve ayn. Hooar Taoiseach ny hErin fys dy derragh yn Co-vargey yn lieh-ayrn jeh'n argid ny-chour myr easaght. Va rieu argid mooar kiant seose ayns cooishyn chesh-veanagh, as oddagh ny Giarmaanee erskyn ooilley coshey argid mie (queig cheead milliun punt?) ass stashoon ayns Nerin. Dy dooghyssagh, ta ymmodee Yernee noi yn phooar chesh-veanagh. Er-lhimmey jeh'n ghaue oddys cheet voish ny stashoonyn hene, cha mie lesh Yernee yn Co-vargey Nerin y chur fo hraastey myr shoh. Ta'n Co-vargey bunnys gra rish ny Yernee "shegin diu y stashoon shoh y hroggal". Nish ta'n cheird-heshaght (trade union) smoo ayns Nerin er ghra dy vel ee noi yn stashoon chesh-veanagh. Son shickyrys, ver yn Irish Transport and General Workers' Union cooney mooar dauesyn ta gleck noi yn ghaue chesh-veanagh ayns Nerin.

Brian Mac Stoyll.

## MANX MILLENNIUM

The Millennium was supposed to be a celebration of 1000 years of democratic government in Mann. But nowhere can the date 979 be found to mean anymore than just another year. 1079, one hundred years later, saw the landing of Godred Crovan in Mann a personage of historical importance who founded a dynasty of Manx Kings and gave Mann its independence. It is thought that the kind of democracy that Godred Crovan is given credit for could well have been in existence and of Celtic rather than Norse origin. (I. Broderick).

Politically it has shown us how little democracy we have when one or two people can decide this is an historic year and the rest of us have to fall in line. In the middle of the celebrations our Government plans to do away with International Human Rights so that they can carry on using the Birch.

The Government has been very eager to sell Manx Culture this year, as it sells everything else, it has never been very willing to pay anything for its survival.

For the first time for many years a lottery has been organised in Mann. This required a special act passed by Tynwald and was felt by many people to be immoral. The proceeds are to go to charity to help the aged and handicapped but as we live in a welfare state, and a wealthy one at that, the help should be forthcoming from taxes collected by government. The Government should face up to its responsibilities in this direction rather than to reduce income tax to encourage further New Residents.

The amount of money spent already on the Millennium is unknown. But here are listed a few expenses which are known:-

New Balcony at St. John's Church (Tynwald Hill) £20,000; Clough Millennium on Fairfield St. Johns £15,000; Odins Raven ... (Longship voyage from Norway)... grant £20,000; Norse film pageant society, grant, £30,000; Lord of Mann's one day visit, £21,000; Clean up Mann campaign to be equalled £ per £ by local authority, £20,000; Setting up of National Park at St. Johns, £10,000; Special chairs for Tynwald Ceremony (to be resold at profit?), £28,000; V.I.P. lounge at Ronaldsway Airport, £15,000;

Many of the expenses will never be known:- Cutting down of healthy trees at Tynwald Hill, cost unknown; Millennium Firework Display on January 1st, cost unknown; Paving the fairfield and landscaping, cost unknown; Destroying a stone wall at the rear of Tynwald Hill, cost unknown, [would cost £7,000 to rebuild]; Returfing the front half of two tiers of Tynwald Hill, cost unknown; Removing and rebuilding stone pillars to facilitate Army Vehicles, cost unknown; Reseeding football pitches after car park use, cost unknown; Compensating farmers following car parking damage, cost unknown; Setting up and running the Millennium Office, cost unknown; Advertising trips abroad promoting Tynwald, cost unknown.

V.I.P. visits to Mann:

Lord Mayor of London; President of Malta; President of Ireland; Mrs. Mark Phillips; Duke and Duchess of Gloucester; King of Norway; Dukes of Atholl and Argyll.

I have not mentioned 'Celtic Week' which was a wonderful relief from the usual events this year. We hope we will not have to wait another 1000 years!

Whilst agreeing that the tourist industry needs a boost we feel this money could have been better spent especially on upgrading tourist accommodation.

The Millenium was welcomed by most of our politicians who, it would seem, were looking for a mid-term break away from the serious but boring process of law making, sitting in Tynwald/Keys, and serving on Boards of Government. They welcomed the light relief and the opportunity of rubbing shoulders with our rulers - The British and their Queen and her daughter. With the many V.I.P. visits and their attendant banquets and garden parties our politicians must have had a jolly good time! All very nice for the social set and the miliners.

The Millennium Office, this quickly formed bureaucratic body with an unending supply of money, has been organising events throughout the summer and it was not until July 3rd that they realised what it was all about. On this date in the local press along with the usual advert for the Millennium Jamborees was an invite to attend. We were told 'It is your celebration'. We hadn't realised! There are no extra flags or bunting, no great excitement. The local people still have to make a living. The holiday maker still comes for a quiet holiday away from any great excitement. And so it is that this year the attendances at the specially contrived festivities has been anything from fair to poor.

The Government is elected to spend our money wisely, not to waste it. We will never know how much has been wasted on our supposed 1000th anniversary of democracy.

Hazel Hannan.

[I. Broderick, George, Millennium of Tynwald - an historical assessment. (Published by Mec Vennin, price 20p incl. postage from Brottby, Peveril Road, Peel, Mann.)]

## FELLOW CELTS SNUBBED IN 'MILLENNIUM'

### CELTIC WEEK

During the week 8th - 14th July, 1979, designated as 'Celtic Week' by the Millennium Committee the Chieftains and a 30-strong team of Breton dancers, inter alios, had been invited to perform. Two concerts had been organized for the Chieftains on the Monday and Friday nights (9th & 13th July) at the Palace Lido Cabaret Club on Douglas Promenade. Initially the organizers had sought to obtain the Villa Marina in Douglas, a place more suited to concerts, but the Douglas Corporation, who own the Villa Marina, refused ostensibly because the place was booked for that period; the probability is that the refusal was made because Celtic Week was a Millennium project, and Douglas Corporation did not wish to have anything to do with the Millennium extravaganza.

A week before the Chieftains were due to appear the organizers were informed that the Chieftains would be appearing as part of a cabaret act with others including a group calling itself the 'Grumbleweeds'. In spite of efforts to get this changed to a proper concert Monday night saw an initial performance of only half an hour by the Chieftains, which was met by a barrage of foot-stamping and table-thumping. The management then realised that the audience wanted to hear more of the Chieftains, and less of the rest, and finally gave them a further ¾ hour to an hour's traditional music, but not before many, who had bought £4 tickets expecting to see the Chieftains only, and not

anyone else, had stormed out and demanded, and got, their money back. The same fiasco also occurred on the Friday evening, though the protestations were met by a blaring barrage of pop-music.

The same week some 30 Breton dancers arrived in the Island. Owing to the fact that they had a wedding to attend to they did not arrive at the same time as other Celtic artists, and so missed the official reception. A special reception was not laid on for them, even though the Millennium Committee were almost certainly aware of the reason for their late arrival, but considered that they should have come on time like everybody else. In addition when about to give their performance at the Palace Lido, the management refused some of them entry because they were under-age to enter licensed premises. As a result the Bretons refused to dance inside (as all members were needed for the dances they were to do), but gave an impromptu demonstration for nothing (the Manx Government was paying anyway) outside.

The Millennium Committee came in for much criticism shortly after for the way in which the Chieftains and the Breton dancers were treated, and it became patently obvious that the committee simply did not understand what was required of them, nor did they bother to acquaint themselves with the traditions and customs of their Celtic guests so as to ensure for them proper hospitality. This was decidedly lacking.

Shorys y Creayrie.

**A.G.M.** The 1979 Annual General Meeting of the Celtic League was held in Caernarfon, Cymru, during the 4th-5th August week-end. There were four working sessions, attended each by 25 to 30 participants from five national branches and from the London branch. Eire, Kernow and London were well represented whereas there was no Breizh delegate and the Welsh participation was disappointingly small. Notification of the AGM had been hampered by the Irish postal strike and the lateness of the decision on a date for holding it. It was decided that the next AGM will be in September 1980.

A satisfactory overall picture emerged from the reports given by the secretaries and the editor of CARN, although serious defects exist in two important branches, which must be remedied early. There was a widespread interest in the Celtic League, and it could be stimulated further if greater attention could be paid to making its existence and aims better known. The satisfactory level of circulation of CARN had been maintained during the past year but renewed efforts should be made by members to help in selling the quarterly. The best reports of activity came from London, Eire and the USA branches.

The policy of the Celtic League found expression in the resolutions reproduced below. A proposal for associating Galicia and the Asturias with the organisation was discussed at length but the majority view was that, while we sympathise with the aspirations of those two areas to self-government and were willing to assist them in asserting the Celtic character of their culture, we would open the door to application from other regions with a Celtic substratum, not least in England and France, and thereby dilute our aims and identity, unless we retained our insistence on the principle that the Celtic languages were the indispensable constituent element of nationality for any Celtic country.



"The delegates at the A.G.M."

### CELTIC LEAGUE A.G.M. RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were adopted at the Annual General Meeting of the Celtic League in Caernarfon, August 4th – 5th, 1979.

1. This Conference:
  - expresses opposition to the building of nuclear stations at Carnsore Point (Eire), Plogoff and Le Pellerin (Brittany), and Torness (Scotland);
  - urges the Celtic countries to direct efforts towards: a) conservation; b) use of wind and wave power; c) use of biomass, as forms of energy compatible with the health of our peoples, and susceptible of giving increased employment;
  - rejects the pressure by the imperial powers (including the EEC) on the Celtic countries to accept nuclear power;
  - calls for solidarity with and support for the three day anti-nuclear rally organised for Carnsore Point on 17-18-19 August 1979.
2. This Conference completely and unequivocally opposes any activity connected with nuclear proliferation, and in particular the dumping of radioactive material within the Celtic countries.
3. This Conference denounces the French elections to the Strasbourg Parliament on the basis of a single constituency as contrary to the recognition of the diversity of the peoples of Western Europe – a recognition which finds expression in the institutions of all the other EEC member states;
  - draws attention to the recent declaration of the French State president in Thann, Alsace, ruling out any reform that would give the slightest freedom to the 'regions', on the ground that in order to lead Europe, France needed to speak with one voice;
  - warns the small European nations particularly against the ambitions to hegemony of a State which denies freedom to its minorities and pursues neo-colonialist policies in the Third World.
4. This Conference urges the Westminster Parliament to reconsider the boundary of the Euro-Constituency Number 43 so that Cornwall forms one Constituency in its own right for the European election in 1984.



5. This Conference insists that henceforth the French Government treats the department of Loire-Atlantique as an integral part of Brittany for all purposes.

6. This Conference condemns the biased coverage of the Irish situation in the media; instructs the constituent branches of the Celtic League to take all appropriate steps to increase the awareness of the national movements in their countries regarding the true situation in Ireland.

7. This Conference congratulates Radio na Gaeltachta (Éire) and BBC Radio Highland (Alba) for their co-broadcasting of the programme "Cia mar a tha sibh" and calls on the appropriate authorities to investigate the possibility of linking Mannin to this mutual exchange; calls also on the Celtic League branches in Cymru, Kernow and Breizh to explore the possibilities of a common programme to be transmitted between their countries.

8. This Conference congratulates the Westminster Government on its decision to cut back drastically on the BBC Overseas Broadcasting Service and urges that government to atone for previous policies of cultural genocide by channelling the savings for into broadcasting in Cornish, Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Welsh.

9. This Conference strongly condemns the discrimination shown by the Secretary of State for Wales in his recent interference in the language policy of the Gwynedd Education Authority by instructing that Authority to take into account the views of non-Welsh speaking parents before requiring Welsh to be included in the school timetable for all children in the county up to the age of sixteen;

calls upon the Secretary of State to instruct the Gwynedd Education Authority to pay similar regard to the wishes of the Welsh-speaking parents in the county who wish their children to be taught through the medium of their own language at all levels throughout their school career;

points out that until now most Welsh-speaking children in the county, where Welsh is the native tongue, have been compelled to receive their secondary education through the medium of a foreign language — a situation which is deplorable.

10. This Conference urges the Scottish National Party to appoint two delegates who, together with two delegates from the Celtic League, will be charged with reporting on steps to be taken in order to gain the "Irish" vote for the Party at the next relevant election; a similar action being urged from Plaid Cymru.

11. This Conference decides that each branch secretary should submit at most two priority resolutions for the AGM but that additional ones be allowed to be discussed at the end of the meeting if time allows, according to a priority decided at the chairman's discretion.

12. This Conference supports the aims of the meeting arranged by the Young Liberals to take place in London on August 12th calling on the London Government to commit itself to a policy of withdrawal from Ireland.

13. This Conference undertakes to set up an economic study group with responsibility for:

a) investigating the way other emerging nations have tied linguistic and economic aims;

b) reporting on how their experience could be related to Celtic conditions.

14) This A.G.M. views with approval the co-operation in publishing ventures between Conradh na Gaeilge (the Gaelic League) and Y Cyngor Llyfrau Cymraeg (The Welsh Books Council) and requests them and other publishers in the Celtic languages to see if this co-operation could be expanded.

15) That the Celtic League deplores the use by the English Government, of troops from other Celtic countries in the North of Ireland. This can only be seen as a deliberate policy to foster enmity between the Celtic countries and to continue the English policy of divide and rule.

#### **THE GAELIC VISION IN SCOTTISH CULTURE.** by

Malcolm Chapman. Croom Helm, London 1978. 264pp. £8.50p (in "U.K." only).

Malcolm Chapman, a research student at the Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford, investigates how the representation which is commonly given of the present-day Celts developed over the past two centuries. He directs his attention chiefly to the Scottish Gaels but refers also to the other Celts in some of the Chapters. His research is based on literary sources. One wonders if those writers who, in the 19th century, gave currency to the imagery concerning the Celts, particularly Matthew Arnold and Ernest Renan, ever read a single work in a Celtic language. Chapman learned enough Gàidhlig to be able to see at first hand what the poets have to say about Scottish identity. The section devoted to modern Gaelic poetry is in my opinion the most interesting in the book.

The metaphors used in modern times to depict the Celts originated in English and continental intellectual circles after the publication of *Ossian*. It was then fashionable to think that primitive man, living close to nature, retained virtues which the civilised people in the emerging industrial society had lost. England had a primitive community on its doorstep, in the Highlands! In 1867, M. Arnold — whose mother, according to Hugh MacDiarmid, was Cornish — affirmed the spirituality of the Celtic genius but denied it any ability in the world of science, industry and business in which the Anglo-Saxons excelled. Did he then champion the growth of literature in the Celtic languages? Far from it: the Celtic traditions belonged to the past, Welsh was a curse, an obstacle to material progress and Welsh poets should now write in English. Still, the spiritual qualities subsisted after anglicisation. For the emergence of a superior British race, they should be married to the solid practical sense of the English. Arnold was obviously satisfied with his lineage.

Before him Renan had also relegated the Celts to the realm of emotion, dream and mystery and thought that their strong family spirit made them unfit for politics and wider forms of social organisation. Such a view seemed to be suggested by his personal experience: the simple, happy days of his Breton childhood belonged obviously to the past while his achievements related to the French Establishment and his dedication to academic life and a deified Reason. Characteristically, the French owed him a definition of nationality which suits well their purpose of absorbing the ethnical groups on the periphery of their State.

Gradually a discourse, a "symbolic appropriation" takes place which attributes to the Celts a set of traits which are complementary or opposite to those attributed to the nations dominating them. They are fond of nature, spontaneous, sensitive and impressionable, liable to sudden changes of mood; they are inclined to dream, to give a free rein to their imagination and to reject the "despotism of facts"; they are attracted by mysteries, turned towards the past, strongly religious, gifted for poetry and the minor arts. Many of these traits were considered as essentially feminine. Therefore the Celts are a feminine race and their role is a domestic, marginal one! Logic, a sense of organisation, the ability to compete, statesmanship — those qualities belong on the contrary to the Anglo-Saxon and (to a high degree) the French .....

Having exposed the intellectual background to the popularity of *Ossian* in Romantic Europe, Chapman checks Macpherson (who never produced Gaelic original versions of the songs he claimed to be translating) against two prominent 18th century poets, Alasdair MacMhaighstir (Alexander Macdonald) and Donnchadh Bàn Mac an t-Saoir. They certainly give an important place to feelings arising from the contemplation of nature but in recording their joys and sorrows they don't look to a personified Nature for consolation or moral lessons. They express the authentic Gaelic attitude. The Celtic Mist and the Celtic Twilight were foreign notions inspired by the bourgeois nostalgia for a bygone era.

However, 19th and early 20th century writers, writing in English and French (such as Yeats and A. Le Bras) adopted the alien imagery which had become so widely accepted as to be independent of the real outlook and frame of mind of the ordinary people of the Celtic countries. Of course they were witnessing the one-way flow of ideas and the innovations in material life coming from outside, as well as the decline of the Celtic languages and way of life. Celtic society was disintegrating around them. Thus they readily located in the past the things they found beautiful and desirable and shared the nationalist view that the ills affecting the Celtic peoples would be easily cured once the foreign influence and domination was removed.

More recently a sense of realism has reasserted itself in our literatures. Chapman only briefly mentions Hugh MacDiarmid as one who searched for a distinctive Scottish psychology but he examines at length five writers, considered as the major modern Gaelic poets, who have concerned themselves with the question of Scottish identity; Somhairle MacGill-Eain, Deorsa Mac Iain (G. Chapbell Hay), Derick Thomson, Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn, Domhnall MacAmhlaigh. The poems reproduced here in illustration of their thinking show their unease in the bicultural situations in which they have to live and the difficulty of getting rid of myths and images which have succeeded in imposing themselves on the minds of their countrymen. It is not only in Scotland that many people have come to recognise themselves in the originally alien image and to behave in accordance with it. Thus the task of defining the Celtic identity, of sorting out what is genuine and what is fictitious in our cultures, has become more complicated than ever.

Chapman gives first the impression of being very sceptical about the validity of the notion of national identity for the Celtic countries, but his doubts apply above all to the conventional idea of the Celt developed during the 19th century. Few firm conclusions emerge

from his investigation. His style is rather hesitant, groping and repetitive. Yet the historical perspective which he provides and his observations about the attitude of the Scottish institutions such as the Free Church and the Mod towards the Scottish heritage should help to bring into sharper focus our national aims and our idea of Celticism. He means to play a constructive role in this respect. For all his criticism, he recognises the importance of the Gaelic language to the whole of Scotland.

Having provided us with a great deal of material from anthropology as well as creative literature, and shown that the image, if originally false, has now made an impact on reality, by affecting attitudes, Chapman leaves us with the problem as to whether an exact definition of the Celtic identity or identities is possible by other means than those he used. Tentatively I would suggest two convergent approaches: on one hand, a survey of our peoples' attitudes and behaviour in the various aspects of their life, so as to see if precise patterns emerge and to establish whether they are essentially different from those of other peoples; on the other hand, forgetting as much as possible the conventional image, a study of our history (with attention to the ways of ordinary people as well as to the deeds of their leaders and heroes), of our literature, folklore and art, so as to find out whether certain traits appear with greater frequency than others; and if so, whether they are the same as those found in the survey to predominate to-day. In the affirmative, one would feel on solid ground in saying that there are constant characteristics of the Irish, Welsh, etc. It would still have to be seen whether these national characteristics were shared to a sufficient extent by the different Celtic nations, and not with others, before one could speak of a Celtic identity.

I am suggesting an application of statistics, being well aware that there is in every Celtic country a great variety of views, attitudes, abilities, and indeed, human types. The Bretons who built up the SICAs (agricultural co-operatives) and the BAI car-ferry lines are not bad at organisation. Nor are the Welsh who set up a network of Welsh language secondary schools and who keep the Eisteddfod going year after year. I could give numerous other examples which contradict the conventional image, the most obvious being the Irish State. Yet, we know also plenty of individuals who possess the qualities and the faults considered as typically Celtic. The question is how frequent the different types are in each nation. If their distribution is such as to evidence a greater frequency for a certain set of traits than for others, that set could be taken as defining that nation.

External influences are so strong to-day that it may well be impossible by now to distinguish what is native from the alien elements. A number of independent investigations would be required as a precaution against the ready acceptance of statistical results as scientific truth, since they can very much depend on the personal outlook and even prejudices of the investigators.

The Roman and Greek authors gave of the ancient Celts a clearly defined picture. Our peoples have gone since then through many changes and experiences. Divergent opinions, some more learned than the others, exist regarding the contribution of the old Celtic warrior race to the genetic pool and culture of each of our nations. The archaeologist P.R. Giot, in his study "Armoricains

et Bretons", believes that the pre-Celtic element is predominant in Brittany, while the historian Nora K. Chadwick (Early Brittany, p.1) states that it is "first and last a Celtic country"! I am concerned with the future and I attribute to the Celtic languages — which most probably adopted numerous words and other features from pre-Celtic ones — the most important role in ensuring the survival of our countries as distinct entities. We should indeed acknowledge our debt towards all our forebears, but they have over the centuries merged into collectivities which, to achieve real political freedom, need to foster their cultural and linguistic specificity. I note with interest that, at a conference held in 1978 in the U.S.A., by Irish-Americans and leading members of the movement for an independent "Ulster" (Six-Counties), one of the latter backed up his arguments with a reference to the Celtic background of that area. While the exact Celtic contribution to our ancestry cannot be assessed, I think it is appropriate that the qualificative Celtic be applied to our peoples to-day.

A. Heusaff.

#### CANADIAN CELTIC CONCERT AT TORONTO

On the evening of June 2nd last the Toronto branch of the Canadian Celtic Congress put on their first pan-Celtic concert in that city. A capacity audience of a thousand waited in eager anticipation for the opening curtain. They were soon to be amply rewarded for their attendance.

The program was divided into blocks of Scottish, Irish and Welsh entertainment in the first half and a similar division in the second half. Entertainment was in the Celtic languages and the quality of the performances was excellent. As might be expected the program consisted of solos, dances, instrumental music and recitation. The participation of the Welsh Male Choir from Montreal was welcome and the program ended with Toronto's own Gaelic Society Choir. Missing were Montreal's Breton dancers; this is to be rectified with their inclusion in next year's concert. Part of the show was televised by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for a future program on the CCC and the Celts in Canada.

#### AMERICA B.C. — Review by Laurie O'Keefe, Fodave.

America B.C. by Barry Fell (Quadrangle/New York Times Book Co., 1976) is, among other things, a book of paradoxes. On the one hand, it is long overdue, treating a subject which has been ignored, even scoffed at, by serious scholars up to the present moment. On the other hand, one wonders why Mr. Fell, who spends a great deal of time in his book recounting the painstaking care of blundering blindness of past scholars dealing with the puzzle pieces of the Celtic past, seems to have opted for a middle ground — painstaking blindness or blundering care — as far as his own contribution is concerned.

His book intends to shed new light upon the "megalithic monuments" found on the East Coast of North America, and the various inscriptions associated with them. While it is obvious to anyone versed in European prehistory that these American structures are similar in construction to their European counterparts, not so much is clearly known about the European structures themselves (with and without inscriptions) that one can infer anything

definite at all about their reputed American counterparts. But that is exactly what Mr. Fell does.

On the strength of a few inscriptions which do indeed appear to be Ogham in either Brythonic or Goidelic languages (he insists it is Gaelic), he infers that the people who made the inscriptions also built the megalithic structures! He arbitrarily dates the various inscriptions from 700 B.C. to the mid-first century A.D., giving the reader no more criteria other than "linguistic evidence" — but does not state exactly what this evidence is.

The structures themselves are never scientifically dated, yet we know from European prehistory that such things as dolmens, passage graves, menhirs, stone circles go back as far as 4000 B.C. — predating even the earliest glimmers of Libyan, Phoenician or Celtic peoples — peoples Mr. Fell holds responsible for the North American monuments and their inscriptions.

To put it bluntly, Mr. Fell's sense of history is gravely distorted. By way of example, I give you this quote, referring to a stone chamber in Vermont: "Byron Dix, an astronomer investigating the orientation of these temple structures, finds that the angle subtended by the pillars to a viewer at each of the west corners of the cella yields an angular measure of the moon's 18.6 year metonic cycle, and hence could be used for predicting eclipses. The building is therefore essentially an astronomical observatory, though the dedications to the various gods found on the lintels led us to refer to it as the Pantheon. The cycle of the Moon was discovered by the Greek astronomer Meto about the year 433 B.C., so this building must date from after that time. It is the largest and most sophisticated of all the Celtic buildings so far discovered in North America." (p.208)

A rather blatant statement when we now are discovering that Stonehenge and other stone circles, as well as the menhirs at Carnac and several of the passage graves, Newgrange among them, all seem to be linked with not only the cycle of the moon, but of the sun as well! And these predate Meto by some 3500 years!

Furthermore, although legend (and in some cases artifacts found) associates the Celts with the stone monuments of Europe, we know they did not build the most ancient of them. To follow Mr. Fell's way of thinking, inscribed crosses on the menhirs at Carnac must mean the menhirs were put there by Christian Celts — hence, they date from the first century A.D.!

As I stated earlier, a new open examination of American prehistory is long overdue. (We know someone put those buildings and standing stones here, as they did in Europe, and someone inscribed them (although not necessarily the same people as the ones who built them, as Mr. Fell would have it).) America B.C. redeems itself by opening up this new, vital field to all comers. Hopefully, the controversies aroused by some of his true evidence will lead others to explore other possibilities for more accurate conclusions. Despite its shortcomings, America B.C. is worth reading.

(Cont. from p. 13, col. 1)

pects of Celtic languages and indeed a quality which sets those languages apart from all others.

P.M.

(Ed. Space does not permit the inclusion of Mr. Mosson's language. Those interested should write to him directly at 20 Rylands Dr., Mt. Vernon, Glasgow G32 0SB.)

(see also letters on pages 9 & 24)



## PAN-GHAELIGE / DAON-GHAELIGE

I would like to thank the Editor of CARN for publishing my suggestions on a common colloquial Gaelic (CARN 22) and also those readers who send in their encouraging and constructive comments. I was especially impressed by Mrs. E. Grier's letter outlining her difficulties with the Caighdeán Oifigiúil and can assure her that thousands of others have experienced a similar frustration (CARN 23). Mr. Daniel K. Dreyer's outline for a Pan-Celtic Language (embracing both P. and Q-Celtic) is fascinating and I think he should continue this on the lines he has indicated in such a scholarly fashion.

Meanwhile, I have been working on a Grammar drawn from the simplest forms of the various Gaelic dialects. About 20 copies (stencilled) of this are now available, with exercises, etc., at £1.50p each. Additional copies can be made if necessary.

I have not adopted the "two-against-one" principle advocated by Mr. Gerard Patrick Jones (CARN 23) as I think it would be virtually impossible to arrive at a consensus and the finished product might be more complicated than the Caighdeán itself. I had some scruples about my own recommendation regarding the separable forms of the prepositional pronouns and I am most grateful to Mr. Jones for clearing up this matter — they remain unchanged.

I am proposing this booklet then as a working model and would be delighted to hear readers views on it — either through CARN or directly.

The best test of all is to try it out, both in speaking and in writing in all possible situations.

Seán Ó Duinn, An Mhá Rua, Co. Luimnig, Éire.

[Ed. see letters on pages 9 & 13 also]

● Since the Goidelic languages separated only about 400 years ago, it may well be possible to concoct a Pan-Gaelic language, as suggested by Seán Ó Duinn in CARN No. 22, thereby incidentally simplifying the unnecessarily complicated orthographies.

The same cannot be said of the Brittonic languages, however. It has taken me 200 hours of study to acquire a reasonable degree of fluency in Cornish and 200 more for Breton. Yet so much have the (spoken) languages diverged over the last 1300 years that I can understand scarcely a word of Welsh. I have to use English to communicate with Welsh friends, and like Mr. Ó Duinn, feel it ironic to have to use this alien tongue. English is a language associated with a nation which has a history of persecuting Celts. We require a common language which is free from such or indeed any national associations.

As far as the Brittonic languages are concerned, the answer is not a "Celtic Esperanto" but Esperanto itself. Esperanto is a truly international language. It is not tied to a particular nation. Neither would 200 hours of study be required to learn it. Being perfectly regular, it is by far the easiest of languages to learn; it took me less than 50 hours. Moreover, any Celts learning Esperanto would find that they could communicate with people in countries all over the world.

Dr. K.J. George.

## 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 £3.00 for Ireland and Britain; 28FF (or equivalent) for Brittany and Continental Europe in general; £3.50 (or equivalent) for non-European countries (this includes airmailing). For information about the Celtic League and An Ere Keltiek, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the secretaries:—

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