

# càrn

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## A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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# ALBA

## 1980 AGUS A LEITHID SIN

Dealbh-chluich bheag agus trì neach innte; Seanair aosda liath, Domhnall Iain 'na bhalachan òg agus a mhàthair - Mamaidh.

Domhnall Iain: A sheanair, de mu dheighinn 1980? Chuala mi aig an sgoil an diugh gun robh 1980 'na fìor dhroch bhliadhna.

Seanair: Tha e fàs anmoch agus bithidh do mhàthair a' tighinn a steach a dh'aithghearr agus ise a' foighneachd carson nach eil thu a' dol 'nad laighe fhathast.

Domhnall Iain: Tha Mamaidh a' nighe nan soithichean an dràsda. Chuala mi iad a' gliogadaich 'sa chidsin.

Seanair: (agus esan a' leughadh am paipeir-naidheachd "An t-Albannach") Well bha difir mòr ann eadar 1980 agus an latha an diugh.

Domhnall Iain: Bha ar ban-agoilear, Màiri Dhonn 'gar teagaisg na h-Eachdraidh aig an sgoil an diugh agus thuirt i gun robh a' Bheurla a' gabhail lamh an uachdar thairis air a' chànan againn anns gach àite feadh na h-Albainn, agus air T.V., radio agus 'sna paipearan-naidheachd aig an am sin.

Seanair: Well, cha robh ach criomag bheag bheag de Ghàidhlig anns "An Albannaich" agus sin a h-uile Di-Sathurna a mhàin. Cha robh trì amraichean (channels) T.V. uile gu leir 'sa Ghàidhlig mar a tha againn a nis. Cha robh ach beagan Ghàidhlig air radio agus sin air V.H.F. a mhàin.

Domhnall Iain: De mu dheighinn na paipearan-naidheachd eile mar "An Tosgair Glaschu", "A' Mhàla Lathail", "An Teachdaire DunDè", "Clò agus Paipeir-Naidheachd Obair-dheatain" agus "Gairm". Tha iad 'sa Ghàidhlig uile gu leir an diugh ach an robh iad uile gu leir 'sa Bheurla ann an 1980?

Seanair: Cha robh. Bha "Gairm" 'sa Ghàidhlig a mhàin ach bha na paipearan-naidheachd eile 'sa Bheurla aig an am sin. An diugh tha a h-uile sgoil, colaiste agus oilthigh feadh na h-Albainn a' cleachdadh na Gàidhlig a mhàin mar canain teagaisg. Bha iad a' cleachdadh na Gàidhlig a mhàin mar canain teagaisg. Bha iad a' cleachdadh na Beurla ann an 1980.

Domhnall Iain: Bithidh feadhainn ag ionnsachadh na Beurla, feadhainn eile canain Cheilteach eile, no an Fhraingeis no canain eile 'san Ard Sgoil. Ionnsaichidh mise canain air choireigin nuair a bhios mise dusan bliadhna a dh'aois agus mise 'san Ard Sgoil, a sheanair.

Seanair: A nis, taking do Dhia, teagaisgidh iad thusa a' chanain sin trid na Gàidhlig agus a h-uile cuspair eile trid na Gàidhlig a mhàin agus mar sin anns gach colaiste agus oilthigh feadh na h-Albainn gu leir cuideachd.

Domhnall Iain: Nach robh e daonnan mar sin, a sheanair?

Seanair: Cha robh idir, nuair a bha mise 'nam bhalachan òg theagaisg iad a h-uile cuspair trid na Beurla anns gach àite ann an Albainn.

Dh'fhosgail an dorus. Thàinig Mamaidh a steach agus dhà cupain 'na lamhan.

Mamaidh: Seo agad do chò-cò, a Dhomhnall-Iain. Seo agaibh bhur cupan, cuideachd, a Phapaidh. Greis

ort, a Dhomhnall-Iain. Bithidh thusa a' dol 'nad laighe a dh'aithghearr.

Domhnall Iain: Ach, a Mhamaidh, tha seanair ag innseadh dhomh na h-Eachdraidh ---- 1980 agus a leithid sin.

Mamaidh: Mata, na bi ro anmoch, tillidh mise.

Domhnall Iain: Moran taing, a Mhamaidh, ni bi eagal oirbh; cha bhi mi anmoch.

## Chaidh Mamaidh a mach

Domhnall Iain: A sheanair, thuirt ar ban-sgoilear, Màiri Dhonn, gun robh atharrachadh mòr an deidh 1980 --- chaidh a h-uile cail am feobhas an deidh sin.

Seanair: Chan eile sin fìor, idir, idir. Mharbh Magaidh Chruaidh, a bha 'na Priomhair Shasunnaich an sin, an t-Achd Pharlamaid a chuireadh ar Coimhthional Albannach air chois ann an 1979. Ach rinn na h-Albannaich strìth uamhasach mòr mòr agus, mu dheireadh, lìon sinn an Ard Sgoil air Cnoc Calltunn, Dun Eideann leis a' Choimhthional Albannach againn. Cha robh cail a' dol am feobhas gus an robh stiuradh na rìoghachd Albannaich leis na Gaidheil agus luchd-ionnsachaidh na Gàidhlig agus na daoine a bha cairdeil do'n chànan Albannach. Chuir sinn an céill gum biodh a' Ghàidhlig an aon chànan ann an riaghaltas na h-Albainn, anns a' Choimhthional Albannach agus anns an t-seirbhis shìobhalta feadh na dùtha gu leir. Ach tha fios agad, chuala thu sin aig an sgoil.

Domhnall Iain: Ach tha "project" agam ri dheanamh d'am b'ainm "Aiseirigh na Seann Chànain Albannach" air son na sgoile.

Seanair: O hò, agus bha mise a' smaoineachadh gun robh thusa ag eisdeachd rium bho'n a tha mòran ghaoil agad dhomhsa. Ach chuala mi, a nis, gum bheil "project" agad air son na sgoile. An leabhar eachdraidh no an seanair agad a tha annamsa?

Domhnall Iain: A sheanair, tha fios agaibh gum bheil gaol mòr mòr agam oirbh. Ach, tha "project" agam aig an aon am:

Leig am bodach air gun robh e bronnach ach, mu dheireadh, rinn e gaire mòr mòr, leis a sin thàinig Mamaidh a steach do'n t-seòmair.

Mamaidh: Athar, nach eil fios agaibh gum bheil e ro anmoch air son Domhnall Iain? Feumaidh am balachan dol 'na laighe, an ceartuair.

Seanair: Tha mi lan chinnteach gum bheil thu ceart. Chaidh thusa 'nad laighe aig an aon am cuideachd, nuair a bha thusa 'nad nighean òg.

Domhnall Iain: Ach, a sheanair, de mu dheighinn na pòlas, na fìr lagha, na ministearan agus na sagartan, an luchd teagaisg agus na daoine 'sna bùthan? An do dh'ionnsaich iad a' Ghàidhlig an deidh sin?

Seanair: Dh'ionnsaich, agus tha iad 'ga cleachdadh gus an latha an diugh, o m'òch gu dubh, mar a tha fios agad. A nis, a bhalaich, pòg do Mhamaidh agus pòg mise. Tha e ro anmoch cheana. Feumaidh tu dol 'na do laighe, mar a thuirt do Mhamaidh. Oidhche mhath leat, a ghaoil.

Gilleasbuig Mac Muirich.

This is a short play on "1980 and all that" lightheartedly predicting the shape of things to come.

## TOWARDS A REDEFINITION OF GAIDHLIG LEARNERS

The writer of the article before you is a Lowland Scot (Gallda) who has decided to learn Gàidhlig as part of his national heritage. This came about because he began to realise that even in the Lowlands of Scotland almost 90% of placenames and personal names are from the Gàidhlig.

It is all too common for one Scot to say to another on the first deciding to learn Gàidhlig 'Och that is just a teuchtar language'. The speaker does not realise that he has used a Gàidhlig word in the sentence he has just said, and has given himself away as being an unwitting user of one of the thousands of words in Scottish English which derive from the Gàidhlig.

For this reason I feel that it is time that the Highland/Lowland gap in Scotland was exposed for the sham it is, one having been fostered by generations of Anglo decision makers, whose spiritual homes were the squares of London, W1.

In the deepest recesses of our folk-memory we can ALL remember some Gàidhlig. That is why it is so easy for Scots to learn the language. For this reason I feel that we who have decided to re-learn our native tongue should be designated 're-native speakers'. In many ways it is arguable that it is we who have maintained the Gàidhlig tradition in Scotland. Whilst the Highlands were going through the trauma of strict Reformation we in the Lowlands stuck to the old ways. Much of our language is pure Gàidhlig whereas that of Lewis and the Western Isles contains much Norse. The Lowland music is a fun-loving music such as was current also in the Highlands before the Reformation only to be replaced by modern metrical psalms and slow tunes which do not belong to the folk-tradition in the purest sense.

Tha mi airson canan dheanamh a'beotha anns an Alba uile agus thigidh an latha agus bith e ann. Neart, ceol agusista. Tri fhacail a tha cudthromaiche.

Any other re-native speakers wishing to meet at intervals should get in touch with me at the address below. Tha mi fìor-Gaidheal mar an robh na Gaidhealan anns an Alba saor. Bas ri A 'Shasuinn am maireach. Remember that it is the Beurla that is the foreign language at-us.

Maol-Chalum MacCeannTois

Seoladh (an address agam): 'Nuadh Alba'  
8 Market Road North  
Inverness (Jonar Nis)  
Scotland. (Alba)

## WHAT'S ALL THIS ABOUT THE 79 GROUP?

Too many SNP members believe that the terms "Left" and "Right" are irrelevant to Scotland - just because the Labour and Tory parties are irrelevant. But "Left" and "Right" mean something to Scotland's voters; the 1979 Election proved that! Voters saw the SNP as irrelevant because they didn't know which side we were on when the chips were down.

The 79 group consists of nationalists who seek to strengthen the SNP in its efforts to attain independence for Scotland by winning the trust of working class voters. The Group's membership includes a range of opinions but we all openly declare we are on the left of the political spectrum.

79 Group members want independence just as much

as anyone else in the SNP but we do care about the kind of independent Scotland we will have. We believe that wealth and power must be more fairly distributed in Scottish society; we oppose privilege, in education and health for example. We believe that most SNP members share these views and that these attitudes put the SNP as a whole firmly on the left of the political debate.

Over half Scotland's voters still support the Labour Party in spite of all the betrayals and the sell-outs to expediency. Our successes so far in the ongoing struggle for independence, in parliamentary and local by-elections and in the general elections of 1974, have occurred when many of Labour's traditional supporters have given us the chance to show what we can do. But we haven't won their lasting support because we haven't won their trust. They are not at all sure which side of the argument we are on when it comes to the unavoidable issues of power, wealth and privilege.

We recognise that the SNP is a broad coalition of points of view sharing a common aim of independence and a common commitment to use the democratic process. The existence of the 79 Group as a public expression of a key element in that coalition has already won renewed respect for the SNP from quarters where scepticism has been more evident in recent years.

The SNP simply must win the support of many Scots who have opposed us, or ignored us, in the past. The 79 Group believes that it has a vital part to play in widening the appeal of the SNP to Scotland's voters. If you share our view, we ask you to give the 79 Group your active support.

The Secretary of the 79 Group is Roseanna Cunningham,  
1 Bruntsfield Gardens, Edinburgh.

## THE JAMES WILSON RALLY, STRATHAVEN

About 100 people gathered on May 17th, a hot summer day, in the town of Strathaven to honour James Wilson the weaver who was the last person to be hung and then beheaded by the British army in Scotland in September 1820. The march was led by the Scottish Martyrs Flute band and a standard bearer. Speakers included Sean Murphy from the 1820 Society, a Sinn Féin representative, Síol nan gaidheal, a speaker from republican groups and Duncan Jones of the Scottish Assembly Committee.

The demonstration was organized by the Scottish Martyrs' Committee. Lenai MacRaghnaill spoke from the S.S.R.L. - Scottish Socialist Republican League.

Every speaker supported a Scottish Republican government movement, the demonstration was a great success for Scottish home rule and unity.

## THE 1820 INSURRECTION IN SCOTLAND

### The Reformers

The success of the French Revolution struck fear into the hearts of the upper class and gave an added impetus to the existing reform movement. The passing of the Corn Law in 1791, which gave bounties to corn exporters and which imposed heavy duties on importers, the proclamation against seditious writings, and the repeal of the Test Act, also combined to fuel the flame of revolt. Mobs took to the streets in many areas, in Edinburgh rioters stoned the Dragoons and threw dead cats at the city guard, in Portsoy people celebrating the

anniversary of the French Revolution fired the town cannon, and at Lanark the provost was shot at and his orchard wrecked. After the failed harvest of 1792, which caused a great famine in the industrial districts, the Friends of the People Societies were formed.

### The Friends of the People

Although led in the main by people from a middle class background, the Friends of the People Societies were instrumental in building up working class support for the reform movement and in organising agitation against the government. The Friends of the people Societies were violently suppressed by the authorities. Thomas Muir (probably the first Scottish Republican of any great significance and the main organiser of the Friends of the People Societies) was, after a rigged trial, sentenced to fourteen years transportation to Botany Bay. William Skirving, and Margarot suffered the same fate, and many others either received lesser sentences or fled the country and were outlawed. But, although the Friends of the People Societies were completely destroyed, the general sense of outrage which the harsh treatment suffered by those arrested created in the working class led to a greater awareness of the real nature of the class struggle which existed in that early capitalist environment.

### The United Scotsmen

In 1797, shortly after the destruction of the Friends of the People Societies, new, secret societies, called United Scotsmen were formed. They were run on similar lines to the 'United Irishmen', in that branches were restricted to a maximum of sixteen members, and all business was conducted in the utmost secrecy, which remembering the fate of people like Thomas Muir would seem to have been very wise. A succession of bad harvests led to a great increase in the numbers joining the United Scotsmen, who, believing that the time for an open revolt was near, were actively engaged in preparing for it. A lack of strong leadership is blamed for the failure of the Societies to take full advantage of subsequent events, for example the extensive rioting which followed the passing of the 1797 Militia Act, and their campaign, such as it was, was reduced to a few isolated events.

Despite the very strong emphasis placed on internal security, the leadership of the Societies was infiltrated by government agents. But, although most of the leaders were arrested, this security and secrecy did prevent the authorities from identifying more than a handful of ordinary members.

So, once again the authorities had succeeded in preventing a popular revolt in Scotland, but, both of these organisations helped to shape the nature of future events by politicising the working class and in effect giving birth to the modern class struggle.

## THE INSURRECTION

### The Years of Rebellion

The whole of the British Isles was, in the early years of the nineteenth century and the later part of the eighteenth gripped by a revolutionary fervour of an almost unequalled magnitude. The passion of the working class had been increased not just by the deplorable conditions which existed at home, but also by the recent successes of the French revolution.

### The Scottish Dimension

In Scotland, the situation began to come to a head in 1819 when news of the Peterloo massacre at Manchester began to filter north. This news, combined with already high unemployment (especially in the weaving trade), repressive laws aimed at preventing popular meetings, widespread hunger, and the passing of the corn laws, served to create in the working class of Scotland an intense hatred of the government and the ruling class (which at that time were usually one and the same) which threatened at any moment to break out into open rebellion.

### Demands For Change

Great reform demonstrations and rallies were held all over the country, for example at Clayknowes in Glasgow where there were 30,000 present, and at Airdrie where 6,000 attended. Pamphlets and news sheets began to appear - 'Wooler's Gazette' 'The Black Dwarf', and 'The Spirit of the Union' - which for the first time gave the working people an outlet for their grievances.

### The Authorities Strike Back

Of course, all of this agitation and unrest did not go on for long without the direct intervention of the authorities. News sheet editors and venders were imprisoned, Neilston musicians were arrested for playing 'Scots Wha Hae' without prior permission, and many individuals were tried for making seditious speeches. In particular one George Kinloch of Kinloch was charged with telling a mob at Dundee that they should 'hold out for annual parliaments, Universal suffrage, and voting by ballot'.

The government did not however try to suppress the radical movement there and then. Spies and agents provocateurs were recruited. Their task was to infiltrate the movement and amongst other things, to encourage the taking of oaths and the participation in other treasonable activities in order that the authorities would later have as many victims for the scaffold as possible.

The decisive act carried out by these spies, or so it is widely believed, was the posting of the declaration, which almost immediately brought the industry of the west coast to a halt and had large bodies of radicals drilling openly on the streets, carrying newly forged pikes.

From the moment the fate of what could have been a Scottish working class revolution was consigned to so much dust.

### After the Posting of the Declaration

The government agents, amongst them the infamous Alexander Richmond, were now able to manoeuvre individual groups of radicals into predetermined confrontations with the army.

At Bonnymuir a group of radicals, numbering about fifty and led by Hardie and Baird, was cut to ribbons by the 10th Hussars. While at Strathaven, government agents had succeeded in persuading a group of radicals that they should march to Cathkin Braes (near the present day Hampden park) where they were to join up with a large radical army. Proudly they marched, at their head a banner proclaiming "STRATHAVEN, LIBERTY OR DEATH". All night



they sat atop the braes, in vain, for no great radical army was to appear and in the morning they split up and made their separate ways back to Strathaven.

### James Wilson

One of those who marched to Cathkin was James Wilson, a 63 year old hosier. A class leader of the Strathaven Radical Union, James Wilson had been an early member of the Friends of the People, which he joined in 1792. When consulted as to whether the Strathaven contingent should join the radical army at Cathkin Braes he is reported to have replied:

"I am glad to hear that my countrymen are resolved to act like men. We are seeking nothing but the rights of our forefathers - Liberty is not worth having if it is not worth fighting for".

The men then prepared themselves for the expedition, Wilson himself forging a number of pikes while others took part in arms raids on local houses, such as that on the home of one William Semple of Overton. He was the head of a notorious local Tory family who had boasted that "All the radicals in Avondale would not take their guns". Needless to say the radicals left the scene with their prizes.

The next morning they set off on their fruitless march to Cathkin Braes, Wilson carrying a banner which bore the legend "SCOTLAND FREE OR A DESART! STRATHAVEN UNION". On his return to Strathaven, Wilson was arrested and charged, amongst other things, with 'imagining the death of the King'. After a rigged trial he was hanged in the jail square at Glasgow and buried in the paupers' burial ground at the Cathedral.

This then should have been the end of James Wilson in our history, but no, that same evening in September 1820 his daughter and his niece dug up his remains and carried them back to Strathaven where they laid him to rest.

THE 1820 INSURRECTION IS JUST ONE OF THE MANY ASPECTS OF SCOTTISH WORKING CLASS HISTORY WHICH, IF NOT SUPPRESSED, ARE SHALL WE SAY ACCIDENTALLY LEFT OUT OF THE HISTORY BOOKS WHICH ARE THRUST UPON OUR NATION..... WHY!

(The above is taken from a pamphlet by the Scottish Martyrs Committee)

### SCOTTISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE

The Scottish Republican Socialist League stands for the establishment of a Scottish Socialist Republic as part of an eventual world socialist system, which we consider to be the logical application of scientific socialism to Scottish conditions. The SRS� stands for the unconditional defence of the interests of the working class of all oppressed groups, and for the complete independence of Scotland from English and American imperialist economic interests and their Scottish collaborators. The SRS� is open to anyone who accepts its constitution and is prepared to play an active part in helping us to secure our aims. [Address: c/o Socialist Scotland, Box 5, First of May, 43 Condlemaker Row, Edinburgh.]

## BREIZH

### HAG E RANKO GWYNFOR EVANS YUNIN

Ar c'hembraeg eo ar yezh keltiek he deus gallet ar gwellañ derc'hel krog er bed a-vremañ. Klevet e vez stank e straedoù kerioù evel Caernarfon hag Y Bala ha gouestlet e vez dezhi kalz muioc'h a amzer er Skin-gomz hag er Skinwel eget na vez zoken d'an iwerzhoneg. Koulskoude n'eo ket o kenveriañ gant ar yezhoù keltiek all e c'heller barn hag en a spir an amzer a vez roet d'ar c'hembraeg er servijoù-se. Lodenn ar yezhoù keltiek all zo ur merk eus an dispriz a vager e-kenñver ar re a gomz anezho. Evit ar c'hembraeg e c'hellfed kredin ez eo mennat d'e harpañ da zreistvevañ.

Gwelet o deus Kembreig an amzer roet d'ar skingasadurioù e saozneg o vont war greskiñ hep ma kemmfe an hini gouestlet d'o o yezh. Anat eo dezho pegen galloudus eo deut ar Skinwel da vout e buhez kement tiegezh. Kredin a reont, da heul Cymdeithas yr Iaith, e rankont kaout er ganol gouestlet penn-da-benn da brogrammoù e kembraeg pe a vint linvet gant an doareoù saoz. E derou miz Mae 1979 e oa korl lavaret an holl gostezennoù ha kevredigezhioù a-du gant ar menoz-se. Prometin a reas ar Virourien neuze e rofent ar Bedervet Kanol BBC d'ar c'hembraeg e Kembre. Anv a oa eus 25 eurvezh ar sizhun. Votet e voe 18 milion lur sterling evit ar sternañ hag an ardivinkoù a vefe ezhomm anezho.

Distroet eo ar Virourien war o ger avat. E miz gwengalo warlene e voe kemennet gant W. Whitelaw, unan eus pennoù bras ar gouarnamant, e vefe rannet ar programmoù kembraek etre BBC 2 ha HTV 2, da vareoù ma ne vez ket kalz tud oc'h arvestiñ, e-touez programmoù e saozneg. Ur gilañenn vras evit Kembre. Moarvat e sonje kenseurted Whitelaw e oa bet faezhet ar vroadelourien er referendom hag e oa ar bobl ken diseblant ma c'hellent hardizh disonjal o fromesa.

N'en doa talvezet netra neuze da gantadoù a dud mont d'an toull-bac'h e-pad an dek vloaz tremenet? Hag e ranke Kembreiz plañ dirak diviz ur strollad ha n'en deus bet biskoazh ur muianiver a voterien a-du gantañ e Kembre? Lezel ar Saozon eta da ober ar pezh a garont gant ar vro - mañ?

Setu Gwynfor Evans, feal d'e gefridi a rener broadel, oc'h embann e krogfe d'ober yun d'ar 6 a viz Here ma ne vije ket divizet gant gouarnamant London seveniñ o fromesa a -benn neuze. Kenderc'hel a rafe ken na belgfent d'hen ober! Fellout a rae dezhañ diskouez e oa ur C'hembread den d'e c'her.

1500 den bennak zo bremañ o nac'hañ paeañ o zailhoù-skinwel e Kembre. Ma teufe Gwynfor da vervel diwar yunin e vefe reuz. Meur a hini a vefe prest da bleustrin an hentennoù - dre - heg. Gwynfor zo ur peoc'hour. Atav en deus prezeget a - enep an hentennoù-se. Sonjal a ra e tegasfe e emaberzh pobl kembre da brederiañ donoc'h diwar-benn talvoudegezh he yezh hag he broadelezh ha neuze da stourm a-zevri. Gouzout a ra peseurt mekanik eo ar Stad ha penaos e seblant bout kaset en-dro gant nerzhioù dibersonel. Kredin a ra koulskoude ez eo dre nerzh-kalon ha youl an hiniennoù ez eo chomet kembre bev betek-hen hag e c'hell ar vroarourien a-vremañ trec'hin d'ar bolitikerien ha d'ar verourien a zo en em lakaet e servij ar mekanik. El

levrig embannet gant Plaid Cymru, "Byw neu Farw", e tiskler Gwynfor perak en deus graet e venoz yunif: un disklêriadur a feiz e galloud an den e-kenver an ensavadurioù.

Arouezioù zo ez eo bet lakaet Whitelaw nec'het gant e zaeadenn. Salv na vo ket ret da Wynfor Evans kas e venoz da benn! Goulenn a reomp ouzh hol lennerien skrivañ da William Whitelaw, Minister, Westminster, London, o tiskleriañ e harpont Gw. Evans hag e c'houlenn. Ret e vefe ouzhpenn-se lakaat kevredigezhioù a bep seurt d'ober an dra-se ivez, skrivañ lizherioù d'ar c'helaouennoù da dennan evezh...

(Gwynfor Evans, outgoing president of Plaid Cymru, has pledged that he will start fasting on October 6th and will continue this action until the Tory government in London honours its pre-election promise, now broken, to make of the BBC Fourth Television Channel in Wales a service in the Welsh language. Should this issue not yet be solved by the time you read this, we urge you to write immediately to Mr. William Whitelaw, M.P., Minister, Westminster, London, expressing solidarity with Gwynfor Evans, also to draw as much attention as possible to the matter in your area, by writing to the press and asking people to join in this campaign of solidarity. Let us assist the Welsh leader in his brave stand!)

A. Heusaff.

## MAEN ER POULL

Gant diegi e ran keklev d'ar pezh o deus kontet din daou dest dizalc'h hag a oa o kemer perzh en ur gouel, aozet gant ur genvreuriezh lennegel, en enor da yezh ha sevenadur ur vro geltiek. Bez'e da eno evel boas dileuridi a-berzh kevredigezhioù pe aozadurioù heñvel eus ar broioù keltiek all. Int barrek war o yezhoù broadel ha gouest dre o emzalc'h hag o foell da ober enor d'o broicu.

Ne rebechan ouzh den ebet ma ne vez ket gouest da gomz ar yezh-mañ-yezh met evit seveniñ kargoù zo e tere d'ar c'hargad gouzout brezhoneg. An testoù a ran dave dezho zo mignoned da Vreizh ha n'eo ket evit ar blijadur da abegañ e tisklerient din o doa kavet poanius gwelout ne oa ket deut un den ampartoc'h eus Breizh. Mar deo gwir ez eo talvoudus d'hor bro kaout harp war an dachenn etrevroadel e tleomp bezañ figus en dibab a reer eus ar re a dle komz en hec'h anv. Ezhomm hon eus muioc'h marteze eget nep bro geltiek all da deurel evezh ouzh ar skeudenn a. roomp eus hon hini en diavaezvro.

Ar gevredigezh ma oa deut hon den evel dileuriad eus he ferzh a zo enni sur a-walc'h izili barrek war hor yezh hag an neuzioù all eus hor sevenadur. Dre vras ne gav ket koulskoude d'ar re a stourm a-zevri evit ar brezhoneg e talvez ar boan mont e-barzh. Fae a reont warni. Hag e lavarint moarvat ne ra forzh peseurt dileuriad a vezo dellezet. 'M eus aon evelato a pego darn eus ar brud-se ouzh anv Breizh.

Un nebeut bloavezhioù 'zo em boa goulennet e Bodadeg-Vloaz Kevre ar Gouezeleg (Conradh na Gaeilge) perak ne vez ket pedet emsaj ar brezhoneg da gas dileuridi da Ouel an Oireachtas, gouel bras ar sevenadur iwerzhonat aozet gant ar c'n-Conradh ha dalc'het bep bloaz e miz Here. Un eskemm a zileuridi a vez etre an Oireachtas, ar Mod skosat hag an Eisteddfod. Respontet e voe din da gentañ gant ur vaouez hag a aoz ahendall emvodoù etrekeltiek a vefe ret komz saozneg pe c'halle

ouzh an dileuridi vreizhat -- un digarez fall peogwir e vez peurvuiañ an dileuridi gembreat pe skosat divarrek da iwerzhoneg wez. Sekretour an Oireachtas a lavaras avat e oa diaes gouzout peseurt kevredigezh vreizhat pediñ, peogwir ez eus kement anezho ha n'en em glevont ket. D'ar mare-se ne oa metra.

Ne oa netra heñvel ouzh an Oireachtas e Breizh, ne oad ket kroget mat c'hoazh gant Gouel ar Brezhoneg. Ne zeu ket na tost kement a dud da Ouel an Oireachtas ha ma teu d'an Eisteddfod, met ne vez klevet eno koulz lavaret ger saozneg ebet. Daoust ma talc'h e aozerien un tammig re strizh d'an doareoù hengounel e talvezfe ar boan d'ar re a ra war-dro Gouel ar Brezhoneg kinnig sevel darempredoù furmel etrezo. Ur gudenn a zispign a vefe moarvat. Klevet em eus ne fell ket da aozerien Gouel ar Brezhoneg drevezañ an Eisteddfod hag a denn betek re d'un diskouezadeg kenwerzhel. Ne c'hellor ket ober ar rebech-se d'an Oireachtas. Bezañ re a-gostez eus ar vuhez foran a rebechfed kentoc'h dezhañ.

A.H.

(If Brittany is to be represented at festivals of the cultures of the other Celtic countries, it is essential that the organisations responsible should delegate their ablest members for that purpose. There is an exchange of delegations between the Oireachtas (Ireland), the Mod (Scotland) and the Eisteddfod (Wales). Now that Gouel ar Brezhoneg appears to be well established, would it not be appropriate to include Brittany in that arrangement? )



Thanks to a share in Cultural Charter credits, this office was opened in MORLAIX by AR FALZ (Association of socialist, lay-school teachers campaigning for the recognition of Breton). They can now employ a full-time secretary. by courtesy of AR FALZ.

## GOUEL ar BREZHONEG / Breton Language Festival, Plabenneg 14-18 May 1980

For the past 4 or 5 years a festival has been organised in May to honour the Breton language. This year from May 14 to 18 inclusive it was the Leon Region's turn to harbour it. A few years ago it was already held in this area, in Kastell-Paol. This time however, it was held in Plabenneg, a small town not far from Brest.

The first item on the programme, on Wednesday 14, was a "beilhadeg" an evening session in which the

main performers were Jean - Francois Kemener, a young native speaker of Breton who is to-day our best singer as far as the traditional songs of Central Brittany are concerned; Naig Rozmor, a poetess who has achieved notoriety in the past few years; story tellers from Leon, and the group "An Triskell" to provide the music.

Thursday 15 was devoted to DIWAN. Various kinds of entertainments were organised to take place simultaneously in the Diwan nursery school in Plabenneg and in all the other Diwan centres and in the form of a popular competition so as to attract the people of their neighbourhood. We remind our readers that these schools receive no official help, and that is it only by organising concerts or other functions that they succeed in collecting enough money to pay their teachers.

On the Friday, there were films after lunch, and a play by the Plougin Group after tea.

Plays were staged again the next day by the Bro-Bagan group which is famous now throughout Lower Brittany. The hall was packed, with about 1000 attending. To finish, a Fest-Noz, i.e. Breton dances. The place was so crowded that it was difficult to move!

On Sunday there was a big "Kermes": tents, providing cider or wine, chips, sausages and so on. But as usual it was the large exhibiton which attracted most people: every association concerned with the Breton language, every periodical, or publisher of Breton material, had its stand there. The Breton branch of the Celtic League had its own one.

Let us note also that the Northern Basques had a stand there to what is done in North-Euzkadi in the field of education through the medium of Basque: they belonged to the association "Seaska" (the Cradle), created almost 10 years ago to promote Basque schools in the French-controlled part of Euzkadi. It was "Seaska" which gave the lead to DIWAN and recently to nursery school in Occitan. During the exhibiton there were other entertainments: children singing on stage, a pipers' group, and at 5.30 pm a comedy played by Strollad Studierien Vrest (a Brest student group).

Needless to say, everything was in Breton. Three quarters of the visitors spoke nothing else. Occasionally however one would hear the local old people talking in French while passing in front of the stands. Said one who had been in the nuns school in Plabenneg sixty years ago: "I was punished too harshly by the nuns when I spoke Breton. It was frightening. Now I speak only French. It was easier for me ..... you understand" By contrast with such gloomy words, how encouraging it was to hear hundreds of young people speaking Breton all day long!

A mobile building had been hired by the organisers to accommodate all the stands. Everything went off very well thanks to the drive and skill of those involved in the festival. Yet how much trouble they had to put up with! A few days before the Festival was due to start, the municipality of Plabenneg went back on its undertaking to allow the commune's large sports hall to be used for housing all the stands. Why? Because of the Plogoff demonstrations against the building of a nuclear station! The mayor of Plabenneg and his councillors consider that those who oppose nuclear energy are -- in spite of their numbers -- but a lot of mad people who want to go back to the era of the candle light .... and they lump together "anti-nuclear" Diwan, Gouel ar Brezhoneg. That is the way with the Breton "notabilities". Anything that runs counter to authority is suspect. They decided to refuse the sports

hall. A contractor had to be found in a hurry to provide an alternative. Thanks to a team of young people who working unsparingly, another hall was quickly built up .... near the sports hall -- but it cost Gouel ar Brezhoneg the equivalent of £1600 to hire it! During the festival the sports hall remained closed, 100 meters away!!! What a shame! The mayor of Plabenneg did not want Gouel ar Brezhoneg to become "political"! What about his own attitude? Is it not political on his part to cooperate closely with the pro-government French parties, those parties which continue to support a policy of eradication of the Breton language, thereby denying our people a most elementary right?

Jorj Gwegen

## FRANSEZ DEBAUVAIS de BREIZ/ATAO

By Anna Youenou. Vol. IV: "Le Temps des Epreuves". 420pp. £5.00p.

This volume covers the period from January 1943 to November 1944, one of the most critical in the history of Brittany. But most of the events recorded in it take place away from the country, in Alsace and beyond the Rhine. Debauvais, precluded from playing a central role in the national movement since 1940, went to a sanatorium in Colmar, in an attempt to get a cure from tuberculosis, but died there in March 1944. We get only glimpses of the struggle in Brittany while the accounts of Debauvais' relations with members of his family, occupy even more space than in previous volumes. Sorry to say so I found nothing in Jos Youenou's letters to stimulate my interest. The book is important however to those wishing to understand where Debauvais, who did more than anyone to create and consolidate a Breton national party in the pre-war years, stood during these crucial years. His elitist views of the pro-German policy which he advocated will be hotly criticised in to-day's movement, but was he wrong to warn not to expect France, which had purposely brought us to the point of asphyxia, to offer us the oxygen for revival? He waited too late to write his memoirs: till the last moment he wanted to take part in the struggle (his message to the Bezen Perrot was finished 6 days before his death), he was more pre-occupied with action than with after-life. A native of Upper Brittany, he is seen here as totally committed to the Breton language. Unfortunately, too many errors have been allowed in the Breton texts printed side by side with the French versions (?) of his letters. This book throws an interesting light on the attitudes of Alsacians and on the situation in which the Bretons who retreated to Germany found themselves, towards the end of the war; also on the plight of Bretons in the internment camp near Rennes in the winter of 1944-45.

A.Heusaff.

## THE BRETONS AGAINST FRANCE

by Jack E. Reece. 264pp. Price \$17.00  
The University of North Carolina Press 1977.

One would expect an assistant professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania writing a book about the development of Breton nationalism to strive for objectivity. One could even hope that an author with a Welsh-sounding name might understand that members of an ethnic minority, if true to themselves, would be freed from loyalty towards a State which systematically denied it the means to preserve its identity. To write objectively about



nationalists, one should assess their policies with their point of view in mind, and not, for example, identify oneself with French accusations of treason against people who do not consider themselves as French. There are enough books listed in the bibliography, but I doubt if they have been read carefully. Reece undertakes to criticise the history of Brittany as presented by nationalist writers and to describe the development of the regionalist and nationalist movements from 1900 onwards. He has done a good deal of research in the pre-1937 period, giving to my mind too much importance to the "regionalists". His account of the post-1945 period (chapters 8 & 9) is fair enough as regarding the political aspects but almost totally lacking in information about the language struggle. But in dealing with all the period before 1945 he displays particularly in his style, a serious lack of impartiality.

I would not quarrel with him for showing that certain events in our history could be explained by considerations of class rather than national ones - very much like in the case of other countries. But which States have not owed their existence to the will and ambitions of a dynasty or a particular class? Which nations have not tried to present themselves in the best possible light and to boost their morale by means of necessary myths, for the sake of their survival? That is as understandable at least on the part of a small nation as of a big one trying to overawe its neighbours. In almost methodically contesting that a national spirit inspired any event on our part, Reece betrays his own partisanship: he knows very little about Nomenoe's policies (9th century), he ignores the movement embracing all classes to resist the French attempt to annex Brittany in 1379, he dismisses a century of ducal efforts to establish Breton independence in the 15th century as just a matter of feudal relations. When it comes to the 1930's and the events of the last war, his bias and even hostility against the Breiz Atao leaders is so blatant that one might liken that section to a pamphlet designed to help the French propaganda in its efforts to discredit the nationalist movement. Whenever a Breton interpretation of events exists which clashes with the French one he goes for that of the bigger party? I know the USA is also a big power but can he not appreciate other criteria than those of Realpolitik? Frequently, wanting to dismiss the nationalist assertions, he contents himself with such expressions as "the alleged..." "the so-called", when he could easily have found the proofs. To give just one example, there was nothing "alleged" about the proscription of the teaching of Breton history in the schools!

I shall not list the numerous errors, inaccuracies and omissions in the book. I am occasionally asked if there is any History of Brittany in English. I am sorry to say there is none yet that I could recommend.

A. Heusaff.

**AL LIAMM:** Bimonthly, approx. 90pp. The most important Breton language periodical. 50F Breizh and France, 60F other countries, but 80F air mail. To: P. Le Bihan, 16 Rue de Fours a Chaux, St. Servan, St. Malo. Money orders orders to CCP 5329 - 06 Paris.

## CYMRU

### CEISIO CREU PRYDEINWYR

Mae dros flwyddyn yn awr wedi mynd heibio ers i'r Blaid Geidwadol gael ei hethol, gan bobl Lloegr yn bennaf, i lywodraethu dros mwy na hanner o'r byd Celtaidd. Yn yr amser byr yna mae trychineb ar ôl trychineb wedi taro'r werin-bobl sydd mor anffodus i fod o dan eu rheolaeth.

Does dim amheuaeth mai llywodraeth y "Ddynes Haearn" yw'r un mwyaf haerllug ac annymunol i fodoli yn Llundain ers amser maith. Mae'r Fns. Thatcher wedi prysuro ei hun yn cau ein diwydiannau, ysgolion, ysbtai, fel rhan o rhyw gynllun, mae'n debyg, i droi'r Celtaidd o'u gwledydd eu hunain. Yn amlwg buasai llywodraeth Lloegr yn hoffi cael ymreolaeth llwyr dros Ynys Prydain, o leiaf, gan eu bod bellach wedi colli eu Ymerodraeth. Ond tra bod rhai o'r Celtaidd yn gwrthryfela, mewn dulliau cyfansoddiadol ac anghyfansoddiadol, mae hyn yn amhosib. Felly, mae'n rhaid i'r Saeson wasgaru'r Celtaidd drwy Loegr, ac ymhen blynddoedd lladd eu teimlad o genedligrwydd a'u gwneud yn "Brydeinwyr da".

Dyweddodd y Prif Weinidog hyn yn glir wrth annerch ei Phlaid yn Abertawe yn ddiweddar. I'w meddwl hi, os yw'r Cymry eisiau gwaith, mae'n rhaid iddynt godi eu gwreiddiau, gadael eu cartrefi a'u teuluoedd a'u gwlad, a symud i fyw yng nghanol y Saeson. Ac yn amlwg, mae'n disgwyl i Geltaidd y gwledydd eraill o dan ei rheolaeth unbennaethol wneud yn gyffelyb. Buasai'r llywodraeth wedyn yn medru cyflymu'r broses o droi'r ardaloedd gwledig Celtaidd yn fannau i Saeson ymddeol ynddynt. Gellir ystyried y trosglwyddo yma o'r Celtaidd i Loegr a'r Saeson i'r gwledydd Celtaidd fel rhan hollbwysig o'r cynllun i'n troi yn Brydeinwyr.

Wrth gwrs, nid yw hyn yn bolisi diweddar o bell ffordd. Mae llywodraethau Lloegr ers canrifoedd wedi ceisio dinistrio ffordd y Celtaidd o fyw. Rhai o'r ymgeis yma oedd y Ddeddf Addysg yn y ganrif ddiwethaf pan atalwyd y Cymry rhag dysgu eu plant yn eu mamiaith. Gwyr y Saeson mai iaith yw un o'r prif ddulliau o fynegi cenedligrwydd, felly i gyrraedd eu nod 'roedd yn ffynnon iddynt sicrhau mai Saesneg fuasai unig iaith Ynys Prydain. Nid yw eu hymgyrch yn erbyn yr iaith Gymraeg mor ddwysedig bellach, ond credant bod asgwrn cefn yr iaith iaith wedi ei dorri, a 'does ond angen disgwyl iddi farw'n naturiol yn awr. Yn ffodus, mae pobol yng Nghymru sy'n benderfynol na fydd hyn yn digwydd. Ond onid yw hi'n obaith afresymol ganddynt i ddisgwyl cymorth i achub yr iaith gan lywodraeth gwlad a fu'n gweithio i achosi'r dirywiad er mwyn eu dibenion eu hunain? Credaf i'r Fns. Thatcher sylweddoli na fydd lladd yr iaith yn unig yn fesur digonol i ddileu holl deimladau dwfn o genedligrwydd y Cymry, fel y gwelir yn agwedd llawer O'r Cymry di-Gymraeg, yr Albanwyr, a'r Celtaidd eraill. Dyna'r rheswm dros ei phenderfyniad i geisio gorfodi'r Celtaidd o'u gwledydd i chwilio am gyflogaeth.

(Mrs Thatcher's call for the unemployed to leave their homes in search of work can be seen as part of an overall policy to destroy the sense of national identity of the Celtic people.)

Ian Parry.



## TV BATTLE HOTS UP

The battle for the fourth TV channel has once again dominated the Welsh scene, hardly a day going by without some new development.

\*On June 17, 78 eminent people, led by the Archbishop of Wales, signed a letter appealing to the government to change its mind, adding that never before had the Welsh people shown such unity on any matter. The signatories included 13 M.P.'s, Trade Union Leaders, Mr. John Rowley, ex-BBC Wales Controller and Professor Glamor Williams, ex-Chairman of the Welsh Broadcasting Council.

\*Over 1,500 people have now agreed to without their TV licence fees as part of Plaid Cymru's campaign. Many people have appeared in courts throughout Wales, including 19 people in the Aberystwyth magistrates court on August 5. (Magistrates invariably order the fines, which vary from £7 to £60, to be taken out of the defendants' wages. In the case of the self-employed or retired this cannot be done. Five such people have been jailed - Dyfan Roberts, an actor from Bangor, Dafydd Iwan, the folk singer and ex-Chairman of Cymdeithas yr Iaith, now vice-Chairman of Plaid Cymru, Silyn Huws, a 47 year old lecturer in Coleg Harlech, Trefor Davies, a farmer from Penrhyndeudraeth who is learning Welsh and T.C. Jones, a 72 year old pensioner from Penrhyndeudraeth. Ironically, the only one to serve his full sentence of 14 days was the pensioner - in all the other cases the authorities found money in their pockets and reduced their sentences accordingly or their fines were paid.

Dafydd Iwan's fine was paid anonymously but Silyn Huws's fine was paid after a collection was made at the Coleg Harlech summer school, which he was responsible for organising. One of the students on the second language course was Keith Best, Tory MP for Anglesey, who made a small contribution!

\*During the Welsh Grand Committee debate in the House of Commons on July 16 the Secretary of State for Wales, Nicholas Edwards, announced that a new committee would be set up to monitor the success or otherwise of the new Welsh language television set-up (split between ITV-2 and BBC-2) after 1982. This committee would include the BBC Wales Controller, Chairman of the Welsh IBA Committee, a representative of the independent television contractor and a representative of the independent producers. Mr. Edwards promised that the government would reconsider the situation if the system proved to be unsatisfactory.

Plaid Cymru's response was that to change the system would be almost impossible once it had been established.

\*On July 18 the Prime Minister had a stormy reception by Welsh language demonstrators, as well as people demonstrating about unemployment, when she visited Anglesey and Swansea.

\*On July 28 three eminent Welshmen were fined £500 each at Carmarthen Crown Court for breaking into the Pencarreg transmitter last October and causing £170 worth of damage to two doors: Dr. Pennar Davies, 69, Principal of Swansea's Memorial College; Dr. Meredydd Evans, 60, a lecturer in the Cardiff University College Extra Mural Department and a well known folk singer; and Mr. Ned Thomas, 40, a lecturer in English at Aberystwyth University College and a former editor of the magazine 'Planet'. The last two are members of the senate of Cymdeithas yr Iaith since last October.

Judge Robin David, who described the trial as a

'farce', refused to allow the defendants to challenge the jurors. He permitted only one of the defendants, Meredydd Evans, to make a statement to the court. He also directed the jury to find the three guilty - there was no need for them to retire in order to consider their verdict, he said.

\*The two Plaid Cymru M.P.'s Dafydd Elis Thomas and Dafydd Wigley, later called on the Judge to resign from the bench.

Later a fund was set up to pay their fines and other costs. One of the sponsors of the fund is the well known actor, Philip Madoc.

\*On July 31 Cymdeithas yr Iaith senate took responsibility for damaging a TV transmitter at Harptree, Somerset. It seems that the people responsible escaped before being arrested but the Chairman, Wayne Williams and Chairman of one of the society's committees, Tudur Jones, were detained at Aberystwyth police station and were released on bail, to appear at a Somerset police station in November.

A similar raid took place on August 13. This time, Westward Television was put off the air for several hours.

\*At the National Eisteddfod at Tre-gŵyr (Gowerton) near Swansea there were several demonstrations. On the Monday, the IBA stand was raided by Cymdeithas yr Iaith, leaflets were torn up and slogans were painted. The Secretary of State visited the Eisteddfod on the Tuesday. Demonstrators blocked his car and there were scuffles with the police.&

On the Thursday over 500 people gathered on the Eisteddfod field to listen to Gwynfor Evans, who emphasised that his hunger strike was intended to avert violence rather than create it. On Saturday the National Union of Students held another demonstration at which a television set was smashed at the HTV stand.

The demonstrations sparked off a fierce row between the Archdruid Geraint Bowen, who upheld the right to demonstrate on the Eisteddfod field, and the President of the Eisteddfod Court, Sir Alun Talfan Davies, who condemned the action and apologised to the Secretary of State.

\*On August 6 another four people were fined £500 each at Ammanford Magistrates Court for breaking into the Carmel transmitter a few weeks earlier and causing £370 worth of damage to locks and windows. They were Maldwyn Jones, a lecturer from Carmarthen, Mrs Millicent Gregory, a teacher of Commins Coch near Aberystwyth, Mr Iwan Michael Jones, a librarian from Aberystwyth and Mr Cynog Dafis, a teacher from Talgarreg. There were noisy scenes in the courtroom and the police dragged out several people. A young man climbed up the Carmel transmitter on the same morning in support.

\*On August 13 the Secretary of State's car was ambushed once again by Cymdeithas yr Iaith members, this time on a quiet country road in his Pembrokeshire constituency. He was held up for several hours.

In the meantime Gwynfor Evans, President of Plaid Cymru, still intends to go ahead with his hunger strike on October 6 unless the government agrees to keep its election promise to concentrate Welsh language programmes on the fourth channel.

His intention to make the ultimate sacrifice if necessary is being taken seriously in government circles - 'some people have warned that his action could lead to a serious unrest, and even violence.

No date has been announced for the setting up of the "Welsh Television Committee" as yet. It was

generally assumed that it would be set up after the new system is started in 1982, but it is now thought that the government may set up the committee in the near future, perhaps opening up the way for a major concession which the majority of people in Wales would welcome.

A.G.

## PLAID CYMRU AND THE CRISIS

Contrary to legend the thirties were England's most successful decade during the last 120 years. From 1929 to 1938 Britain's industrial production grew at 3.7% p.a., Western Europe's at only 2%. In 1937 United States production levels were only 3% above those of 1929, but the United Kingdom's were 24% up. No other period since the 1850s has seen England out-performing all her major economic rivals. So when Mrs Thatcher takes her country back to the thirties, she knows what she's doing. The two general elections in the thirties were won by the Conservatives with thumping majorities, for, apart from around a few black spots like the ship-yards of the Tyne and the cotton-mills of Lancashire, England's standard of living soared.

So much for England. Things were different in the rest of the United Kingdom, the parts with which CARN is concerned, which only contain 18% of the population, so their fate neither affects unduly the economic statistics nor the election results. We too are going back to the thirties; at least Wales is, having chosen by such a majority to express its confidence in English government. In July unemployment reached 116,800 (10.6% of the work-force) and is certain to rise far higher. Six coal-mines are doomed because of declining steel production; perhaps as many as 22 out of the 37 in Wales are, if one of the surviving steel-works closes (Port Talbot is more likely, since Llanwern is still making a profit).

Take your pick with the forecasts. The economists of Bangor University College say that 173,000 (14%) will be out of work in 1983, and that figure is calculated by making some optimistic assumptions, such as a considerable recovery in England. Their pessimistic forecast was too awful to publish: it was 30% - worse than the worst in the 1930s! Martin Timsall of Exeter University, writing in *Lloyds Bank Review*, predicts Welsh unemployment between 20% and 27% in 1991. I doubt the most pessimistic rates suggested will ever be reached. Massive emigration will probably prevent it, helped by recent employment legislation which concentrates unemployment among school-leavers: 40% of those unemployed in Wales are aged 24 or less. A wholesale exodus of the young places the future of the Welsh nation in doubt; even more so, that of the Welsh language: only 35% of recent school-leavers in Gwynedd have found jobs in the area; most of the rest are probably heading for an English-speaking lifetime in Birmingham or London. The county's enlightened policy on Welsh-language education is likely to fail if 65% of the pupils know they have no future talking the language - economic considerations of this sort were a major reason for the failure of the Irish Gaeltacht.

What can Plaid Cymru do about the situation? Very little at present; apart from organizing street demonstrations against Mrs. Thatcher when she came to Abertawe (Swansea) on 19 July, which is the reaction of the powerless (and doesn't worry her much, since she has no desire to visit Wales more often than she has to). As a parliamentary party Plaid's influence in

Westminster and Fleet Street collapsed with the referendum defeat, the defeat of Gwynfor Evans in Caerfyrddyn and the installation of a government which does not need the votes of the nationalist parties. Thirty journalists came to the Plaid M.P.'s last press-conference of the 1974-9 parliament; one came to their first conference after the general election. The Select Committee on Welsh Affairs (referred to incorrectly as a "standing committee" in CARN 27 which describes its origins) has Leo Abse, bitter enemy of nationalism, as its chairman and the following membership:

Conservatives	6
Labour	4
Liberal	1

Plaid Cymru is not represented, though it has two, and the Liberals only one, M.P.'s for Welsh constituencies. Finally, to make quite sure that Plaid M.P.s can neither obtain publicity nor make much useful contribution in the House of Commons to the future of their country, George Thomas, the Speaker and another old enemy of nationalism, has decided to treat Plaid Cymru and the Scottish National Party as a single party, thus halving the number of speeches allowed to each. Dafydd Wigley, Plaid's spokesman on steel, sat through five debates earlier this year on the threatened destruction of the industry in our country; and he was not allowed to speak once. No wonder he admitted at a meeting in the House of Commons on 21 May that the arson attacks on English-owned property (see CARN 29 and 30) seemed to have increased Plaid membership applications; law-breaking is the only way Welsh nationalism can now break through the media campaign of silence. And more recently, Wigley has asked, in connexion with the English government's new plan for an assembly in Ulster, what kind of lesson it wants to teach the Welsh and Scottish people who campaigned constitutionally for assemblies and were defrauded.

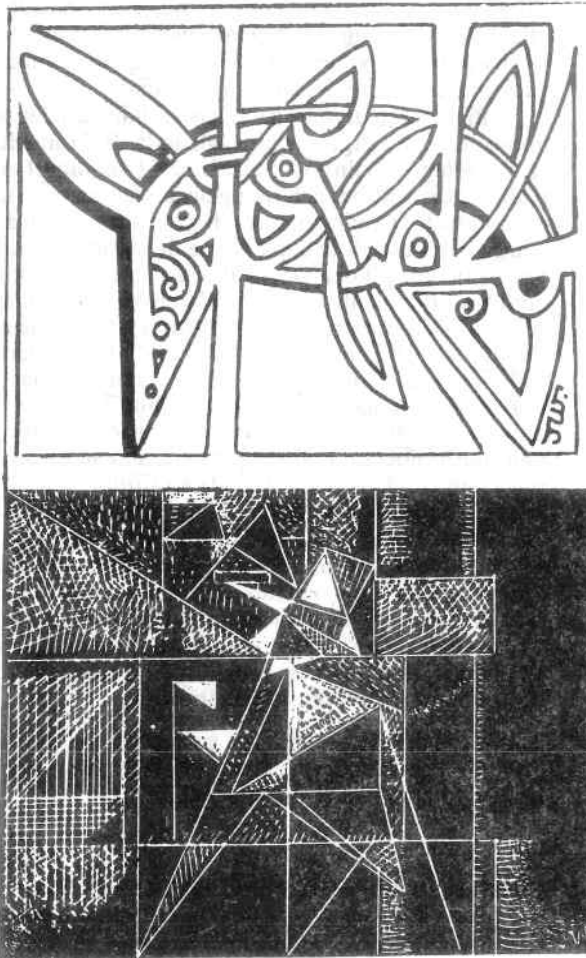
One decision which may revive Plaid as a political force to be taken seriously was that of the emergency conference held at Aberystwyth on 3 May to re-write the Economic Plan for Wales. When Plaid originally published this in 1970, it was generally accepted to be the finest study of the Welsh economy ever produced and it was a complete answer to our enemies' complaints that Wales couldn't afford independence or that we had no immediately practicable policies. After 1973, thanks to inflation, raw material and fuel price rises, etc., it became out-of-date; but in 1975 Plaid Conference flung out a proposal that it should be revised, as that would have involved a compromise with capitalism. Now, faced with a crisis threatening what is left of our nation, it has been decided to revise the Economic Plan to take account of four developments: the need for self-help, since the government we look likely to have for the next decade is not going to provide much help; industrial democracy; the technological revolution, micro-chips and all that; and finally fuel and conservation problems.

Perhaps the most important is the need for self-help projects. Although, for tactical reasons, Plaid has to continue to ask for government support for the coal and steel industries, the original economic Plan (1970) foretold that these must decline (in which it showed greater wisdom than the Conservative government, which invested large sums expanding the steel industry in 1972); and the real tragedy in Wales is occurring with

the closure of comparatively small factories like Bernard Wardle's at Caernarfon this spring. Unlike 19th century coal and steel, this was part of the modern world: it made vehicle parts, and very profitable it had been for its owners in its thirty years of operation (and profitable for Caernarfon too, since at one time it employed 800 people); and it was still profitable on the day it closed, and the only reason it did close was that its owners were Englishmen who therefore preferred to have their factory in Manchester rather than in a foreign country. A nationalist can hardly complain at that (would that some of the holiday-home owners would follow Wardle's good example), but the trouble is that no Welshmen were able to take over the factory, either as entrepreneurs or as organizers of a workers' co-operative. The need for more self-help is clear. If Plaid's revised Economic Plan can explain how this can be developed and can put forward immediately practicable policies to mitigate the crisis of our nation - which were totally lacking during our recent election campaigns - the party may manage to restore its credibility and compel journalists and politicians of other parties to take note of it.

Ifan Llŷod

# TELYN TEIRTU, CYMRU.



Triptych: the lower left analyses and the upper left synthesises the right panel: Telyn Teirtu (Teirtu's harp, triangular harp), played by itself, — hence some irony. The Golden Section 1,618 (8:5) is the Composition's basis here, with predominant triangular and rectilinear motifs.

Ian Bán.

● Representatives of the Celtic nations meeting this week in Berlin - profoundly moved by the information that Mr. Gwynfor Evans, President of the Welsh National Party, is going to start on October 6th a hunger strike to death in order to obtain a television channel in Welsh for the people of Wales.

- remembering that this Welsh language channel was promised both by the Labour and Conservative government and hearing that this promise has now been broken by a declaration in parliament by Mr. Whitelaw, a declaration which has prompted Gwynfor Evans to decide on his proposed action.

- ask the British government to keep its promise of allocating the necessary monies for the TV Channel in Welsh; -

- pledge their support to Gwynfor Evans in his dramatic gesture to secure the fulfilment of the British government's promise, and will campaign on his behalf in their own countries.

- profoundly regret that centralist governments do not readily accept in practice to acknowledge the cultural rights of small nations whose destinies they at present control.

This declaration is unanimously supported by participants from various countries in Western Europe at the end of a symposium about the Celts organised in West Berlin as part of a Celtic Festival, (see p. 12 & 13)





## AN EISTEDDFOD AGUS A LUCHT TACAÍOCHTA

Cé gur cuireadh síos go minic cheana ar an Eisteddfod i gCarn, is beag duine a thuigeann cén cineál eagraíocht atá taobh thiar den fhéile ollmhór seo. Maidh ar ócáid amháin i rith na seachtaine gurb é an Eisteddfod an fhéile is mó dá shórt san Eoraip agus déarfhaí gur beag aibhéil a bhí sa ráiteas sin. Cé gur fhreastail mé féin ar an Eisteddfod níos mó ná uair amháin roimhe, níor thuig mé leagan amach na féile go dtí i mbliana nuair a bhí deis agam é a iniúchadh ón taobh istigh mar adeirfea.

Tá an Eisteddfod san iomlán faoi stiúir eagrais mhóir ar a dtugtar Chúirt an Eisteddfod, ina bhfuil míle seacht gcéad ball (1700) agus is síntiúsoirí iad seo uilig. Ach ar an mhíle seacht gcéad sin airítear ballraíocht iomlán an Gorsedd, timpeall aon mhíle déag (1100); rud a fhágann go bhfuil tromlacht na vótaí sa chúirt ag an Gorsedd. Tá tabhacht ar leith ag baint leis an tromlach seo sa méid is gurb i an chúirt a shocraíonn polasaithe agus leagan amach an Eisteddfod ag na chinneann ar aon athruithe a déantar; i mbliana níos mó ná ariamh bhí eileamh ar athruithe a dhéanamh ach beidh mé ag trácht orthu níos faide anonn san alt. Feidhm eile atá ag an chúirt an coiste stiúrtha a thoghadh; tugtar Comhairle Eisteddfod ar an gcoiste seo agus ón gcomhairle ceaptar na fo-choistí chun dul i mbun liomad imeachtaí na féile. Chun an leagan amach a shimpliú d'fhéadfaí a ra go bhfuil trí chuid san Eisteddfod féin: (1) An Gorsedd ag a mbíonn príomh searmanais na seachtaine agus a mheallann an slua is mó, siad sin coróiníú an Bhaird ar iarnóin Mháirt agus bronnadh na cathaoireach ar an mBard ar an Diardaoin; bhí idir cúig agus sé mhíle duine i láthair sa paibhiliún ar na hócáidí seo agus craoladh iad beo ar an dtelevís. (2) Na comórtasí éagsúla idir ceoil, cóir agus úirlisí chomh maith leis na comórtasí litríochta; bíonn na céadta díbh ann ag cur san áireamh go dtosaíonn siad go pras ar a 9 a chlog gach maidin agus leanann ar aghaidh go dtí a 6 nó a seacht a chlog sa tráthóna. Agus (3) na taispeántasí éagsúla ar an bpáirc féin ag na cumainn uilig, lucht tráchtála chomh maith le taispeántasí ealaíona agus ceirde, leachtanna agus tionóil, ranganna Breatnaise, drámaíochta agus rí. Lasmuigh den pháirc bíonn imeachtaí imeallacha eile nó noson lawen ins na tabhairní, agus bhí breis drámaí ar siúl ar feadh na seachtaine in amharclanna sa de bhaile mhór taobh leis an Eisteddfod, Abertawe agus Llanelli. Bíonn imeachtaí (1) agus (2) an fhoirmealta agus diníteach fad a bhíonn imeachtaí (3) níos tíriúla agus tóir níos mó dá réir orthu.

Agus cá has a dtig an tairgead uilig le haghaidh féile dá leithéid. Isteach is amach le £700,000 costas iomlán an Eisteddfod i mbliana. Ní haon traidhfil é sin agus ní leor airgead lucht síntiús chun íoc as - cé go bhfuil na síntiúsoirí sách líonmhar agus flaithiúil i Gymru. Sí fírinne an scéil go bhfuil an Eisteddfod ag brath go mór ar airgead poiblí, go háirithe ar an airgead a thugann na comhairlí áitiúla, idir comhairlí condaetha agus baile. I mbliana tháinig breis is £120,000 ó na comhairlí áitiúla; thug an Comhairle Ealaíona £40,000 agus an Oifig Stáit an méid céanna; timpeall £30,000

a fuarthas ó lucht gnó. Le linn na seachtaine tugann comhairle an Eisteddfod lón oifigiúil do na dreamanna éagsúla a chuidíonn leis an Eisteddfod. Bíonn aionna speisialta i láthair ar na hócáidí seo agus déantar ráitisí oifigiúla; mar shampla bhí uachtarán Chomhairle Ealaíona na Breataine Móire i láthair lá amháin agus an Rúnaí Stáit lá eile (an lá céanna a rinne Cymdeithas léirsiú ina choinne) B'é an phríomh theachtaireacht óna ráitisí seo nach bhféadfaí an Eisteddfod a úsáid mar ardan polaitíochta: chuaigh ionadaí na gcomhairlí áitiúla níos faide agus dúirt nach mbeadh siad sásta airgead a thabhairt dá mbeadh an Eisteddfod a úsáid mar ócáid chun léirsithe polaitiúla a dhéanamh, an lá sin bhí ionadaíocht i láthair ó daichead cinn den daichead is a ceathair comhairlí áitiúla atá san iomlán i Gymru.

Tuigtear mar sin cén doichead a bhíonn ar chuid d'oifigigh an Eisteddfod roimh lucht léirsithe, agus an cáineadh a rinne Sir Alun Talfan Davies, Uachtarán Chúirt an Eisteddfod, oríhu agus gur ghabh sé leithscéal leis an Rúnaí Stáit agus an IBA. Agus in ainneoin cáil an choimeadachais a bheith ar an Gorsedd, b'é Geraint Bowen Arddraoi ar an Gorsedd le ceithre bliana anuas (tá a thréimhse caite anois agus toghadh duine eile ina áit) a labhair amach agus a d'easaontaigh le Sir Alun is a mhol go gcaithfí an Eisteddfod a úsáid mar ardan polaitíochta tharla na Breatnaigh bheith gan aon phairlimint dá gcuid féin.

Ba mhisniúil an chaint í agus is cosúil go bhfuil tacaíocht éicint do thuairimí Geraint taobh istigh den Gorsedd. Mar sin féin nuair a tionóladh ollchruinniú na cúirte le linn an Eisteddfod níor ghlacadh leis na ruin conspoideacha. Bhí rún amháin ag moladh nach nglacfaí feasta le haon airgead stáit.

Bí an tsean argóint nach leis an stáit, ach leis an bhobal féin an tairgead a bhuaigh an lá. Bhí rún eile ag moladh go mbainfí an focal 'ríoga' (frenhinol) as teidil an Eisteddfod, ach níor glacadh leis an rún sin chan oiread. Dúradh go mbeadh gá lá athrú bunreachtuil chuige. Dár ndoigh tá cúpla duine de theaghlach ríoga Sasana ina mbaill den Gorsedd. Dála an scéil dúradh liom gur dóibh amháin a rinneadh eisceacht ar an riail go gcaithfidh Breatnais líofa bheith ag gach duine a thogtar isteach sa nGorsedd. Go hiondúil bronnar ballraíocht sa nGorsedd orthu siad a rinne saothar fiúntach ar son na tearáin agus an chultúir, cé go bhfuil an onóir a thabhairt anois do dhaoine áirithe sa saol tionsclaíochta; is ar éigin go dtagann an dream ríoga faoi ceachtar teidil. Déanta na fírinne, seachas ar na chlaí oifigiúla, is beag dream a bhaineann feidhm as an 'frenhinol' sa teidil. Dúradh gurb é aighneas idir an sean dream agus an dream óg sa chúirt ba chúis leis na ruin seo teacht ar aghaidh, ach is cinnte go bhfuil cuid den sean dream sásta seasamh leis an dream óg agus go bhfuil níos mó de mhuintir Cymru ag teacht ar an tuiscint nach feidir an Eisteddfod a choinneáil glan go hiomlán ar chursai polaitíochta.

[The above article explains the governing structure of the Eisteddfod and outlines its sources of income, some of which give rise to complaints and stresses.]

## FEILE IDIRCHEILTFACH BERLIN FESTIVAL

De réir an réamhrá i gclár an "Keltische Woche" - na seachtaine Cheiltigh-leabhar le beagnach 200 leathanaigh, bhí breis agus 250 ealaíontóirí as 8 "réigiúin" Eorpacha dá gcuid féin i láthair cois, lochanna Bherlin, ar sraideanna, plásanna. i séipéil, tabhairní agus hallaí. Bhí an "Keltische Woche" ar siúl

i mBerlin ón 15ú - 20ú Iúil, agus b'é seo an chéad uair ariamh a cuireadh a leithéid d'fhéile Ceilteach ar siúl sa Ghearmáin, a thug aird ar an oiread sin gnéithe eagsúla de stair is de shuíomh na bpobal Ceilteacha san aimsir atá inniu ann.

Bhí an "Keltische Woche" mar chuid den "Internationale Sommerfestspiele Berlin 1980" sraith féilí a bhíonn ar siúl gach samhradh. Is eagrais mór puiblí é an Berliner Festspiele agus is iadsan a chuireann an t-airgead ar fáil do na féilí seo. Dha bhliain ó shin bhí Seachtain Chatalanach ar siúl anseo agus beartaíodh an uair sin leanúint ar aghaidh ag tabhairt árdan do mhionlaigh Eorpacha faoi leith gach dara bliain. Mar sin, b'é turas na gCeiltigh a bhí ann i mbliana.

The Berlin Festival Organisation paid the bills and looked after the organisation and advertising for the Celtic Week (posters were to be seen in every Underground Station), but it was Almut and Wolfgang Mey (a married couple) who arranged the programme itself; it was they who decided that it was not enough to merely have a series of concerts but that the occasion should be used to give a political platform to the Celts to allow them explain their own views on their problems to the public here.

(Is "Ethnologen" iad beirt - se sin, antrapeolaithe shoisialta, le taithí faoi leith ar thíortha ar nós na hInde agus Bangladesh. Thosaíodar ag cur suim sna Ceiltigh tar éis dóibh seal a chaitheamh sa Bhriotáin. Chuaigh an áit i bhfeidhm orthu an oiread sin gur scríobhadar leabhar agus gur chraoladar cláracha raidió fuithi. Feictear dóibh go bhfuil cosúlachtaí áirithe idir shuíomh na bpobal Ceilteacha agus suíomh chuid de na tuatha, ar a ndearnadar taighde san Áis: ina gcás, siúd, mar shampla, bhrú na tiarnaí cóilíneacha córas talmhaíochta na "sibhialtacht" orthu, rud a scrios an córas dúchasach a bhí bunaithe ar ghaol chothrom idir an duine agus an nádúr)

The Meys decided therefore to include symposiums and exhibitions as well as concerts, etc. The themes of the symposiums were: "The Cultural Revival", "The Celtic Woman", (a day each), and "The Regional Problem" which ran for three days between lectures and debates. The same themes occurred in the principal concerts, the titles of these were: "The Return of the Bards", "The Music of the Celtic Woman", and "Political Songs of the Minorities". Of course there were many music sessions going on everywhere all the time, in pubs, etc.

D'éirigh go han-mhaith leo go háirithe leis an triú príomh-cheolchoirm, "Politische Lieder der Minderheiten" (Amháin pholaitiúla na Mionlach): idir Gweltaz ar Fur ón mBriotáin, Dafydd Iwan ón mBreatain Bheag, Dolina MacLennan as Albain agus Begona, Martinex Gonzalez as Galicia, thug na teachtaithe as na tíortha eagsúla míniú ghearr ar chúla pholaitiúla a n-amhráin a spreag an lucht eisteachta go mór. Ní foláir a ra, afach, go raibh se deacair a fheiscint cad a tuigeadh le amhráin pholaitiúla i gcás Sheosaimh Mhic An Iomaire - nó an amhlaidh gur aislingí iad "Bean an Leanna" nó "Bean Phaidín"?

Bhí na stáisiúin raidió agus teleifíse ag tabhairt go leor aird ar na himeachtaí agus ina measc, an British Forces Broadcasting Service a bhí ag iarraidh roinnt agallaimh agus ceol ó Cheiltigh a chraoladh gach la ar feadh na seachtaine. Ar mhíamhairí an tsaoil, dhiultaigh gach einne a d'iarradh air agallaimh a thabhairt dóibh nó Ceol a sheinnt, seachas cailín Éireannach amháin. Chuir seo

an-diómá ar lucht an BFBS arsa siad, fa' a lán Albaniagh, Éireannaigh Breatanaigh 7rl ar lucht eisteachta a mbeadh ana-shuim acu sa "Keltische Woche".....

Má bhí suim ag na daoine a fuair an oiread sin spreagadh sa cheolchoirm "Politische Lieder der Minderheiten" a gcuid eolais, a fhorbairt, d'fhéad siad frestail ar an siompoisiam a bhí, ar siúl, gach iarnón, agus ar an taispeantaisí. Is oth liom a rá, afach, nar tháinig mórán Gearmánaigh chuig an siompoisiam; ach munar tháinig fein, bhí díospóireachtaí bhríomhaire idir na Ceiltigh agus na Gearmánaigh a bhí i lathair.

Amongst the questions raised frequently, by newspaper critics also, was what difference there existed between the situation of the Bretons in the French State and that of the people of Scheswig-Holstein, who have their own dialect. The answer given by Wolfgang was that there was no "Kulturverbot" (forbidding of culture) in the case of the people of Scheswig-Holstein and that in any case they did not feel they were a non-Germanic people. A good deal of time was spent debating whether the population of Asturias and Galicia could be reckoned as real Celts today. A debate on the importance of the language being spoken followed. The Welsh delegates placed a lot of emphasis on this aspect.

(Agus duirt duine acu, Zonia Bowen, gur mheas sí an meid a bhí cloiste aici sa siompoisiam seo go raibh difríocht mhór le sonnrú idir "Cheiltigh na n-Oileán" agus "Ceiltigh na Morthíre", sa mheid go raibh dearcadh phraicticiúil ag an gcead dream agus claonadh acu a spiorad náisiúnta a chur in iúl ar bhealaigh phraicticiúla, fad is a bhí claonadh rofhealsúnach ag cuid de na Briotánaigh, mar shampla, a thugann náisiúntoirí orthu fein agus fós, ní tabhraidís Briotánaís, lena bpaistí. D'fhiafraigh sí de Per Denez, duine "praicticiúil" é fein, nar chuir an fhealsúnacht seo go léir mar aon le easpa gníomh praicticiúil uaireanta beagan deistín air. An fhreagra a tugadh ar seo ná gur úsáid na Franncaigh riamh airm cogaidh idéolacha i gcoinne na mBriotanach agus nar mhór úsáid a bhaint as an saghas ceanna airm chun troid ar ais).

Sa deireadh, scríobhadh agus síníodh dhá run, ceann ginearálta ag éileamh a gcearta dos na náisiúin Ceilteacha ó na stáiteanna Iarnacha agus ag ainmniú ceithre chás faoi leith de na cearta sin; agus ceann ag tabhairt tacaíochta do stailc ocras Gwynfor Evans ar son stáisiún teleifíse as Breatnais. Tá na ruin seo le cur chuig nuachtáin, polaiteoirí 7rl. sna tíortha eagsúla. An t-aon trioblóid ná nach raibh aon Albanaigh na Cornaigh i lathair leis na ruin a shíniú: bhí na teachtaithe Albanacha tar éis, imeacht as radharc faoin am seo agus ní raibh aon teachtaithe ón gCorn ann ar an gcead dul síos.

Bhí trí taispeantaisí ar siúl, san iomlán (go dtí an lú Lúnasa). Séard abhí sa cheann ba suimiúla na cuntas ar shuíomh na gCeiltigh sa lá atá inniu ann sa Bhriotáin sa Bhreatain Bheag 7in Albain agus cuntas, stairiúil, leis an beim ar an stair nua-aimseartha (mar ar ndóigh b'é ceann de príomh-chuspóirí Almut agus Wolfgang Mey na an ruaig a chur ar an tuairim atá coitianta, go leor anseo, nach bhfuil ins na Ceiltigh ach iarsmaí seandálaíochta). Tá an mholadh ag dul don dream mic leinn antrapeolaíochta shoisialta on Freie Universität - Berlin a d'ullmhaigh é in éineocht le Wolfgang Mey. Tá se curtha le chéile go healaíonta, le neart griangrafanna agus léirithe graificiúla, úirlisí oibre traidisiúnta, gleasanna ceoil 7rl. i gcasanna gloine, chomh maith leis na téacsanna.

The most interesting of the three exhibitions was that on the position of the Celts today which shows the peoples of Scotland, Wales and Brittany as a colonised people. The language question was highlighted and also the opposition to nuclear power stations, the oil spills, etc.

One fault must be found with it however, Loire-Atlantique was not shown as part of Brittany and there was no mention either of how the French Government divided it from the rest of Brittany by drawing a line on a map.

Ní féidir a chur i gceill go bhfuil scuainí ann len é a fheiscint ach tá go leor daoine ag freastal air agus a bhformhór an-tsásta leis an méid a d'fhoghlaim siad faoi na trí tíortha sin. Ar ndóigh, fiarfraíonn leath acu conas a tharla nach bhfuil Éire sa taispeantas. Is amhlaidh go raibh Éire iontach "under-represented" i ngach gné den fheile. An míniú atá ag Almut agus Wolfgang air seo, seachas go raibh teora leis an méid airgid a bhí ar fáil, ná nach "réigiún" í Éire ná mionlach na hÉireannaigh sa chiall céanna leis na tíortha eile afa i gceist. D'fhéadfaí argóint freisin mar gheall ar an úsáid a bhaintear as an dtéarma "réigiún". Ceilteach i gconair, ach dar ndóigh tá contúirt ann a bheith ag tracht ar "náisiún" ceilteacha anseo de bharr an ciall diúltach atá ag an bhfocal "náisiúnachas do na Gearmánaigh ó thaobh na staire de.

D'ainneoin cúpla gearcheim agus fadhb a d'eirigh i rith an fheile, ní faláir a rá gur éirí go breá leis agus gur bhain na cuairteoirí agus muintir Bherlin féin taitneamh agus táirbhe as.

(an account of the Celtic Week in Berlin which all in all could be said to have been quite successful)

## THE SEARCH FOR ROOTS

One of the healthiest and most interesting phenomena to emerge from the present phase of Ireland's struggle to shake off the shackles of English Empire (and its bad effects for centuries) is the spread and development of local history activities and organisations.

Rooted too often in attitudes without information unbelievable calcification had set in, in the 6 counties in particular. It was fashionable for a time to 'blame' the teaching of history for the political struggle on the streets and the countryside. Liberals - English-type especially - saw the celebration of the Boyne (King William III's victory over his father-in-law James II - known in Irish as Seamas a'chaca, in all its cloacality hardly a hero's subriquet!) and the Easter Commemorative Marches (marking the 1916 anniversary) as manifestations of a particular type of history teaching. That the two don't tango in the north saw them concentrate their attention on the 1916 aspect.

The flag waving and raising ceremonies, the Royal twaddle and the glorification of The English Saga in English schools and courses was overlooked of course (and too seldom adverted to by their opponents) but the clôtüre to their line of argument is delivered when it is revealed that the total Irish History quotient, for most of the period concerned in post-primary schools was 18 years! - from 1782 to 1800.

But there has been a realisation at least that people were being left ignorant and that realisation has resulted in research, publications and popularisations - and more importantly in co-operation.

Out of this has come a federation for Ulster local studies and its journal now in its 5th year, Ulster Local Studies, not only lists and publicises their activities but acts as a forum for their proceedings.

In the current issue the Reviews for example, cover a not great but symptomatic publication. The Meaning of Irish Place Names; a study of 200 years in the history of A Tyrone Presbyterian Community Glenhoy; a monograph on the planning of the Drapers' Company in Co. Derry - one of the London guilds underwriting the early 17th century confiscations and re-plantations; one Diocesan and two parish magazines from Tyrone, Armagh and Down; (Ulster means Ulster here not Ulst. i.e. of a province!); a booklet on Irish Presbyterian Communion Tokens; and the small book by F.S.L. Lyons resulting from the Brian Rankin CBE memorial lecture in 1978, The Burden of Our History.

The list of affiliated societies ranges from the Craigavon Historical Society to the Co. Down Historical Society, from Cumann Seanchais Ard Mhacha to the Saintfield Heritage Society, from the Newcastle Field Club to the Glens of Antrim Historical Society.

The editor is the Rev. Réamonn Ó Muirí poet and chaplain to one of H.M. prisons where the cost of empire are at present incarcerated.

These activities are paralleled by co-operation in trips, seminars and joint projects and since they have not been interfered with are another augury of hope. Representatives of most of the local museums involved attended an inaugural Irish Museums Federation in Cill Airne (Co. Kerry) earlier this year where contacts were further cemented in good will and good fun!

Though the Rev. Ian Paisley and some of his wilder followers oppose this type of tendency - in contradistinction to the Orange Orders journal Orange Standard which carried an article recently regretting the decline as they saw it of the Irish language the people seem to be seriously in search of a supportive identity (i.e. a real one - the realisation that British is a foreign concept to the English and means 2nd class English is percolating).

There is of course an unwillingness to push this search - as of now at any rate - into its full ramifications, but that will come. An example of this perhaps is the recent book by Ian Adamson, The Cruthin, in which he suggests that the people of Scottish origin in the 6 counties are the descendants of the Picts who had been forced out in pre-historic times by the Celts and that in this way the 17th century confiscations and plantations were a return of the native so to speak. But that is a genuine search - not an arrogant dismissal as so much else unfortunately been.

P. Ó Snodaigh.

## LANGUAGE NEWS

Seachtain na Gaeilge (Irish Language Week) organised in Dublin by the Regional Committee of Conradh na Gaeilge was held between 4th and 12th of July. Among the host of events were many traditional sessions lectures on a number of topics, walks, a history workshop and a poetry court which by all accounts was one of the best in recent years. Most events were well attended and in general the festival could be said to have been a success with the unfortunate exception of the open air concert in the Phoenix Park which despite being on the programme did not take place and left many disappointed.



At the official opening of Seachtain na Gaeilge, the chairman of the festival, Vivian Uíbh Eachach said that Seachtain na Gaeilge was now on its feet as a major festival in Dublin. He said that the time was now right, to put the emphasis on the basic aims of Seachtain na Gaeilge, i.e. to promote the Irish language amongst the people in their own communities.

The Gradam (Award) of Seachtain na Gaeilge was presented to Aran Island poet Mairtín Ó Direáin in recognition of his lifework in Irish poetry.

Mairtín Ó Direáin said he was very pleased to accept the award. He said the continuity of the cultural movement in Dublin was encouraging. Those who mocked "Dublin Irish" had generally no Irish at all themselves. If there were two million speakers of "Dublin Irish" the cultural revival would be complete.

The Festival was officially opened by The Tanaiste (Vice Pres.) of Conradh na Gaeilge, Cathal Ó Luain. He referred to the expansion of the festival since its present day inception in 1977 and its aims of encouraging the use of Irish in the city and surrounding areas with the intention of producing continuous activity and usage. Almost a quarter of the population of the state now lived in the greater Dublin area and the importance of such a festival in that area in promoting the language was obvious.

In considering the efforts of organisations like on Conradh to promote the language however we cannot ignore the difficulties which are all too often placed in their way, he said. The Taoiseach had stated some time ago that it was the intention of the present Government that those who wished to use Irish in their dealings with the state and its institutions should be facilitated. It was pity that the deeds did not match the words.

There was an urgent need to give, proper legislative function to the status of Irish as enshrined in the constitution; to this end Conradh na Gaeilge had prepared a Bill of Rights for the Irish Language and this had been sent to the government. At the recent meeting of a delegation from an Conradh with the Minister for the Gaeltacht, while the main emphasis was placed on the Conradh plan to stop the decline of the Gaeltacht, the need for enactment of the Bill of Rights was again stressed. However if the government were in earnest they could take immediate action. Over 200 complaints had been made to the Rights Bureau of an Conradh and a large percentage of these would be satisfied if every official form, information leaflet and instruction in State Departments and at Local Government level were available bilingually. The government could issue an order to this effect immediately and an Conradh would demand that they should do so as a short term measure.

When on the subject of those working for the language in Dublin the difficulties facing many of the all Irish primary schools in the area must be mentioned - in particular the bureaucratic impasse threatening the continued existence of Gael Scoil Irse Chóir, which the authorities had it in their power to resolve.

However while these were the negative influences Seachtain na Gaeilge was a very positive undertaking and the Dublin Regional Committee was to be congratulated on organising it.

A group of young people all with names in Irish who were involved in a car crash in Donegal near the end of July had medical treatment withheld while the staff at Letterkenny Regional Hospital demanded anglicised versions of their names. The following statement was issued by Conradh na

Gaeilge on the incident.

"Conradh na Gaeilge deplores the refusal widely of the personnel at the Regional Hospital in Leitir Ceanainn to accept the names of five patients (victims of a car accident) from them because they were in Irish lately.

Conradh asks Fianna Fáil how this squares with their election manifesto, asks Mr. Blaney, (Independent Fianna Fáil T.D.) who spoke on Radio na Gaeltachta in English only, if he approves of this carry-on, asks Mr. White, T.D. (Fine Gael) if this is the result of his repeated antagonism to the Language, and urges Irish speakers to remember their answers in the forthcoming bye - election.

Conradh further asks the Minister for Health if he thinks insulting and abusing and threatening injured people "with the Guards" is acceptable conduct in state subvented institutions, and asks the medical profession if such conduct is "good medicine". (and if not what they intend to do about it).

Conradh point out that the arrogant monoglots never ask patients, with names such as Hans Schwartz, Guiseppe Sarto, or Giles Le Blainc, for English versions of them. Their being ashamed of themselves is vented only and uniquely on Irish Speakers.

This event an Conradh concludes, underlines yet again the urgent need of a language bill of Rights being implemented in State Legislation."

Brendan MacGearailt, a Kerry member of the Gaeltacht Authority also issued a statement as follows.

"I strongly condemn the misconduct of those responsible for the refusal to accept their names in Irish from four young people - two of them from the Rinn Gaeltacht - in the Regional Hospital at Leitir Ceanainn, lately.

I have asked the Ministers for Health and the Gaeltacht to have the occurrence and its implications investigated as a matter of urgency.

Unfortunately it must be said that the occurrence came as no surprise: I am only too well accustomed to English being forced on me from State and state funded institutions - even to replies in English to correspondence in Irish.

This is a continuation from the old English imperial mind: but it is also an opportunity to state that we are no longer satisfied to be strangers in our own country."

Two local politicians instead of seeing the affair as a grievous breach of Civil Rights chose to use it to vent their anti-Irish feelings with one attempting to say the incident never occurred and the other trying to distort and twist the issue and the facts. The local branch of the Irish Nurses Organisation also appeared more interested in covering up for their members rather than verifying the truth of the incident and trying to ensure that their members did not withhold medical care because of their prejudices against Irish (or anything else for that matter)

This necessitated that those involved issue a statement to re-iterate the facts as below.

"Referring to the recent statements by Paddy Harte T.D., Senator Bernard McGlinchey, and the Letterkenny Branch of the Irish Nurses' Organisation (INO) we, the victims of the harassment at Letterkenny Regional Hospital, wish to re-iterate that. (1) all our statements were accurate - Paddy Harte's comments to the contrary notwithstanding. (2) That we were in fact threatened with the Gardaí by the ambulance driver - the I.N.O.'s statement suggesting otherwise notwithstanding. (3) Requests for examination by the nurse were refused during the long

course of her refusal to accept our names - however much Paddy Harte or the INO would wish it to have been otherwise. (4) The Ambulance driver asked for names other than our names 'to ensure accuracy' ! (5) After the reluctant acceptance of our names (one of us was told to mind his own business) the nurse repeatedly addressed another of us by an anglicised version of that recorded. (6) The statement made by Mr. McGlinchey that "the teachers had not used a word of Irish during a 30 mile ambulance trip to the hospital" is totally inaccurate and contrary to fact. Mr. McGlinchey, not surprisingly, failed to name the source of his information.

We wish to add that neither Mr. Harte, nor Mr. McGlinchey were present, on the occasion in question (we were!) that they never contacted us to find out the facts of the case and that we regret that the INO did not contact us either."

The death occurred suddenly at the end of July of Aodh Ó Luais, President of the Northern Assembly (10 county) of Conradh na Gaeilge. Well known in language circles for many years he was connected with a number of Irish Colleges in the Donegal Gaeltacht and was principal of one on Aran this year. He was also Irish Language Officer in Co. Armagh for the Gaelic Athletic Assoc., as well as having been active on both local and national level in An Conradh.

### ECONOMIC GLOOM

The recession which had been forecast for many months began to really grip in the second quarter of the year in the Republic. Central Bank forecasts predicted virtually no growth in the economy this year with the Government admitting that the economic growth rate is unlikely to exceed one per cent.

Everywhere visible signs were evident as factories closed down or went on short time working with domestic demand anticipated to decline by 1% in real terms this year. Doles queues lengthened and in early August the number of unemployed was in excess of 100,000 for the first time since Jan. 1979.

The manufacturing industry was not the only section hit. In agriculture we were told, real incomes were falling since E.E.C. price increases have not ever come close to matching the rise in overall inflation. In tourism one of the worst years yet is being experienced (giving rise to jokes of the tourist sighting variety) which has been worsened by the five week long Aer Lingus craftsmens strike estimated by the Irish Tourist Board as having cost the country at least £2.4 million in lost tourist revenue.

The rate of inflation is running at 20% and living standards are expected to fall by an aggregate 2% this year.

Negotiations on a new National Wage understanding have started and are continuing. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions have called for an index-linked increase of 20%, an extra weeks holiday and a 38 hour working week in a one year agreement. The employers have responded by looking for a three month pay pause, they have ruled out, full compensation for inflation and want an eighteen month long agreement.

The Taoiseach Mr. Haughey, suggested guidelines of 7 to 8% for wage increases. The economy was basically very strong and capable of considerable development., he declared, although it was at present experiencing difficulties. The Government believed that

with the co-operation of trade unions and employers in negotiating a new National Understanding they could nurse the economy through these difficult times and resume progress and development later.

The Minister of Labour had previously stated that 22,000 new jobs could be created but that this was tied to "acceptable" levels of wage increases. In Mid August it was announced that following the dropping of objections by the E.E.C. Commission the Government would introduce a subsidy of £5 per week for each worker employed in vulnerable labour intensive industries. The scheme is to be back dated to 1st April and will cover the clothing, footwear, tanneries and textile sections of industry. It is thought likely that these subsidies may be extended to other industries and that a scheme may be introduced to cushion employers against the worst effects of high interest rates.

One thing is clear however, the "man in the street" is going to be further behind in the inflationary spiral than he was at the beginning of the year. The improvements granted in tax allowances in the budget earlier will be fully eroded and with a drop in living standards ahead a renewal of the PAYE marches of this year may seem likely, particularly if the Government fails to deliver on its job promises.

J. O'F.

### FREAGRA

This Autumn Freagra will be celebrating its second birthday with what it is hoped will be its biggest demonstration of support for the Irish language. On the 18th of October in Mount Jerome Cemetery Dublin a commemorative Mass for the tenth anniversary of the death of Mairtín Ó Cadhain, the great language revolutionary, will be held. After the open air Mass a public meeting will be held and that night there will be a concert in Colaiste Mhuire. As well as a fitting tribute to Mairtín Ó Cadhain and his ideals it will also signal the culmination of several new developments within Freagra.

Freagra was founded by a small group of people in Dublin in October 1978. They were disenchanted with the lack of direct action and public demonstration by the Irish Language movement and feeling that it was necessary to fight for the survival of the language by these means decided to form a group to effect this. Freagra made its first public appearance with a sit down outside RTE's main studio block, on the day RTE 2 was launched. Entrance and exit to and from the building was blocked as all doors were locked after the demonstrators tried to force their way in. This was a demonstration at the lack of broadcasting in Irish, which has been the focal campaign of Freagra.

Since then there have been campaigns of slogan-painting, posters, and road-sign painting as well as numerous pickets, protests and mast-climbing in RTE. The most successful demonstration was incidentally the least publicised, when last November over 350 people picketed RTE in a protest at the lack of programmes in Irish. In spite of unfulfilled promises of a "20% broadcasting in Irish" from RTE, the campaign still goes on. In fact Freagra are confident of a large but temporary increase in programming in Irish in the Autumn schedule of RTE in an effort to dissipate Freagras main campaign.

Freagra activities have not been confined to their broadcasting campaign. Especially since the recent establishment of branches outside Dublin action against

illegal road signs has increased considerably. Recently all the public signs not in Irish only in the Gaeltacht of An Rinn were taken down by Freagra members.

With its increasing membership and growing number of branches, and the recent announcement of a pact of co-operation with Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg, there is hope that accelerated campaigns will start producing more definite results. This is what the present Freagra leadership believe and why they are beginning to seek a wider public support and involvement.

M.B.

## ROSC

Bilingual magazine of Conradh na Gaeilge. The current issue is a special on the organisation and its work. It covers some of the history of the body and deals with its present day work and campaigns on behalf of the Irish Language. Price 20p + postage, from 6 Sraídh Fhearchair, Baile Átha Cliath 2. Years sub. £2.

The Berliner Festspiele (the Berlin Festival Organisation) provides every two years a platform for representatives of the minority peoples of Europe. From July 15th to 20th 1980, more than 250 representatives assembled in Berlin from Asturias, Brittany, Cornwall, Galicia, Isle of Man, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. The symposium, which took place as part of this festival, issues this communique to express once more the concern of the represented peoples for their future in the European context.

We demand that the governments of Britain, France and Spain recognise that their prime responsibility is the well-being of the national communities within their borders, that the centralist policies at present followed cause economic and social damage to our communities, which is reflected in unemployment, ecological pollution and most important damage to our national languages and traditions.

We demand full official status for all our languages in our respective countries and their full use in education and the mass media, especially television. We demand the political institutions necessary for self-determination which would implement economic policies sympathetic to the needs of our people and, therefore, put an end to the exploitation of our resources and people, which has led to the problems which face us today.

We draw attention to four matters of immediate importance which exemplify the Celtic situation. (1) we oppose the bilingual decree in Galicia which amounts to discrimination against the Galician language for which we demand official status.; (2) we demand as an urgent necessity the creation of an Academy of the Asturian language so that official status can be implemented both in the education system, including the university, and in the media; (3) we demand the effective teaching of the language, history and civilisation of Brittany, from the nursery school to the university, and the provision of a full television and radio service in the Breton language. (4) we declare our complete solidarity with the population of Plogoff in Brittany in opposing a nuclear power station imposed upon them by an authority which ignores the rights and wishes of the community.

Signed in Berlin on the 19.7.1980:

## KERNOW

### AN ENESCK GANS TOMAS O CROHAN

Tomás Ó Crohan o pyscajor boghosek nep a drygas dres oll y vewnans war an enys Blascaod (Blasket), ogas dhe'n drvor a Ywerdhon West. Y'n termyn pan vewas-ef y enys o poblys gans mur a dus haval orts y honen ow whylas pegans a'n mor adro. Tomás a ve genys yn 1856 ha perthy cof brisyow pan esa nown bras kyn nag o ef a' tatys dhe fyllel. An tawas genesyk dhe Domas ha'y hynsa o Gwydhalek hag a gowsas-ef yn-fas, mes kynth esa scol byghan war an enys pols, my ylly scryfa na redya nanyl saw nebes sawsnek. Den connek del o, gweles a wruk bos bewnans war an Blascaod ow-merwel hag ef a wothfe yn-ta na alsa taclow gortos del vyens kens dres lyes cansbledhen. Yth ervyras dhe scryfa y vewnans y honen may hallo convedhes tus y'n termyn dhe dhos fatel o rag pobel trygys war an enys. Mes fatel ylly gul yndella pan na wothfe scryfa saw rag nebes sawsnek? Kekefys gwell o dhodho scryfa yn Gwydhalek, mes kyn nag esa whans dhodho, a vos war - dhelegh dhe Scol, bytegens yndella ef a wruk, hag ef den warlegh an cres a 'y vewnans. Hemma rag neponen a vewas yn boghosogneth, whel cales ova, mes y sowynnas - ef. Y tyscas dhe scryfa y davas genesyk ha dewedha y lyuer, onen a'n gwella scryfys y'n yeth-na. Yn y eryow y honen:

"My a scryfsa yn-funys a vur a wrussen-ny drefen y vos ow bolunyeth y fya yn nep le covath lum anodho, ha my re wruk an gwella a allen dhe recordya an nas a'n bobel y'w herghyn may fo record ahanan whath war agan lergh, rag pobel kepar ha my bynytha ny vyth gwelys namoy....

Un jeth ny vyth denyth gesys y'n enys Blascaod a oll an re-na a gampolys-vy y'n lyver-ma ny vyth denyth dhe berthy cof anedha. My a wor mur ras dhe Dhew orth ow ry an dro dhe wgtha rag ancofva an dedhyow-na a wasen gans ow deulagas ow honen.....?

Hedhyu an enys Blascaod yu gwak saw rag un hewas, an Pen Menyster a Ywerdhon, Mr. Haughey, y berghenek.

Chris Jeffery, Persons.

### HOSTILITY AGAINST THE CORNISH LANGUAGE.

The local newspaper with the highest circulation in West Cornwall is called "The Cornishman", a good name for a Cornish newspaper but unluckily it is not the paper it used to be. Like all local papers it has thrived because it reflects the daily life of the community. Today "the Cornishman" is owned by the Armsworth Press, one of the big newspaper companies. There is now an editorial decision that no Cornish language will be printed. From an economic viewpoint the printing of articles in Cornish is not going to sell more newspapers, agreed, but this is true of much news. Several approaches have been made by ourselves and the Cornish Language Board, but to no avail. Despite promises from myself that I will vouch for any article in Cornish sent to the paper, and a suggestion that we will send them a translation of the same, the Cornishman editorial board persists to discriminate against Cornish.

We find ourselves in the ridiculous situation of going to battle against "the Cornishman" because it



refused to print the Cornishman's language. We do not intend to be defeated, we have as yet only fired the opening shots.

Chris Jeffery. Sec. Penzance Cornish Language Society.

### LANGUAGE AND EXAMS

The Cornish Language Board has reported that a record number of candidates entered their examinations for 1980. The third grade exam with papers in language history and literature was taken by 17 with 11 passing. There were also seventeen passes in the intermediate grade and fifty two in the elementary grade - including several Breton and Welsh students. The Board said that a very pleasing development has been the increase in the number of students from the same family probably the one thing stopping even more families from taking up the study of Cornish is the cost of official evening classes. This has led many to say that the present Tory cuts could be good for the language (and the language only) if the evening classes were closed down as costs could be cut by forming informal groups.

The Cornish speaking families group 'Dalleth' has found that there is a substantial interest among families for their children to learn Cornish. Most of the parents in these families that have shown interest do not speak the language and therefore without at present any Cornish play groups etc. Dalleth have a problem of how best to tackle the teaching of the language to the children. Several tapes have been given out to families but unfortunately without a great deal of initiative on the parents part the tapes are more than useless. Dalleth have now to decide whether it would be best to concentrate on the few families who already use Cornish and hope for a natural growth in the number of Cornish speaking families or continue to spend time on families with no Cornish as yet.

Dalleth would welcome any ideas - Trewyn, Lodge Hill, Liskeard.

### PLAID CYMRU VISIT

Earlier in the year the Cornish branch held the first of what they hope to be a series of talks by those involved in the cultural and political movements of the Celtic countries. Dr. John Davies of Plaid Cymru spoke of the challenges facing those who wish to maintain the Welshness of Wales today. The talk was followed by a Noswyth Lowen.

Any suggestions for future speakers will be welcomed from readers of Carn. The Branch is prepared to help with the cost of travel and accommodation.

### TROTSKYIST INFILTRATION

Those who read the "British" press will have seen in recent months reports of accusations concerning the infiltration of 'trotskyist' activists into the national executive committee of Mebyon Kernow. These indictments by an ex-officer of M.K. implicated the editorial group of the periodical "An Weryn" in an attempt at an extremist take over of M.K. Up to the present time the ex-officer has not been able to forward any proof to back up his accusations, to the M.K. executive committee or to the press.

### ANTI-NUCLEAR RALLY

It is estimated that nearly two and a half thousand people took part in the Truro march and rally organised by C.A.N.A., the Cornish Anti-Nuclear Alliance (see CARN 30 page 17) and is generally thought to have been a success. Cornwall is not noted for its street protests but the threat of a nuclear power station is the one thing that has driven a substantial number of Cornish working people to demonstrate their opposition in this way. There were speakers at the rally from Mebyon Kernow, the ecologist movement, the Liberal Party and Labour Party. Two Tory M.P.'s sent messages of support as opposed to the two other Conservative M.P.'s for Cornwall, John Nott the Trade Secretary and David Mudd a junior minister in the Energy Department, the former supporting the nuclear power programme and the latter sitting on the fence.

### SECOND HOMES

A housing strategy statement from one of Cornwall's six district councils has disclosed that there are more than 2,000 second homes within its boundaries. At the same time there were more than 1,700 in need of housing and a majority of these people unemployed and needing supplementary benefits. On the Scilly Isles the council have been told by their M.P. John Nott that he will not back them in the fight against the sale of council houses. Islanders fear that privately owned council houses could in some years time become holiday homes. Nott is sticking to the Tory Party line and the council have contacted an M.P. from another constituency, David Penhaligon (Liberal) and asked him to intervene. Other councils are also waking up to the second home problem but with an inbuilt Tory majority on Cornish councils very little fuss is made. One remembers the ex Liberal M.P. John Pardoe who claimed that second-homes driving down to his Cornish constituency to vote for the Tory had a lot to do with him losing his seat at the last election.

### RADIO CORNWALL

The B.B.C.'s publicity office has now said that Radio Cornwall should be on the air by the end of 1982. This is three years later than the date first set and the delay has been blamed on the B.B.C.'s financial restraints. The service which should eventually replace the present regional service (covering Cornwall, Devon, the Channel Islands and parts of Somerset) has yet to find premises - a site preferably in Truro city centre. However as the Cornwall Station is not at the top of the local radio station development list (first in line are English towns such as Barrow, Lincoln, Norwich etc) it is likely that the final opening date will slip even further back.

● Cornish Nationalist Party's magazine "**THE CORNISH BANNER**", from: Trelispen, Gorran, nr. St. Austell, 50p. Subscription £2.50 (Overseas airmail £4.00).

● Mebyon Kernow's magazine "**THE CORNISH NATION**", from Trequolsts, 11 West St., Liskeard, at 25p each, plus post, or £1.50 for 4 issues (incl. post).

## NEWSLETTER

The Cornish branch of the C.L. have distributed the first issue of what they hope to be a regular quarterly newsletter. By sending out the newsletter with each copy of Carn going to branch members they hope to provide a platform for opinions, ideas etc. and to keep those who do not normally attend meetings in touch with the Branch. The letter will be bilingual and it is hoped to include notice of festivals, activities and other events of interest.

## CELTIC CONGRESS - A CORNISH VIEW

A total of 22 members of the Cornish Branch of the Celtic Congress attended the International Annual meeting in Dublin, at the end of July.

Despite the seemingly vague theme "The Living Flame in our country today" disturbingly realistic talks were given by the various delegates, in particular Éire and Cymru.

Pádraig Ó Neachtain spoke on the very real threat to the continued existence of the Gaeltacht areas posed by the Dublin Government. This included the refusal to support the publication of school text books in Irish.

As a visitor to the "Exhibition of Treasures of early Irish Art" in the National Museum, Dublin, I found it very disturbing that an exhibition dedicated to a perfected art form should show total disregard for the language of its origin, by labelling everything solely in English.

Ioan Williams used the poetry of Cymru to illustrate the pressures suffered by Welsh speaking society and how the present day poets, confronted by works written in a time when the language was not under threat, have started to turn to the new "modes of poetry".

Could this be a path for Welsh culture as a whole? Rather than fight a losing battle to stay in its present form seek new means in which to grow in an increasingly industrial society.

The only exception to the trend to these lectures was that of Kernow.

A joint talk by Len Truran and Morwenna Jenkin illustrated the growing Celtic awareness in Kernow and the rapid growth of the language, with a tape recording of Brek Williams (one of several children being raised with Kernewek as the family language).

Other events included a lecture on Irish history up until 1922, Ceilidhs etc.

I think it fair to say that if the standard of this Celtic Congress is maintained in the near future the Congress should see itself moving out of the doldrums and attracting more young members to activate some of its high, but at present, latent potential.

J. Dudding.

**AN WERYN:** — independent radical nationalist periodical.

Back again as a quarterly. Yearly sub. is £1.20 (£1.50 Éire and Breizh) or 25p (including post) for a sample copy from 23 Basset Street, Redruth.

**LATE NEWS:** The Celtic League A.G.M. took place near

Redon, Breizh, at the end of August as planned despite travel difficulties. All branches, except one, had delegates present. The business was almost fully dealt with and a number of pleasant social events proved very entertaining. A full report will appear in the next issue of CARN.

## MANNIN

### YN CAGGEY SJERREE?

A speaker at the recent Celtic Week in Berlin expressed the view that the most important struggle in the Celtic world at present was that for the Welsh language.

Ec symposium sy Chiaghtin Cheltiagh ayns Berlin ayns Jerrey Souree, dooyrt Gareth Matthews dy row eshyn coontey yn caggey ry hoi freayll yn chengey dooghyssagh yn caggey smoo scanshoil sy teihll Celtiagh. My vees ny Bretnee geddyn yn varriaght. nee shen soilshaghey magh dy vod ny Celtiee elley ve speeideilagh, dooyrt Gareth. Ta mee jarrood goan elley Gareth, agh va faaue ayn myr shoh: managh vees ny Bretnee speeideilagh, s'cosoylagh dy jean ny Celtiee elley failleil.

Foddym toiggal smooiinaghtyn Gareth Matthews mychione y chooish shoh, agh shegin dou gra nagh vel mee ayns coardailys rish. Goll rish Dafydd Iwan, cha mie lhiam clashtyn red erbee mychione cooishyn Celtiagh raad ta peiagh ennagh gra "Ta shoh ny smoo na shen" ny "Ta shoh ny smoo scanshoil na shen" my t'iad loayrt mychione cheeraghyn Celtiagh. Keayrt dy row, dooyrt Bretnagh ennagh ec Cohionnal Celtiagh ayns Mannin, "Graih veen, ta ny smoo sleih ayns Aberdare na ayns Mannin ooilley!" Creid eh ny dyn, agh v'eh laccal soilshaghey magh nagh row scansh erbee ayns Mannin er y fa dy vel ee cho beg. My vees Celtiee goll er myr shen, beemayd caillit dy bollagh.

Son shickyrys, ta mee guee lesh ooilley my niart nagh vow Bretnish baase as dy jean yn chengey bishaghey. Ta'n chengey foast bio ayns Bretin ayns agh nagh vel ry gheddyn ayns ny cheeraghyn Celtiagh elley. Ga dy vel yn chengey er ngoll sheese, ta foast Bretnish flaaol ec thousaneyn dy Vretnee ta cur bioys da'n chengey. Gyn ourys erbee, ta'n caggey son Bretnish feer scanshoil. Agh vel yn caggey shoh ny smoo scanshoil na ny caggaghyn ayns ny cheeraghyn Celtiagh elley? S'cosoylagh dy row Gareth smooiinaghtyn myr shoh: mannagh vod chengey Celtiagh ta foast bioyr dy liooar scapail veih'n cha nod ny chengaghyn elley shen y yannoo. She Bretnish yn ynrican chengey Celtiagh ta foast niartal dy liooar as ee geddyn sorch dy chooney veih steat. Yiarin hene dy vel yn caggey son Bretnish yn caggey smoo scanshoil ayns Bretin hene. Sheilym nagh vod oo gra dy vel eh ny smoo scanshoil na yn caggey ry hoi brishey pooar politickagh Hostyn ayns Nerin, na yn caggey er hoi freayll yn chengey ayns Nalbin, as myr shen, as myr shen foast. Goll rish ny Bretnee, ta mee credjal dy vel yn chengey dooghyssagh yn red smoo scanshoil. Agh ta reddyn scanshoil elley ayn: shenn chliaghtaghyn, kiaull, as reddyn elley. Ta fys mie aym dy vel ooilley ny reddyn shoh kianlt dy chionn lesh yn chengey dooghyssagh. Agh my ta'n chengey goll fo, cha nodmayd gra dy vel shen yn jerrey. Boayl ennagh, nee sleih ennagh goll er lesh yn caggey. Shen dooghys sheelnaue.

Nar ihig eh Jee, agh my vees Bretnish geddyn baase myr chengey yn theay, cha jean shen cur er ny Celtiee elley dy chur kione er ny caggaghyn oc hene. Cha row rieau fys ec ny Celtiee cuin vaad bwoaillt.

Brian MacStoyll

## SEYRSNYS LOAYRTYS

T'eh jeeaghyn dooin dy vel ny Barrantee Ghoolish er chee dolley magh yn fo leigh mychione choyr magh rish yn theay duillageenyn er ny straidjyn fly-yerrey haol. Chow yn cooish shoh toshiaght sy vlein 1977 tra va sleih choyr duillageenyn da'n theay noi noanee sidooryn ec yn un cheayrt as va'n armee Sostnagh jannoo taishbynys er y chooylaghyn. V'ad goit ec ny moeiryn shee dinsh dy row fo leigh ayn noi cur magh duillageenyn fegooish kied veih ny Varrantee. Er y nah chiaghtin va tooilley sleih cur magh duillageenyn soilshaghey magh y cooish shoh as v'ad goit neesht as dob paart jeu dy eeck nyn finallyn as v'ad ceaut ayns prisoorn rish shiaghtin.

Er y chieed laa jeh'n vlein noa va sleih cur rish yn theay duillageen elley g'eearee "Blein vie Nao" orroo, Cha ren ny Barrantee veg ec y cheayrt shen.

Er'n gheurey shoh chaie haink yn "Life of Brian" dys Doolish as va Rev. Matthew Else ny hassoo cheu-moie jeh'n hie jalloo cur magh duillageenyn. Ve'h g'accan noi yn skeeal ry-akin er yn oyr dy row eh shieltyn dy row ee craidje mysh yn vea Yeeseey Chreest. Cha ren ny Barrantee veg ec y toshiaght derrey haink rish scieeunyn 'sy phabyr naight briaght cre'n fa magh row eh goit ec ny moeiryn-shee.

Ec y jerrey v'eh currit kionefenish y vriw as dooyrt Rev. Matthew Else dy row eh arryltagh dy ghoil dys prisoorn neesht. Dooyrt eh dy row cooish scanshoil ee as dob eh scuirr veih jannoo y red cheddin dy darragh yn "Life of Brian" rish reesht.

Ec y traajeh ny ratchyn T.T. va mraane aeg bwaagh goll mygeayrt er my straidjyn Ghoolish as adsyn cur magh duill ageenyn soilsheenaghey cabbil yiarney. Cha dooyrt ny Barrantee veg as cha row ad er nyn lhiettal liorish ny moeiryn shee.

Va ny Barrantee er n'gialdyn er dyn three bleeaney dy gholley magh paart jeh ny fo-feighaghyn feer henn as yn fo-leigh imraait harrish ny mast oc. Ta fo-leigh foast ayn no mraane as deiney snaue cooidjagh voish y hraaie Ghoolish. Cha nel peiagh erbee er ve goit ec ny moeiryn shee rish bleeaney jannoo y ihied shen.

Tammylt beg er dy henney cheayll shin dy jig "The Life of Brian" rish reesht ayns Doolish as ta Rev. Matthew Else er chee loayrt noi reesht. Yn chieed cheayrt hie eshyn kionefenish y vriw hooar eh seyrnsnys cohaantagh as v'eh baghtal dy-liooar dy beagh eh ceaut ayns prisoorn my harragh eh stiagh sy chooyrt reesht. Er y chiaghtin cheddin hooar shin fys dy row ny Barrantee jannoo rea rish yn fo-leigh. Fodmayds smooinghtyn dooin hene cre haghyragh er'n chooish mannagh row Rev. Else er jeet rish.

Colin y Jerree

After protests by various groups over two years the Douglas Corporation is to repeal a bye-law forbidding the distribution of leaflets. Had this bye-law stood they might have had to face the embarrassment of sending a church minister to prison.

## LAND TENURE IN MANN

It is difficult to prove anything definite about the rights of land tenure enjoyed by the Celtic people in pre-Norse times. By comparison with land-holding systems in other Celtic territories A.W. Moore (Hist. of the I.O.M. Vol. I) takes the view that areas were occupied

by the tribe. Arable land was re-allocated each year, and service and produce was owed by the tenants to the tribal chief. Rights to grazing on hill pasture, moorland, and arable land after crops were gathered were held in common. Moore sees this system as being bad for two reasons. There was little incentive to improve the land and the amount of service/produce due to the tribal chief had no limit set upon it, as it did, in theory, under a feudal system.

The geographical shape of most of the surviving treens, taking in a portion of mountain, lowland pasture and sea coast, suggests that the system altered very little even after the settlement of the Island by the Vikings. There is evidence that annual land re-distribution was still taking place into the fifteenth century. A note in the Isle of Man, R.H. Kinvig (p.110) states that Deemster Farrant thought that land was held in hereditary right during this period. However, the usual view is that the land was regarded as the property of the King. Eventually it became customary for the right to farm a particular place to be renewed automatically.

This customary law found its expression in the "straw tenure" whereby the tenant had the right to dispose of his tenancy in the way that he wished. He still paid a Lord's rent but could not be turned off his land. This system of land-holding was confirmed by James I of England. (A.W. Moore p. 904 Appendix B). In 1593 Earl Ferdinands had already made an attempt to terminate this customary right and in the hundred years following, more attempts were made to dispossess the Manx of their right. Rents and dues had been acceptable in the form of "corn, cattle, turf, and fish" as well as money. In 1601 however, there was a "great death in cattle and horses" so that the money rent was doubled and the dues in corn halved. At about this time some tenants agreed to leasehold arrangements with the Lord in the belief that it in no way affected their rights under "Straw tenure". Some of them became suspicious and arranged to do away with these leases (on payment of a fine) to return to the customary right.

In 1630 Lord Strange sent commissioners to arrange leases in lieu of "straw tenure" but most tenants refused. In 1643 he again sent four officers who offered leases to those who would accept and would permit those who still wanted to retain tenure to the straw to do so on payment of double rent. Tynwald sanctioned this Act in 1645 with qualifications. The Act also prohibited transferring land without the Lord's sanction.

The uncertainty of the new position and the fact that the Lord's Officers (under his instruction) accepted the leasehold, led the tenants to agree to the leases in large numbers. They soon came to realize that they had been deprived of certain important rights. On the expiry of a lease (21 years or three lives) the Lord sought the right to dispose of the tenancy. In a case concerning John Lace, whose lands had been granted by the Lord to Bishop Barrows, in 1666 the Keys decided in Lace's favour but on Earl Charles declaring that he would have "no more of these kind of practises", and by making severe threats to the Keys when they still would not do his bidding, the Earl finally got his way.

There followed other difficult years. The Manx abandoned the farms and took to smuggling amongst other things. Eventually it became so difficult to find tenants that in 1703 Bishop Wilson and three members of Keys met with Earl James in England and made proposals



which were embodied in the Act of Settlement in the following year. The most important part of the Act was that the Earl confirmed "their ancient customary Estates of inheritance in their respective Tenements, descendable from Ancestor to Heir according to the Laws and Customs of the Isle". At the same time the tenants duties, rents, and alienation fines when transferring property were regularized.

The new position encouraged a growth in enclosed land and permanent hedges became a new feature on the landscape. Licenses were granted on condition that no rights of way, water or access to turf grounds were interfered with. The amount of common land was much reduced from this time on and poor people lost much free pasture. It is also clear that rights of access were, nonetheless, violated. The references to old boundary stones in the proceedings suggest that though few previous physical divisions were permanent the boundaries had come down from a long way back in history.

The arrangements which were finally agreed to regarding the mountain land were not without incident. In 1710 the Lord failed in an attempt to assess the unfenced land for rent and, no doubt, reluctantly, agreed to enclosures. There were riots in 1724 against this move, probably by the same crofters and small landowners who had successfully prevented assessment of the mountains for rent. Trouble continued spasmodically and in 1864 Governor Loch and police were required to disperse a crowd who were in dispute over the disposal of a tract of land in the mountains.

The concept of Freehold was not absent from the story. When the Island was granted to Sir John Stanley in 1406 by England's King Henry IV there were already Bishops' Baronies and Abbey lands held freehold by the church. They were paying rent to the Lord and were soon shown by Sir John that they held their land only on condition of their acknowledging his position over them. (Kinvig pp. 96-97). At the dissolution these lands were reverted in the Crown but in 1609 they were transferred to the Stanleys, with the exception of certain "Staff Lands" which became the property of the Christians of Milntown.

In 1650 some of the Lord's Officers who had agreed to leases previously, had their lands granted "for ever under and upon the rent, services, duties and customes heretofore usual". This was a hint to other tenants who had taken leases that these documents had deprived them of their customary right, and many reverted to "straw tenure".

In 1913 an Act was passed which allowed tenants to buy out the duty to pay the Lord's rent on payment of a lump sum.

The above is a very brief sketch of some of the struggles that took place in the past by the Manx to retain what they considered to be very important rights relating to land tenure. It does seem as though they avoided some of the disastrous effects of feudalism and absentee landlords suffered by neighbouring Celtic nations. It may also explain partially the deep-felt resentment felt by many at the land transactions they witness today. The convictions held by those who struggled for their rights as they saw them in the years 1593-1704 may have been handed down from pre-Norse days and may still rouse echoes deep in the modern Manx conscience. Who has any better right to the tenancy of the land than the family that has worked it?

More detailed accounts:-

- A.W. Moore A History of the Isle of Man. Vol. II pp. 871 - 909  
 R.H. Kinvig The Isle of Man pp. 110 - 112  
 David Craine Manannan's Isle pp. 149 173  
 George E Quayle Legends of a Lifetime 36 - 46 Hedges 25 and 100 The Sulby "Cossacks".

(This article was written by Colin Jerry and published originally as a leaflet by MEC VANNIN)

### C.L. MANNIN

European Convention On Human Rights - O.K. !!!  
 Manx Bill of Rights - NO WAY !!!

The League branch in Mannin is continuing it's opposition to the so-called Manks Bill of Rights, which to placate the pro-birching lobby, is being introduced into the Keys as a substitute to the European Convention on Human Rights.

Courses of Action adopted so far, include:- (a) Placing the matter on the agenda of the recent meeting of the International Human Rights Network. (London); (b) Seeking clarification of the present position from the Council of Europe; (c) Publication of background article in last edition of CARN; (d) Initiation of enquiries, through our legal Counsellors, into the constitutional legality of this particular action.; (e) Contact with sympathetic groups - U.K. Europe and N. America.

The Campaign is on-going and will continue until this "Bill" is withdrawn and discredited along with it's architects.

### ORE EQUI

A Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure has been set up by the London government because of public unease at the number of "confessions" (on which "criminals" have been jailed) which have been proved subsequently to have been without base in fact.

The "criminals" confessed alright - but "confessed" because they were unable to outwit or overcome the techniques of their questioners.

In all the "pothor" caused by this news - and well based pothor it is (three completely innocent youths "confessed" to the killing of Maxwell Confait in 1972 and were exonerated recently) no mention is made of the numbers of political prisoners incarcerated on the base of "confessions" or reported "confessions".

English liberals cannot see the implication of their own keen consciences when the ramifications of their tenderness reach into their imperial holdings; nonetheless the very existence of this Commission brings one slight ray of hope to all who have been unjustly jailed.

Could the French learn, one wonders?

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## CELTIC COOPERATION

A facet of Celtic history has been the apparent inability of the Celts to unite and maintain a stable, common alliance to achieve long term social, cultural, political or economic goals.

This has been especially true when the Celts have been faced by well organised, well disciplined enemies, who have been able to maximise and exploit Celtic proclivity to disunity to the point where to-day there exists only one Celtic Country-Eire-with any semblance of independence or autonomy.

The lesson to be learnt is that if the remaining Celtic countries are to achieve any measure of independence, growth and development, it is essential that a spirit of mutual cooperation and assistance be fostered between them.

The basis for such cooperation already exists in the shared cultural affinities of the Celtic nations, moreover they share a similar history of military conquest followed by economic exploitation and cultural oppression.

Ideally, then, cooperation in the Celtic area should emerge without the need for formal structures like treaties or protocols, but in the absence of spontaneous movement towards cooperation, and in the event of more Celtic countries obtaining their independence, it may become necessary to stimulate such cooperation by the establishment of formal agreements binding member states to pursue policies of mutual cooperation.

There already exists a number of political, military, and economic alliances, like N.A.T.O. the E.E.C. or the U.N. and its associate bodies which provide good examples of how international cooperation can be formally organised to pursue definite goals.

However, the organisation and structure of these bodies may not provide a very suitable blueprint for any formal organisation devoted to Celtic cooperation.

The kind of formal structure needed to advance Celtic cooperation could be based upon the model of the "Nordic Council" which is devoted to pursuing policies of cooperation and assistance in areas of mutual interest between the Scandinavian countries.

Scandinavian cooperation has its roots in history and sprang mainly from private initiative gradually leading to Government involvement especially since World War Two.

The pinnacle of this cooperation was reached in 1962 with the conclusion of the Helsinki Treaty which provided an overall framework for the cooperation which was then well advanced.

The agreement is essentially a treaty of mutual cooperation with which the Nordic nations express a desire to reinforce their close community of interests. Their declared aim is the adoption of uniform rules in as many sectors as possible.

The governments involved, under the terms of the Treaty, undertake to maintain and develop a greater measure of cooperation in the legal, cultural, social and economic fields, and in regard to communications and the environment.

To execute their will and intentions two specific bodies have been created; the Nordic Council and the Nordic Council of Ministers.

Their aim is to lay the foundations for policies that advance the cultural, social and economic welfare of the Scandinavian people. However, it should be noted that matters related to individual nations foreign and security policies are not taken up for consideration by the joint bodies.

The Nordic Council came into being in 1953 with Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden as member countries, Finland acceded in 1955 and since 1970 the self governing areas of the Faroe and Aland Islands have had their own representatives on the Council.

The Nordic Council consists of 78 elected members and representatives of the member governments. Norway and Sweden send 18 elected delegates, Finland 17, Iceland 6, the Faroe Islands 2, and the Aland islands 1.

Government representatives are nominated by each participating government, and the number of representatives is usually around 40. Representatives nominated by governments are not entitled to vote in the Council.

The elected representatives on the Council are divided into five standing Committees namely; the Legal Committee, the Cultural Committee, the Social and Environmental Committee, the Communications Committee and the Economic Committee.

These committees prepare the business that is to be considered by the Council. The Council has also two permanent committees for Finance and Information. The Nordic Council meets each year in joint session which last for about one week. Between sessions of the Council the committees meet to discuss issues and to prepare business to be considered.

The Presidium of the Nordic Council operates between sessions as the Council's supreme body. It is assisted in its day to day business by a Secretariat based in Stockholm, which is in turn assisted by national secretaries for each member country.

The secretary to the Presidium and the heads of the respective national secretaries form a Secretariat Coordinating Committee which prepares issues to be considered by the Presidium.

The recommendations of the Nordic Council carry considerable weight because they reflect political wishes which have the support of some thirty parties in the Parliaments of the Nordic Countries; consequently they lead to action by the Governments concerned.

The work of the Nordic Council and the recommendations it supports is further reinforced by the Nordic Council of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers was established in 1971 as a result of a revision of the 1962 Helsinki Treaty.

The Council of Ministers is composed of Ministers appointed by each member state. Each government appoints a Minister (Minister for Cooperation) responsible for the various aspects of Nordic cooperation. These Ministers are also responsible for the preparation of questions on Nordic cooperation in their own countries.

The composition for the Council of Ministers varies at its meeting according to the nature of the problem to be discussed. Decisions made by the Council of Ministers are mandatory for member governments, but in some instances they may be subject to Parliamentary approval.

The business of the Council of Ministers is prepared by committees of senior officials who are also responsible for inquiries upon which Council decisions are based. The Council of Ministers is assisted in its work by Secretariats based in Oslo and Copenhagen.

From this brief description of the Nordic Council, it can be seen that the Scandinavian countries have achieved a high degree of success in co-ordinating development, and international co-operation on matters of mutual concern.

In so doing they have not only increased their

political stability, but they have brought greater understanding, cohesiveness and prosperity to the Nordic region.

It is not proposed that the Celtic countries should adopt the Scandinavian system in its entirety, but it does provide a useful and thought provoking model from which future Celtic development could be based on.

Tomás Ó Ciara.

Information used in this article was obtained from the pamphlet "Nordic Council".

## THE IBERIAN CELTS

Very little is known about the early Celtic settlements in Spain and Portugal, believed to date from about 400 B.C., as these did not survive the Roman occupation as distinct political entities, however there are two peoples in modern Spain claiming descent from these Celts, the Galicians and the Asturians. The Iberian Celts' sense of identity was very much eroded by the centuries of Spanish and Portuguese rule, but recently they have begun to assert themselves once more. The myth that the Iberian Celts were not in fact Celts is mainly due to the fact that the Iberian Celtic Language(s), much weakened by the longer period of Roman rule, died out comparatively early, the transition to Romance dialects being complete by about 7-800 A.D. This same transition to non-Celtic languages is very much evident in the rest of the Ceilteachd however they are more fortunate in that where the original language is not still spoken it is at least fully documented and so can still be learned, this is not the case in the Iberian Ceilteachd. Some words of Iberian Celtic still survive in the vocabularies of Gallego and the Bable (the present-day languages of Galicia and Asturias) though how many items of vocabulary can be regarded as specifically Iberian Celtic is unclear as the Romance language in general adopted quite a few Celtic words, (mainly from Gaulish, this confuses the picture as Iberian Celtic was closely related to Gaulish, if not simply a Gaulish dialect) and the Celtic languages many Latin words. Gallego and the Bable are themselves Romance languages though many linguists regard them as being dialects, Gallego a dialect of Portuguese and the Bable or Asturian a dialect of Spanish.

The cultures of Galicia and Asturias are very much Celtic in nature. In the literary sphere the indigenous poetry, usually in quatrains, is linked firmly in style and character with classical Celtic poetry. The Poetry was highly developed and on certain themes such as love and nature a pure lyrical quality developed and co-existed with more sophisticated elements yet the poems retain a down-to-earth quality. This school of Celtic lyrical poetry developed in Galicia, with its centre in Santiago around about the year 1200 and became the chief poetic form throughout Iberia for over two hundred years and it remains a source of inspiration even today. Musically the Iberian Celts are very similar to the Insular Celts, having their own bagpipes, the gaitas, as well as the more usual tamborines and drums, these instruments being used for the rich body of traditional music and dance which represents Celtic music at its best. Amongst other facets of Iberian Celtic culture the folk art of the two nations is definitely Celtic in origin, much of it being abstract in nature.

Despite the fact that it was in Galicia-Asturias

that Christianity took refuge from the Moors (much as Christianity took refuge from the Anglo-Saxons in the British Ceilteachd) there remains a deep-rooted Celtic subculture in the religion of the Iberian Celts which manifests itself in the large emphasis placed upon the souls, for example Galician beggars plead for offerings on behalf of the souls. Though the Catholic faith is strong, beliefs in black and white magic still persist as do beliefs in the evil eye (this is still strong in certain regions of Alba), witchcraft and in the powers of some herbs.

Politically the nationalist parties are not strong as (in Galicia at least) many of the more active nationalists have been forced to emigrate due to the poor economic climate, however the people of the two countries are growing more aware of their Celtic origins, for example there has been the setting up of Celtic groups and movements in the Iberian Ceilteachd one of these being Lliga Celta d'Asturies (Celtic League of Asturias). Nationalism still has a long way to go but with the peoples of Spain now politically more aware, it certainly has great potential.

Paul Mosson

## A Short Gallego Etymologic Vocabulary

GALLEGO	CELTIC	ENGLISH
1. Baul	Gwawl, Fa	Belly
2. Berro	Berwur	Watercress
3. Ducho	Doich, Doeth	Skilled
4. Eguinaldu	Egin, Eginad	Christmas Present
5. Flecha	Flesc	Arrow or Segment
6. Gago	Gak	Stutterer
7. Goro	Gor, Gorin	Vain, Showy
8. Legamo	Lec'Hid, Lige	Mud
9. Llerdu	Llurd	Heavy, Dull
10. Mel	Mel	Honey
11. Parar	Para	To Halt, To Stop
12. Soga	Sug, Syg	Rope
13. Terc	Terc, Tearc	Stubborn
14. Troco	Trwich	Piece
15. Zurdu	Swrth	Left-Handed

These words were chosen at random from a far more complete Galaic Etymologic vocabulary and in no way show the full scope of the words of Celtic origin in the Romance languages now spoken in Galicia-Asturias.

## THE ASTUR-GALICIAN OPEN COUNCIL

The Astur-Galician Open Council was a public institution, an assembly composed of all the family heads in a natural territorial division called parish and endowed with legislative, executive and juridical powers.

This administrative unit is very characteristic of Asturias and Galicia, with the dispersion of their villages due to orography. It is inherited from the Celtic territorial system of administration. Each parish has still to-day its ancient "ring-wall".

The Asturian and Galician Celts applied the Aristotelian principle of the ideal maximum territorial extension for the best government of a country.



Originally the human voice would reach the ears of all the members of the community, including those working in the fields, without misrepresentation. Later the Roman Christian parish substituted the ringing of church bells for calling to meetings, but the principle was the same — they could be heard in all corners of the parish.

Nowadays, this is no longer of practical value as the modern telecommunication system can carry the human word and image across continents, and even to the moon. But although the world will perhaps one day be only one state, the elementary or natural territorial, the administrative parish, will always be necessary because to-day it has more difficult and numerous problems than a Kingdom had in the Antiquity. They could be discussed and solved by revalidating that millenary local institution, the Open Council.

This institution of Celtic origin was adapted to the Roman Christian parish for administrative purposes. It went on evolving until it was superseded in the last century by the municipal law imposed by a centralistic government.

The Open Council was regulated by the Asturian regional law. It was a purely customary institution accepted as legal by the Asturian and Galician peoples, a democratic organ for the personal and direct participation of all the family heads in their community's government. Church bells were rung in different ways in order to call to the ordinary and to the extraordinary meetings. All the members of the Assembly, women included, were under obligation to attend, being liable to financial penalties if they did not, unless they had good reasons for being absent. The meetings were generally held in the open, under a tree (preferably an oak) or at a church gate. They dealt mainly with such matters as education, farming, health, social assistance, public works. Written records were kept. The Council could call on expert and legal advice is necessary.

The Open Council survived in some remote districts and today the new Spanish Constitution recognises this ancient Asturian and Galician institution. J.L.Pacios.

## LETTER

A Chariad,

While a common Gaelic which would be immediately comprehensible to all Gaelic speakers would be useful and could be reasonably easily constructed, I can see no place for a Pan-Celtic language. I wholeheartedly agree with Dr. George (CARN 27) that Esperanto is the obvious answer to the search for a common non-imperial tongue.

As well as being regular and much more easily learned than 'natural' languages, Esperanto has built up a considerable volume of literature over the 90 years of its existence. Textbooks and dictionaries already exist as do a not inconsiderable number of speakers. Esperanto has often been used by speakers of 'small' languages to spread knowledge of their national cultures. It is notable that Hungarians, Finns, Scots, Catalans, Estonians, Islanders and others from small nations have played a disproportionately larger share in the Esperanto movement.

Over the past year there have appeared an anthology of Scottish prose and poetry in Esperanto translation, an Esperanto course in Breton and a novel originally written in Esperanto about a Glasgow family between the wars. Several years ago a short history of the Cornish language in Esperanto was published in Rotterdam.

For those interested in the condition of small nations and minority languages throughout the world, there is published (in Germany) the magazine *Etnismo* which appears three times a year. I'll willingly supply a free sample copy to anyone who writes to me in Esperanto requesting one.

Is mise, le meas mor, *Uilleam MacCalvim*.

4 Hornshill Farm Road, Stepps., Glaschu G33 6DE, Alba.

## MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

All who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are entitled to membership. The membership fee (entitling to CARN) and the subscription rates are £3.00 for Ireland and Britain; 28.5FF (or equivalent) for Brittany and Continental Europe in general; £3.50 (or equivalent) for non-European countries (this includes airmailing). For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the secretaries:—

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