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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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For a Celtic Music

20p

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

ALBA

SNP — HOME RULE ONLY A START!

The SNP Conference at Oban in May earlier this year revealed a buoyant Party almost in the same mood as the 1968 Conference at the same venue, but with important developments in ideological outlook. The much-heralded split between right and left-wings of 5 years ago over social and economic issues belied a party feeling the effects of recent mass recruitment. This year issues such as land, holiday houses, military bases, the social services and the trump card — oil — brought out a high standard of purpose which was coherent in its philosophy. Whereas the sham fight of right and left centralists permeated the SNP at the time of the upsurge in the 1960s, and clouded the SNP wish to give power to the people, the dominant decentralising line has become the key to convince all sections of the Party to take strongly radical lines in both action and policy.

Also, the fear of State intervention is being dispelled; the overwhelming support for a motion for land to be controlled by public ownership in order to secure for the common good the heritage and potential of our country, while securing tenants rights and which meets the qualifications required by Parliament. It was generally agreed that the most local form of control in this matter was desirable to avoid 'departmental socialism,' the Labour Party alternative to absentee landlordism and is leading to a new detailed policy statement on this vital issue.

Strict control of the proliferation of holiday houses and overwhelming condemnation of increasing military activity in areas like Benbecula and South Uist, where the heartland of Gaelic culture and expression is under attack, were other important motions which were supplemented by speeches from Party Chairman Wolfe, and M.P. Donald Stewart; they emphasised these issues as attacking the roots of the future of Scotland. But the debate on oil, the reception of Gordon Wilson, the narrowly defeated candidate at Dundee by-election and Director of the S.N.P. Oil Policy, and the showing of slides pressing home the value of oil to Scotland, all these gave the Press much to write about, and underlined the fact that it was the SNP and no other party or organisation which had done the most to evaluate the meaning of oil in Scottish terms. So accurate has been the arithmetic, even in the forecasts, that Government spokesmen have had to reluctantly admit that the SNP has had the most sensitive finger on the oil pulse. The SNP is determined, by a new oil campaign, to give new facts and figures to the public, and to publicise its determination to fight for the slowing down of the exploitation of oil to a level commensurate with Scotland's interests.

SCOTLAND'S OTHER LANGUAGE

by Iain MacWilliam

It may seem paradoxical that a journal devoted to the revival of the Celtic languages should carry an article on a Germanic language. But a description of the language variously described as Scots, Lallans, Synthetic Scots, and other names, may possibly be of interest to readers outside Scotland as an example of "the problem of language revival," even though ours is the only Celtic country to possess its own unique, but non-Celtic language.

The language which we may call "Scots" (asking the pardon of those who would reserve that name for Scottish Gaelic) is descended from an Anglo-Saxon dialect introduced into the territory of what is now Scotland about the 6th Century A.D. This was not the same dialect as that which gave rise to modern English, and because of the different political development of Scotland and England, their languages began to differ also. Scots is obviously distinct from English in the 14th Century (even though the Scots then called it "Inglish"); by the 16th Century, it had grown up to be recognised as a separate language, and the word "Scottis" was first used to describe it.

Unfortunately it was in the same century that the decline of Scots began. When the Reformation came to Scotland, the Protestant Church adopted the English Bible rather than producing a Scots translation, and English therefore became the language of the Church. After the Union of the Crowns in 1603, English gradually became the language of the State also, even before Scotland lost its Parliament in 1707. Scots was, however, still used in common speech by the working classes, as well as for poetry — as the works of Burns show. During the 19th Century, when other languages of Europe were experiencing a revival, Scots did not, because the upper and middle classes regarded the language as one which no educated person would use; English was of course the language of the schools. It seemed that Scots had no future — even the poetry being produced was of very low quality.

But the 20th Century brought hope of a Scots revival. In the 1920s a group of writers led by Hugh MacDiarmid, believing that Scotland should escape from English influence in every way, advocated the use of Scots for this reason, and produced some of the best poetry seen in the language since the 16th Century. This revival is still being carried on. (See my article on the subject in the C.L. Annual Volume for 1971.)

One of the greatest difficulties in the way of Scots is that, it being closely related to English, it is not easy to tell where one language ends and the other begins. A person may speak anything from pure English to fairly pure Scots, there being at the moment no standard literary Scots to define what "pure Scots" really is. Even a single person may use a different kind of speech on different occasions — Scots at home and Scottish-English for official purposes. As a result of its loss of status since the 16th Century, Scots has become practically excluded from many fields, in which people would now consider it unthinkable to use Scots. The English-centred educational machine has taught them that Scots is a mark of social inferiority. Whereas, for instance, Gaelic is used generally for religious services in the Gaidhealtachd, a service in Scots is almost unheard of. Even the meetings of societies concerning themselves with Scots have to be conducted in English, for Scots has failed to develop a vocabulary capable of dealing with such aspects of life in the modern world. So the attempted revival of Scots has a long way to go.

There are, however, signs of hope even now. The closeness of Scots to English means that, though there may not be large numbers of people who habitually speak pure Scots, the great majority of Scottish people have some knowledge of the language, and given an educational policy sympathetic to it, might be brought to use it more. The recently founded Association for Scottish Literary Studies, many of whose members are teachers, aims to improve the teaching of Scots language and literature in our schools and universities, and the even newer Lallans Society, a more uncompromising body, may succeed in its aims of making Scottish people more conscious of their language and encouraging them to use it. The output of Scots poetry is being maintained, and there is now some work being done in modern Scots prose.

The question of Scots has obviously political implications. If, as is universally recognised, a nation's identity is strengthened decisively by having its own language, Scots is an obvious candidate to fill this position — at least in the Lowlands of Scotland — since it is much more easily comprehensible to the average (Lowland) Scotsman than Gaelic. This is not to say that there should not be a revival of Gaelic — far from it — nearly all the modern Scots writers, with MacDiarmid at their head, have been strong sympathisers with the Gaelic revival. There is no conflict between Scots and Gaelic, since they are spoken in different areas of Scotland. The conflict is between English — the official language of the British State — on the one hand, and Scots and Gaelic — the officially unrecognised languages of ordinary Scottish people — on the other. If circumstances are favourable to a revival of Scots, they will also be favourable to a revival of Gaelic, and both languages would find their best chance of flourishing under an independent Scottish Government.

Scottish National Party senior vice-chairman Gordon Wilson has called on the Secretary of State for Scotland to produce a land map of the country, showing how much is owned by outsiders.

"Concern is growing in Scotland about alarming and recent developments in which Scottish land is being acquired in large units by both companies and individuals who are not domiciled in Scotland," said Mr Wilson.

"Over the last two years, Scots have been priced out of ownership of many houses in the country by incomers who require the cottages as holiday homes. As a result, rural communities have been depleted and, although the position is not yet as bad as it is in Wales, it is deteriorating steadily month by month.

"Apart from the activities of the land speculators, who are now largely English, there is a danger that agricultural land will also be bought by overseas interests.

"In particular I refer to recent German purchase of Morphee Farm, Montrose, and the tourist developments in Ross-shire. With UK entry to the Common Market, there is a strong possibility that the land of Scotland will be bought out of the control of the people of Scotland, who will then occupy the undignified position of being tenants in their own country.

"I therefore call on you to publish a land map of Scotland which will show the extent to which Scottish land is now owned by foreign interests, and to publish in early course your proposals for protecting the integrity of Scottish land."

* * *

Attractive Celtic Design Christmas Cards (Mollaig Cridheil) in colour. Three designs available; all cards 4p each with envelope. Designs: A — deer/serpent; B — fish/cross/deer; C — Celtic design initials. Send S.A.E. for samples to Club Leabhar, 31 Braeside Park, Balloch, INBHIRNIS, IV1 2HJ.

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GAELIC PUBLISHING FIRST

Published recently is the first-ever Gaelic commercial full-colour hardback children's book, issued by Club Leabhar, Inverness IV1 2HJ.

The book is a joint effort between Club Leabhar and William Collins & Sons, printers and publishers of Glasgow.

Although children's coloured books have appeared in the past for Gaelic-speaking children, they have not been designed specifically to take their place on booksellers' shelves on a par with the many similar productions for English-speaking children. Thus the book is a milestone of some significance in Gaelic publishing.

The book tells the story of Mog, a forgetful cat, who is always in disgrace with the MacThomais family, but who eventually redeems herself.

The book is in full colour and has 40 pages. The Gaelic text, by Alex MacDonald, Inverness, is translated from the English original of the author, Judith Kerr, who has had such success with her other story of *The Tiger who came to Tea*, which was televised in 1972 and has also been translated into Irish.

Mog, An Cat Diochuimhnich is an excellent reader for Gaelic-speaking children and learners of Gaelic. It will also make an unusual present at any time. The price is 75p post free.

* * *

Dr Noelle Davies, Treasurer to the League since its foundation has now retired. A vote of thanks for her services was passed unanimously at the League's AGM in Bala. We wish her 'sonas h-uile latha' in the years to come.

THE SECOND HIGHLAND LAND LEAGUE le Seumas Mac a' Ghobhainn

There can be few people living today in the Highlands who do not know something about the famous Highland Land League who, through its agitation, won a better deal for the crofters. This was, of course, the Highland Land League that had been founded in Edinburgh early in 1882 and which soon had branches in every parish throughout the Highland area. Due to its constant agitation, the Crofters' Holdings Acts, which gave commissioners power to fix fair rents and cancel arrears, were passed in 1886.

Despite this new legislation, the original Highland Land League carried on for some time but it finally ceased its activities in the mid 1890's. Although the passing of this legislation was a step in the right direction, those who were most knowledgeable of the subject were convinced that the position of many crofters was worse than ever before. Therefore, the Highland Land League was revived in 1909.

At its inaugural meeting, held in Glasgow, Dr G. B. Clark, who had been prominent in the first League, stressed the need for an organisation to agitate for a really fundamental reform of the crofting system than had been affected by the Acts of 1886. At this meeting, the object of the new Highland Land League was clearly defined as "the resettlement of the Highlands by means of the nationalisation of the land" and it was announced also that its purpose was to return M.P.'s to work towards that end. The candidates supported, however, this time had to be members of the Scottish Labour Party. Dr Clark was elected president of the new organisation.

Dr G. B. Clark was one of the most colourful personalities that has ever graced the Scottish political scene. He was a graduate of not only one university, but three, Edinburgh, Glasgow and London. He was active in several 'advanced' causes. In the 1870's, while in London, he had been a member of Karl Marx's International Workingmen's Association and it was not without significance that the International gave much attention to the question of land tenure. He was also a member of the Fabian Society and the Scottish Home Rule Association. During the Boer War, it was said that he had been in the Boer camp at Majuba Hill. In the General Election of 1885, he was elected to Parliament for the 'Crofters' Party, a loosely knit organisation which had some links with the Liberal Party but who, nevertheless, put up candidates to fight Liberal held seats. At this election, Dr Clark was returned for Caithness winning the seat by 2,110 votes to the Liberal's 1,218. Two years later an attempt was made to deprive him of his seat because he was holding the office of Agent General for the Transvaal in South Africa. He claimed that he was receiving a salary for this post but this was not the case; only expenses were allowed him for this office. On top of all this, he was editor of the Good Templar, the tee-total magazine. This brought him in touch with Keir Hardie, who was also a member of the Good Templar organisation.

For the thirteen years of its life, the second Highland Land League did much good work for the crofters of Scotland. The most significant thing about it was that it was a truly grass-roots organisation. As distinct from most organisations of a political nature, it did not just content itself with talk and theory and the usual vague promises beloved of such like organisations but actually helped in a practical way the people it sought to represent in the political field.

During the terrible years of the First World War, not only the men in the Armed Services suffered awful hardship, but often because of their absence, so did their relatives at home. This was especially noticeable in the crofting counties of Scotland. There because of the absence of the young men in the forces, the arduous work of the croft had to be carried out by the old folk and widows.

Many of the big landlords took advantage of this situation just as their predecessors had done during the wars against Napoleon to step up their oppression of their humble tenants. This took the form

of evictions, imprisonments, and general harassment of crofters and cottars.

In the winter of 1918, when the country was suffering from a food crisis, seventeen crofters and cottars, including one woman, who had together over forty sons and near relatives serving with the armed forces, were sent to gaol from the estates of the Duke of Argyll and the Duke of Sutherland for the 'terrible crime' of using idle ground to provide a little bit of extra food for their families.

The Annual Report of the Highland Land League for 1918 gave just a few examples of cases where the League had extended legal, financial, and welfare aid to help alleviate the plight of victims of landlord tyranny. "In the Western Isles, a widow with a son serving in the war was granted a reasonable pension by a Local Committee. This pension had been reduced to one-fourth by a Government official with no knowledge of the case."

"In Perthshire, a soldier, formerly a game-keeper in the Western Isles, was taken from his home during the illness of his wife and sent, while supposed to be serving the nation in the Army, to do game-keeper's work on an estate in Perthshire. The wife was left alone in a remote area till the League arranged for a nurse to be sent to her." Two 'classical' eviction cases reminiscent of many of the horrors perpetrated by landlords against the crofters in the previous century were reported from Ross-shire.

"A mother of a soldier serving in the war was evicted from her home and her furniture thrown into the road in severe winter weather by order of the landlord. A wife of a local post-master was evicted from her home as soon as her husband left for the war. She was graciously allowed by the landlord, however, to shelter in a derelict wash-house a mile from her home."

On Raasay, the inhabitants had a double cross to bear. They had two masters to contend with: the landlords and the Ministry of Munitions who had work being carried out on the island. The League demanded and secured a public inquiry. So much interest was generated by this inquiry that the printed report of the proceedings ran into two editions of many thousand copies and was distributed throughout the British Empire.

Despite this inquiry, the islanders' grievances were not redressed and they came out on strike. The government then brought in German prisoners-of-war as strike breakers. A union of the islanders which had been organised by the League was then enlarged in order to take in mainland workers employed upon the island.

The Secretary of the Highland Land League on the island was a disabled pensioned soldier. Such was the government's antipathy to the Land League that he was drafted into the Army again and other League members were very harshly dealt with. The Raasay Union was, after a short time, affiliated to the National Union of Scottish Mineworkers and a deputation from the union came to the island and published a report of the whole situation, which proved the government's falsity in the whole matter.

(to be concluded)

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The Celtic League wishes to thank CylGymraeg for allowing the use of a corner in their tent at the Eisteddfod at Ruthin. Thanks are also due to those in charge of the Draig Goch and Breton tents for selling copies of CARN.

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Copies of the 1972 Celtic League Annual are available from Frang MacThomais, Inbhirnis, at 22p post free.

BREIZH

UNDESIRABLE. REDUCED TO BEGGING.

Someone said at the Pondivi meeting (CARN Nr J), last November, that the time for petitions was over. But recently 115 professors, lecturers, assistants of the University of Rennes called on the French minister of education to institute a degree for the teaching of "Celtic" and denounced a linguistic policy contrary to the psychological balance of the Breton speakers. A similar demand in 1972 had no effect. This year, the ministry replied that new regulations concerning degrees were being prepared, so that it was not desirable to take such a step at the moment.

In its annual petition for the Breton language, the (elected) General Council of Finistere said that the French refusal to observe international conventions about minority languages and cultures was seen by more and more young Bretons as the persistence of a policy of assimilation. The Council expressed the hope . . .

WHY DO THE RENNES PROFESSORS AND THE GENERAL COUNCILS NOT TAKE A LEAD IN ORGANISING AND FINANCING BRETON CLASSES AND THUS CHALLENGE THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO RESPECT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE?

The report given by Mrs Skadegard at the St-Malo Congress of the FUEN (26-27 May) concerned the place given to "minority" languages on Radio and Television in the various European States. Those interested should write to her, Rolighed, DK-2960 Rungsted Kyst, Denmark. If Turkey is excepted, France comes last, even after Spain, for the amount of recognition given to such languages. THIS UNDERLINES ONCE MORE HOW MUCH THE EUROPEAN PEOPLES SHOULD BEWARE OF FRANCE'S CLAIMS TO THE LEADING ROLE IN EUROPE. Her civilising mission allows no appreciation of other cultures than her own.

* * *

A collection of money on public roads was organised on April 29th by the cultural commission of C.E.L.I.B. to help those who teach Breton in various schools without any pay. It can be argued that, since the State fails in its obligations towards the Bretons, the latter must raise as much money as possible among themselves for that purpose. Obviously, the proceeds of collections will be totally inadequate. IF BRETONS SHOWED THE SAME DETERMINATION IN FIGHTING FOR THEIR LANGUAGE AS THE WELSH DO, THEY WOULD DECIDE HOW MUCH OF THE TAXES THEY PAY SHOULD GO TO EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATION THROUGH BRETON, WITHHOLD THAT AMOUNT FROM THE FRENCH STATE AND GIVE IT, RECEIPTED, TO THE LANGUAGE FUND. THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE CONCERTED AND CARRIED OUT BY A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE who could be assured of the effective solidarity of the whole Breton "movement"?

The collection was denounced by the Nantes section of Jeunesse Etudiante Bretonne as an undignified act of begging. "Breton will be taught properly only if the existence of the Breton people is officially recognised and thereby the right to use Breton at equality with French. "We in Nantes, in the French-speaking part of Brittany, consider it necessary to teach Breton at all levels of education wherever at least 10 pupils or students want it, and to have courses in Breton and on the culture, history, art of all Celtic countries, given by qualified teachers to all interested students. This is a right for which we won't beg."

(A.B., D.B.)

* * *

DIVIDE AND RULE

In the best imperial tradition, the French government has decided to proceed with its plan to partition Brittany. The scheme, due to take effect this autumn, consists of annexing the département of Loire Atlantique to an artificial region by the fanciful name of "Pays de la Loire," thus disregarding historical and cultural ties, the wishes of the whole Breton population and its economic interests. This was announced by President Pompidou during his holiday in Fouesnant, Brittany, last August. His main argument seems to be that the Pays de la Loire need a capital city. He further stated that Brest is also a capital. Is this an indication that in future plans Brittany could be reduced to its Western half? The Nantes district is our main industrial centre, with its shipyards, refineries, food industries, its seaport at St-Nazaire and its trading activity. Although the attributions of the new regions will be severely controlled by a jealous central government, this partitioning could have consequences for the future development of Brittany as enormous as the separation of Belfast had for Ireland. All the Breton organisations have protested to the French government, with no results.

In 1969 when De Gaulle got a bit scared by the number of people involved in the Breton Liberation Front, Brest was promised a petrochemical complex. This has dwindled now to a small refinery project. It is the Donges refinery, near Nantes, which is to be extended. This announcement was worded in such a way as to foster resentment in Brest against Donges. Pompidou is now notorious for his dwelling on the fictitious rivalry between Rennes and Nantes (the two cities had a common stand at the last Paris fair), he is also fanning disagreement between the West and the East of Brittany. One way to counteract the French propaganda is for the Breton organisations to hold as many of their meetings as possible in Loire-Atlantique, and to be on the look-out for every possible demonstration of solidarity with the struggle of its inhabitants.

What might be the beginning of a campaign to erect bilingual road signs and re-establishing the Breton names of towns and villages throughout Brittany has claimed its first victim. A young Breton was tried at Montroulez for having carried out the changes on his own initiative. Congratulations for not waiting any longer for the administration to do the work, and more care not to be caught next time! The judge and the French press described his action as childish, although it was justified by unanimous resolutions from popularly elected département councils.

In the fight for official recognition of the Breton language in education some progress has been made recently at nursery school level. A scheme introducing the speaking of Breton alongside with French was started in St-Gwenole-Pennmarc'h after many years of pressure by parents and teachers throughout Brittany. It is hoped that the Scheme will eventually be extended to all the country. It was welcomed by a usually indifferent, even hostile, daily press.

* * *

STRUGGLE FOR LIFE

More mergers, more take-overs, followed by dismissals of workers: such is the story unfolding itself all over Brittany, now that the full impact of the Common Market policies is being felt by all sectors of the economy.

In St-Nazaire, the boiler-makers Babcock-Atlantique dismissed 600 of their 1214 workers as a result of a huge deficit and the merger with another French firm. The promise of re-employment in the shipyards made through an inspired press campaign so as to dampen the popular reaction is unlikely to be fulfilled since shipbuilding is already in a depressed situation, and there are

already 1300 unemployed in St-Nazaire. Nor are the other 600-odd workers secure in their employment since a cutting back in production makes the industry uneconomic.

In Lorient, trouser makers Robin placed 180 mainly female workers on "technical strike" because of a deficit in accountancy. The direction and marketing is seated in Paris. Early in May the workers decided to occupy the factory, supported by trade unions and leftist parties, and singing performances by Servat and others. They decided to start work again on July 1 although there was no decision on the future of the firm. But with one month payed holidays due, the start occurred in fact only on August 1. Latest news were that a positive outcome was likely. It would have been won only after a long struggle for the right to work in a factory where production and orders were at a satisfactory level.

In Fougères, a strike by 95 metal workers of the firm Gaillard and Mignot went on for many weeks this summer, in support of a demand for a pay rise of 0.50 F/hour on a monthly wage of 800 to 850 F (less than £80). In answer to appeals to the population, they were helped by young farmers and by a group based in Rennes. "Although this solidarity movement in no way compared to similar action last year, it shows that the Bretons remain sensitive to conflicts of this colonial type." (P.B.)

2500 farmers staged a sudden demonstration in the streets of Kemper on May 30, following a drop in cattle prices to an unremunerative level. They blamed "national" and European policies for this.

On hearing that 1035 tons of salt was being imported from Sicily, a hundred "paludiers" (sea salt producers) from the Gwenrann/Guerande district went to La Rochelle to oppose the unloading. They were attacked and beaten by dozens of policemen. It is not the first occasion that they demonstrated against an EEC arrangement which is destroying their livelihood.

The transport company Rohou from Karaez, the building company A. Marc (Brest) and a third in Rennes are in financial difficulties or being liquidated as a result of the systematic dumping practised by Parisian firms which are seeking to grab all the regional contracts: they offer tenders well below normal levels but thanks to their connections in high places they later get "extensions" due to "unforeseen difficulties." Their Breton competitors are beaten or forced to work at a loss. (DB).

Strikes at Brosolo's (building industry, Brest) and Confection Industrielle Generale (Guemene-Penfao) illustrate the strong opposition of some employers who were attracted to Brittany by the prospect of getting cheap labour to the affiliation of their workers to trade unions. Recognition of this right was won in both cases. Said one of the girl-strikers: "We learned to fight, that is good." (B.Rev.).

* * *

ENVIRONMENT AND LANGUAGE

A meeting of the newly created Union Bretonne de l'Environnement held in Rennes early this year was attended by about 800 people who are concerned with the destruction of natural sites. It was argued however that care was needed not only for the geographical features of our environment, the fauna and flora, but also for the ways of living, the cultural atmosphere and the native languages.

It is a bit alarming to find the "defenders of the Breton language" trying to jump on the environment band-wagon and putting it last in the list of concerns. If a case exists for associating the two things, then it must be clear that the present linguistic environment is not healthy, that a new environment has to be created for those who want to use Breton daily.

"Were the educated people to-morrow to adopt Breton as their ordinary language, says Yann Brekilien, it is no longer unthinkable that the rest of the population would follow." Well, some educated

people have given this example in Rennes, Nantes, and other towns for a long time, and it is time that their example were followed by the mass of those who attended the Pondivi meeting without fear of the ignorants who, until recently, regarded it as a crime to speak Breton to one's child. The first step is to learn to speak Breton, the second when one has children to speak only Breton to them, the third is to create for them and other Breton-speakers the environment in which they can naturally use *their* language.

It is the same problem from Thurso and Stornoway to Rennes and Nantes. So long as we, who decided to raise our families in our national languages, live scattered in a sea of English or French speakers, we shall see our work being constantly undermined and endangered. How can we form communities which will resist erosion without enclosing ourselves in ghettos and cutting ourselves off from those whom we want to recruit? One thing is certain: our "native speakers" are not going to cling to their language, no matter how well they are paid to do it, unless the rest of their fellow-countrymen are seen to be serious about it too. Our Gael-tachtaí need internal props but more than that they need to see new ones growing throughout the Galltachtai. That is where environment comes in.

You remember that bilingual signposts were demanded unanimously by the popularly elected General Councils of Western Brittany. Some local councils (e.g. Kastell-Pol) have gone to the trouble of making them ready but they could not legally put them up: this right is reserved to the Administration of Roads and Bridges, which is not accountable to any Breton popular will.

Signposts like street names are only a small part of our environment. As pointed out in BARR-HEOL (Spring), Bretons are subject to-day to the French school environment from the earliest years till they reach 16 or 22 years of age, and TV sets are daily if not hourly pouring French indoctrination into every recess of the Breton social landscape. Changing signposts would not greatly affect the situation. Yet it is an area where determined Bretons could challenge the French environment. They have the sanction of popular will. Few young Bretons refuse to do compulsory military service in the French Army: would they not be prepared to risk one year in French jails by contravening an alien law and putting up the sign-posts themselves? Here is a field where non-violence can prove its worth in small discrete groups, winning popular sympathy if they are careful not to interfere with danger-warning signs and using clearly visible weather-resistant plates to replace the French or Frenchified ones; and it might be wise in the early stages, to allow for local pronunciation since popular approval is essential. This sort of operation should be based therefore on preliminary enquiries and some linguistic advice.

A.H.

Footnote: Early this summer, night workers replaced Frenchified forms of town names by correct Breton ones, particularly in the Montroulez area. One of them, a student, was tracked down and fined.

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CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

Long reports on the 10th annual congress of the Union Démocratique Bretonne and on the first annual congress of Strollad ar Vro are given respectively in *Le Peuple Breton*, June 1973 and in *L'Avenir de la Bretagne*, July 1973. The former reviews the UDB's stand on various issues which affected the life of the Breton people during the past year (strikes, elections) and gives concrete details about the activity of the party and the problems it wants to tackle, in order to become stronger. The latter, concerning a party which until recently had no clearly defined structure, dwells on general and theoretical aspects of policy and apart from details about the 12-member executive elected at the congress.

The UDB appears quite frank about its shortcomings but may well thereby strengthen confidence and the impression of dedication.

They wanted to increase their membership by 50% and fell short by one third. They were not so well represented in the East as in the West of Brittany.

The UDB sees in the conflicts which agitated Brittany during the past year a justification of its economic and social analysis.

Although slow to start, they put a great effort in their March electoral campaign; they were not out for immediate results; the struggle would be prolonged.

In Brittany the French-left had given a Breton "coloration" to its propaganda, but during the election, its candidates had not spared the UDB's (although the latter had decided to desist in their favour rather than in favour of Strollad ar Vro in the second round). They had advocated leftist unity but in practice it had been difficult, often disappointing.

To certain observers, the UDB appears too intransigent towards the other Breton organisations while hankering for greater understanding on the part of the branches of the French socialist and communist parties in Brittany.

The UDB should know how the English Labour Party played with the Welsh and Scottish national aspirations while in opposition, only to let them down when they got into power in a state with a long imperialist tradition like the French, and yet less bound by ideology. At least, the UDB sees that the interest now shown in Breton themes by the French left is due to tactical opportunism.

The UDB wants to stand on a wide theoretical basis: a Breton people exists; so does the class struggle; an end must be put to the exploitation of man by man. The Breton people are economically underdeveloped, badly informed and lacking in political awareness: this results in a colonial type of exploitation.

Although the Breton language is officially recognised by the party, all its work is done in French, thus — by their own admission — perpetuating "linguistic colonisation" (what are they going to do about it? Letters in Breton to *Le Peuple Breton* have either not been acknowledged or were answered in French, in this writer's experience).

However the UDB has the great merit of having published a monthly POBL VREIZH for many years, and it is now being increased.

The FIRST GENERAL MEETING OF STROLLAD AR VRO was attended by 350 people (Avenir). Yann Fouere dealt with federalism and its application to self-management in the social and political fields. He reiterated the advice given in many editorials, to steer the struggle clear of right and left and not to allow the issue of socialism v. capitalism to dominate it; socialism as practised beyond the Iron Curtain was simply State capitalism which destroyed nations as well as citizens.

J. P. Meleder, provisional secretary-general, said that SAV was now the first Breton party — it got over 30,000 votes on its first appearance in the electoral arena. "We are nationalists because Brittany is a nation, and we are autonomists, advocating self-management down to the last levels of social organisation. The role of the state must be reduced. Yet the protection of the workers required strong social laws and eventually State arbitration in social conflicts. Employers should share responsibility with enterprise committees elected by the workers, and concerns fully managed by the workers themselves should be experimented with. SAV wants this scheme to be extended to the whole of Europe (as European federalists they want the constitution of the U.S.E. but it should be "l'Europe des peuples," not a Europe of the present States. However the first step should be the federalisation of the French State.

SAV wants to co-operate with the other Breton political organisations but excludes dialogue with the branches of the French parties in Brittany.

One of the speakers urged the party to define its social policy and to take maximum account of proposals from members and local groups. One criticism of SAV is that too much is decided unilaterally by its president and that too little is known of him.

(A.B.)

CONGRESS OF CFDT-Finistere

It seems that a higher percentage of the Breton workers join the Confederation Française des travailleurs than the other, communist dominated main French federation of trade unions, CGT. Each of them is organised on a "department" basis. The CFDT's Union départementale du Finistere held its annual congress on June 17th in Montroulez. Analysing the Breton problems, the congress noted that the "public authorities" were unable (or unwilling?) to pursue a genuine policy of employment in Brittany. The 6th French Plan now in operation was a means for capitalists to increase profits by creating jobs in already industrialised areas. As a result less and less people were finding work in Finistere and crisis after crisis was developing in every kind of enterprises (Rohou, Marc, EDF, Riec salaisons).

The decision to set up an oil refinery in Brest was politically motivated and not due to a real will to industrialise. It threatened the livelihood of 1000 fishermen and small farmers without creating half that number of jobs.

The kind of socialism proposed by the CFDT implies 1) the social ownership of the means of production and exchange; democratic planning on the basis of the people's needs; workers self-management in enterprises to enable man to fully play his part — but this was possible only after the expropriation of the capitalists.

The Congress considered that a strong trade union movement was necessary for the liberation of the workers and equality of opportunities for all; the trade unions must retain their autonomy and the right to strike, both prior to and after the advent of socialism (this implies a rejection of sharing ownership with employers; and a criticism of the denial of the right to strike in communist States?).

Breton aspects. The CFDT is prepared to organise itself on a regional basis covering only 4 of the Breton départements. A Regional congress is planned for November 17th in Pondivi, from which the Loire-Atlantique Union will be excluded. This acceptance of the Napoleonic framework was denounced by the Karaez local union as co-operating with the French government to divide and destroy the Breton people. It was surprising on the part of an organisation which had not so long ago published posters with the slogan "Debout Bretagne!".

The reality of the Breton people and of its colonial status was recognised by the French secretary general of the CFDT, Edmond Maire when he praised the congress for basing their statements on an analysis of the local situation. He wished they would bring with them "all the wealth of the Breton cultural fund and associate it positively and combatively with the social struggle: solidarity with their fellow French workers did not require them to adopt a uniform French model. No centralised regime, even socialist, is likely to understand the problems of regional development. "A socialist system must allow the regions a political status, a certain autonomy within a national plan, a power to initiate and propose."

(Ref. P.B. July).

A month earlier, 230 delegates of the CGT Union for Finistere had also held its annual congress in Douarnenez. They drew attention to a situation where of 175,000 wage earners in Finistere, almost half of the men and 70% of the women were earning less than 1100F (£100) a month; average wages being 15% less than the overall French average and 35% less than in the Paris region; although in Finistere the mean working week is 46½ hours as compared to the 44 hours French average. 10,000 people are looking for jobs in Finistere. The expectation of life was 2 years less in Brittany than in the rest of the "Hexagon," and the decrease in the birth rate was noticeable.

The Finistere CGT does not see this situation as resulting from a colonial policy but from a general policy applied throughout the State. "It is true that the latter oppresses all its inhabitants, but it is bringing death to the Bretons as a people. It exercises selectivity in the application of its policy."

(P.B.)

"BRITTANY AND SELF-MANAGEMENT": this was the theme of a meeting in Mur on June 23-24 which brought together, in their individual capacity, 130 active members of 20 or 25 Breton political and cultural organisations, trade unions, branches of French political parties. They unanimously decided to support the struggle for:

1) the right of all Bretons to live and work in Brittany, including those forced to emigrate by unemployment; 2) the right to work in conditions on a par with those obtaining for similar work and qualifications in France; 3) equality with French for the Breton language at all levels of education, in the administration, on radio and television, for those who claim this right for themselves and their children.

(B.Rev.).

Note:

Would anyone with friends or relatives living in Canada or the USA, and who might be prepared to help in the dissemination of Scottish Culture and political ideology, send their names and addresses to:

Stanley M. Elliott, B.A.,
John S. Elliott, M.D.,
7630 Bellfont Boulevard,
Houston, Texas, 77017, USA.

Willie Clancy

The death of Willie Clancy, one of Ireland's foremost traditional Uilleann pipers, on January 24th last was felt as a personal loss by many pipers around the world, especially those who had known him for many years and had drawn their inspiration from his piping.

His home in Sráid na Cathrach, Co. Clare, was open to musicians from all parts of Ireland and abroad, and Willie was always generous in giving of his time and knowledge to all; he was a true friend of Uilleann Pipe learners. He had a large store of old traditional tunes in the 'sean-nos,' picked up in his native West Clare.

He believed firmly in the vital link that existed between the traditional 'sean-nos' music and the Irish language, its original source: his advice to young musicians was to study the language first, preferably from native speakers.

... Ni bheidh a leithid arís ann . . . Go dtugaidh Dia solas dá bhean chéile, Doirin agus ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam naomhtha. (above condensed and translated from the Irish of Tomas Standeven)

A Committee has been formed in Sráid na Cathrach to honour and perpetuate the memory of Willie Clancy. This is to take the form of an annual event in Sráid na Cathrach at which a number of lectures and classes would be held on various aspects of traditional music. As well it is planned to have a 'Workshop' at which intensive instruction will be available on the care and maintenance of Uilleann Pipes, etc.

This is the first attempt in Ireland to establish a school for traditional musicians, and it is hoped to make a success of it.

Anyone wishing to assist in this project can do so by sending a subscription to: The Secretary Muiris Ó Rochain, Sráid na Cathrach, Co. an Chláir.

CYMRU

More and more responsible people now believe that the English administration in Wales has all the trappings of the Gestapo. Whilst everybody is aware that the offices of the Language society is tapped, people are concerned that not only members of various nationalist organisations are kept under surveillance, even members of local trade union branches are watched and followed by the special branch.

Is the time approaching when the English government can not be sure who are their friends and who are not in Wales? One fact can be assured. The English secret police never left Wales after the investiture of 1969. And let us be under no illusion that they are above doing such things that are normally attributed to Gestapo countries.

"Subversive operations and 'black' propaganda were the only aspect of war at which we achieved real pre-eminence. We trained a small army of gifted amateurs for all the dirtiest tricks from lying, bugging, forging and embezzlement to sheer murder — all, of course in the cause of preserving the democratic way of life.

"We taught them how to organise a black market, how to win friends in order to betray them, and how to persuade a stubborn prisoner to come clean with vital information he possessed."

wrote Richard Crossman, Top level Psychological man in the last war.

THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

The Republican movement has been re-established and provisional officers have assumed office until a Republican congress meets.

It is emphasised that the Republican movement is not a split from any organisation and is not as yet a political party.

The three basic aims of the movement are:

1. To establish a Welsh Republic.
2. To regain for Welsh its rightful place as first language of the nation.
3. To place the control of the social and economic life of Wales in the hand of the people.

Even the most implacable supporters of the unionist parties must agree that a free Wales would hardly be in a worse dilemma than tied, as we are, to the present economic system. The sick man of Europe is being offered various remedies but it appears that she is fast becoming immune to all the known medicines. And not only the high cost of living, coupled to a 10% mortgage and adverse balance of payment figures. These are known to all. One wonders how England would fare without the advantage of free Welsh water (to name only one commodity) now and what the Celtic sea will yield in the future.

We think of the generations of Celtic people who have contributed to the English system. But it is not enough; more will still be required and, indeed, demanded by this corrupt and conniving country until we leap from the mad merry go round we have been on for too long.

And the signs are encouraging. For the present generation of Welsh people are showing a determination that the decay must be halted. As Dafydd Iwan said recently "A steady stream of men and women are going through the jails of England and more still through the courts at home. We are not playing a game."

* * *

THE CELTIC SEA

What the Celtic sea will finally yield in gas and oil is a matter for conjecture. At a conservative estimate however, Scottish oil will, by 1980, be producing more than £2,200m worth annually. This figure is based on the fact that the present price of between £9 and £10 per ton will have risen sharply to £15 per ton by 1980. Explorations are taking place off the coasts of Wales and the indications are that the yield will be considerable.

What should concern us now is the campaign that will be undertaken by the unionist parties in Wales re the boom that the 'British' economy will enjoy resulting from the wealth producing Celtic sea. And in its present shaky state (with slim chances of recovery) their English masters can be relied upon to prod them into full cry with platitudes, bribes and promises.

We have seen the exploitation of our other resources, i.e. coal, steel and water etc. and if we are not very alert as a nation our oil and gas will go the same way. The unionist parties in Wales will argue the wise policy of allowing the merchants of English big business to exploit this great wealth for their own benefit and the benefit of the 'British' economy.

In a free Wales England could make no more demands on Welsh resources than any other country. Indeed, under the Geneva convention of 1958, the Celtic nations would have full right to the oil produced. Is it too much to conceive how a (free) Welsh economy would be given a firm basis; how work would be created for thousands of people; how the wealth of Wales would be for the benefit of the people without the constant drain hitherto suffered for the upkeep of English royalty and their dependants or the maintenance of the infamous and sinister English campaign in occupied Ireland.

* It is estimated that Scottish resources will be producing 150 million tons of crude oil annually over a period of thirty years.

* * *

Y SUL GWAEDLUD

Anodd a' fuasai dychmygu geiriau mwy plaen na geiriau crwner Derry yn disgrifio llofruddiaeth y fyddin Saesneg yn y ddinas hono yn Ionawr 1972. 'Sheer and unadulterated murder' oedd y geiriau a ddefnyddiwyd. Llofruddiwyd 13 o bobl diarfog y Sul hwnw-rhai o honyt ond megis plant.

Hawdd collfarnu'r awdurdodau Seisnig ond rhaid cofio ei bod yn eiddo lles hwy i gadw'r crochan i ferwi mor ffyrnig a bo'r modd yn yr Iwerddon-dim llawer o wahaniaeth faint o bobl a phlant a leddir neu gamdrinid, a llai o wahaniaeth fyth faint o deuluoedd a aflonyddir (yn aml yng nghanol y nos) trwy 'ymchwilio' eu cartrefi gan filwyr amrwd a rheglyd-oherydd ymddengys fod Lloegr ei hun yn disgwyl terfysg ar raddfa go eang ymhen tua ugain mlynedd neu lai ar ei strydoedd rhwng Saeson gwynion a Saeson duon. Ac mae'r profiad presenol a gaent yn erlid ein ce fndyr Celtaidd yn fuddiol iawn ar gyfer yr amser hono.

Yn eu hymdrechion i ddwyn anfri ar y Gweriniaethwyr mae propaganda du y Saeson wedi ceisio ein hargyhoeddi mai byddin wrth-brotesdaniaeth ydynt a bod milwyr Seisnig (druain) yn cael eu llad wrth geisio cadw 'heddwch.' Pan fethodd y ddadl hon ar ol i wasg y byd sylweddoli mai milwyr Seisnig eu hunain oedd y prif eelyn, newidwyd y don trwy ddweud mai mai cynllwyn Gomiwynyddol oedd y tu ol i'r cwbl a bod byddin y Gweriniaethwyr yn cael eu'defnyddio' gan eu meistri yn Moscow. Mae'r ddadl yma wedi disgyn drwodd hefyd.

'Sheer unadulterated murder' oedd ymateb y crwner. 'Roedd y Saeson wedi meddwl eu bod ar dir go saff yn gohirio'r ymholiad am flwyddyn a haner er mwyn rhoi amser i 'ddioddefaint a themladau wanhau.' Ac i waethgu pethau 'roedd y crwner ei hun yn gyn swyddog yn y fyddin Saesneg.

Mae bys cyhuddiad yn pwyntio'n syth at Loegr. Tybêd a yw yn rhy hwyr, hyd yn oed yn awr, i apelio at gydwybod y Llywodraeth yn Llundain trwy ofyn iddynt dynu eu milwyr oddiar strydoedd chwe sir gogledd Iwerddon.

TAITH I'R GAELTACHT

Mae'n bwysig iawn i ni siarad ac adfer ieithoedd ein gwledydd hunan, ac yna cawn ni ddysgu un iaith Geltaidd ychwanegol o leia. Yng Nghaerdydd er engraifft, mae Cymry yn dysgu Llydaweg neu Wyddeleg yng Nghanolfan yr Urdd canys mae'n nhw yn eisiau dathblygu'r cysylltiad rhwng Cymru a'r gwledydd Celtaidd eraill.

Tua chwech sy'n dod yn reolaidd i'r dosbarth Gwyddeleg, ac yn ystod mis Awst aeth wyth i Iwerddon am wythnos. Aethon nhw i'r Gaeltacht yng Ngorllewin Swydd Corcagh o gwmpas Baile Bhuirne, ac aros mewn gwstai clyd lle roedd pawb yn siarad Gwyddeleg. Roedd dosbarth ambell waith yn yr awyr iach, ond doedd hwn ddim mor bwysig a'r cyfle cyfarfod gwerin yr ardal a chlywed eu hiaith a'u cerddoriaeth a'u caneuon.

Os roedd cyfle gan y Cymry roedd cyfle gan y Gwyddyl hefyd, cyfle clywed Cymraeg yn lle Saesneg o ymwewyr, a chyfle clywed amryw ganeuon y Cymry. Un nos roedd scoraiocht (noson lawen mewn ty preifat) mewn ty Sean O Riada, cerddor a chyfansoddwr. Bu farw Sean dwy mlynedd yn ol, ond mae ei deulu yno o hyd a cherddoriaeth a sbri. Roedd Gwyddyl yno a Chymry, a roedden nhw yn canu bob yn ail. Gwyddeleg ac yna, Cymraeg. Ambell dro, byddai cerddoriaeth but heb ganu o'r grwp enwog 'Na Fili.'

Mae'r ardal i gyd yn llawn o iaith, a cherddoriaeth, a chaneuon, a sbri, a byddai yn well i Gymru ac i Iwerddon os roedd llawer mwy o Gymry yn mynd yno ac i'r Gaeltachtaid eraill. Y llynedd aeth 22, eleni aeth 8; y flwyddyn nesaf a fydd 3 neu 60? Awn ni weld.

Summary: This year a group of Cymry learning Irish or interested in the language have spent a week in Baile Bhuirne, Co. Chorcaí. Classes were held ad lib., but more important was the chance of experiencing the language, music, and song of the area. Last year 22 went, this year only 8. Next year will it be 3 or 60?

WELSH NOMADS

W. J. Jones

Should you see, one day, a car badge with a strange design, that of a dragon hauling a caravan, do not be too surprised! You will have seen the insignia of Cymdeithas Carafanwyr Cymru, or The Society of Welsh Caravanners.

The Society is now almost three years of age and growing quickly. It was born under difficult circumstances on a caravan park near the National Eisteddfod field in Ammanford, Wales in 1970. Our Annual Festival of music, literature and revelries attracts all kinds of people. There are those who enjoy the festivities during the day and sleep at night. There are others who sleep until noon and invent their own festivities. These commence around midnight and proceed into the small hours.

But lately, the eisteddfod has been attracting another breed — the visitor who hauls his second home with him and parks it in a park near to the eisteddfod field. This breed has bred rapidly. Initially, it consisted of a few dozen ardent caravanners, but of late owning a caravan has been the thing to do and a very large field is required annually to cater for the caravans that roll towards the eisteddfod field on the Saturday prior to the event.

But the National Eisteddfod Authorities have not always been co-operative. Establishing a caravan park every year, a park with toilet facilities, running water, rubbish disposal and mobile shops costs money and the Welcoming committee has seen this work as an additional burden which does not provide a complementary benefit to the eisteddfod. But the National Eisteddfod at Ruthin this year should see the Welsh Caravanners' Society with its own field, its own tent (for coffee mornings, playgroups, inclement weather events, etc.) and a very healthy membership.

Nine rallies have been arranged in various parts of Wales. The first will have taken place in North Wales during Easter and the last will be held on the fifth of November. These peripatetic rallies establish for a few glorious days a fully Welsh society — with children playing in Welsh, traditional festivities being arranged, and the older nomads gossiping the hours away in the dragon's tongue.

A magazine is published regularly twice a year. As yet, it is a typewritten, cyclostyled booklet, but a few members hope that advertisers will see the value of an advert. in Y NOMAD and help us to produce a printed journal.

The least successful of our ventures has been that of organising trips abroad. It has been difficult to agree on where and when to go, and the Welsh nomad overseas seems to prefer to be a loner. But this year, a small group will be venturing to Brittany and next year it is hoped to arrange a rally for a bigger group to Ireland.

And we are still full of ideas! An interesting step would be that of uniting with our Celtic comrades in other countries in a Celtic Caravan Society. Given the right organisation, it should not be too difficult to co-operate and organise rallies abroad.

Because, more and more Welsh people every year are thinking of caravans when they are changing their cars — are realising that life on two wheels can be fun, especially as these two wheels roll into such company in such pleasant surroundings. We meet people, establish new friendships, we bridge the gaps which have been bitten into the various Welsh societies by our mountains — indeed the dragon, hauling its van can climb them all. Metaphorically, it does much more, it flattens them and brings us closer together.

(The secretary of Cymdeithas Carafanwyr Cymru is Rowland Owen, 44 Upland Crescent, Llandocho, Penarth, Caerdydd. Tel. Penarth 701877).

NEW VENTURE IN PUBLISHING

Anyone living in Wales with children and who buys books for them must surely be familiar with the name Gwasg y Dref Wen, a press run in Cardiff by Roger Boore, son of the English novelist W. H. Boore. Mr Boore produces colourful and attractive books for children who are learning Welsh as well as for native speakers.

Two brand new books just out are *Dino y Dinosor Dwl*, a work for second language children and *Siani Ruban a'r Tri Dyn Drwg*, aimed for first language ones. Roger Boore has children of his own and this assists him in the choice of these suitable and interesting books which are also beautifully produced to the highest publishing standards.

At the end of last month, Gwasg y Dref Wen expanded their field of activities by publishing two books for adults — *Cerddi'r Llygad* by the poet W. J. Gruffydd and *Ymerodraeth y Cymry* by Roger Boore himself.

The first is a collection of 10 poems, commissioned as television pieces by BBC Wales, with an introduction for each one by the producer, Richard Lewis, as well as seven photographs and 22 pictures composed by Philip Lewis of the Graphics Department, BBC Wales. The poems were broadcast on the programme Heddiw.

The problems of reforming these programmes of verse into book form, it is understood, proved an adventurous and demanding challenge, since the work needed the same unity of purpose as the filmed poems.

In pursuing this purpose, the publisher has opened up new possibilities for future poets. These poems, at the same time, stand firmly rooted in the Welsh tradition, glorifying and commemorating places and people, and confident of receiving patronage from television as once it was received from princes!

Ymerodraeth y Cymry is a collection of science-fiction short stories awarded the Prose Medal at the Pontrhydfendigaid Eisteddfod last year by John Gwilym Jones. The work contains an additional piece, "Buchedd Marelian," which was awarded a joint-first prize in the short story competition at the National Eisteddfod at Bangor in 1971, with Kate Roberts as adjudicator.

These stories have already aroused great interest and their appearance in book form is regarded as an important step in the development of the Welsh short story.

In his introduction, John Gwilym Jones says: "Centuries of the verbal and idiomatic wealth of the Welsh language are spent here in an adventurous and exciting way . . . In this collection the old wealth, the endowment of Welsh writers, is used to say something

significant about life and the state of man in Wales today, not only in a state of critical anguish but in a way suited to this scientific age."

Further information may be obtained from the publisher at 6 Rookwood Close, Llandaff (561530) or the Welsh Books Council, Queen's Square, Aberystwyth (4151).

POP MAGAZINE SET TO MAKE A COMEBACK

After 10 months of silence, SWN is back again. A gap was left in the Welsh pop scene when SWN ceased publication after last October's issue because of financial difficulties. It had been a paper on the same wave-length as the young people, but nevertheless came to an end.

The main problem was that the preparation of the paper took a long time, and since the paper did not make a lot of money, Lolfa, the publishers, had to cease publishing it.

But since this happened, a lot of people have realised its loss and have urged the editors to start publishing it again.

SWN will now be published and printed by Gwasg y Tir, Pen-y-groes, of which the editors are owners, but the first issue will be printed by Gwasg Gwynedd. The new publishers hope they will receive the backing of many in this venture, not only in buying this paper but also in a practical way, such as contributing articles, photographs, cartoons, etc., and also by offering their services in distributing, collecting of adverts, and in the preparing of the paper for printing.

This is very important since a grant is not received and therefore volunteers are needed to bring the paper out. Since the publishers did not print the August issue, it was possible for them to do most of the above work (unpaid of course), but as they will also be printing the paper from now on, it will be impossible for them to do this and therefore help is needed.

Apart from having new publishers SWN will also have a new editor, Dafydd 'Miaw' Owen, a long-haired, ugly and unconventional being, who will replace Sbardun Huws as co-editor with Dafydd Meirion.

Although SWN has concentrated in the past on the Welsh pop scene, it hopes to vary the contents of the paper in the future.

Nevertheless the bulk of SWN 5, the summer edition, out this month, is concerned with music. It contains articles on Eleri Llwyd, traditional folk singer 'Ben Bach,' Alain Stivell from Brittany, folk singing in Scotland, poetry, a review of the drinking societies in Wales and hundreds of other items.

The new SWN will be out three times a year — August, December and March, the first issue being in the shops now and on sale at the Eisteddfod.

SERVING THE BOOKS OF WALES

by Meic Stephens

Assistant Director (Literature) of the Welsh Arts Council

As a bilingual country, Wales has two literatures. Welsh literature — that is literature in the Welsh language — is about fifteen hundred years old and is therefore the senior literature of Britain. English readers may well be astonished to learn that not only is it ancient but that it flourishes today, written by as many writers as there have been at any time in its long and illustrious history. The irony is that by now only a quarter of the country's population speaks Welsh — some 600,000 at the 1961 Census.

The three quarters who speak only English are the first audience for the other literature of Wales. Anglo-Welsh literature — that written by Welshmen in the English language. With antecedents in Henry Vaughan and others, Anglo-Welsh literature is primarily a twentieth century phenomenon, a product of the anglicising influences of the 1890 Education Act, the decline of nonconformity and the socio-economic depression of the inter-war years. Thus 'the three Thomases' — Dylan, Gwyn and R.S. — are properly known in Wales as Anglo-Welsh, not Welsh, writers. The term 'Anglo-Welsh' is no more than a device used to avoid confusion with writers

in the Welsh language, implies no common ideology or style, and refers to the literature, not to the nationality of the writers. Only the perverse persist in their quarrel with it.

Much of the acrimony was caused in the 'twenties and 'thirties by such Anglo-Welsh writers as Caradoc Evans and, since then, by critics in the Welsh language who have denied the very existence of Anglo-Welsh literature. But with the growth of political nationalism in the late 'fifties and 'sixties, there has been a large measure of reconciliation between writers in the country's two languages. Old wounds were healed when a majority of Anglo-Welsh writers publicly expressed their support for the National Eisteddfod's all-Welsh Rule in 1967 and when, reciprocally, Yr Academi Gymreig — the national association of writers in Wales — opened its doors to Welshmen whose creative work is done in English.

At the same time, there has occurred 'a small renaissance' in both Welsh and Anglo-Welsh writing. A record total of 177 titles were published in Welsh last year, with children's books, popular fiction and poetry among the most numerous, while all the principal publishers such as Gwasg Gomer and Christopher Davies have opened Anglo-Welsh lists. There are also more magazines than ever before in Welsh and in English, as well as much lively discussion of new writing in the press, on television and radio, especially in Welsh. If English readers have never heard of the leading writers in Wales today — Bobi Jones, Pennar Davies, Islwyn Ffowc Elis in Welsh and Raymond Garlick, Harri Webb and John Ormond in English, for example — it says as much about the curious parochialism of literary London as about the Welsh reluctance to inform the world of the many fine writers who have appeared in recent years.

It is generally agreed that the body responsible for stimulating and sustaining a great deal of this new activity is the Welsh Arts Council. Even the *Times Literary Supplement*, not always the kindest of the Arts Council's critics, has admitted 'the literary scene in Wales has been transformed' since the establishment of the Welsh Arts Council's Literature Department, in 1967.

But the Welsh Arts Council is not alone in its patronage of literature in our country. A grant of £12,500 from the central government is administered every year by the University of Wales Press Board as grant-aid to publishers of books for adults in the Welsh language. Although it is now proving inadequate, without this subsidy there would hardly be a publishing industry in Wales and the members of the Union of Welsh Publishers would have to earn their living as the printers they really are. Few Welsh books sell more than 3,000 copies, even the paperbacks which are beginning to appear, and most novels rarely sell more than 1,200 copies, about half of which are guaranteed sales to public libraries. On the Anglo-Welsh side, the figures are even less encouraging. For another irony is that the two and a half million Welsh people who speak only English have not yet shown the same interest in Anglo-Welsh writers as the Welsh speakers, who are heirs to a highly literate and articulate culture, show in theirs. Only with books in Welsh for children sponsored and guaranteed by the Welsh Joint Education Committee can the publisher expect to cover his costs, a direct result of the growing demand for text-books and general books for young readers nurtured by the Welsh Schools Movement. In such a situation, facing the usual problems of a small, scattered market, the Welsh publishing industry needs its subsidies while learning to do without them.

The body with an interest in all aspects of the publishing process in Wales is the Welsh Books Council. Founded in 1962 with support from the local authorities, the Council has its offices at Aberystwyth where its Books Centre serves as a distributing warehouse for all books published in Wales as well as for those of Welsh interest published elsewhere. Among its projects are a scheme for the payment of grants to the authors of popular fiction in Welsh, another for the publication of foreign novels translated into Welsh for use in libraries only, a programme of exhibitions and competitions in the schools, and an annual Books Festival. With the financial assistance of the Welsh Arts Council, the Books Council has recently established three new Departments — Editorial,

Design and Publicity — which are confidently expected to help realise its ambitions to become a central agency for the whole of Wales. The Director is Mr Alun Creunant Davies.

The Welsh Arts Council works in close co-operation with the Books Council but there is a number of projects for which it alone has special responsibility. As the only public body with an interest in both literatures, the Arts Council has done much to encourage the growth of Anglo-Welsh literature and to win for it the same status as Welsh literature has for long enjoyed. The Literature Committee's programme is therefore thoroughly bilingual, so that writers in English are beginning to share with their Welsh-speaking compatriots the recognition in their own country that many would prefer to success in London. Indeed, there is now a complete system of patronage for the writer in Wales which includes commissions, royalties, bursaries, public readings, magazines, anthologies, grants for book publication, annual prizes, and so on — all sponsored in one way or another by the two Councils — a situation which writers in other countries (even in English) might well envy. As the *Times Literary Supplement* has said recently, 'The weight of Welsh Arts Council grants to both literatures (roughly £200,000 over the past five years) and the modest cash aid given by the Welsh Books Council to Welsh-language authors, are between them putting authorship in Wales on the reasonably viable commercial footing it has never before enjoyed. The bases of patronage and each particular act of patronage are properly the subject of debate; but the need for patronage in Wales has long been acute, and the desire that it should now come from Welsh not English sources is just about unanimous.' How this system will be affected by the proposals for a Public Lending Right is being considered at the present time by a working-party under the Welsh Books Council's aegis.

This year the Arts Council's allocation to literature in Wales is £74,000 — nearly twice as much as in Scotland (£38,500) and more than half that in England (£123,000), but still only 8% of the Welsh Arts Council's total budget. As in previous years, writers will again receive about £21,000 of this sum as bursaries, travel-grants and prizes. Another £13,000 is being spent as grant-aid in the editing and printing of 9 literary magazines and as payment to their contributors. Publishers will receive about £14,000 gone to the contributors. Publishers will receive about £14,000 towards the cost of publishing books of literary merit, and £14,500 has gone to the Welsh Books Council for its three new departments.

As the Welsh Arts Council's interest in a book-shop suggests, it is in the sale of books to the public — 'the final link' as we call it — that so much of our effort is known to run into the sand. Wales, even in the university towns, must be among the bleakest countries in Europe as far as bookshops are concerned. Several good ones have opened in the last few years, such as Siop y Triban in Cardiff and Siop y Pethe in Aberystwyth, where the books of Wales are made available in an enthusiastic and efficient service which supplements the general stocks of older shops like Lear's in Cardiff. But there are still no more than a dozen bookshops worthy of the name. As a result, despite substantial subsidies from the patron bodies and valiant efforts by the Welsh Books Council, the sales of Welsh books and books of Welsh interest have not yet improved to the point at which the publishers can hope for more than to break even. Most claim to be engaged in publishing for reasons of prestige or patriotism, rarely for profit. It is not that the public is not interested in its writers — on the contrary, the writer in Wales has always played a very important role in our society — but quite simply, or so all the evidence suggests, that there are not enough shops in any part of Wales, whether Welsh or English-speaking, where a wide selection of books can be seen and bought. Areas which are particularly badly served are the industrial valleys of the south-east, where nearly two million people live, and the counties along the northern coast. Nevertheless, in towns where shops have been opened recently (e.g. Pwllheli, Bala and Llanelli), the demand proves to be immediate and promises to be consistent. In these shops, books about Wales from London Houses, such as Glyn Jones's *The Dragon has Two Tongues* (Dent), Ned Thomas's *The Welsh Extremist* (Gollancz)

and Trevor Fishlock's *Wales and the Welsh* (Cassell) are reported to be among the most popular English titles, while books in Welsh begin to find new, if comparatively small audiences, in such places.

For the moment, it would be foolish to expect more. The rest — and the Welsh Arts Council is among the most ambitious for the publishing industry in Wales — will depend not only on government support but on the publishers' own initiative and, above all in these days of national crisis, on how the Welsh people decide their country's culture with its languages and literatures, are to be saved and served.

Note: We wish to reserve our position concerning the literature written in our countries in English and French. Of course, writers who don't feel involved in a national struggle will use the medium they know best and which is capable of conveying their messages farthest. If they want, however, to take part in the task of rebuilding well-integrated, national communities, they may be asked whether by contributing to the greatness and prestige of the English or French literature they are not helping to perpetuate the disarticulation from which these communities have suffered for centuries. When we come across poems in French, for instance, which have purely literary pretensions, in some of our Breton "revues de combat," we cannot help wondering what the logic of it is . . .

(A.H.)

Harassment alleged by Irish

Irish people living in Britain are being harassed by police and Special Branch detectives hunting those responsible for the latest wave of bomb explosions, it was alleged recently.

The claim was made by the Irish Civil Rights Association in Britain who called a Press conference in London to condemn an "anti-Irish propaganda campaign" by the police, Press and politicians. The association said they condemned the bombing without reservation but deplored the "rush to judgment" to blame Irish people.

Mr Jim Curran, the association's chairman, alleged that in one case the police had used a crowbar to break down the door of a house. In another case, an Irishman's flat in central London had been raided by armed police while he was at work, and his clothes and papers removed. They were later returned without apology or explanation.

PAN-CELTIC MOVEMENT IS FOUNDED

A new pan-Celtic organisation, the aims of which are to "provide a place on the Eisteddfod field that will extend a welcome to visitors from the other Celtic countries, to circulate once a year a newsletter giving details of inter-Celtic activities and to further understanding between all those working to extend Celtic culture in their various countries," has been formed in Wales.

Based in Rhiwbina, Caerdydd, and organised by Tony Edwards of Clog Ton Mawr, the group, Y Cymod Celtaidd, claim to be free of politics and independent of any political group.

There are two other pan-Celtic movements, one of which, Y Gyngres Geltaidd is concerned solely with organising an annual peripatetic inter-Celtic conference, while the other, the Celtic League, is overtly nationalist in its politics. A third group, the "Celtic Youth Congress" is now, seemingly, defunct.

The Cymod Celtaidd, Mr Edwards explained, resembled none of these organisations. Its *raison d'être* was, he said, to promote understanding between and to underline the similarities in, various groups at work for the preservation and expansion of their native Celtic cultures.

"For the sake of achieving effective co-operation between the different Celtic countries, we must explain in detail our problems to them," says Mr Edwards.

"We must also be prepared to listen to and to study carefully all their problems, to face any differences, to encourage co-operation on all points of common-ground and, most important of all, to be prepared to offer sympathy and understanding when such unions prove impossible."

EIRE

EISTEDDFOD NIASIUNTA CYMRU

I Rhuthun i Sir Ddinbych, baile beag in oirthuaisceart na tire a tionoladh Eisteddfod Naisiunta na bliana seo. Baile beag gleoite e Rhuthun, cuma cian-aimseartha ar na tithe agus ar na sraideanna cunga agus in ainneoin na ceadta milte daoine bheith ag taistil tríd an mbaile na laethanta sin ní raibh aon easpa slachta nó eagair le tabhairt faoi ndeara tareis trí la. D'Eireannach ar bith nar thug cuairt ariamh ar an Eisteddfod ba dheacar e a shamhlu mar níl a leitheid againn sa tír seo. Mar a dúirt Eireannach amháin ta se mar a bheadh Seo an Earraigh, an tOireachtas agus an Flea Ceoil uilig curtha le cheile — ach gan an Bearla a bheadh chun tosaigh in a leitheid de chonascadh — mar is i mBreatnaís a reachtailtear cuaisí uile an Eisteddfod. Bíonn fograí dhatheangacha ag cuid mhaith de na chomhlachtaí gno a mbíonn pubaill aca ar an bpaire, agus is cosúil go raibh baill airithe den choiste mí-shasta mar gheall ar an oiread Bearla is a bhí ar taisbeaint aca i mbliana. Bhí an cheist a hardu ag cruinniú den choiste i rith na seachtaine agus caineadh laidir le deanamh ar an droch nos seo bheith ag dul i dtreise.

Faigheann an Eisteddfod deontaisí cuíosach flathuill ó chomhairlí condae agus comhairlí baile i Gymru, agus le blianta beaga anuas ta bru laidir ó chuid aca, go hairithe sa Deisceart, go mbeadh níos mó Bearla ann agus go ndeanfaí an bolscaireacht, se sin na fograí oifigiúla maidir le comortaisí agus ri, i mBearla chomh maith le Breatnaís. Go dtí seo d'éirigh leis an coiste diúltu do na hiarrachtaí seo. Ní miste fiafraí ce chomh fada agus is feidir leis an Eisteddfod seasamh i gcoinne bhru den tsort? Ta airgead mor ag teastail le haghaidh taispeantais mhoir mar e, £130,000 i mbliana mar shampla agus b'fheidir amach anseo go gcaithfidh a licht stiúrtha rogha a dheanamh idir an trachtail agus an cultur. Fad is ata tacaíocht an phobail ag lucht na Breatnaise ní baol don Eisteddfod mar fheile chultúrtha Breatnaise. Ta an tacaíocht sin an laidir faoi lathair agus ise an gne is suntasaí den Eisteddfod na na sluaite daoine ó gach aird, aicme is aois a thugann cuairt air. Ar chuairt lae a thagann a bhfurmhor, ach caitheann morán daoine an tseachtain iomlán ag freastal air mar chuid de saoire an tsamhraidh aca. Ní bheinn chomh cinnte sin i dtaobh ghne na fleadh seo de. Gan amhras bhí neart ceoil le cloisteail, ach bhí an iomad den cheol sollunta a bhfuil nuintir Cymru an tughtha do, agus ní chuireann se leis an spiorad fleadha. Ta traidisiún an cheoil an laidir i Gymru ach ní ceol traidisiúnta e, se sin le ra níl se, dhasach mar ata ceol na hEireann (agus ceol na hAlban agus na Briotaine). Fiu an 'penillion' fein, is mó d'anail cheoil clasacaigh na hEorpa ata le brath air na den anail cheilteach. B'fheidir go bhfuil na Gaeil ro-omosach don traidisiún sa cheol-mura b'ionann agus gneithe eile da gcultur. Is bac e an traidisiún ma chaitear an oiread sin dua lena chaomhnú is go ndeantar failli sa chruthaíocht. Ta cruthaíocht san cheol nua aimseartha faoi bhlath i Gymru agus i Gymraeg (Breatnaís); ní ga d'aos og Cymru bheith i dtuilleamaí pop-amhrain i mBearla, ta raidhse díobh i mBreatnaís. Ar bhealach is teist e ar uilíocht agus ar ilgneitheacht an chultuir Bhreatnaise go mbíonn ceol de gach sort le cloisteail ag an Eisteddfod. Mar sin fein is deacair aithint cen ceangal ata idir cultur na Breatnaise agus Aifreann Bach i Laidin a bhí a chanadh ag cor amháin.

I mbliana fresin bhí puball ar leith fa choinne foghlaimoiri na teangan, aít a raibh ceachtanna a dtabhairt ar teapanna agus ar teilifisean. Bhí ceachtanna a dtabhairt gach la chomh maith ag Ollscoil na nDaoine (an Ollscoil Oscailte) ina bpuball siud agus b'iad Eireannaigh uilig nach mor a rinne freastal orthu.

Le cur síos beacht a dheanamh ar an Eisteddfod airítear gurb e an príomh aidhm na saol iomlán an phobail a leiriú trí mheán na Breatnaise gan bheith teoranta d'aon gne ar leith den chultúr. Is i an teanga thein ata tabhachtach. Mar a dúirt Alan Lloyd Roberts,

an file og ar a bronnadh an 'choroin' agus an 'chathaoir' — an chead uair ó 1915 a ghnothaigh an duine ceanna an gradam dubailte . . . da gcaillfi an Bhreatnaís ní bheadh ciall sa saol domnós mo." Creidim gurb amhlaidh a mhothaíonn líon mor Breatnaigh i dtaobh a dteanga.

Culra Ceolteach Jack Kerouac

Gné den impiriúlachas i gcúrsaí cultúrtha ísea an dóigh go nglacann lucht na himpire chucu fein, amháil is dá mba bua dá gcuid féin, gach ar fonamh a chruthaíonn na daoine a bhíonn faoi chois aca.

Ar ndóigh tá fadhb eile annseo. Sé sin ó thaobh na scríbhneoireachta de nuair a úsáideann an pobal faoi chois teanga a máistrí bíonn se deacair don té ón taobh amuigh idirdhealu a dhéanamh.

Fadhb amháin eile ná nuair is nua-thír atá i gceist, abair Stáit Aontaithe Mheiricea, agus teanga amháin de na teangacha eagsula ón Eoraip in uachtar ann agus in úsáid mar gnáth-mhéán cumarsáide agus aroile bíonn se níos deacra fós freamhacha a aithint i gceart nó aitheantas ceart a fháil doibh.

Nuair nach bhfuil saoirse pholaitiúil ag an bpobal atá faoi chois meadaítear an eiginnteacht seo thar mar a bhíonn se ag ealaíontóirí ó Phoblacht na hEireann, cé nar leas leis na Sasanaigh fós cuid eigin pé r bith de mhór-scríbhneoirí Bhéarla an stáit sin a ghairm nó a athbhaisteadh ina Sasanaigh; sin no bheith ag maiomh as a gcuid leabhar amháil is da mba Sasanaigh lucht a scríofa.

Ce gur rugadh san Ailgeir e is mar scríbhneoir de chuid na Fraince a airmhítear Camus go fóill. Ceart go leor scríobh se as Fraincis ach is beag an aird dairíre a thugtar don bhfric gur Spainneach agus Briotaineach iad a thuismitheoirí.

Baineann Jack Kerouac leis an Domhan Úr ceart go leor ach de gnáth airmhítear a chulra Francach; deintear scagadh ar a chuid scríbhneoireachta de reir an chulra sin go minic; lorgaítear an rian Laidneach ann; labhartar faoin a chuid freamhacha a bheith san iithir Fhrancach, Quebec. Ta seo speisiúil ar bhealach mar leiríonn se fiú sna Stáit Aontaithe go bhfuiltear níos reidhe glacadh le slait tomhais na sean-impireachtaí. Bíonn meascan mearaí ar na criticí de bharr botuín chomh bunúsach san a bheith glachta aca mar fhricí. Ce chomh minic mar shampla is a ghlacltar leis gur as phor Sasanach a thainig Scott Fitzgerald, ce go bhfuil breis agus caoga bliain imithe ó leag Edmund Wilson a mhear ar thabhairt an ghe Eireannach da chulra.

Ach ta leabhar le Jack Kerouac — ceann de na cinn is deanai uaidh sul ma fuair se bas — ina leiríonn se fein cad a cheap se da chulra.

"Satori in Paris" is teidil do, a chead-fhoilsíodh sa bhliain 1967 (agus ata anois ar fail i geludach bog) agus is saghas cur síos e ar thuras a thug se chun na Mor-roinne ar thoir a dhuchais. Jean-Louis Lebris de Kerouac a ainm iomlán agus san leabhar seo ta cuntas ar a chuid iarrachtaí teacht ar foinsí eolais san Bibliothèque Nationale i bParas (bhi fuar aige) agus níos deanai i mBrest. Suimiúil go maith is minic e ag tracht ar an bhFrainc, ar Fhrancachas agus mar sin de san leabhar, (ar ndóigh ta an tuafas eile sa leabhar mar a bheifea ag suil leis ó dhuine chomh bisiúil is a bhí se — ce nach ceann da mhor-leabhair e san am cheanna). Ach is feidir a mhothu nach e sin an port is buaine ann, agus gur cuid den chostas (ó thaobh fein-mhuinnine de, agus ó thaobh aitheantais eui ag eachtrannaigh de) ata le tír, le naisún a bheith gan stat, no gan a bheith saor agus neamhspleach.

Bheadh se fuairiste e sao a chruthu ach neart sliochtai as an leabhar a bhreacadh síos is a ríomhadh. Ach measaim nach ga aon mhor-staidear, na aon mhion-scagadh, na aon cheartu ar lochtanna a chuid staire a dheanamh chun a dhearcadh a leiriú, lena a chinntiú gur culra Briotaineach a bhí aige, gur as an culra Ceilteach seo a bhí se ag maiomh agus gur ar an gcúlra seo a bhí toir aige nuair a thug se an turas seo as ar fhas "Satori in Paris." Is leor cupla sleacht:

"I search blindly for that old Breton name Daoulas, of which 'Duluoz' was a variation I invented just for fun in my writerly youth (to use as my name in my novels) no ait eile: 'It's that old magic of the Breton noble and of the Breton genius, of which Mathew Arnold said . . .'" no aris eile: "Well anyway I was trying to find things out about my old family, I was the first Lebris de Kerouack ever to go back to France in 210 years to find out and I was planning to go to Brittany, and Cornwall England next (land of Tristan and King Mark) and later I was gonna hit Ireland and find Isolde and like Peter Sellers get banged in the mug in a Dublin pub."

Togadh le Francis e ach leiríonn sé tríd an leabhar ar fad go raibh fhios aige ar a laghad go bhfuil a leitheid de theanga agus an Bhriotáinis ann: ta gorta ana bharuill ann ait a cheartaíonn se foghraíocht fear an staisiún truenach i St. Brieuc:

"Saint Brieuc!"

"Saint Brieuc!" I yell, emphasising as you see the 'c' noise of the thing there . . .

if 'Celts' were pronounced with a soft 's' sound, as the Anglo-Saxons seem to do, my name would sound like this: (and other names)

Jack Serouac

Johnny Sarson

Senator Bob Sennedy

Hopalong Sassidy.

P.O. Snodaigh.

* * *

Rhodesia, Fascism and Belfast

An ominous new arrival on the "Loyalist" book stalls of Belfast during the past summer has been free issues of Rhodesian Government propaganda. Is Ian Smith, persecutor of black Africans, trying to vent his vengeance on the "Disloyal" English Governments, who excluded him from their club, by interfering in the troubles in Northern Ireland.

The distribution of these white supremacist news-sheets from Rhodesia may simply be an augury of Loyalist thinking. It may, however, be a manifestation of something more sinister.

Another indicator of "loyalist" philosophy was the defence and apologia for the English Fascist National Front (well known in Lewisham in London for their support the cops and bash the blacks campaign) published under the title "A National Movement" in John McKeague's weekly *Loyalist News* on 18 August 1973.

As we write this note it is not clear who is responsible for the present bombing campaign in London — but the English need not complain if it transpires that it is a loyalist operation.

They were warned by "Councillor" Lindsay Mason in the 10 February 1973 edition of *The Ulster Constitution*.

We warn the Dictator (i.e. Whitelaw) that the days when he could order the murder of a couple of loyalists, as he did on the Shankhill and in East Belfast, in order to placate the rebels, are now over. Westminster should remember that all their troubles to date have been caused by the minority. If they force the majority into real action, as they seem intent on doing, their troubles will be really something. We warn Dublin too, that if the loyalists of Ulster take action they will be involved — we warn tourists that the cost of a holiday in Eire may be your life in addition to your fare. We warn the British Government that the loyalists of Ulster the traditional backbone of her Army, are fast reaching the point where they will be driven to physical battle with Westminster minions.

Hospitality Scheme

Irish members, Cathal and Caitlín Ó Luain, Eoin Ó Riain — in Dublin area; and Nollaig Ó Gadhra, Galway, are willing to participate (see Carn 21. Details to be given in CARN 4).

Nase Idir-Ghaeltachta

The Irish Minister for the Gaeltacht, Tomás Ó Dónaill, visited Barra in the Outer Hebrides at the end of August. His visit following on the re-institution of the cuairteanna filíochta may hasten the return of Gaeldom to closer affinity. It is understood that one of the requests made to him by some of the islanders was for the extension of Radio na Gaeltachta coverage to include Alba in the range of their transmissions and in the scope of their programmes.

An t-Uasal Ó Dónaill has, since becoming minister, visited most of the Gaeltacht areas in Ireland. He is now the best informed minister for the Gaeltacht in the history of the office. Perhaps we can hope for imaginative and effective measures from him.

One, would be the requested extension of the Radio na Gaeltachta services to Alba. And if to Alba why not to Man? Can we expect such a gesture? At least let us endorse Barra's request.

The Human Cost

The killing of 13 citizens of Derry by soldiers of the Paratroop Regiment on Bloody Sunday was described by the Derry Coroner (who had seen service in the forces of the Crown in World War II) as an act of brutal and callous murder. He was speaking at the inquest.

Professor Daly of the University of North Carolina has produced evidence that the victims of "Hooding" and the other 'refined' (i.e. Aden-tested) methods of torture, used by the English Army in the North of Ireland, have been permanently affected by their ghastly experiences. Dr Storr who tried, on behalf of the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science, was refused to interview detainees who had been so tortured was refused access to them by the English Government.

But sailor Heath has said that interrogation in depth (disgusting euphemism) will continue. To what end? Time for Tories?

Northern Ireland Now: Plus ça change . . .

As I write, a riot is going on about a hundred yards from my window where an anti-interment march to Long Kesh was stopped. In recent weeks, thousands of people have been marching again because the message has got through that William Whitelaw has no intention of stopping the imprisonment of Irishmen without trial or of granting an amnesty to those sentenced in these last few turbulent years. There have been one-sided amnesties: the B. Specials and R.U.C. of 1969 have got an amnesty. The British paras of Derry and Ardoyne have got an amnesty. The British Army, who killed innocent men in the New Lodge Rd. have got an amnesty. But there is to be no amnesty for Irish civilians.

The people have been marching too, because of a special sympathy for Michael Farrell and Tony Canavan, two young members of "Peoples Democracy," in support of their demand for political status they spent five weeks on hunger strike.

The case of Farrell and Canavan is extremely interesting in that it demonstrates the extent to which nothing has changed in Northern Ireland. Farrell, a young lecturer in higher education, who will eventually be recognised for what he is — the greatest political thinker Ireland has produced, since James Connolly — is already regarded by the English regime in Ireland as a redoubtable enemy. His group, the P.D. are purely political, his own activities are also, but the Whitelaw regime has made it clear that they will not tolerate radical political opponents, when as in Farrell's case, their clarity of intellect, eloquence of expression and boundless moral courage, threaten to expose the cynicism, lies and brutality on which the English attempt to impose a military solution in Ireland is based.

When the Stormont regime introduced internment in 1971, Farrell was interned. His release, months later, lends weight to the widely held belief that he was interned, merely to remove from the scene, an outspoken opponent of internment. That was under Brian Faulkner.

But readers will have been led to believe that the corruption and injustice, associated with the Orange-Unionist junta has now been swept away. Farrell and Canavan are only two of the people in the North of Ireland who have reason to know otherwise.

The situation is this. Extremist-Unionist groups are permitted to parade through the centre of Belfast. The U.D.A. in masks and battledress have done so. Farrell and Canavan in protest against sectarian assassinations. But Farrell's friends, as Socialist and anti-partitionists, are not allowed to march through the centre of Belfast. That was the situation under Faulkner. It is also the battledress have done so. Farrell and Canavan tried to lead about fifty members of the P.D. through the centre of Belfast in protest against sectarian assassinations. But Farrell's friends, as Socialist and anti-partitionists, are not allowed to march through the centre of Belfast. That was the situation under Faulkner. It is also the situation under Whitelaw.

As a result of their attempt to march, Farrell and Canavan were jailed. They were not given political status, although the so-called "offence" was obviously political. When one sees this against the backdrop of another recent case where a Protestant who murdered a mentally retarded boy and raped his mother was recognised by the court to have committed a political offence, the idea that there is equality before the law is seen to be ridiculous.

The mass media in Britain and Northern Ireland give partisan support to Whitelaw's attempt to impose an English military solution to the Irish problem. Irishmen who fight to free their country are labelled "terrorists," while the English army of occupation is called "the forces of law and order." The British army in N. Ireland continue to think that the way to impose their solution is to lean on nationalist areas. I have been collecting newspapers for a considerable time now. Week in week out they tell the same story. The British army arrest and intern continually but I have it from a reliable source that I.R.A. men who are interned (and we must remember that a high proportion of those interned are not in the I.R.A.) are easily replaced, thanks largely to the British army policy referred to above.

The I.R.A. have almost never fired a rocket in the Six Counties that did not, according to the British army statement — highlighted by B.B.C. and I.T.V. — narrowly miss a school or old people's home. But I do not want anyone to think that B.B.C. biased reporting is restricted purely to matters military. Recently the report of the N. Ireland Community Relations Committee was finally made public. The facts were there: that upwards of 60,000 people have had to move because of intimidation, the highest number in any country in Europe since the second world war, and that 80% of these were Catholics. In one B.B.C. programme which I saw ("Scene Around Six") there was an interview with a sociologist about the findings. No reference was made to the fact that about 80% of those forced to leave their homes were Catholics. The sociologist made hasty reference to the fact that "there was intimidation on religious lines," and then he went on to dwell at some length on the fact that people who did not conform to the norms of their neighbours (he cited homosexuals, and "people who would not contribute to one or other of the terrorist organisations") were widely intimidated. Boy, have we a problem — not so much sectarianism, as 60,000 displaced, tight-fisted homosexuals!

The Northern Assembly is almost certainly England's last attempt to "solve the Irish problem." The loyalists and the I.R.A. have vowed to make it fail. Not long ago, when loyalists thought the sellout was already to be complete, they made advances to the Republicans. Most of them are clearly not interested in the British link as such. They were interested in maintaining a system of privilege which they now realise cannot be maintained. What is now growing increasingly clear is that the Irish problem has no British dimension.

Padraig O Maolchraoibhe.

The Irish Sovereignty Movement and EEC Regional Policy

The Common Market referendum in May 1972 in the Irish Republic was carried with an 83% 'yes' vote. The 17% 'no' vote was not on a party basis; it represented a broad cross-section who refused to be brainwashed into an abandonment of sovereignty. The Irish Sovereignty Movement arose out of the unsuccessful attempt to obtain a 'no' result to the EEC referendum. It is organised on a non party-political basis, and has the support of the language movement. It is concerned to resist, step by step, the abandonment of sovereignty implied by the Treaty of Rome.

At present, the regional policy debate rages. The amount of the regional fund looks like being much less than that held out by Garrett Fitzgerald (now Minister for External Affairs) as an El Dorado during the Referendum campaign. To get things in perspective, a sum of the order of £20 M is being mentioned as the share for the Irish Republic in the regional fund. The regional subsidy paid within the U.K. by Britain to Northern Ireland, prior to the present troubles, amounted to some £100 M, or five times the sum for half the population. Yet Northern Ireland had the highest unemployment rate in the U.K. Thus regional subsidy is no substitute for control over one's own affairs, i.e. sovereignty.

The Irish Sovereignty Movement is holding a conference on EEC problems in Dublin in October.

There is scope for the establishment of cross-contacts between the ISM and appropriate bodies in other 'celtic fringe' countries, in order to examine how best the common interests of the peoples in the 'celtic fringe' can be used to put leverage on the various national governments to frame the regional policy of the EEC in the interests of the maximum autonomy of the celtic nations.

Does it seem outside the bounds of possibility that a Dublin Government, committed to delivering the EEC El Dorado to an increasingly sceptical electorate, might be seen establishing missions in other Celtic countries, and lending active support to regionalist and autonomist groups, so as to increase the pressure for a regional policy from which it might draw benefit?

The effect of the visit of deGaulle to Quebec on the development of the Quebec autonomist movement was appreciable. Cosgrave is no de Gaulle, but it would be interesting to explore the effect of a visit by his Minister of External Affairs to Scotland, Wales, Brittany etc. in order to discuss regional policy issues with 'Celtic fringe' autonomists. If the regional policy as promised does not materialise, Fitzgerald may yet be forced into this position, to the benefit of the Celtic movement.

One practical step open to 'Celtic fringe' autonomists is to begin to establish fact-finding contacts. A letter to the Irish Sovereignty Movement, 24 Belgrave Rd., Dublin 6, Ireland, will elicit details of the October conference in Dublin on problems arising from the accession of the Irish Republic to the EEC.

Roy Johnston.

Inter-Celtic Communications

The car-ferry which runs between Rosslare and le Havre constitutes an important link between Ireland and the Continent. The Irish government now has a direct interest in it; this came about as a result of the threat by the shipping company (Normandy Ferries) to withdraw the service at the end of the 1972 season.

Now that the Dublin government, in the interest of the tourist trade, has a measure of control, it becomes possible to put pressure on to make it serve more directly as an inter-Celtic link.

The old route Rosslare-Havre was dictated by the use of the same boat on the Southampton-Havre run. This need no longer be the determining factor.

A more natural, and shorter, route would be Rosslare-Brest, communicating directly towards the less crowded roads of the South and West, where many Irish wish to go. Similarly, it would become possible to build up a Celtic ethnic market, initially on the basis of cultural and tourist exchanges, ultimately on the basis of commerce.

The type of commerce initially to develop might be commerce at the level of ideas: conferences and exchanges between peoples' organisations and their representatives, concerned to find common ground in the battle to increase regional autonomy within the EEC.

Ultimately, as a result of the existence of these cross-contacts, which would flout the centripetal magnetism of the major centres, there is the possibility of developing a genuine trade in products and services, such as to permit the economic lives of 'Celtic fringes' to draw together.

The possibility exists of making this direct route more economic by introducing an intermediate stop at Falmouth. This, as well as linking in a third Celtic ethnic unit, would provide a convenient route for traffic originating in Exeter or westwards wishing to go to Ireland or the continent. It would also provide a convenient route from Brittany to England via Cornwall.

The Celtic league in Brittany and Cornwall could develop some market pressure for the development of this route, by organising some voluntary market research, getting the matter discussed in chambers of commerce, writing letters to the press etc.

Any pressure developing out of this idea should be conveyed to the commercial attache at the Irish Embassy in London or Paris. A copy, for information, should be sent to the Irish Sovereignty Movement, 24 Belgrave Rd., Dublin 6, so that equivalent pressure can be put on from the Irish end, in the knowledge of what has been done abroad. See also feature 'Irish Sovereignty Movement and EEC Regional Policy' on previous page.

Roy Johnston.

(Impatience among young Welsh activists with constitutional methods of political action to save Wales may be heading towards political violence, according to Clive Betts, Managing Editor of the "Welsh Nation").

Ta Clive Betts, Riachadair Stiurair a' phabar Bhreatnach "An Aisiun Breatnach," fíor bhoirit do bheil daoine aga einneach sa Talu Bhreatnach tiot do bhe sci de poiliotacacht leighoil. T'e goil eagail do bi na daoine aga seo deanu rudan gol ris losta taighean ta Sostnai er cheonnacha sa Talu Bhreatnach. Ta aidhl na dha er bhe ann cheana, anns Sir Ddinbych mar samplaer. As bha teaghlaim foislit cumait anns Sir Gaerfyrddin do loirt mo-cheann losta "a-thaighean." Ta seo taghairt er a' fa do bheil reilteas Shostan deanu a chuid 's fhearr do chur fo chois na daoine ta noigh losta as blaosta! Ta Cymdeithas yr Iaith (Seiseacht na Breatnais) slan noigh losta taighean as a leid. Ta slaigh sa tseiseacht goil eagail do bheil ceus bheg do 'laigh er bhfagail an tseiseacht fhin do dheanu rudan mi-leighoil.

* * *

(In the largest movement of population in Europe since the war, 60,000 people have been driven from their homes in Belfast by violence and intimidation in the last 3½ years. Most of these people are anti-Unionists. The English Government is keeping quiet about these figures).

Anns scial folait curait mach er do ghoirid, ta sinn faodainn mach do robh 60,000 slaigh ceamht mach as nan dtaighean anns Bial Feirste nuairs 1969. Se slaigh poblachtach a' chuid 's mu diobh seo. Bha'n scial scriut leorais Coimisiun ra-hoigh Co-tuathas, coimisiun oiceoil curait er bun ec a' reilteas anns nEirinn Tuaitheach. Thug na airiuann seo iondas er muaran daoine: cha robh a leid ann nuairs a' caga muar. Cha maith leis Reilteas Shostan na airiuann seo a thoit mach do foislit er a' fa do bheil ad soilleseacha mach do bheil ad coda uile an slaigh anns nEirinn Tuaitheach. Cha nel seo fíor.

KERNOW

Work to Win

In every national movement there are a number of people who are not interested in philosophising, theorising or romancing, they can only express themselves by action. If they cannot do something for their cause they loose interest and leave the movement which is a thing we cannot afford to let happen. Perhaps it is because we have attracted so few of these people and lost so many that our progress has been so slow. Dedicated workers are the strength of every movement and if we are to get them and keep them we must put ourselves out to cater for them i.e. we must find useful work for them to do and show them how to do it.

This difficulty does not arise in organisations that rely upon violence, there are always plenty of stones and petrol bombs that can be thrown and plenty targets for them but in an organisation like ours which keeps within the law, it is more difficult to devise methods of resisting the exploitation of our resources which is permitted by the law nevertheless we must be continually trying to devise such methods if we are to survive.

One tactic that is being successfully used in Cornwall is to re-inforce activities which people outside of our movement are making to protect Cornish interests in their own locality. This has the effect of adding their strength to ours, enabling us to engage in more activities than we could if acting alone and it also increases our movement's prestige.

This tactic is being used in two ways: one, to put in a working party to help anyone who is protesting against some unwanted development. Two, At municipal elections by providing approved candidates with an efficient organisation to fight their campaigns under their direction. Subsequently keeping in close contact with them and thus building up an effective influence in the local council.

An example of what can be done by real workers using these methods is given by one Mebyon Kernow group or six members (plus recruited relatives) which played a major part in securing the election of five approved candidates to local Councils at the last elections and building up a friendly and co-operative relationship with them.

We have lost many workers because we have failed to provide work for them to do. The methods described above have succeeded but we need ideas and suggestions for still more practical activities if we are to tap the resources of patriotic energy available to us from within those people who believe that faith without works is just not on.

May one hope that our intellectuals will take time off from writing about the past and the future and apply their talents to devising methods whereby we can capture the present for if we fail to do that, we have lost the future.

R. C. Boyd.

Cornish County part of Wales?

Should Cornwall once again become part of Wales? The question is raised in a letter to the Nation from Cornish Celtic League Secretary, Mr R. C. Boyd of Meadowsweet, Spar Lane, Illogan, Redruth.

Mr Boyd raises the question in referring to the hoped for Welsh Assembly. Should Cornwall be regarded as a Welsh county, once more, and ask for it to be transferred from the English political system.

"The Cornish Branch of the Celtic League is very interested in this suggestion," writes Mr Boyd, "but, of course, cannot make any decision until it has accurate information as to the wishes of the Cornish people and our Welsh kinsmen in this matter."

Mr Boyd is therefore testing Cornish opinion on the matter and

asks that any Nation reader with helpful suggestions or comments to make on the proposed re-union, contact him either direct or via the Nation's letter columns.

Sordyans Y'n Cuntelles Keltek?

At the Celtic Congress held in Blessington, Ireland, this August a strong contingent of young Bretons turned up and introduced a flavour of politics into the hitherto statutorily non-political affair. The Congress has long bewailed the lack of interest shown by the young generation, but now that for the first time people of university age have attended in force, it may be seen that they must do so on their own terms: at the expense of a modification of the hitherto peaceful atmosphere of the Congress. This is a turning point for the Celtic Congress, and is perhaps a cause for hope. The situation could have wider repercussions in Keltia, and is worth watching.

(Note: the Congress will be held at Nantes, in Brittany, next year).

An Cuntelles Keltek a ve synsys yn Blessington. Ywerdhon, yn mys Est, hag y'n bledhennow a dhe y fyth gwelys dhe vos treveth a'n brassa les, martesen, ha rag an Cuntelles ha rag an bobel Geltek.

An Cuntelles Keltek a ve fundys rag gul kevren yntr'an whegh bro, mes dyworth an dallesh y fe ervyrys dhe wul yndella dre vayn cultur: dyfennys a vya gwylasegeth. Nebes ha nebes an Cuntelles a dheth ha bos eghen a gelgh rag bagas a dus, ran vras anedha coth lowr; aswonys o gans lyes bos hemma cas a della y janjya, ha moy es unwyth ervyrys 've dhe dhegemes moy a dus yowynk y'ga mysk, mes gwythres an Cuntelles nys o dhe les an re-ma, ha cales o aga dynya.

Na whath, ha henna ow cortos, an Dasserghyans Keltek nys heb y vry rag an yowynkes, kens oll yn Breten Vyhan. Ya, cosel o puptra yn Blessington: an bregowthoryon a wruk aga fregowthow, an ganoryon a ganas, re yowynk a wruk donsya, ha kescowetha a omdhydhanas yn un geskewel. Mes bagas bras a Vretonyon yowynk re dhothya . . . byth ny welsys brassa bagas a yowynkes . . . ha nys ens-y pys da gans stuth an Cuntelles; marow o ragtha-y. "Why re'gan kyfwevys," yn methans-y, "ha ple'ma'n gol? Megys o an re-na war pyth creffa!

Hep mar, cales o ha dhe'n dus yowynk-ma dhe'n re erel dhe gonvedhes an yl y gyla, hag ogas y fe gustel knak ena. An bagas Bretonek re dhysquethsys aga gys nans o un jeth py deu yn un dhonsya aga "dons hep deweth" namnag yu dons bresel, ha lemmyn mal o gansa donsya war bup torn. Terry a wrussons cres an treveth, nahen na gryseugh, ha pell o dyworth tewl ha rewl an Cuntelles.

Res yu aswonvos bos henna sordhyans na yller y woheles. Heb an dus yowynk, oll agan whel a vyth rag agan les agan honen, ha'n Cuntelles Keltek a vyth treveth rag omdhydhanas ha tra nahen. Pella, an Dasserghyans Keltek a vyth pyth marow heb an re yowynk; bew mar pyth, ha dhodho dyns, an yowynkes ny dal bos seonyes; an termyn a dhe a vyth ragtha-y, hag y a vyn kemeres aga rewl aga honen.

Henna a alsa bos dyflas rag an re cotha mes y tallathons-ynsy an sordyans, hen yu an gwyronek, ha dhe'n dus yowynk y coth gul dhodho dhe sowyny. Nys us ken forth; ny yller gorra tan yn tanbellen ha leverel dhodho, "Na whyleugh tarda mar plek!"

Wosteweth, nys us dyberthva ynter cultur ha gwylasygeth: yth yu aga hengovyon re wythas yn-few an elven Geltek usy lemmyn ow tos ha bos tan ynkever an yowynkes Bretonek. Del brederyn, hem yu ken rag gwaytyans rag an Cuntelles Keltek ha martesen rag an bys Keltek oll.

R.R.M.G.

Kernow, Spyrys ha Taclow

Kernow re-be tyr ankevys. Hy a-dheth ha bos whethel yn ystory Pow Saws, ogas ha whethel adro-dhe bobel vyghan, hep fallpür penan wlas a dyr dyhevelep hynwys Po Saws.

Ytho, Po Saws esa ow-cül soth yn Kernow ha nys-o lettys soth a Gernow hy honen. Prest yma dyfelebyns hen. Cales rannow re-wruk aga bos prederüs yn-aga-kever aga honen hag adro dhe'n whethel. An whethel re-dhres dh'aga gof kenmayth yns-y. Yndella y-fo

hemma nerth rak gwryans noweth aga bys.

Bytegens, y re-studhyas an whethel arna wrons gothvos an gwyronek yn-kever mur a 'ga termyn a ve ha re-dheth an termyn an whethel dhe daclow yn bew Kernewek hedhyu pan res junnya. Mar lenwyn Kernow bysyn hy oryon a's taclow, y-fynnyng settya Kernow-oll yn-rak avel neppyth bry dre oker.

Geren-ny myras orth paper newodhow.

Poynt kensa, Peder Bownderyow, castel y'n comolow, re-be trelys gans an mogheans yn drehevel. Bosow ün lur, unweh ple peskens bestes ha ple gwarsons fleghes, re-be prenas gans pobel mes a bellder, lower ahana mesa cytys. Sül hüny a-lever, "Y-fynnyng moy goker hep moy tüs: tus-oll a-vew ün prys moy hyr omma." Dencoth a-lever, "Na fella yllyn-ny cows 'Fat' la gena-why?" dhe bup y'n stret. An pronter da hy gnas a-lever y-res dhe'n castel gül cowethas noweth. Yndella re-bo ha whare re-bo an castel Kernewek mes ny a-woon mar res dhyn-ny bos pupprys tebel gwyth ahano an gwella dhe wül. Rewl a-yl drehevel rak cowethas yn le gasa gwythoryon chy dhe demptya tüs gwertha aga enevow gans aga thyr. Hen yu prak res ynwyth dhyn ny dos ha bos moy Kernewek rak settya orth temptasyom. Hen yu prak y-res dhe bobel yn Kernow dy-sky temptasyon bys vyken ha dos ha bos perghenogyon gemyn an tyr-oll. Poken yn-cook y-hulons.

Poynt nessa. An byscajoryon yu pur serrys awos an Rewl dhe gemeres ahana gweres ha dh'ervyry gorra an ysella gwerthys brylly ha hern. Hem yu an Marghas Kemyn. Res yu dhe'n byscajoryon a Gernow unya gans an ran krassa a bobel Breten Vür er hy fyn, ow-whylas unya avel pobel Kernewek a-drüs or, ow-sconya bos an nyn a ün pokel mur ha gans an lef omlavar, ow-kewsel gans lef byghan kepar ha ylow mun arghans. Yndella aga nerth a-fo nerth dalleshas gwryans noweth aga bys.

Kernow yu tybyans ha lün a daclow poran bys yn hy or. Gwrens an bobel Geltek-ma perghenna yn gwyronek aga thyr, aga gwlas, ha'ga hengov.

Royston Green.

Tin Trouble in Kernow

It all started in the Red River which drains the mining area around Camborne and flows out into St Ives Bay. This river is called red because from time immemorial it has been used as a drain to carry away the red sludge from the local tin mines. Until 1972 this position was accepted but as the mining industry expanded the pollution of the river increased rapidly, fish were killed, holiday beaches ruined and the stream of red sludge could sometimes be seen drifting along the coast as far as Portreath five miles away.

This was not acceptable and complaints were made to the Cornish River Authority who ordered the Mining Industry to clean up the river within 5 years. The Mining Industry appealed against the order and the matter has now been referred to the Ministry for the Environment and awaits his decision.

In the meantime the Industry has published its own assessment of the situation which, according to the press, makes the following points: the mining companies are in financial difficulties, costs are unduly high owing to Cornish tin being deep down in granite and in narrow seams and scattered. Prices cannot be raised because they are fixed by the International Tin Council. For these reasons, the mines cannot afford the proper disposal of their sludge and must be allowed to pour it into the river.

All we can say about these difficulties is that they have always been there and are well known to the old companies and the new companies would have been informed of them by their surveyors and geologists before they started work and so the cost of working in these conditions would be included in their initial estimate of their operating costs and allowance made for them. The same applies to the disposal of their waste. They all know that this is a fair charge on their operating costs and should have been provided for before they started work, but apparently it wasn't. So they cut their costs by pouring their effluent in increasing volume into the river callously indifferent to the damage they are doing to the environment. It is amazing that they think they can get away with it at a

time when the whole nation is worried about pollution and is forcing industry after industry to stop using the rivers as industrial drains.

After telling us that they are in financial difficulties, the Industry goes on to tell us that if they are stopped from using the river as a drain they may go out of business and 689 men would then get the sack and Cornwall would lose a £1¼ million wage packet. Put in this way, this could be a fair warning, a threat or just a cosy bit of blackmail, the reader can take his pick.

No Cornishman wishes to obstruct Tin mining but he is not likely to want to subsidise it by allowing it to destroy his environment.

R.C.B.

1/8/73

Dear Sir,

In *Carn* 2 you have printed a part of a private letter which, inter alia, makes it look as though I am against the Celtic languages.

In fact, it would be wrong to imagine that I am 'against' these languages, especially (a) since there is no better bulwark against foreign assimilation than an indigenous language, as the English realised only too vividly when it seemed that the English language would be overwhelmed by the French language, and (b) since the Celts show a widespread awareness that in losing their language, or their languages, they are losing their land.

Great, even heroic, efforts have been and are being made to defend and to preserve the Celtic languages and to make them the first languages of living Celtic communities; and it would be wrong to imagine that I am 'against' these efforts. There would seem to me to be at least three lines of approach to the problem of the multiplicity of Celtic languages, — (a) That of the approach which sees and supports six Celtic cultures, each culture being based upon the form of the local Celtic language, (b) That of the approach which tries to search amid the six Celtic languages for a single form of language acceptable to the six Celtic peoples, and (c) That of the approach which sees and supports the six separate Celtic cultures and languages but at the same time wishes Welsh to be a common language between the Celts.

What is desirable and what is practicable on the horizons of the Celtic languages and cultures finds me very much a neutralist, wide open to the various viewpoints and to their debate, though impressed by Welsh linguistic arguments: but what concerns me, in my remarks, is the 'short view' (and not so 'short' either), of the needs of the Celtic League in starting a new journal.

In my view, the C.L. need is for a journal not unlike the defunct *Sruth*, addressed, that is, to the Celts as a whole rather than to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, as was the case of the defunct *Sruth*. Furthermore, I feel that such a journal should be something far beyond 'a link between the Celtic Nations,' — it should and could be the means for presenting the Celts and the Celtic case both to themselves and also to the world. By using its space to gather news and views from the Celtic Nations and by appearing in two identical editions, one in English and one in French, the new C.L. journal could gather together all Celts everywhere, whether in the six Celtic Nations or in France, or in Canada, or in the U.S.A., or anywhere across the world including both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Ultimately, the choice of *Carn* as a C.L.-new journal-name represents a choice of ATTITUDE. A wrong attitude leads to such monstrosities as the concept of an Anglo-Celtic nation, as seen in the new *Essays on Fionn Mac Colla*, for G.B. It is against this ATTITUDE that I protest, not against the Celtic languages *per se*. Since the chips are now about down I am very much for a forward-reaching worldwide Celtic presence in this new C.L. journal, & in its name etc.

Yours etc.,

J.L.

MANNIN

Fo Halloo Active Again

After a lull of some weeks, Fo Halloo, the underground Manx nationalist organisation, has come into the limelight again. £500 worth of hay has been destroyed in a field tenanted by Charles Kerruish, Speaker of the House of Keys (the Manx lower house). Mr Kerruish claimed to find a Fo Halloo "visiting card" in the wreckage. If this act was in fact done by the underground organisation, it is the first instance of destruction of property (earlier in the year the arson of new bungalows was attributed to Fo Halloo without any definite proof).

On the face of it, Charles Kerruish is one of the most outspoken "anti-London" politicians in Mann. He has consistently campaigned for more Manx autonomy and for the weakening of the powers of the English governor of the island. Mr Kerruish has championed the cause of more power to Manx Radio: in doing this he has led many Manx deputations to London to plead for less English interference with the Manx radio station.

Only recently he lambasted the U.K. government for "duplicitous" and "double-dealing" over a period of ten years in its dealings with the Manx government concerning the radio dispute. Mr Kerruish has supported Manx cultural ventures and has expressed interest in the language movement.

Presumably the reason for Fo Halloo's undoubted hostility to Mr Kerruish is his involvement with land deals — the sell-out of land to wealthy "new residents," speculators and "developers." As reported in *CARN* No. 2, Mr Kerruish was instrumental in having three young men prosecuted for putting up posters condemning the sell-out. Since Tynwald decided to make newcomers invest at least £5,000 in Manx government securities, things have apparently quietened down in Mann. But it seems likely that many Manx people are not satisfied with Tynwald's action and that when the summer is over the battle over the new residents policy will really start.

Turas Sa Ghaidhealtachd

(The writer made his first visit to Lewis and Harris. The language is stronger than he thought, but the coming of television seems to have got children to talk English among themselves).

Mi er do shoine, thug mis sille er na hEileanan Siar son a' chead chuairt. Chaidh mi marais cara as bha sinn labhairt Gailg Mhanainneach car a' tra: mar sion, bha fios ec na Gailg Albainneach do robh sinn nan Gailg de soirte einneach. Chaidh sinn truid an Eilean Sgiathanach — silim do bheil a' Ghaidhlig gul sios tabhai do leur anns sein. Ach na dheidh sein as uile, chual sinn Gaidhlig do leur anns bar anns Dun Bheagain. Gus na hEarradh eist as Leodhas. Er a' bhada bhaigh Uig gus Tairbeart na hEarradh, roistinn an Tairbeart anmach san iodh. Eist tharais na sleitean gus Carlobhagh anns Leodhas rad thanai sinn ris se la.

Ta Gaidhlig do leur anns Carlobhagh, ga nach robh i ec ben a' taigh. Bha mis cunda e doili eaglach cur er slaigh Gaidhlig a labhairt rium! Cho luath as thuig ad do ne deorai mis, Bearl, car a' tra. Ga do robh slaigh einneach ann dheineach labhairt mach son na Gaidhlig, bha'n chuid 's mu diobh siltinn ullai do cheamh ersul i. Ach thug neart na Gaidhlig anns Leodhas iondas orm as bha sinn deant mach leis sein, do dearu. Bunas do chuile dhuine as bhen as Gaidhlig oc. T'ad gra do gobh na paitean toiseacht do labhairt Bearl eadar oc fhin tra thainc a' teilluis part do bhliantan er do shoine. 'S olc sein.

Eist mo dheas gus Amhuinnsuidhe anns na hEarradh, fagus da caisteal ta Sostnach er cheonnacha. T'an fer seo gra Sir Hereward Wake ris fhin as t'ad gra do bheil e as a chiall. Ba thaitneasach linn aranan Alex McKay anns an oic-phostas rad thanai sinn. Fa dheire thuair sinn slaigh bha araltach do labhairt Gaidhlig ruinn. Do dearu, ta'n Ghaidhlig anns Leodhas as na hEarradh fost laidir do leur. Ach b'ole linn na paitean Bearlach sein. Brian MacStoyll.

Gwyddeleg — Anogaeth Neu Orfodaeth?

Beth sy'n ein gwneudini yn y gwledydd Celtaidd yn wahanol i bobl gwledydd eraill? Y ffaith mai ni oedd y deiliaid gwreiddiol cyn i'r "Saeson" ynweld a ni? — Go brin. Ein traddodiadau a'n diwylliant? — Wel ie, efallai. Ein hieithoedd? — Dyna chi wedi taro'r hoelen ar ei phen. Yr iaith sy'n gwneud ein traddodiadau a'n diwylliant yn arbennig, ac mae'r ffaith bod yr ieithoedd Celtaidd mewn cymaint o argyfwng wedi creu brawdgarwch rhyngom ni fel gwledydd Celtaidd.

Yma yng Nghymru, 'rydym eisoes wedi dechrau deffro i'r argyfwng hwn, ac wedi sefydlu ysgolion Cymraeg (neu ddwy-ieithog) i geisio "cadw i'r oesoedd a ddel y glendid a fu." Mae symudiad ar y gweyll i geisio gwneud astudiaeth o'r iaith Gymraeg hyd at 16 oed yn orfodol i bob plentyn ysgol yng Nghymru.

Gwneuthpwyd hyn yn Iwerddon, ac hyd yn ddiweddar iawn, 'roedd yn angenrheidiol i bawb basio Gwyddeleg cyn y gallasant fynd ymlaen at Addysg Uwch. Golyga hyn fod pob un sydd wedi ei gymhwyso ar gyfer unrhyw swydd trwy goleg, yn meddu gwybodaeth eithaf o'r iaith Wyddeleg, boed o'n athro, yn feddyg, yn gyfreithiwr neu'n fil-feddyg.

Ond un o'r camau cyntaf a gymrodd y llywodraeth newydd pan ddaeth i rym eleni oedd dileu hyn. Yn ei le, mae'r Adran Addysg yn bwriadu gweithredu yr hyn a elwir yn "Gwrs Astudiaethau Gwyddeleg." Anogaeth, ac nid gorfodaeth, yw'r gair pwysig yn awr. Un agwedd o hyn yw'r ffaith y bydd unrhyw un sy'n gwneud cwrs Anrhydedd mewn Gwyddeleg yn y Brifysgol yn cael ei ystyried yn gyfochrog ag un sydd wedi ennill anrhydedd mewn unrhyw ddau bwnc arall.

Beth yw barn rhai o bobl blaenllaw yr Iwerddon ar y cwrs yma?

Mae'r Dr Michéal Mac Liammóir, sy'n ddramodydd ac yn ieithydd, yn credu'n gryff iawn y dylid gwneud Gwyddeleg yn orfodol unwaith eto. Yn ei dyb ef, ni all astudio'r bywyd Gwyddelig heb wneud astudiaeth o'r iaith hefyd. Dylai Gwyddeleg fod yn gysylltiedig â mwynhad — iaith chwarae ac ymlacio. Mae'r Gwyddelod eu hunain cymaint ar fai â'r Saeson am y ffaith fod yr iaith wedi ei cholli. Mae'n ddigon hawdd i unrhyw un sydd ag ychydig o ddeallusrwydd gario dwy iaith yn ei ymenydd, ac nid oes esgus o gwbl fod yr Wyddeleg wedi ei hanghofio.

Teimlad Mr John Robb, meddyg o'r Gogledd, yw bod yn rhaid i unrhyw gwr ar astudiaethau Gwyddelig gynnwys dysgu rhyw grefft. Dylai pawb, boed yn academaidd ai peidio, ddysgu crefft i gael mynegi ei hun trwy gyfrwng ei ddwylo. Peth arall pwysig yn ei dyb ef yw astudiaeth fanwl o farddoniaeth, cerddoriaeth, a dawnsfeydd traddodiadol. Mae'n cytuno â'r Llywodraeth nad trwy wneud Gwyddeleg yn orfodol yn yr ysgolion y daw pobl i'w dysgu yn wirfoddol ac allan o ddiddordeb.

Dwyed yr Athro Colm o hEocha, Athro Cemeg ym Mhrifysgol Galway, ei bod yn angenrheidiol cael y Gwyddelod i bwysleisio mwy ar yr ochr wyddonol, ac nid ar y Celfyddydau yn unig. Mae llawer yn ymhyfyrydu yn y ffaith na wyddent ddim am wyddoniaeth, ond ni fuasant byth yn cyfaddef nad ydynt wedi darllen Shakespeare. Rhaid i'r cwrs yma felly gynnwys astudiaethau gwyddonol, ac i'r perwyl yma rhaid cael gwell athrawon.

Mae'r Llywodraeth wedi apwyntio Gweinidog i'r Gaeltacht (yr ardaloedd hynny lle mae'r Wyddeleg yn parhau i fod yn iaith y gymdeithas) sef Mr O'Donnell, a'i deimlad ef yw bod llawer mwy i geisio adfywio'r iaith na'i hastudio yn unig. Rhaid denu pobl ifanc i'r Gaeltacht, ond ni ddeuant yno heb y sicrwydd bod yno safon byw cystal ag yn unman arall, ac mae hynny'n golygu safon gyflogaeth ddiwydiannol uchel. Gwaith Mr O'Donnell fydd gofalu am hyn y dyfodol, a gobeithia am lwyddiant fel y bydd ardaloedd y Gaeltacht yn ffynnu unwaith eto.

Ffion Trefor.

* * *

Come to the Oireachtas, Festival of Irish Culture, October, 19-28 (programme from 6. Sraid Fhearchair, Áth Cliath 2, Éire.

* 6,000 Adults Learn Welsh

In 1971 and 1972 the Welsh Joint Education Committee published a Directory listing facilities for adults who wished to learn Welsh as a second language. That Directory concerned itself with official classes in Wales.

Recently a report has been prepared under the direction of Mr Dan L. James, research lecturer at the U.C.W. Aberystwyth Faculty of Education, attempting to list official and unofficial groups in Wales, Scotland and England, to record the numbers attending each group.

An accompanying map shows that in Wales alone there are 388 classes and 5,189 learners and an increasing number of such classes beyond our borders. The figure given for classes outside Wales is 56 with 670 learners.

The survey does not, of course, take into account adults who have already mastered the language or who are known to be still studying Welsh individually outside the class situation.

*Survey published in Welsh Nation. Issue June 22-June 28, 1973.

The results of the survey are as follows

	Rhif dosbarthiadau No. of classes	Rhif dysgwyr No. of learners
Mon/Anglesey	14	235
Caernarfon	40	493
Dinbych/Denbigh	37	577
Fflint/Flint	26	380
Meirionnydd/Meirioneth ...	19	192
Trefaldwyn/Montgomery ...	12	137
Aberteifi/Cardigan	28	402
Maesfed/Radnor	2	25
Brycheiniog/Brecon	8	66
Caerfyrddin/Carmarthen ...	14	136
Penfro/Pembroke	15	200 (?)
Morgannow/Glamorgan ...	142	1824
Mynwy/Monmouth	31	522
Cyfanswm/Total	388	5189
Tuallan i Gymru/ Outside Wales	56	670
Cyfanswm Cymru a thuallan Total for Wales & outside ...	444	5859

* * *

Crash Course in Welsh

(July 1974)

If you wish to register for a crash course in Welsh at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, you need to register before the end of January and to start your preparatory homework. Learn the Welsh language in fourteen days on the sea front at Aberystwyth. Further particulars from Professor Jac L. Williams, Dean of the Faculty of Education, Stryd Cambria, Aberystwyth, Cymru.

Scottish Clans and Tartans. 150 tartans illustrated in full colour. by Ian Grimble. Published by Hamlyn at £1.95. A beautiful new book full of fascinating lesser known history and interesting up-to-date facts. Of the high standard one would expect from such a scholar.

38 St Valery Place,
Ullapull,
Siorrachd Rois.
15/7/73

A charaid.

As a former member of the W.P.S. (Moriast Senenest) I should like to correct the impression given in 'Carn' Vol. 1 No. 2, that Stalinists are the enemies of the Celtic peoples in their struggle for independence.

The W.P.S. has constantly supported the Irish people north and south, in their struggle against British imperialism adopting resolutions to that effect.

The Celtic countries are recognised as nations with the right to self-determination and their separation from the British Imperialist State can only quicken the disintegration of International Imperialism which is a further step towards the liberation of mankind.

The separation of Alba and the other Celtic countries from England is a revolutionary movement against the existing political and social order of things and will meet with the strongest opposition from all sides including so called 'Stalinists' as well as Unionists.

The S.N.P. have experienced sudden resignations of candidates and officials just before important events such as elections so the left wing of the National Liberation movement will continue to experience the same enemy but in a different form, as shown by your article.

In the struggle ahead all genuine patriots must be vigilant against 'quislings' who already operate in the independence movements.

Is mise

Domhnall Iain Cambeul

P.S. Enjoy 'Carn' very much and I hope it goes from strength to strength.

More than a million tons of British wheat has been "de-natured" so that it cannot be used for human consumption — 22,287 tons of British butter went into store in the period Feb. to July along with 21,166 tons of skimmed milk and a further 8,000 tons of skimmed milk were mixed with animal feed — all this under the Common Market agricultural system. The Americans, in this as in most other things, are one step ahead of us — next year their farmers will not have to keep out of use any of their wheat acreage to qualify for government support systems.

Klemm A-Enep An Arme En Enez Uist

Da genver ur gouel gouezelek en Enez Uist — Su e tamallas D. Thomson, ez-vaer Oban, d'an arme saoz ober droug da vuhez sevenadurel Uist, e-lec'h ma 'z eus tachennou tennañ-fuzeennou abaoe 1955. Bep daou vloaz e teu ur c'hantad soudarded, gant o familhoù, hag evito n'eus nemet ur yezh, ar saozneg!

"Ret e ve daout skolioù a-ratozh evit bugale ar soudarded -se, eme ar Skosad, evel en Alamagn. Arc'hant a-walc'h a roer d'an Arme. Neuze hor befe tu da zesevel hor bugale hervez hon hengoun." Padal an ofiser e karg a lavar: "Ne savomp skolioù dibar nemet pa ne glot ket ar genreizh lec'hel gant hini ar Rouantelezh Unanet. Klask a reomp klotan ouzh buhez ar ranndir-mañ."

N'eus ket anv gantañ da zeskin gouezeleg. E Skol Mullavanich ez eus 150 bugel; n'eus nemet 50-60 anezho genidik ac'haleno hag 20 gouest mat da gomz gouezeleg. Bremañ int troet holl da saoznegañ.

(The army units based on S. Uist and Benbecula are causing great harm to the living Gaelic culture. Would the English government like to put a rocket range on Stonehenge?).

Papers and Publications

May we ask our readers (a) to help us in establishing a list of the papers and periodicals concerned with our national struggles by (1) indicating briefly the policies they advocate; (2) when they were founded and how often they are published; (3) to indicate which books should be recommended to readers enquiring about our national, political and linguistic struggles.

Information concerning Brittany in this issue was collected from Le Peuple Breton, L'Avenir de la Bretagne, Douar Breizh, Bretagne-Revolutionaire. Other sources of information are Sav Breizh, in Breton AL Liamm, Imbourc'h, Barr-Heol . . . Addresses from A. Louarn, 30 Place des Lices, 35 Rennes.

THE WELSH NATION, 8 Heol y Frenhines, Caerdydd, is the weekly organ of Plaid Cymru in English. Reviews of Welsh affairs are given by a.o. PLANET, Llangethio, TREGARON. A newly reconstituted Welsh Republican Movement ("seeking to influence the Labour and Trade Union Movements to a sense of Welsh identity and pressing the existing Nationalist movements into more radical and positive positions") publishes "Y Gweriniethwr" (mainly in English), 89 Heol Aneurin, Penyrheol, Caerffili, S. Wales; Cymdeithas yr Iaith publishes *Tafod y ddraig* (in Welsh, 24 Ffordd y Môr, Aberystwyth). THE IRISH PEOPLE, weekly, in English, PO Box 666, Dublin 9 deserves special mention for its Republican spirit; it presents in balanced terms radical views and news which the so-called national papers won't publish. For news of the Irish language struggle, read ROSC, 6 Sraid Fhearchair, Ath Cliath 2.

In Irish, the combative spirit is best represented by POBAL, 49 Br Crannach, Áth Cliath 14.

In Scotland, the national point of view is well represented by THE CATALYST (Overscaig, 6 Cawdor Rd., Inverness), while *West Highland Free Press* (Kyleakin, Isle of Skye) reflects in its defence of the people's interests the stand represented previously by *Sruth*.

THE CORNISH NATION is the organ of Mebyon Kernow and covers the whole range of subjects concerning the Cornish struggle (Trelispen, Gorran, St. Austell, Cornwall).

We recommend to those looking for information about the struggle of other peoples: Voix d'Alsace-Lorraine (25 rue de la Fidélité, 68 Mulhouse, "France") — mostly in German; Euskal Elkargoa, 16 rue de la République, 64 St. Jean de Luz, "France" (news bulletin about the Basque struggle, in French); in Danish and English, *Regional Contact* advocates freedom for ethnical communities and de-concentration of power (Poppelbakken 2, DK 3460 Birkeroed, Denmark).

This list is established in a hurry. There are surely important omissions. Help us to give a complete and objective list next time.

Letter

I should like very much to correspond with somebody, preferably a Nationalist, lad or lass, from Scotland, for exchanging ideas about the problems we are having here in Brittany and over there in Scotland.

Michael Redmond,
"Heol Breizh,"
Ploumanac'h,
22700 Perroz Gwirec,
France.

Annual General Meeting

The Annual General Meeting of the Celtic League was held in Y Bala on the 4th and 5th of August. Delegates of the branches in Alba, Breizh, Cymru, Eire, Kernow and London attended.

In his introduction, the chairman P. Ó. Conchúir said it was appropriate that the meeting be held in Welsh Wales, particularly as Wales spear-headed our struggles in the language field.

From the secretaries' reports the League appeared to have been outwardly less active during the past year. Attention had concentrated on problems arising from changes in our publication scheme. Now that CARN was well launched, it should be possible again to cater for other aspects of the League's policy.

On the whole the C.L. organisation was functioning well. But the Welsh branch had not yet recovered the efficiency and the numerical importance it ought to have, and the Manx branch needed reactivation.

The financing of CARN will pose a problem for some time to come, income from fees and subscriptions need supplementing by sales of the periodical. Sales in bookshops, though serving C.L. aims, could not help as much as sales by members. Here is an opportunity for every member to become involved and contribute to widening the influence of the League.

It was agreed that the C.L., although abiding by non-violent methods, should contribute to alleviate the fate of fellow-Celts jailed or interned as a result of their political convictions.

The C.L. will continue to assist in organising inter-Celtic summer schools, or organise such itself. It will develop its "Hospitality Scheme" to facilitate exchanges from one Celtic country to another.

The main resolutions adopted by the meeting called (a) on the London Government to end their policy of harassment of non-combatants in N. Ireland and to make a declaration of intent to withdraw from the area; (b) on the Irish government to reactivate its case against the London Government in Strassburg (concerning torture in N.I.); on the new Derry corporation to delete the prefix "London" from the city's official name; on the Irish minister for Foreign Affairs to stand firm by his previous claims on the EEC Regional Fund and to consult with representative bodies in the other Celtic countries regarding this aspect of EEC membership. These resolutions were communicated to the appropriate people for consideration.

A proposal by the Cornish Branch of C.L. to sound out Cornish public opinion on the desirability of Cornwall joining Wales in the event of a Welsh Assembly being set up was approved (with one abstention and despite reserves concerning such an assembly).

The AGM adjourned its Saturday afternoon session to enable the League to associate with Cymdeithas yr Iaith in a demonstration at Dinbych against the re-imprisonment of Ffred Ffrancis and for an extension of television services in Welsh. We wish to record our thanks to Cymdeithas for allowing us to display C.L. material in their tent at the Eisteddfod.

FLB at it again

Three days before the arrival of Pompidou on holidays in Fouenant, SW Brittany, 4 cans of 20 litres of an explosive mixture were placed in the new (unfinished) police barracks in this town. Responsibility was claimed by the FLB-ARB. "In view of the massive implantation of military barracks and other bases on the Breton territory, the struggle against this occupation will be intensified. The Breton people must be defended against all the grabbers of the Bretons' heritage."

(Symbolic attacks will hardly impress anyone).

ALBA

Kevredigezh ar Skoseg (Comunn na Canain Albanaich) zo bet savet daou pe dri bloaz'zo evit stourm en un doare efedus da c'hounit d'ar skoseg ur plas dereat a buhez foran Alba, dreistholl er Gouezelva. Embann a ra ur c'hannadig, Crann Tara. Setu ur roll — mennadoù nevez embannet gant CNCA: 1) degas muioc'h a dud da harpañ ar gouezeleg ha d'ober gantañ; herzel ouzh gwallziforc'hoù a-enep ar yezh; imbours'han stad ar yezh e-touez an dud; 2) atizañ ar pennadurezhioù lec'hel da lakaat postoù-heñchañ divyezhek ha harpan ar re a zo a-du da seveniñ ar mennad; 3) darbariñ rolloù anvioù tud ha tiez gouezelek ha rein atiz d-ober ganto; 4) pouezañ war ar BBC da skignañ ur rummad nevez a genteliou gouezeleg (abaoe 15 vloaz n'o deus ket graet); aozañ ur raktres-skouer evit deskiñ ar yezh e klasoù-abardaez; 5) lakaat Bure an Droiadouriezh da ober embannou e gouezeleg evit dedennañ touristed (!); Kuzul an Arzoù Skosat da c-hourdoniñ kelennerien sonerezh; ar skoliou-meur da aozañ kentelioù ermaez-a-roll war istor ha sevenadur Alba; 6) stourm ouzh ar reolennoù a vir a varilhañ an anvioù e gouezeleg; 7) gwelout penaos eo pourvezet al levraouegoù — pobl gant levrioù e gouezeleg pe diwarbenn Alba.

(CNCA is currently conducting, or hoping to carry out, various projects in the Gaelic field aiming at 1) promoting Gaelic; 2) countering official discrimination against it; 3) seeking more information about its state among the people).

In May Lord Polworth was appointed oil "supremo" to co-ordinate developments in Scotland and shortly after that the "Glasgow News," an underground paper, revealed that Lord Polworth and his family held substantial shares in oil-related trusts — this led to an outcry in Parliament and in public. The "Scotsman," in an editorial that week said: "Lord Polworth has encountered a little local opposition on the question of his investments but the Prime Minister has ruled that all is in order." When some of the more unsavoury practices of British firms came to light earlier this year much was made of Mr Heath's reference to "the unacceptable face of British capitalism."

Lord Polworth's appointment itself was made because of extreme dissatisfaction allround with the way the government were mishandling the whole question of North Sea Oil. The derisory amounts they asked for the prospecting rights are now well known. Now other aspects are beginning to cause disquiet. Despite valiant efforts made by the local authorities, Shetland has 40,000 acres in the hands of Nordport, an oil development company . . . Mowlem, an oil-rig construction company, has applied for planning permission for a site at Drumbuie in Wester Ross. This land is held by the National Trust for Scotland and a Trust spokesman has said that it could take £10,000 to fight the application. Mowlem have also applied for a second site at Ullapool and it seems there are more "possible" sites. In view of these facts it will be interesting to see the response of the Secretary of State for Scotland to the request of the Conservation Society through its North Tayside Branch (now responsible for the North Sea Oil issue) that the costs of any group of objectors be recompensed whether successful or not. Another item of news that caused concern was that two officials of the Highlands and Islands Development Board left that body to serve in advisory positions with a private oil-related company.

Mr Craig came to Glasgow in July and in the course of addressing a rally in Glasgow promised that he would wreck the proposed assembly for Northern Ireland "the Inspiration that we derive from you in Scotland will keep us on our course." The comment of The Scotsman on such matters is worth noting "Ireland north and south has been a hindrance to Scotland's own efforts to obtain a measure of self government." Fortunately in other realms other opinions are beginning to be heard. July is the month when across the country gems of philosophy are delivered by august people at graduations but this year part of one such speech was significant — Sir Samuel Curran, Principal and Vice Chancellor of Strathclyde University said, "there has been in many respects singular failure to resolve the problems of nationhood within the United Kingdom."

Iwerzhon

(Who cares? There were 460 men in the Maze Prison, Long Kesh, Northern Ireland, last June. Nine Catholic priests sent a report to Prime Minister Heath, stressing that their plight was desperate. They asked that the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners adopted by the UN be applied to them. Some of these men have been interned without a fair trial for 2 years. They are about to break down mentally. Support the campaign for their release or for tolerable prison conditions!).

Ha C'hwi Zo Chalet?

War-dro 450 den oa e kamp-bac'han Long Kesh e miz Mezheven 1973. War greskin e oa niver. Ken fall eo o stad m'o deus goulennet nav beleg katolik ouzh ar C'Hentan Minister Heath ehan a vac'han tud hep prosez reizh, pe ladaat da dalvout ar reolen-nou degemeret gant ar Broadou Unanet evit ober ouzh prizonidi.

Sanset n'eus ket mui a vac'hadur hep prosez. Ur gomision zo bet lakaet e karg da ober prozeziou buan. Ne ra avat nemet ober van da vout reizh. Eus 600 den bet degaset dirazi n'eus bet lezet nemet 100 pe 120 da vont dieub. Doareoù al lez-varn zo anezho un drevezadur eus al lezenn: tamallou dispis, diskleriadurioù digant flatrierien baet dizanv deillou rinek, testou kuzhet a-drenv ridezioù, bac'hadur hep gouzout evit pegeit. Ar vac'hidi a gred e vez divizet en a-raok peseurt kastiz a vo roet dezho, hag e vezont rediet da vont dirak ar Gomision evit abe-gou a vruderezh. Ne fell ket d'an darn vrasañ anezho kre-taot ar c'hoari-se o c'houlenn harp alvoked.

Ankenius eo bout dalc'het hep ma vije bet prouet e oad kablus. N'heller ket jedin pet devezn, pet mizvezh, a chom ken na vior dieubet. Ankenius eo pa rakner mont dirak barnerien a gaver direizh.

Ar vac'hidi zo dalc'het e 5 kloz. Ouzhpenn 90 e darn anezho. En hini m'en em lazhas Patrick Crawford e derou Mezheven e oa rannet an 90 etre div lochenñ a 20½ m dre 7½m. Gouzout a reer pegenn tenn eo d'ur bern tud bevan ken tost an eil d'ar re all. Ouzhpenn ma vez yen ha gleborek er goañv, tomm ha touforek en hanv. Ha luc'hvanterioù krenn o paran e pep korn. Ha soudarded atav en-dro deo'ch. Ha netra d'ober evit disamman ho spered. A-benn ar fin e tizher ar poent-tarzh.

Gwashan-holl argadoù trumm ar soudarded e-barzh al Pochou. Graet evit spontañ ar vac'hidi. Da 6 eur beure e teuent, evel ma vefe kantadoù anezho paramantet evel evit ur gabaduilh gant fuzuilhoù, bizhier, skoedou, tokarnou gant sellou, o tistagan bommou hudur. Bountet e vez ar vac'hidi e-giz chatal en ul logell all tra ma vez furchet o loch. A-wechoù e vez graet dezho redek etre div renkennad soudarded hag a lop warno gant o bizhier. Pa zistroont e kavont alies o dilhad, lizherioù, traezou distrujet, ar prenestrou torret, ar mogerioù mekaet. Dreistholl an dud yaouank (darn n'o deus nemet 16 vloaz) hag ar re nevez-deut a vez strafuilhet gant ar braouac'h h-se.

Komz a ra ar veleien ivez eus ar skoilhoù a lakaer d'ar gweladennoù: ne vir ket ar pennadurezhioù ar reolennoù.

E seurt plegennoù n'eo ket souezhus e ve un darn vat war-nes koll kalon ha diskiantin. Pet a zo evel P. Crawford, gwelloc'h ganto en em lazhan? Dek den zo en ur stad truezus-meurbet: *Peter Mallon*, bac'het abaoe Eost 1971, torret e javed hag e fri ha gloazet e zaoulagad en ur gabaduilh er c'hamp, en deus tremenet 12 miz en ospital eno: n'hell ket parean; *Liam Hannaway*, 57 vloaz, e kevrenn vilourel an ospital gant gwask-gwad uhel; *Michael Donnelly*, *Gerard MacKerr*, *Patrick MacNally*, *Kevin Hannaway*, *Joseph Clarke*, *Liam Shannon*, kougoulet ha goulennatet en-don e 1971, atav hep prosez, izel o spered; *Terence Magee* ha *Tony Wilkinson*, bet skejet ganto o daouarnzornou, klanv, digalonekaet.

Ret eo harpañ an dud-se. Goulenn ma vint dieubet pe ma vo graet dezho ur prosez reizh. Mirout na vent lakaet divarrek da vevan pa vint laosket er-maez.

Ar pennadurezhioù a zo kablus kement hag an dud-se da vihanan. Breman e klaskont o lakaat da goll o spered. Setu ar gwashan seurt gwaskerezh.

Alan Stivell for a Celtic Music

In the remarkable new generation of Breton singers, Alan Stivell occupies a special position. He is also internationally the best known and has reached the point where he enjoys the appreciation of as many admirers as the most popular singers. He has sung to fully packed halls in Paris (crowds of up to 20,000 on some days for 3 weeks) and other parts of France, in several countries in Western Europe including Ireland and Wales, in North America. To allay fears that success had gone to his head and that he had no time for the people of Brittany, he gave 13 performances in various parts of the country in May and an equal number again in July. Halls in most places being too small, he uses a marquee ("chapiteau").

Alan's aim for many years had been to turn the tide of assimilation and win the Bretons back to their own culture by developing its musical aspects. Some stern critics wonder if money and international fame will not deflect him from this service, while others reflect on the ephemeral nature of popular crazes. In order to give an idea of what Alan Stivell himself has in mind, the following notes were culled from interviews given to "Armor" and "Le Peuple Breton" (a good deal abridged).

"What is most important," he says, "is to convert the Bretons to the Celtic music... Five years ago, they still despised anything to do with Brittany. So, to convert them, I had first to convert the world around. When I was hailed in Paris and other countries, they took me seriously. There was a certain Breton awareness but it needed crystallising around something. Why not music? The lack of self-confidence could not be overcome while our music remained "regionally confined" in its search for "actualisation" (adapting to present-day tastes).

"I am interested in Celtic music. In order to recognise what is Celtic music, to throw it into relief, one has to familiarise oneself with the Irish, the Scottish, the Breton musics, and distinguish what is Celtic in them from what is "saxonic" or "germanic." The world is undergoing profound changes. We can afford to lose certain elements but others are essential and must be preserved. Celtic music must continue to exist. This requires us to keep what is strong and common to the Celtic countries.

Pancelticism is a quite concrete proposition. Music is not its only aspects. A synthesis of all aspects will create a Celtic culture... I had to work gradually to bring the Bretons to accept innovations...

(Armor)

"To get away from the stage-Breton image, I used modern instruments (electric guitar...) People tried to understand instead of sneering. I then chose the harp to express both the will to go back to Celtic sources and the evolution of Breton music (The harp was in use in Brittany when it was culturally independent).

"I had to get acquainted with the history and the art of the Celtic peoples and it was essential to improve my knowledge of Breton... I recognised a trend towards Celtic music in the "rock" or radio music. I decided then to work to insert a new Breton music into the pop and folk current.

"The interest in my music is a passing craze? After the fashion, comes the discovery that the Celtic culture, the Celtic peoples, the Celts as individuals are equal to others. The essential is that this music should have helped the Bretons to recover their dignity. I am trying to reach the whole world with a new music expressing a culturally free, politically autonomous Brittany in which an intelligent use of technology will permit a reduction of working hours...

"I did not sign the Breton Singers' Manifesto (see Carn 2) because it would have been inconsistent with my choice of the Philipps circuit, Olympia, Europe Nr 1 as channels for a breakthrough. Let everyone be honest with himself.

"The two forms of Breton music, one based on texts (Glenmor, Servat, Gweltaz) the other on sound (Stivell, Diaouled ar Menez, Tri Yann) are complementary.

"Usually it is the radio producers who popularise the singers. In my case, it is the people, not only in Brittany but throughout the "Hexagon" who wanted to hear me. First the radio announcers would make sneering remarks about Breton things, but now they are claiming my music as theirs: as "French pop music," "our new music-hall" "the best French group..." (P.B.)

Women interned in Armagh

In mid-June there were six young Irishwomen interned by the British Government in Armagh Jail — being held without charge or trial, not for any crime but because of their political beliefs. Nowhere else in Western Europe would this situation be permitted. The N.I. Civil Rights Association appeals to all concerned to expose this disgraceful situation and protest in any way possible to the London government and to their own about the plight of these young girls. NICRA asks to be informed of any action and also to inform the women internees. You can send messages to any one of the six girls named below at "Armagh Jail, Armagh, Co. Armagh, N. Ireland" or to Miss M. Davidson, NICRA, 2 Marquis St., Belfast BT1 1JJ who will forward them (details concerning the girls available from same address).

Liz McKee, 20, trainee nurse, imprisoned since 31-12-72; Theresa Holland, 18, art student, since 14-2-73; Margaret Shannon, 18, hairdresser, 1-3-73; Ann Walsh, 20, hairdresser, 10-3-73; Marie Delaney, 17, shop assistant, 8-5-73; Angela Nelson, 17, 17-5-73.

There are 1000 political prisoners, men, women, children held in N.I. prisons for political offences, among them 800 men and 6 women held without charge or trial. Demand their immediate release, protest to Prime Minister in London.

All six girls are from the Belfast area, belong to large families, have brothers interned in Long Kesh (or other jails) for political offences. Their families have in some way long been associated with the Republican movement. This may be the reason why they were brutally treated during interrogation and detention. A typical case is that of Margaret Shannon.

Goude bout harzet — da 2.20 beure — e voe goulenatet Margaret e-pad tri devezh, hag e rankas gouzav kunujennou a-zivout he brud a blac'h yaouank D'ar 25 Ebrel e voe degaset dirak al lez-varn kuzh. Graet e vez "prosez" en unan eus al lochoù kamp Long Kesh, kalc'hiet gant orjal-dreïn ha soudarded armet. Ar re damallet a vez douget testeni a-enep dezho gant testou a chom kuzhet outo a-drenv rideozioù. Margaret a yeas kounnar enni o klevout tamallou brizh an "test" hag o lamm war roak, e sachas ar rideoz hag e tiguhas an den: e anaout a reas, ur c'habiten arme postet en he c'harter hag an doa gourdrout e tennfe warni er straed. Ken fuloret e voe ma sailhas-hi warnan, met kerent e lammas soudarded warni, ma voe stejet er-maez ha kannaet ken e vanas semplet, blonset, krabiset, roget he dilhad, ha ret dezhi chom gourvezet meur a zevezh. Abaoe he deus nac'het anavezout al lez-varn ha dont dirazi.

Setu ur plac'h kalonek-meurbet, met pegeit e harzo ouzh an heg? Skrivit dezhi ha d'he c'hamaladezed, evit ma talc'hint start!

* * *

Kembre

San-Skinwel Kembraek. Eman Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg o ren ar stourm evit kaout ur servij skinwel e kembraeg penn-da-benn. Peogwir ez eus anv gant ar BBC da zigerin ur pevare san, e lavar Kembreiz e tlefe bezan en o yezh (pe e saozneg met a-zivout Kembre), evit a sell ouzh o bro. Petra c'hoarvezo avat d'an eurvezhiou a vez roet breman d'ar c'hembraeg er sanioù all? N'oun ket sur hag en e vefe prest tud ar c'h-Cymdeithas d'o aberzhin en eskemm evit ar pevare saniad. Ar Saozon a lakay sur a-walc'h un diviz evelse.

Kembreiz'zo evel ar C'Hel. Jac Williams, hag Aneurin T. Davies a zis-kler bout a-grenn a-enep ur seurt treuzvarc'had. Gwelloc'h e vefe d'o meno kreskin niver an eurvezhiou a vez breman en tri san, hag o lakaat da vareou ma vez kalz tud oc'h arvestin. Ur saniad e kembraeg hepken ne vo nemet un niver bihan a dud o sellout outan. Se a vefe drastus evit adsav ar yezh. Dereout a rafe sur d'ar re a zo a-enep ar c'hembraeg!

Gant pere eman ar gwir?

(Should an all-Welsh TV channel be established at the expense of the time now allocated for Welsh on existing channels?).

Enor da Alun Llwyd. E-touez an enorioù a vez kinniget en Eisteddfod ez eus ur gurunenn-varzh hag ur gador-varzh. Hevlene evit ar wech kentan abaoe 1915 ez eo bet gounezet an daou enor-se gant ur barzh nemetken, Alun Llwyd Roberts, 25 vloaz. Merour ar stal-levriou Awen Meirion eo, e Bala. Lavarout a reas goude al lid e oa ret ober diouzh mennadoù ADFER — prenan douar ha tiez dilezet er rannvroioù ma komzer kembraeg, o feur-min da gembraegerien, ha diwall evelse na gouezhfent e dalc'h Saozon pe saoznegerien. E pelec'h e kavor an arc'hant avat? Kalzig zo bet dastu-met gant ADFER, met eman lanv ar Saozon o treantin ar vro a-bezh. En Enez Von hag en Arvon, etre 15 ha 21% eus an tiez zo anezho annezioù amzer-vak breman.

Abaoe 10 vloaz e pleustr Alun Llwyd ar gwerzaouerezh dre genganez: n'eus den breman e Kembre par dezhan en arz-se. Hep ar c'hembraeg e kav fe didalvez bevan, emezan.

(Alan Llwyd R., a master of alliterate verse, won both the crown and the chair awards for poetry at this year's Eisteddfod).

* * *

Perak kas kannaded da London?

Gwynfor zo bet kannad e Westminster pell a-walc'h evit gouzout pegen diefedus eo d'ur broadelour kembreat komz du-hont eus ezhommou e vro. Setu en breman o lavarout, ma vez savet un Dael Kembre, ne dalvo ket ar boan d'ar Strollad Broadel kemer perzh mui en dilennadegoù da Westminster. N'eo ket bet degemeret-mat ar sonj-se gant an holl Vroadelourien.

Moarvat e kav da Wynfor e vefe gwelloc'h d'ar strollad dispign an ar-c'hant da c'hounit ar muian ma c'hello a seziou en Dael Kembre, ha kadarnaat ar gounid-se en ur stourm da efedusaat an Dael Padal, en ur pennad-blein eus ar Welsh Nation (10-8-73) e kaver abeg en e veno. Emrenerezh klok, a lavarar, ne zeuy ket en un taol. Keit ha ma vo renet un darn bouezus eus aferioù Kembre gant Westminster, e tleo dileuridi eus Kembre mont di d'o breutaat. Ma chom da skouer en emell eus an Arc'hanterezh, an Darempredou-Diavez, an Emzifenn gant gouarnamant London, a rankor disklerian sellboent Kembre pa vo breutaet an aferioù-se e Kambr ar Gumun. Arbat d'ar vroadelourien bezan ezvezant.

(At the Plaid Cymru Summer School held at Penrhynddudraeth on August 4-5, Gwynfor Evans suggested that in the event of a Welsh Assembly being set up, the Party should no longer fight elections to Westminster).

* * *

Structures of Self-government in Urban and rural areas: this was the theme of a conference to be held in Athlone, on October 6-7, by the Association for the Advancement of Self-government. There were reports and discussions of the ways and approaches being used by the people of Ireland to tackle the creation of new structures in Dublin, the Gaeltacht, Connacht, Belfast and Derry.

* * *

Inter-Celtic Solidarity. 60 children from Northern Ireland spent a month holiday with Breton families thanks to the Secours Populaire Inter-Celtique. In acknowledgement, a Derry school headmaster is prepared to find free accommodation next summer for Bretons who would like to learn Irish in the Donegal Gaeltacht. (It would be advisable to learn a certain amount from books and tapes/records before going). Write to the Celtic League.

Low Impact Technology

In the last decade there has been realisation in both industrial 'donor' nations, and in the 'recipient' developing nations that transferring whole blocks of technology can warp economies, bring social disruption, and can even lead to the spread of disease. Often western-trained elites welcome uneconomic but 'modern' or 'scientific' projects on a purely symbolic basis. For example the Aswan and Mekong dam projects, to bring large hydropower installations to parts of rural societies, have in the case of Aswan brought the spread of schistosomiasis, increased erosion, and the break-up of villages. Cheap electricity for non-existent industries is little use to people who need land for growing food.

One easily-recognised basic fault of prestige, high technology is *scale*. Big cities, big dams, big clearance of forests — all bring a host of human and environmental problems, without really improving life very much. Therefore intermediate-scale technology, that is also often Victorian European, has easily emerged. But more radical, and more ecologically-based technologies, the study and development field of many ecology groups, communards, and drop-out scientists, is not a collection of Victorian hand-me-downs.

Alternative, eco, or bio-technology — as this newer technology is often called — sets out consciously to devise and rediscover methods of supporting man using local and renewable resources, and without damaging the environment.

Until recent decades the usual idea of progress was industrial growth. This required cities, and a plentiful supply of fuels and minerals. By being able to pay a little for imported fuels, foods and minerals — and by charging high prices for manufactured goods, the industrial nations can become wealthy. With increasing instability, shortage of supplies, and multiplying demand the bargaining power is now returning fast towards the basic resource suppliers. The Middle East oil-politics story is a direct result of this.

Celtic nations, that are economically-bound to the big European nations, are in some ways in a similar situation to the emerging resource-supply powers. A Celtic-Scandinavian trade or power group would today be in a very strong political situation through self-sufficiency in, and control of fuels, food and minerals. Linked to alternative technologies Celtic nations could very well feed, house and support themselves with little damage to the basic natural environment.

As we know, industrialisation has been little help to Celtic natural environments. Resources for the big cities of the Sawsons — timber, iron coal, slate and food — have meant stripped forests, dead spoil tips, poisoned land and water for the Celt. In the increasing developed-underdeveloped warfare that is now taking place it is significant that many guerilla and national liberation movements stress the village, and traditional language and culture, in their fight against being overwhelmed. It is the knowledge and certainty of being *right* to fight for these that has helped the Vietcong, the Cuban revolutionaries, and the Chinese to win against all odds.

For dominated and exploited groups ('assimilated') the crisis is different — how to break out from inside the enemy's belly. Technologies that create independence from central grids, and national networks, and do not damage the continuing support of nature, are obviously aids in the process. Celts who aid European resource imperialism must be aware of the results of what they are helping. But finally, self-sufficiency and social organisation that helps the satisfaction of basic needs, will be the winners.

Power pollutes, as well as corrupts. Massive amounts of energy are basic to high technology industry and the society that feeds off it. Coal and oil power stations are guarantees of sulphur dioxide and sulphur acids pollution, ash plumes in the sky, and thermal pollution of rivers (stenothermal fish such as salmon and trout are first to go). Nuclear power poses almost obscene risks. One typical reactor will contain 200 tons of highly-fissile material, including plutonium. This apart from being a deadly chemical and radioactive agent, has a half-life of 23,000 years. The Hiroshima bomb used only 2kg of plutonium! The Irish sea and western continental shelf are favourite dumps for English radioactive wastes. On land in

many Celtic areas there are dumps of radioactive waste that ideally should be guarded for 500 years or more. This is for societies that are exploding with violence, despair, and uncontrolled growth!

To be independent of such energy sources is a start point for alternative technology. The most basic energy source is the sun. Even in Scotland there is sufficient solar energy to heat domestic water for 3-5 months a year. With buildings there are a host of ways to use solar energy, and the traditional Celtic stone and slate cottage did this to some extent. This was by facing the building south to southwest, cladding with slate, and reducing exposure to the N and NE. This increased solar gain and reduced heat losses. Heat from the slate would also be slowly radiated into living rooms in the evenings. A Welshman, E. Morgan, was the architect of Wallasey School, Cheshire — one of the few buildings that have been consciously-designed to maximise the use of solar energy.

Solar energy can also be linked with use of the heat pump. The Stirling cycle engine (invented by Scots in 1816) makes a very efficient, simple heat pump. This can use one kilowatt-hour of energy to drive the unit to give six kwh of useful heating. Water or windpower can drive such units, offering extremely efficient, and almost completely non-polluting heating from localised and renewable energy sources. Virtually every waterwheel that existed in the past — and there were thousands in Celtic nations — could drive heat pumps and dynamos to give cheap and efficient heating and electricity for many thousands of people.

Celtic nations are also well-served with windpower. In the past there was surprisingly little use of it, but this need not prevent us today from using efficient and simple windmachines for thousands of homes. Using recently-developed friction-heating equipment (based on the Scot, Callandar's principle) the wind can be directly translated to heat. Because a building's heat losses increase with wind speed cubed — and so too does the wind's power — it is possible to see near-cybernetic house heating systems, that do not need electronic sensing equipment, or clumsy and inefficient boilers to back them up.

Natural anaerobic bacteria in vegetation and animal waste can give very useful amounts of methane gas (almost identical of soon-to-be-exhausted North Sea gas). After gas-stripping the sludge can be aerobically-treated to give a rich, hygienic fertiliser. This is a real solution to the drab, routine pollution of Celtic rivers and estuaries. It would also reduce the need both to pay for fuel energy, and to pay for imports of polluting chemical fertilisers. In building, animal husbandry, food production and in other areas there are also many items rediscovered, new, and borrowed from non-western culture that can help us be sufficient without damage to the basic natural environment.

Of course there are no simple technological solutions to cultural and social problems. Celtic peoples, as with other 'assimilated' and colonised peoples can use their religions, languages, and village social organisation to help them recapture their integrity and independence. Alternative technologies — ones that *help* this necessary process — are urgently needed to save more of the biosphere from destruction in the longer goal of living with other living things.

By A. McK.

Note to the article on "Women in Armagh Jail":

In addition to the 8 girls named, there are four other Republican women in jail in Armagh, one of whom, Mrs Brenda Cassin, is the mother of two very young children. We have not yet got the names of the three others.



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Name

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