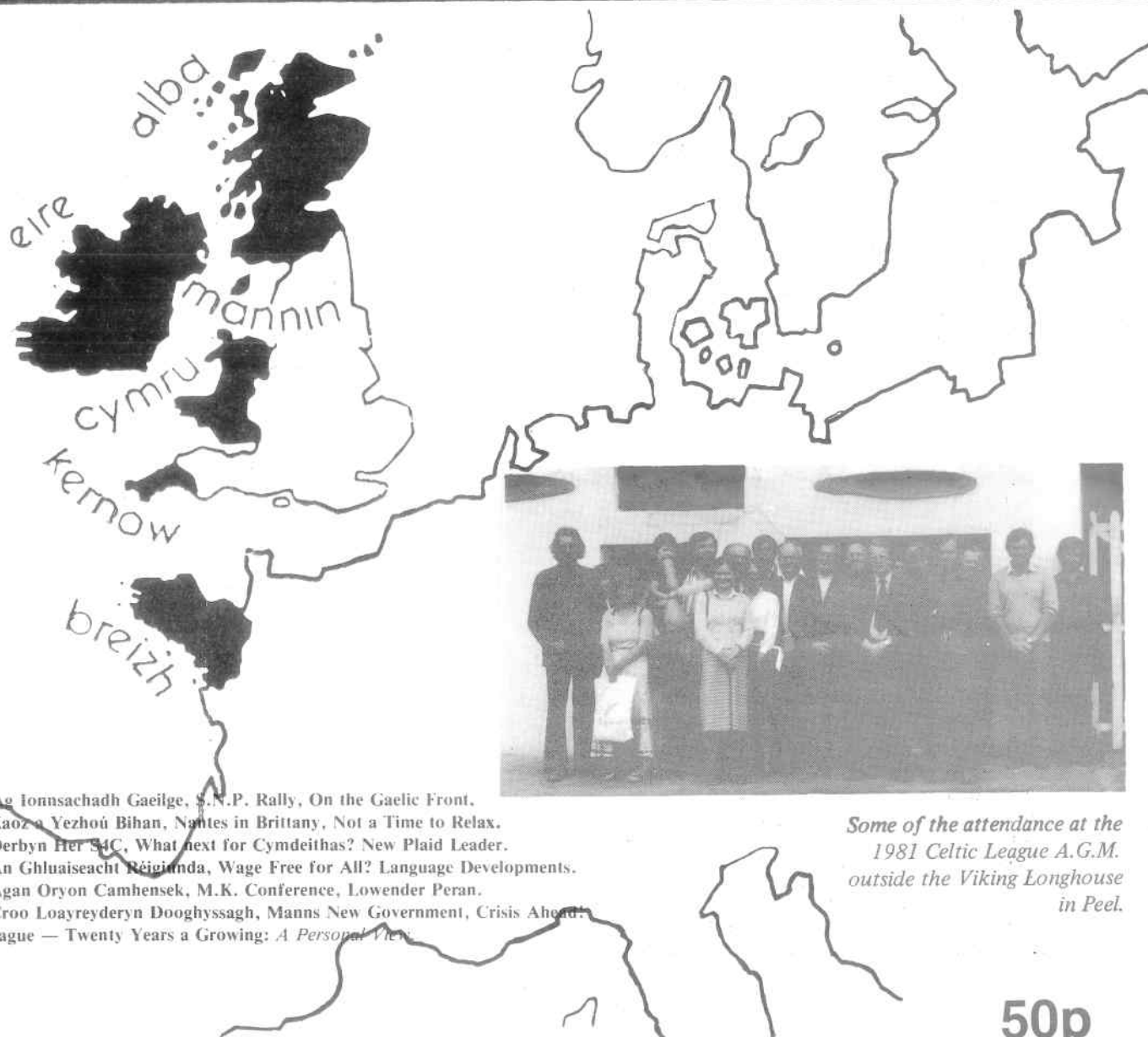


# celtn

WINTER  
1981  
No. 36

## A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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*Some of the attendance at the  
1981 Celtic League A.G.M.  
outside the Viking Longhouse  
in Peel.*

50p

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

## Editorial

The election of a new leader by Plaid Cymru (the Welsh National Party) must be a milestone in the development of the party. The retiring president Gwynfor Evans gave many decades of dedicated service to the party and to Wales. Gwynfor was also active in the interCeltic field and even in recent years showed his commitment to inter-Celtic co-operation by his visits to Ireland and Brittany. He was of course for many years President of the Celtic League and did much good work in Wales to further the League aims until his different interpretation of our long term objectives led to a parting of the ways.

We would hope that Plaid Cymru would maintain a policy of actively pursuing inter-Celtic co-operation and would try to extend areas of common interest and co-operation with national parties and movements in the other Celtic countries. We would hope also that the party would align itself with the long term political aim of the Celtic League in furthering the concept of a confederation of free Celtic states free from any political links with their present imperial masters.

### Renewal of Subscriptions or Membership fees.

Most members of the C. League or subscribers of CARN are due to renew after reception of this issue of CARN. The rates are now as follows: Ireland IR£4; Britain stg. £4; Continental Europe 40FF or equivalent; USA and other non-European countries US\$9. Please give your attention to this matter as soon as possible so as to save us the need of sending reminders or the uncertainty as to how many copies of CARN to print (we have to keep the number under close scrutiny in order to avoid unnecessary expenses).

**4th World Assembly.** The "Ethnic" session of the Fourth World Assembly was arranged by the London branch of the Celtic League. At a meeting chaired by Ifan Lloyd, accounts were given of the cultural struggles of the Flemings, Kurds, Armenians. When the disadvantages of bigness become apparent to Anglo-Americans, they frequently fail to recognise that the concept "Small is Beautiful" has its cultural implications. It is hoped that the Assembly will contribute to this educative process.

### In support of the Arfe Resolution

Letters were sent on behalf of the Celtic League to each of the Irish members of the European Parliament drawing their attention to the importance of the Arfe resolution and urging them to attend and support it. Favourable replies were received from Neil Blaney, Indep. Fianna Fáil, and from three Fianna Fáil MEPs, Paddy Lalor, Noel Davern and Sile de Valera.

It is with regret that we report the death of a long standing member of the Irish Branch, Meryl Gourley (Farrington). Meryl was instrumental in promoting the exchange of Scottish and Irish poets and gave the use of her house on a number of occasions for Celtic League functions. Sonas siorraí go raibh aici.

# ALBA

## Ag Ionnsachadh Gaeilge

Tha Gàidhlig agad. Tha thu a' leughadh CARN, agus tha sin a' ciallachadh gu bheil ùidh agad anns na dùthchannan Ceilteach eile. Nuair a thionndaidheas tu chun na duilleagan anns an iris seo air a bheil naidheachdan á Eire, théid agad air móran den Ghaeilge a chì thu an sin a thuigsinn, gun teagamh, oir tha an dà chànan cho faisg sin air a chèile. Mas Eireannach thu, no mas urrainn dhut a' chànan ud a thuigsinn gun dragh mar tha, cha leig thu leas leughadh nas fhaide, oir is dòcha gu bheil fhios agad cheana air a h-uile rud a tha mi a' dol a ràdh. Air an làimh eile, ma tha cuid mhath de na tha thu a' faicinn air na duilleagan Eireannach do-thuigsinn, theagamh gum bu mhath leat tuilleadh eòlais a chur air a' Ghaeilge. Mas ann mar sin a tha e, tha moladh no dhà agam dhut.

Anns a' cheud àite, bu chòir dhut faclair math a cheannach, agus 'se am faclair as fheàrr am *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* le Niall O Dónaill. 'Se faclair ùr a th'ann, agus tha e air fear de na faclairan as feumaile a chunnaic mi riamh ann an cànan sam bith. A dh'innse na firinn, tha e tòrr nas fheàrr na an Dwelly againne. Agus ged a tha e mòr, chan eil e daor idir (IR£5.00), oir 'se an riaghaltas a dh'fhoillsich e.

Anns an dàrna h-àite, bhiodh teacs-leabhar anns a bheil mineachadh air gràmair agus gnàth-chainnt gu math feumail. Chan eil gràmair na Gaeilge glé eadar-dhealaichte bho ghràmair na Gàidhlig, ach air a shon sin tha pungan ann a dh'fhaodadh a bhith draghail mur deachaidh am mineachadh. Mar eisimpleir, chì thu na faclan "in ann" gu math tric ann an Gaeilge, agus tha iad glé choltach ris na faclan Gàidhlig "ann an", ach chan e sin as ciall dhaibh idir. 'Se tha iad a' ciallachadh ach "comasach air": Tá sé in ann sin a dhéanamh. = 'S urrainn dhà sin a dhéanamh.

'Se *Buntús Cainte* an cùrsa Gaeilge a bhios luchd-ionnsachaidh a' ceannach mar as trice. Tha mi creidsinn gur e seo an cùrsa as fheàrr agus as éifeachdaiche do dhaoine aig nach eil facal Gaeilge, ach tha eagal orm gum biodh e ro shimplidh, a' cheud phàirt dheth co-dhiù, do dhaoine aig a bheil Gàidhlig mar tha. Os bàrr, chan eil mineachadh ann idir air a' ghràmair no air fuaimean na cànan. Tha mi a' smaoinichadh gum biodh *Learning Irish*, cùrsa ùr nodha le Mícheál Ó Siadhail, fada nas freagarraiche dhut. Gheibh thu dealbh iomlan den Ghaeilge mar a tha i ga labhairt ann an Conamara, té de na gaeltachtaí as motha ann an Eirinn, bhon leabhar seo agus bho na trì cèiseagan (cassettes) a thig 'na chois. Tha tòrr mòr fiosrachaidh, eadar mineachadh agus faclan, air a dhinneadh ann: saibhreas fiosrachaidh a dh'fhaodadh am fear-tòiseachaidh cumanta a mhi-mhisneachadh gu luath. Ach chan ann a' tòiseachadh a tha thusa idir, ach a' dol air adhart le cànan air a bheil leth-eòlas agad mar tha.

Tha na h-altan Gaeilge ann an CARN glé inntinneach, gun teagamh sam bith, ach chan eil iad fada, agus chan fhaigh thu iad ach ceithir uairean sa

bhliadhna. Feumaidh tu barrachd na sin a leughadh ma tha thu airson adhartas a dhèanamh. Tha leabhraichean de gach seòrsa rim faotainn ann an Gaeilge, roghainn fada nas farsainge na an roghainn a th'againn ann an Gàidhlig. A thuilleadh air sin, tha irisean miosail ann (*Agus, Comhar, Feasta, An tUltach*) agus dà phàipear-naidheachd seachdaineach (*Inniu agus Amárach*). Chan eil teagamh ann idir gur fiach fo-sgrìobhadh do *Inniu* no *Amárach* an t-airgead. Gheibh thu pailteas de sgrìobhadh ùr inntinneach a h-uile seachdain.

Théid agad air alt no dhà a lorg anns gach àireamh anns am bi fìor ùidh agad, agus mar sin bidh thu nas deònaiche am faclair a chleachdadh!

#### Seòlaidhean:

An Siopa Leabhar	An Siopa Gaelach
6 Sráid Fhearchair	86 Sráid Gardnar Íoch.
Baile Átha Cliath 2	Baile Átha Cliath 1
Amárach	Inniu
Indreabhán	29 Sráid Uí Chonaill Íocht.
Co. na Gaillimhe	Baile Átha Cliath 1

—D. King

## On the Gaelic Front

*le Frang MacThomais*

As this is being written The National Mod of An Comunn Gaidhealach is about to begin in An Gearasdan (Fort William), after a period of almost fifty years. It is possibly a good time for reflection on the present Gaelic scene. One thing is certain: the public in Scotland are more aware than ever before that Gaelic still exists as a living language within the Gaidhealtachd and that it has many sympathisers and supporters all over Scotland.

That fact, in itself, is not without significance. When the writer became active in the Gaelic movement (for 20 years previously he had been born and brought up as a monoglot in a bilingual environment!) in the middle of the 60s, Gaelic was something for cranks, as was the SNP, in the eyes of the general public.

Things changed slowly, but only through a programme of tactics which were designed to focus public attention on the plight of Gaelic, for two decades ago it was on the decline. Perhaps the advent of the Highlands & Islands Development Board helped to draw eyes to the north of Scotland. While the Board in itself was not concerned with language and culture, its role as an agency for change was bound to have an impact on social patterns and, therefore, cultural bonds.

An Comunn Gaidhealach, too, made an impact by appointing its first-ever paid full-time Director who was something of a whizz-kid and who was able to give Gaelic the necessary modern image. The tactics were simple but effective: Gaelic had to be infiltrated into every aspect of public life. That infiltration was helped indirectly by the rise in popularity of the SNP, for the Party could not truly be Scottish if it neglected Gaelic. Its formal acceptance of Gaelic in its manifesto helped to push Gaelic into the political arena.

This, however, was not a place for Gaelic which pleased many people, who had supported Gaelic in more traditional ways. But no language has ever made progress in a vacuum. Thus politics was inevitable for Gaelic, and, as it happens, it is in this field that Gaelic has made its greatest impact. Two decades ago nearly all Members of the House of Commons would be ignorant of Gaelic. Now they all know about it and are aware of the strong feelings which exist because of that House's lack of support for it, even in principle.

It is sad to reflect that while great cries are made on behalf of human rights in other parts of the world by those in power in Britain, some 90,000 people in Scotland are being deliberately ignored in their basic requirement for Statutory recognition of their language and culture. Little wonder then that groups such as Ceartas are being formed to act as thorns in the flesh of those who, for some deep-rooted psychological reason, have decided that Gaelic should not be given the status accorded to Welsh. And it will be little wonder that the future will see increased incidences of challenging authority. The Welsh fight had to be taken to extremes, until the State learned its lesson. It is possible that the State will continue to ignore Gaelic simply because the Gaelic activists are not derived from within the Gaidhealtachd itself, but are largely derived from those who have felt it necessary to identify their Scottish roots and to play an active role in the face of native deference to authority.

It is also sad to reflect that there exists quite serious divergences of opinion as to how the Gaelic cause can be furthered. In some quarters there has been seen the need to maintain respectability, as witness the U-turn of the Trustees of Sabhal Mor Ostaig and its Directors. An Comunn has taken the moderate stance, preferring to push ahead in those quarters of the battlefield where resistance to the recognition of Gaelic can be weakened by reasoned argument. But progress made in this way is inevitably slow and will certainly not be accepted by those groupings who see that civil disobedience is necessary to cause authority to act and react with a positive benefit for the language.

Another cause for sad reflection is that there is no Standing Conference of all Gaelic-based bodies, meeting once a year to discuss co-operation on grounds of mutual consent and acting as a clearing house for concerted operation on mutually-compatible fronts. This, in the writer's view, is the next important thing which must come about, for where a house is divided it can be held under by the opposition. Disagreements about tactics should not be a reason for non-co-operation among Gaelic-based bodies, including publishing houses, Gaelic Books Council, An Comunn, Ceartas, Stri, etc., etc. After all, the cause is the same, as is the aim of all groups. Too much activity is possibly being duplicated, too many individuals are pushing and pulling against each other because they exist in their own arenas of activity.

My old friend Ruairidh MacAoidh used to deplore the Gaels' penchant for diversion and divergence, a trait which still exists. But there is much common ground between groupings; why should it lie fallow?

Meanwhile, though not a day goes past now without a mention of Gaelic in the general Scottish



news, Gaelic suffers. Murdo MacFarlane, for instance, deplors the emasculation of Gaelic language and vocabulary. As a writer for decades he has seen the need to take his words from a decreasing vocabulary if he is to make sense to his readers. That is the real loss, for if the words disappear, then so do aspects of the culture which the language has long supported and given real meaning to.

Ah, well. These are reflections of a middle-aged activist who has seen some 15 years of activity, time and effort, and expense, waiting for some results. How long, oh Lord, how long?

*Cet article commente les faits marquants de la lutte pour la langue gaelique depuis une quinzaine d'années et plaide en faveur de l'établissement d'une conférence permanente de toutes les organisations qui se donnent pour objet la restauration de cette langue.*

## Scottish National Party

Edinburgh was the venue for two important occasions on the weekend of the 24th/25th October. On the afternoon of the 24th an SNP rally was held at the Calton Hill at the east end of Princes St. and just above that famous building, the erstwhile Royal High School, the aborted Assembly building, the proposed future court house, etc. This building itself is quite an emotive issue now but allowing for that and realising fully all the chicanery behind the devolution exercise it has to be accepted that no matter what degree of self-government is proposed there is no other building suitable to house the legislature and as such it is very relevant psychologically to keep it in the public eye. The rally on the 24th was addressed by Billy Wolfe the chairman, of the SNP. Jim Sillars the vice chairman for policy and Isobel Lindsay for publicity. The theme of those speakers and others was the unacceptability of the results of the Thatcher policies in Scotland, the absolute futility of the Labour opposition to defend the people of Scotland and thus the obligation on the S.N.P. to do what was needed even if this meant on occasion the civil disobedience threatened previously. It was stressed that the first essential ingredient would be discipline from those taking part.

The fact that this was forthcoming is perhaps measured by the media reportage. BBC and the papers have given more time and space to report the dilemma of the notables of the party who were conspicuous by their absence from the rally. Is it not ironic that the people who not so long ago were to be heard complaining bitterly about the coverage the S.N.P. got from that same media now cannot get enough time on it to air in public matters which should be kept for democratic debate within the party?

The attendance having reorganised themselves in groups then walked sedately down to the road near that building mentioned above and incidentally outside St. Andrews House. A band played, a few songs were sung, the chosen group politely asked for admission to the building and were politely refused — a one minute silence was observed and the crowd dispersed to await the next summons.

Estimates of those attending varied but the turnout must have pleased the organisers especially as many who would have attended were down in London attending the mass anti-nuclear rally. Of the 11 members of parliament the SNP had in the high days of the seventies only one — Andrew Welsh — formerly MP for South Angus was there.

There will be a meeting of the National Council of the S.N.P. at the beginning of December and once again the question of the future of the "79 Group" will be the issue. Though their meetings are open to all party members much play is being made of minutes of a meeting supposedly leaked and purporting to show that they had agreed to have a speaker from Provisional Sinn Féin. Sinn Féin is supposed to have approached them to form a joint committee on unemployment and according to a report in the "Sunday Standard" they had rejected this. Perhaps some light could be thrown on this from Dublin. What is without doubt is that the silence of the traditionalists in the SNP, on the question of Northern Ireland puts their understanding of the question of self-realisation for small nations very much in doubt. At their conference in Aberdeen in May an emergency resolution on Ireland reached the stage of debate but any decision on the matter was headed off by an emotive speech from the floor of the hall from one who had formerly served with the forces in Northern Ireland. So at the moment it is a question which will have to be brought up again and properly debated. It will be to the detriment of the party if the "79 Group" are to be gagged for showing the realism so sadly lacking in other areas of the party. The '79 Group have sufficient support in the party not to be treated as mavericks and they could take the initiative by asking where were a lot of the party establishment on the day of the Edinburgh rally.

For the record there was another SNP victory in September when their candidate won the Elderslie ward in Renfrew District with a rise in support there of 20%. So it is obvious that despite the efforts of the press even in Scotland to sell the SDP as the new saviours the electorate are not swallowing it.

### Homage to a Poet

The second Edinburgh event was a ceilidh held in the Grosvenor Centre on the evening of Sunday 25th October. This was organised by the Edinburgh branch of the John Maclean Society and so it was appropriate that during the evening held to celebrate the 70th birthday of the poet Somhairle MacGill-Eain, there was read — in translation — the latter's moving poem written after seeing in the museum in Dublin the shirt worn by James Connolly at his "execution". The poet read some of his better known poems in Gaelic preceded by a short explanation in English, but the highlight was his reading of the poem "Cave of Gold". The current issue of the magazine "Chapman" has the complete text of this poem — in English but it is a complicated and difficult poem to understand. There was piping and singing and the most wonderful clarsach playing by Rhona MacKay which deserves mention. So also does a rendering of Hamlet as a ballad given by Adam McNaughton which was hilarious.

A selection of the poet's work was read by a group (in translation) but this was marred, particularly by

one young lady, by the clipped English style accents. An enjoyable evening but why did so few of Edinburgh's Gaels attend?

*Voici un compte-rendu du rassemblement tenu par le Parti National Écossais en octobre à Edimbourg, au cours duquel la décision fut prise de statuer en décembre sur l'affiliation du Groupe '79 dont les position radicales gênent le parti.*

## Against Militarism

The Mod was held in Fort William this year and it was interesting from a viewpoint in the Lowlands to read of the innovations and the constructive criticism giving rise to the hope that An Comunn and even the Mod itself will become a much more meaningful organisation in the struggle to preserve the Gaelic language. It was also heart warming to learn that the nice Ministry of Defence people had agreed to waive their rights to fly low over the Fort William area while the Mod was in progress. Well they might be generous as it is now being speculated that the eagerly awaited result of the public enquiry into the extension of, the Stornoway airstrip is imminent and that it will go against the protestors. If this turns out to be the case then it will be the most flagrant disregard for the wishes of the local people and another nail in the coffin of democracy. (Another enquiry result awaited is that of the Monopolies Commission into the takeovers of two other banks by the Royal Bank of Scotland. The investigation took place in London of course with brief visit to Edinburgh and there is no doubt that the information reported in the newspapers was very interesting. The fact that the "Royal" itself is far from Scottish will come as no surprise to anyone but the fact that the chairman and the rest of his board are so blatantly capitalist first and Scottish a long way behind if at all should warn all Scots individuals and groups that preventing a takeover would only be a prelude to inaugurating a system which would make Scottish banking work for the benefit of the Scottish economy.)

The defence ministers of the NATO countries made Gleneagles Hotel in Perthshire the venue for their summit meeting and while they were in conclave there Mr. Reagan's remarks on the possibility of a limited nuclear war in Europe hit the headlines. Of course the words were explained away in political gobbledygook but the timing (during the third week in October) underlined again the vulnerability of Scotland.

Also during October there was a reminder of another role which has fallen to Scotland and which probably will again. During the Tory annual pantomime at Blackpool a package of soil was left to be found. Tests showed that this was, what the donors had claimed — soil from the beautiful Island of Gruinard in the bay of the same name off the N.W. coast of Scotland. What makes this soil very special is that it is contaminated with anthrax spores. The island is out of bounds and has been since the Second World War. Probably most people going to the area on holiday since then knew that this was the result of experiments carried on at the behest of the govern-

ment but the further information that the end result of these horrifying germ warfare tests had been intended for the civilian population of Germany (had not this been superseded by the dropping of the atomic bombs on the civilian population of Japan), came as a sickening jolt to most people. Also the name of the hero behind the plan — Winston Churchill. Some of the media comments were priceless.

On the 23rd of October on BBC2 T.V. there was The Bronowski Memorial Lecture. This was given by Dr. Nicholas Humphrey and entitled — "Four Minutes to Midnight". It is in "The Listener", issue dated 29th October, and will be published shortly as a BBC publication.

The cold print will not have the persuasion of the speaker but it must convey the same sense of sanity and conviction that there is something we all can do to stop the madness — the alternative to acting like paralysed rabbits in the face of the actions of people who after all we elect to do what we want done. The speaker being a psychologist was not indulging in political or other argument but reminding us that this was a question of human behaviour. That resistance to the idea that we have to accept the holocaust is growing is evident and one very heartening aspect is the number of groups within the medical profession who are taking a firm stance and declaring unequivocally that there will be no survival for anyone.

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## AnCO Victimisation

An instructor with the Industrial Training Authority — An Chomhairle Oilúna (AnCO) has been dismissed from his job in the Donegal Gaeltacht Training Centre for refusing to accept instructions in English from the management. The centre was opened in 1973 and was intended as an all-Irish centre catering for all Gaeltacht areas. Now it appears however that only one of the seven courses taught in the centre is taught through Irish. The centres manager and most of the centre's Chief Instructors and Instructors carry out their administrative and teaching duties through English — despite the fact that most of them are fluent Irish speakers and some are native speakers. Yet another case of the state's double think and hypocrisy in relation to the language!

The instructor, Pádraig Mac Fhearraigh, was not granted a hearing in Irish when he appealed to the Director General of AnCO after being suspended initially by the Centre's manager. He then refused to attend the appeal on the grounds that this would compromise his case and that AnCO as a semi State body should not treat Irish speakers like foreigners (an interpreter had been offered!). He was then dismissed. He has written to the Minister for Labour, Education and the Gaeltacht requesting a full investigation of the matter and urging them to direct AnCO to give him instructions in Irish. He has also asked them to ensure that all the courses in the Donegal Centre be available in Irish.

## NEWSFLASH

The city of Brest has taken the same decision as Lorient to name one of its main streets after Bobby Sands and the Irish Martyrs.

# BREIZH

## Kaoz ar yezhoù bihan e Parlamant Europa

Titour a vo kavet e-lec'h all en niverenn-man a-zivout ar mennad kinniget gant G. Arfé da Parlamant Strassburg o c'houlenn ur garta da wareziñ yezhoù "bihan" broioù ar Gumuniezh Armerzhel Europat (K.A.E.). Un adskrid eus an disklêriadurioù roet a-berzh ar c'hevredadoù kannaded bodet er Parlamant am eus bet a-drugarez da z-Donall Ó Riagáin hag a oa e Strassburg evel arvester. Bez' e oa ivez kelaouerien eus broioù bihan diemren met gouez dezhañ ne oa Breizhad ebet. Kemer a reas tud eus Kembre, Friesland, Su-Tirol, Euzkadi, met Breizhad ebet, perzh en divizoù. Testennoù an adskrid a zo er yezhoù end-eeun ma voent displeget: 17 e saozneg, 7 en italianeg, 4 en alamaneg, 2 en izelvroeg ha 2 e galleg, 1 e daneg. Digant kannaded Republik Iwerzhon e teuas un nebeut bommoù en iwerzhoneg; muioc'h a viñe bet aner rak n'eo ket anavezet ar yezh-se da gefridiell!

Dezrevellañ a ran an arroudoù heverkan eus ar prezegennoù, kement ha diskouez peseurt troioù-spered a zo d'ar mare-mañ e-touez politikerien Europa Vihan e-keñver yezhoù ar pobloù diemren. Ne zisñjomp ket eveljust an diforc'h a vez etre ag gomz hag an ober. Ni ne vimp ket souezhet o welout pegen nebeut a "frankofoned" a zigoras o genoù (nemet da zisleviñ gen marteze?) e-kerzh ar vreutadeg. Ne gomzan ket eus Walloniz. E pep strollad gall e chom sur tud hag a fell dezho gwelout an heñvelekaat-yezh,<sup>2</sup> ar gallekaat kaset da benn met n'eus ket ezhomm d'en embann: an amzer a beurechuo al labour, gant ma ne vo graet netra efedus evit ar yezhoù "etnikel". Ma ne votas ket ar C'haollisted a-enep ar mennad eo abalamour ma 'z int kevredet e Strassburg gant kannaded Fianna Fáil hag ar re-mañ, eme Ó Riagáin, a c'hounezas warno chom neptu da vihanañ. Nemet unan anezho, an Ao. Israel, na voe ket evit mirout a zisklerian e nec'hamant. Diouzh an tu all, o komz e galleg ivez, e lavaras un It. Pery, sokialourez, e oa ret evit gwareziñ ar yezhoù bihan reiñ tu d'ar re yaouank da vevañ en o bro; ezhomm oa 'ta da gaout harp digant ar C'Hef Rannvroel<sup>3</sup> evit seveniñ ar mennad. Aze e oa an dalc'h! An Itron vat-se a reas meneg pergen eus an euskareg, pezh a ro da soñjal ez eo un Euskaradez. Merkañ a ran c'hoazh ne oa e-touez ar 80 hag a vouezhias a-du nemet unan pe zaou dezho un anv gallek. E-touez an eneberien e oa ur Combe (mab bihan e dad-kozh ?) hag ur "Calvez": frankizourien!

An Ao. Arfé a gavas mat diogelaat ne oa er pezh a ginnige nemet traoù kerreizh awenet gant ar poell ha skiant ar gwirvoud. Ne oa ket da zoujan e tennfe da zisrannañ ar gumuniezh. Un Ao. Richard, Kembrez, a gomzas en anv Komision ar Gumuniezh. (Kembreiz a vez er penn-araok er Gomision pa vez anv eus ar gwirioù-yezh. Er gendael<sup>5</sup> aozet e Dulenn e miz Gwengolo gant Gael Linn e oa

daou anezho o teurel un notenn "wirvoudek"<sup>6</sup> en divizoù — ma komzin sklaer: o c'houzav<sup>7</sup> e oa arabat gortoz ur bern arc'hant digant ar C'hef Rannvroel ha pa vefe aprouet ar mennad gant ar Gomision Europat koulz ha gant ar Parlamant. Karout a rajent, emezo, gwelout ar kannaded iwerzhonat o kemer ur perzh-blein en emgann-se). Meulet e voe an Ao. Richard evit an abegoù sklaer roet gantañ a-du gant ar mennad. N'en doa ket kalz a basianted, emezañ, gant ar re na felle dezho ober eus ar Gumuniezh netra nemet ur c'henurzhiaer<sup>8</sup> kenwerzhel. Ne savje, diouti nemet Europiz strizhsperedet. Ret oa harpañ ar re a oa bet gwanaet o hevelepted sevenadurel<sup>9</sup> gant nerzhioù ar marc'had hag ar c'hemm kalvezoniell<sup>10</sup>. Menegiñ a reas ar pezh a vez graet endeo gant stadoù ar Gumuniezh er cheñver-se. Ger ebet aze a-zivout Bro-C'Hall. An armerzh, ar sevenadur hag ar vuhez kevredigezhel a dlee bout diorroet war un dro, en un doare kevanekaet.<sup>11</sup> Setu un arguzenn bouezus evit ar Parlamant: rak darn eus ar kannaded, re z-Danmark dreist-holl, a soñj evit doare na dlefe ket ar GAE emellout eus traoù estreget ar re armerzhel. Met Richard a zisklêrias e oa prest ar Gomision da "imbourc'hin hentoù" da reiñ harp arc'hant da obererezh sevenadurel ar "rannvroioù".

N'on ket gouest da lenn italianeg mat a-walc'h evit lavarout hag eñ a oa un dra bennak dibar er pezh a voe disklêriet en anv ar c'hevredad kristen-demokratel: 20 eus an 21 ezel anezhañ a daolas o mouezh a-du gant ar mennad. An 39 ezel, war-bouez daou, eus ar c'hevredad sokialour a reas evel-se ivez. O komz en o anv, e lavaras an Alaman Schwencke e oa kevreet-start hevelepted sevenadurel ha demokratiezh en Europa. Arabat e vefe daleañ da seveniñ erbedoù fetis mennad Arfé. Evit kaout perzh ervat er vuhez politikel e ranke pep hini ober gant yezh e vro, ne vern pegen mat e komze ur yezh estren. Gwirioù ar pobloù diemren a dlee bout degemeret e-touez ar gwirioù keodedel<sup>12</sup> gwarantet gant ar GAE. Alamagn-Gornog ha Danmark o deus diskouezet dre o emglevioù a-zivout Su- ha Norzh-Slesvig e c'hall ar gwirioù-se bout diwallet mat-tre hep degas tabut etre an div Stad, er c'hontrol. (Kement-se ivez moarvat peogwir ne glask hini ebet anezho henvelekaat ar genel<sup>13</sup> en he dalc'h).

A-berzh kannaded ar rummad Demokratel Europat, (ha n'eus ennan 'ta koulz lavaret nemet Mirourien Vreizhveuriat?) e roas an Ao. Hutton mel gant al loa-boud d'ar c'humuniezhioù -yezh bihan. An holl oa a-du evit *mirout*, na petra'ta, o yezhoù hag o rannyezhoù saourus liesliv, *metra* an hent erbedet gant Arfé na oa ket an hini mat. Ret oa lezel an emell a se gant ar pennadurezhioù lec'hel,<sup>14</sup> evel ma vez graet e Breizh-Veur. Ne oa ket afer ar Gumuniezh!

An Iwerzhonad S. Flanagan a zileurias evit an Demokratad — Araogourien (Fianna Fáil, an It. Ewing-SNP ha ... Gaollisted). Ur brezegenn entanet met dister a-walc'h. Aes e vez da Iwerzhoniz<sup>15</sup> zo, pa vezont en estrenvro, reiñ da grediñ emaint a-zevri gant o yezh. N'em eus ket klevet ar c'hannad-mañ o c'houlenn muioc'h eget 4 pe 5% eus amzer-beilskignañ ar Skinwel evit an iwerzhoneg!

E prezegenñ an Ao. Vandemeulebroucke, Dizalc'hour, e oa er c'hontrol peadra d'hol laouenaat. War ur Flandrezad e c'hellomp atav kontañ evit tennañ evezh war wallegezh Bro-C'Hall. An hevelep enebour hon eus. . . .



Ar Su-Tirolad Dalsass a lavaras ne oa ket gwashoc'h digevatalder<sup>15</sup> eget pa vez reoliet traoù disheñvel diouzh an hevelep lezennoù, evel ma vez graet er Stad C'hall. Ur wech kollet ganti he yezh e paouez ur bobl, ur genel, da *hanvout*.<sup>16</sup> Diskuilhañ a reas strivad ar Gaollist Israel da zidalvoudekaat ar mennad o kinnig "gwellañnoù". Hemañ a gave e oa arvarus-tre ar c'heal a wirioù "etnikel". En un demokratiezh, gouez dezhañ, ne oa ket ezhomm da "ensavadurelaat ar minorelezhioù".<sup>17</sup> Lakaat a rafe harzoù d'ar gwirioù denel. Arguzennoù heñvel a voe digant daou Italian oc'h enebiañ ouzh ar reizhadur graet da gudenn Su-Tirol. An Unanour-Lealour J. Taylor ne vankas ket da ziskargañ e gorfad binim war Iwerzhon dieub hag an iwerzhoneg "bountet dre heg er c'horzailhennoù". Ne oa ket a-enep ar yezhoù bihan, met ret oa lezel pep hini d'ober ganto mar kare. Arabat lezennoù Setu kaderezh<sup>18</sup> klufan ar mare-mañ. Darn eus ar Virourien saoz a chom ken otus ha biskoazh. Evit an Ao. Forth, "language is basically a divisive factor" (paas ar saozneg, evelato . . .) — "se a c'helled gwiriañ e kement lec'h ma vev tud a-gevret" (hag e-lec'h ma vez an den o c'hrozmolat outañ e-unan?). Bevet en doa hennezh e Kembre met nac'het en doa lakaat e vugale da zeskin kembraeg, ur yezh war ziskar, daoust da gement tra a veze graet eviti. Mirourien all a zisklêrias o hetoù mat evit ar yezhoù bihan, met awalc'h oa gant ar seizh yezh kefridiel.

**Termes difficiles:** 1. officiel; 2. assimilation linguistique; 3. Fonds Régional; 4. Libéraux; 5. Colloque; 6. réaliste; 7. mettant en garde; 8. organisation; 9. identité culturelle; 10. changement technologique; 11. intégré; 12. droits civils; 13. groupe ethnique, ethnique; 14. autorités locales; 15. inégalité; 16. exister; 17. institutionnaliser les minorités; 18. tactique.

This is a synopsis of the contributions made by spokesmen for the different parliamentary groups to the discussion of the Arfé Report in Strassburg. The arguments of those belonging to small language communities were backed by the understanding of a wide spectrum of representatives of the larger language groups but opposed by conservatives to whom a United Europe means the extinction of the ethnic "minorities".

A. HEUSAFF

## Not a Time to Relax

The victory of the French Socialists was widely acclaimed as signalling a new departure in the French State attitude towards its "minority" ethnic groups. A well-known singer is said to have greeted it as if it were a victory for Brittany. What has happened in the intervening months to justify this optimism? The answer is: VERY LITTLE.

Those who for years had urged cooperation with the French left because it offered the only chance of a solution to the Breton problem are now protesting that they never had any illusions and recognise that no worthwhile reform of the centralist system (not to mention moves to grant special status to our country)

will take place without sustained pressure from below. In voicing their disillusion, some writers reveal how little they appreciated the strength of the French State tradition and the constraints which an administration steeped in it can impose on a government whose mandate may not last more than a few years.

Brittany may rejoice at the abolition of the State Security Court although there should be no doubt that if ever a revised and less easily dismantled FLB were to pose a serious threat to the State, emergency measures would again be taken with scant regard for civil rights; and it is open to question whether the process of Breton liberation would in any way be better served by having offenders treated as ordinary criminals instead of implicitly being classed as political prisoners if they were tried by a political court.

In any case, that abolition is only a negative regional assemblies elected by universal suffrage and proportional representation, but so far the only decision taken is that all regions will be treated in the same way, except for Corsica. Therefore, Brittany with its identity and its socio-economic problems putting it in a position to claim as much control of its own affairs as the Mediterranean island, will have as little recognition as such genuine French provinces as Picardy or Champagne. Is Corsica to be treated differently because its illegal organisations showed great determination in their use of violence? Or is it not important in France's pursuit of power? Or is it meant to be the testing ground for a bolder scheme of devolution?

As regards the language, the authorisation given to the Rennes University to award a degree in Breton — and later to Brest, one in Breton and English — constitute a step forward. Per Denez, professor of Breton in Rennes, describes in detail in the quarterly AL LANV how the reticence of the minister of education was overcome with the cooperation of L. Le Pensec, minister, MP for Kemperle, the intervention of a group of Breton socialist MPs and probably the personal intervention of President Mitterand. P. Denez pays tribute to the help he got from the Rennes students and from some cultural associations while stigmatizing the Leftist parties, even the U.D.B., for failing to support his efforts.

The degree in Breton will require only a third year of study but to qualify for admission students must have a DEUG (Diploma d'Etudes Universitaires Générales) normally taken after two years in a variety of subjects, or possess other diplomas or have already been professionally employed for 5 years.

The decision marks a complete turn in the fortunes of the Celtic department in Rennes: under Giscard's reign, there were plans to close it and to reserve Celtic studies for Brest, which campaigned for a degree in English and Celtic (as being more useful?). Per Denez assures the students however that the Breton degree will not prevent them from teaching any of the subjects studied for in the preliminary DEUG.

One of the main arguments he used to overcome official resistance was that no extra expenditure would be needed for the University to prepare for the degree. The Ministry of Education however, shows no sign of being prepared to create posts for Breton teachers as such. They will use financial arguments but their opposition is as always one of principle:

Breton cannot claim the same status as other languages, call them foreign or not! There is a danger that in acceding to the demand for the teaching of the regional cultures, it will be made a substitute for the proper teaching of the language itself (there was a similar threat in Ireland a few years ago).

Per Denez urges as many students as possible to enroll for the Breton degree so to make it possible to improve the teaching of Breton in schools. Secondary school students should also organise to demand Breton classes. Teachers and all language organisations must unite in support of that demand.

In mid-October, a fortnight after the reopening of schools, no noticeable improvement in the position of the language had taken place in the primary and secondary schools, apart from an announcement that 3 itinerant teacher-advisers were to be appointed for the whole of Brittany (instead of 30 as was hoped!) and an order for Breton to be taught during normal hours, wherever such classes existed. There was still no answer to a request by the regional head of education to have a research post created in one of the teachers' training colleges and to have a few assistants appointed to relieve the burden on the teachers of Breton; no answer to a request by the cultural and teachers' associations to discuss matters with the minister in Paris; no official statement or instruction, no decision indicating a change of policy; no credits for the Breton language in addition to the meagre amounts allotted by a cultural charter due to expire in 1982.

It may be well be that the institution of a degree in Breton is just a gesture or that its potential will be neutralised by the higher civil servants. It is in any case generally recognised now that a hard struggle lies ahead if the proclaimed pre-electoral intentions of the socialists are to be translated into firm decisions and measures. This is not a time to relax in a cosy wait-and-see attitude. We Bretons should never assume that our language can be retrieved with the willing cooperation of the French services. The problem is political: in the immediate, the French government will act only if its political supporters are constantly hard-pressed by the reminder of their promises to the electorate.

*La situation du breton vient de s'améliorer dans les universités mais elle reste incertaine dans l'enseignement primaire et secondaire. Cet article met en garde contre l'espoir accru d'un changement fondamental dans l'attitude de l'État français à l'égard de la Bretagne.*

## Nantes in Brittany

About 8,000 people demonstrated in Naoned (Nantes) on October 11th in the biggest-ever show of support for the unity of Brittany. As most CARN readers know, the Loire-Atlantique département of which Naoned is the centre was separated from the four other Breton départements 20 years ago when France was divided in 21 administrative regions, although Bro-Naoned had been part of Brittany for the previous 1,100 years. The attendance might have largely exceeded the 8,000 mark but for the fine weather which attracted the people to the countryside (after a fortnight of rain) and for two festivals taking



*Celtic League stand in the grounds of Nantes Castle on October 11th.*

place in the city on the same day. Despite seven years of intense official propaganda through the media, the schools, and in various other ways, the organisers drew much more people on to the streets than for any of the four previous demonstrations on a theme which might appear rather abstract and remote from daily preoccupations.

While the gatherings got a very poor coverage in 1976, '77, '78 and '80, this year's demonstration was mentioned in the news bulletins of the three French T.V. channels on the Sunday night or Monday morning.

Regional and French-national newspapers published numerous articles about it. It was also covered by a German T.V. team.

This show of strength, coming after the unanimous vote of the Rennes Regional Council in favour of unity with Loire-Atlantique, certainly surprised those members of the Nantes establishment who want things to stay as they are: their recent declarations point to anxiety and nervousness on their part.

Among those who contributed to this success must be mentioned the voluntary workers who put up some 12,000 posters throughout Brittany; the runners who took part in a marathon from Brest to Naoned, in rainy weather; the musicians, dancers, singers; the people who donated money without which nothing could have been done.

But the fight is not over: it is really only starting. It must and can be won. The Committee for the Administrative Unity of Brittany which organised the demonstration wants to impress on the French government that its regional reform will be a failure unless they end an artificial division imposed in the first instance by the Vichy government, in 1941. They are prepared to accept a verdict through the ballot box, provided that enough time is given to prepare for a debate to refute seven years of daily lies and shameless propaganda.

Nobody seriously questions the historical, human and cultural ties which unite the two parts of Brittany but some apparently fear that Loire-Atlantique would lose on the economic level by being re-attached to the rest of our country (as if the State territory was already divided by water-tight partitions . . .). The Committee wants therefore to base the case for unity on convincing economic



arguments. They have set up a commission for that purpose.

Other actions undertaken to draw attention to the problem included the stopping of a train named "Pays de la Loire" (after the artificial region to which the Nantes area is now attached) by a group of people from the St-Nazer-Gwennrann district. Ten thousand car stickers printed at the end of June were sold out within nine weeks. The same number has been reprinted and can be ordered (100 for 60FF) from Pierre Manac'h, 37 Av. des Sports, 44700 Orvault, Brittany. A mass rally will be held in Paris, perhaps on April 28th 1982, with the participation of all the best known Breton musicians.

More than ever, we must realise that the future of Brittany is our responsibility.

K.

*(From a statement by the C.A.U.B.)*

*Les organisateurs de la démonstration tenue à Nantes le 11 Octobre ont lieu de se déclarer satisfaits du nombre des participants venus affirmer que le Pays Nantais est breton.*

### **Appeal on behalf of Bretons who refuse service in the French army**

Two Bretons, Herve Kerrain and Bernez Korbel, who took refuge in Ireland about two years ago in order to avoid conscription to the French army, went back last August believing that under the terms of an amnesty granted after the election of Fr. Mitterand there would be no prosecution against them. However, on October 1, they were called to Rennes and told they must do their military service. They refused because, to quote them: "We are Bretons and we don't want to serve a State which denies us our national rights". They were then put under arrest, "arrêts de rigueur". They expect to be detained for two months and then to be brought before the Tribunal Permanent des Forces Armées which is likely to sentence them to one year's imprisonment — as happened to Yann Ber ar Mat, Yannig Coraud and Noel Even during the past few years for the same reason.

It appears that two others, Jean F. Jaffre and Francis Le Gall, who also refused to do military service for Breton reasons, and returned to Brittany after taking refuge in Ireland, are under similar arrest.

A campaign is being organised in Brittany for the release of these men. It would greatly help them if friends of Brittany in other countries made it known to the French authorities that they were concerned and sympathise with their principled stand. This can be done in various ways:

- a) by writing personally to the French ambassador in the State where one is resident, expressing support for the stand taken by those Bretons and asking for their immediate release;
- b) organising a petition to the same effect, by collecting signatures among one's acquaintances or at meetings, and forwarding it also to the French ambassador;
- c) making known to the prisoners, via the Celtic League, that one is helping them in these ways.

# CYMRU

## Gwleidyddiaeth Y Werin

Gyda etholiad Dafydd Wigley yn Lywydd i ddilyn Gwynfor Evans, mae'r cwestiwn amlwg yn codi ei ben. Beth fydd dyfodol Plaid Cymru? Wrth gwrs, fel eglurwyd sawl gwaith yng nghynhadledd flynyddol y Blaid ym mis Hydref, nid y Llywydd sy'n penderfynu polisiau'r Blaid, ond y gynhadledd. Fe brofwyd hyn pan fabwysiadwyd cyfansoddiad newydd iddynt sydd llawer i'r chwith o safle'r Llywydd newydd, yn nhyb llawer. Penderfynnwyd manylu ar yr hên gyfansoddiad, sef yn syml ennill hunan-lywodraeth i'n gwlad, i egluro ymhellach safbwynt pendant y Blaid. Ystyrir yn awr ei bod yn angenrheidiol crybwyllo'r boblogaeth mai sicrhau dyfodol i Gymru fel gwladwriaeth ddemocrataidd sosialaidd yw'r nôd. Am y tro cyntaf erioed mae'r arweinwyr yn gorfod derbyn mai sosialaeth yw'r unig lwybr sy'n debygol o ddilyn i Gymru lewyrchus ac annibynnol.

Ond dychwelwn at etholiad y Br. Wigley. Does dim amheuaeth am ei deyrngarwch at ei genedl, nag ychwaith am ei allu a'i ymroddiad at ei waith fel Aelod Seneddol Arfon. Ond y gwir yw mai o'r adain dde y daw, er ei fod yn ystyried ei hunan i fod yn sosialydd "i'r chwith o'r canol". Gellir derbyn i raddau ei ddadl bod yn angenrheidiol i fudiad sydd am ennill annibyniaeth i Gymru o angenrheidrwydd dderbyn aelodau o bob ochr o'r spectwm gwleidyddol oherwydd maint y frwydr. Ond y gwir amdani yw eu bod wedi dilyn polisi cyffelyb drwy deyrnasiad Gwynfor Evans heb sicrhau unrhyw lwddiannau sylweddol. Sylweddolaf ei bod yn broses hir ac annymunol newid daliadau a syniadau cymdeithas, ond ers yr Ail Ryfel Byd mai Cymru un llawer mwy Seisnigaidd, gyda chefnidir diwydiannol, diwylliannol a chyllidebol llawer gwanach. Yn fyr, nid yw'r polisi wedi apelio at drwch y boblogaeth, neu mi fuasant wedi tyrru yn eu cannoedd o filoedd i gefnogi Plaid Cymru yn yr etholiadau. Mae'n rhaid cyfaddef eu bod wedi apelio at etholwyr corael fechan o Cymru, sef Gwynedd, ond credaf mai o deimlad cryf o Gymreictod y daw'r gefnogaeth yma, nid ymrwymiad pendant i ddaliadau a safbwynt gwleidyddol y Blaid.

Ar y cyfan, y Blaid Lafur Brydeinig sydd wedi ennyn brwdfrydedd etholwyr Cymru. Pwy all wadu mai am eu daliadau sosialaidd y bu'r Blaid Lafur mor lwyddiannus. Erbyn hyn, mae lle i amau ymrwymiad rhai ohonynt i'r ddelwedd sosialaidd yma wrth gwrs, a dyma'r cyfle i Blaid Cymru neidio i'w hesgidiau a chymeryd yr awennau. Mae'n rhaid derbyn nad yw'r boblogaeth, heblaw am ambell i ardal wledig fel Gwynedd, am bleidleisio i Blaid Cymru oherwydd unrhyw deimlad o orchwydd cenedlaethol. Felly mae'n rhaid apelio atynt mewn ffordd anuniongyrchol, sef polisiau sosialaidd adain-chwith.

Amser a ddengys a fydd Dafydd Wigley yn lwyddiant fel Llywydd. Un pwynt da o'l blaid gymharu a'i wrthwynebydd yn yr etholiad am y Lywyddiaeth, Dafydd Elis Thomas, yw y credaf y bydd y Br. Wigley yn mwy dioddefol i ddaliadau adain-chwith

nag y buasai Aelod Seneddol Meirionnydd i ddaliadau adain-dde. Y mae'r erthwyl yma yn codi'r cwestiwn wrth gwrs a yw Plaid Cymru yn gwneud camgymeriad sylfaenol wrth ganolbwyntio ar ennill etholiadau, yn arbennig etholiadau i San Steffan. Ond testun trafod arall yw hwnnw.

Felly gorffennaf gyda'r gobaith y bydd y Blaid o dan lywyddiaeth Dafydd Wigley yn gallu osgoi digwyddiadau a fu mewn mudiad gwleidyddol cenedlaethol Celtaidd arall. Yng Nghernyw mae Mebyon Kernow a Phlaid Cenedlaethol Cernyw (CNP) yn ymladd yn erbyn eu gilydd am Yr un Hawl-annibynniaeth i'w gwlad. Duw a'n gwaredo rhag i'r un sefyllfa ddatblygu yng Nghymru.

★ ★ ★ Ian Parry.

(The election of Dafydd Wigley as President of Plaid Cymru poses the question as to which political direction should the Party now go.)

## Derbyn Her S4C

Un o'r pethau mwyaf calonogol gyda golwg ar sefydlu'r bedwaredd sianel, S4C, yn Nhachwedd y flwyddyn nesa, yw'r bwrlwm a'r gweithgarwch mawr ymysg cynhyrchwyr annibynnol. Fel y gwyddom erbyn hyn bydd y sianel newydd yn darlledu 22 awr o raglenni Cymraeg bob wythnos. O'r rheiny cynhyrchir 10 awr gan y BBC a'r gweddill gan HTV a'r cynhyrchwyr annibynnol. Y tebyg yw mai rhwng dwy a thair awr a gynhyrchir gan bobl sy'n annibynnol ar y ddau brif gorff darlledu.

Efallai nad yw hynny'n swnio'n llawer, ond y mae'n hen ddigon o ystyried nad oes gan y cynhyrchwyr hyn hanner gymaint o adnoddau â'r ddau gwmni mawr. Mae'n amlwg erbyn hyn fod yr her o gynhyrchu rhaglenni ar gyfer gwasanaeth newydd sbon, a'r cyfle i weithio'n greadigol, yn rhydd o hualau unrhyw gyfundrefn sefydledig, yn apelio'n fawr i rai pobl yn y byd darlledu.

Dyna i chi Endaf Emlyn a Sion Humphreys (mab y nofelydd Emyr Humphreys) er enghraifft — dau y bydd colled fawr ar eu hól yn HTV. Dydi eu cwmni nhw ddim wedi ei sefydlu eto ond mae nifer o gwmnïau eraill eisoes yn y maes.

Un o'r cwmnïau hynny yw Sgrin 82, cwmni a'i ganolfan yn Aberystwyth ac sydd eisoes wedi bod yn ffilmio'r grŵp Ar Log ar eu taith yn ddiweddar yn America. Cymry ariannog o Lundain, sy'n anhysbys ar hyn o bryd, yw cefnogwyr y cwmni hwn, ac un o'r prif symbylwyr yw R. Gerallt Jones, y nofelydd. Mae'n dra thebygol y bydd yn manteisio ar yr adnoddau fideo sydd eisoes ar gael yn Adran Ddrama Coleg y Brifysgol, Aberystwyth.

Cwmni arall yw Cwmni Ty Gwyn, Llanllyfni ger Caernarfon. Un o brif gynhyrchwyr ffilmiau Cymru, Gareth Wyn Jones a'i wraig Enid yw cyfarwyddwyr y cwmni hwn. Ef oedd cynhyrchydd y ffilm "Teisennau Mair" a enillodd wobwr yn yr Ywl Ffilmiau Celtaidd yn Harlech beth amser yn ôl. Ar hyn o bryd mae'n gweithio ar gyfres o chwe rhaglen gomedi o waith Wil Sam a John Pierce Jones.

Enw arall adnabyddus yn y byd ffilmiau yw Wil Aaron, enw sydd erbyn hyn yn gysylltiedig â "Ffilmiau'r Nant" yn Llandwrog ger Caernarfon.

Mae yntau wedi cychwyn ar y gwaith o gynhyrchu 13 o raglenni dogfennol/hanesyddol. Eisoes cyflogodd olygydd ffilmiau dan hyfforddiant a buddsoddi £10,000 ar ystafell olygu yn ei garref ei hun.

Cwmni arall o'r un ardal yw cwmni "Borum" sy'n gysylltiedig â chwmni cyhoeddi Mei ym Mhenygroes. Y perchenogion yw Dafydd Mei a'r actor Wynford Elis Owen.

Ym Mhorthmadog sefydlwyd cwmni Na-Nog gan reolwr y siop recordiau leol, Dafydd Wyn Jones, Dafydd Iwan a'r Cynghorydd Maldwyn Lewis ymhlith eraill.

Yna, wrth gwrs, mae'r Bwrdd Ffilmiau Cymraeg ei hun, dan ofal Gwilym Owen. Eisoes derbyniodd y Bwrdd gomisiwn gan S4C i baratoi ffilm antur ar gyfer ei dangos ddydd Nadolig 1982. Seilir y ffilm ar y nofel "Madam Wen", rebel o wraig a safodd ei thir yn erbyn gormes tirfeddianwyr Môn ddiwedd y ddeunawfed ganrif.

Cwmni arall na chlywyd dim byd swyddogol amdano hyd yn hyn yw cwmni sydd â chysylltiad â'r cwmni tai, Cymrodwr Hiraethog o Glwyd. Yn ôl un stori bwriad y cwmni hwn yw cynhyrchu cyfres debyg i "All Creatures Great and Small" ond yn seiliedig ar alwedigaeth twrne.

Gŵr arall sydd wedi mentro i'r byd ffilmiau yw Sion Myrddin, cyn-Ysgrifennydd i Gymdeithas yr Iaith a roddodd y gorau i'w fusnes Bistro yn Aberystwyth yn ddiweddar i ymroi i'r gwaith yn llawn amser.

Y broblem fwyaf i'r cwmnïau hyn i gyd wrth gwrs yw sicrhau'r offer angenrheidiol — problem ariannol aruthrol. I helpu allan yn y cyswllt hwn y sefydlwyd cwmni "Barcud" gan Wil Aaron, Alan Clayton a Huw Jones o gwmni Sain. Y bwriad yw prynu uned ddarlledu symudol ar gost o £500,000 a'i llogi i'r cwmnïau unigol yn eu tro. Bydd y cwmni yn cyflogi 19 o bobl — awgrym pendant fod y diwydiant darlledu o'r diwedd yn mynd i ddarparu swyddi yn yr ardaloedd Cymraeg.

Yn ôl Pennaeth Rhaglenni S4C, Euryn Ogwen, mae cytundebau gwerth cannoedd o filoedd o bunnau eisoes wedi eu harwyddo gyda'r gwahanol gynhyrchwyr hyn.

Mae 'na gyffro mawr yn y gwynt felly. Dyma'r tro cyntaf i gynhyrchwyr annibynnol fod ag unrhyw ran sylweddol mewn paratoi rhaglenni teledu, nid yn unig yn Gymraeg ond yn Saesneg hefyd, ac mae'n arwydd gobeithiol. Nid yw'r haul yn codi ac yn machlud yn Llandaf a Phontcanna wedi'r cwbl! Ar un olwg mae monopoli'r ddau gwmni mawr wedi bod yn llaw farw ym myd darlledu Cymraeg. Gorau po fwyaf felly o raglenni annibynnol y gellir eu cynhyrchu, gan ddod â'r cyfrwng at y bobl yng ngwir ystyr y gair. Brysied y dydd pan fydd hanner rhaglenni S4C wedi eu cynhyrchu'n annibynnol! Pam lai?

(Several companies have sprung up all over Wales recently in order to supply independently produced programmes for the fourth TV channel, S4C. They will be producing between two and three hours a week by the time the channel kicks off in November 1982).

## What Next for Cymdeithas yr Iaith?

Despite the fact that three members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith, including the Chairman, Wayne Williams, were in prison on October 17, the society's conference on that day was rather peaceful compared to similar meetings in the past.

The success of the society's fourth channel campaign has left the society with a big problem on its hands — where exactly to go from here. In recent years there has been a steady decrease in the number of active supporters and the lack of a major campaign to take the place of the broadcasting campaign will not help matters. It seems that the momentum of the language movement of the seventies, which culminated in the fourth channel victory, has now been lost, through no fault of Cymdeithas yr Iaith.

However, this does not mean that the movement will disintegrate all of a sudden, as some of its enemies would like us to believe. In fact, one leading member, Wynford James, insisted that there was plenty of scope for direct action to keep the movement going for at least ten years. He criticised the media harshly for staying away from the meeting this year, simply because there was no big threat of direct action or damage to property.

"When there was talk of extremists taking over the broadcasting campaign the TV cameras were all here and we were given wide publicity. But this year, just because there is no talk of direct action, they are not here."

The meeting did, however, discuss direct action aimed at a housing development at Harlech by HDC Ltd. of Stratford Upon Avon. The Secretary of State for Wales recently gave the company the go ahead, despite unanimous local opposition, to build 63 houses and a motel. This followed a letter by Mr. Dennis Thatcher to the Secretary of State, beginning with the words "Dear Nick" and referring to the delay in granting planning permission. Mr. Thatcher acts as an adviser to HDC Ltd. and wrote his letter on 10 Downing Street notepaper. The leaking of the letter to the press has obviously created a great deal of embarrassment to the Secretary of State as well as Mr. Thatcher.

HDC already own 44 houses on the Ty Canol estate in Harlech. A large proportion of these are second homes and are empty for most of the year.

There is no local demand for 63 extra houses. Planning permission already exists for up to 120 new houses in Harlech. According to a survey conducted two years ago, 27 per cent of all the housing stock in the area were second homes. There is no doubt, therefore, that the new development at Harlech is, in the words of Dafydd Iwan, a "legitimate target".

The guest speaker at this year's conference was Mr. Owen Edwards, Director of S4C, Sianel 4 Cymru, himself a target for many of the society's protests when he was head of BBC Wales. Mr. Edwards paid tribute to the contribution of the society over the years in the battle for the fourth channel. It was his duty to be present, he said.

Mr. Edwards outlined a week's programmes on the channel and announced that a series of meetings will

be held all over Wales to give the public an opportunity to put forward their views and ideas and to give details of the latest arrangements. Cymdeithas yr Iaith have repeatedly called for such meetings to be held on a regular basis. The new service was set up as a result of a long campaign by the people of Wales. The people should now have the opportunity to make a constructive contribution to the service.

The new Chairman — sorry, Chairperson — of Cymdeithas yr Iaith is Meri Huws, a social worker in Caernarfon. She is the first female to be elected to this post.

*Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg vient de tenir une conférence qui s'est préoccupée de la direction à donner à l'association après le succès de sa campagne pour une chaîne de télévision galloise.*

### JUSTICE v. POWYS EDUCATION COMMITTEE

When Wayne Williams comes out of prison on Christmas Eve, he will probably find that his former job as teacher in Llanidloes High School, is no longer available. Last June he was sentenced to six months for conspiracy to damage property, as part of the broadcasting campaign. In September, the school governors decided that his contract should be terminated and his post advertised immediately. This led to the resignation of the chairman of the governors, Lady Hooson, wife of ex-Liberal MP for Montgomery.

In October the Powys Staffing Committee confirmed this recommendation, despite pleas on behalf of Wayne Williams by UCAC, the Welsh Teachers Union. They argued that he had already been punished once by the courts and should not be punished twice. The Director of Education, Robert Bevan, then revealed, in reply to a letter from UCAC, that in fact William's contract had been terminated at the end of June, before the governors or the staffing committee had discussed the matter. It seems that all the staffing committee had done was to confirm that decision, at the same time back-dating their decision to June! This meant the UCAC had lost the opportunity of taking the matter to an industrial tribunal.

However, an appeal is to be lodged and a committee of five Powys councillors will decide Wayne's fate. One important fact that is bound to be raised at that appeal is that one of the Llanidloes governors who voted for terminating Wayne's contract, had no right to vote since his term of office had ended several months earlier.

At the time of writing no date has been fixed for the hearing.

**NINNAU.** The North American Welsh Newspaper. Monthly, now in its 6th year. Gives news of the Welsh cultural associations in the USA, of people of Welsh origin in American life, keeps a link with Wales. Annual Subscription \$8, but triple price if air-mailed overseas. 11 Post Terrace, Basking Ridge, NJ 07920 USA.





*Dafydd Wigley M.P. (Caernarfon) (on left) and Dafyda Elis I nomas M.P. (Meirionnydd) who contested the leadership of Plaid Cymru at this years conference. Dafydd Wigley won by 273 votes to 212. At the conference the party's aim was amended to that of seeking "a democratic Welsh socialist state".*

### THE WORK GOES ON

Work is progressing at Nant Gwrtheyrn, the derelict village on the Llŷn peninsula which is to be converted into a second language teaching centre — but slower than was originally hoped. It came as no surprise last July to hear that the Nant Gwrtheyrn Trust were in financial difficulties. In desperation they decided to put up the 26 houses for sale rather than renovate them all at their own expense. The idea was that the new owners would do the renovating work and then rent the house to the Trust for part of the year.

This idea has now been rejected, mainly because it would encourage second home ownership. Instead, the work will have to be spread out more evenly over several years and it will be some time now before the work will be completed.

During the last twelve months six people have been employed at the village under the government STEP scheme. This scheme is likely to be renewed for a further 12 months and so the work goes on. But the Trust is short of money to buy materials in order to keep these men at work, so they would be grateful for any donations (Ymddiriedolaeth Nant Gwrtheyrn, Llithfaen, Pwllheli, Gwynedd).

## Celtic League Summer School 1981

The summer school at Coláiste Chonnacht was a repeat of last year's highly successful venture. Language classes at beginners' and intermediate level were held during the mornings, with music and dancing sessions largely occupying the evenings. In addition we were given a valuable insight into the history, life and future of the Connemara Gaeltacht in a series of informal talks. A visit to the Brian Merriman summer school in County Clare provided us with the welcome opportunity to attend a lecture in Irish on the continental influences on medieval Irish literature. The most interesting diversion from the classroom, however, was the day trip to the Aran Islands, this time to Inis Meain, which allowed us a fascinating glimpse into the traditional way of life still in existence there.

The course attracted around 20 students of all ages and various nationalities, including 3 from Wales, 1 from America and 1 from Austria.

### THE CELTIC LEAGUE IRISH SUMMER SCHOOL (1982)

will take place probably in the latter part of August. Full details will be given in CARN nr. 37 due out at the end of next March. Those needing to make holiday arrangements earlier should write direct to the Irish branch secretary in January (see address on p.24).



dteangacha mar theangacha mionlaigh. Siad teangacha náisiúnta ár dtiortha iad na teangacha Ceilteacha, agus fiú muna labhraion ach mionlach den phobal an teanga Cheilteach in aon tír Cheilteach ní hionann sin is a rá gur leis an mionlach amháin an teanga; éilimid gur le pobail iomlán na tíre gach teanga díbh agus éilimid cearta teangan is dlíthe dá réir. B'fhéidir go bhfuil sé in am ag an gConradh Ceilteach díospóireacht a thosnú ar cheist an stadais mhionlaigh, agus dearbhú a fháil óna heagrais náisiúnta maidir lena ndearcadh féin ar an gceist.

**BRÍD HEUSSAFF**

#### Summary

The writer contrasts the rejection of federalism by the young radicals of Sinn Féin (as expressed at their recent Ardfeis) with the general trend in Europe towards regionalism and decentralisation, as in Spain and France; the acceptance of the Arfe Report by the European Parliament; looks also at some of the minority groups reporting to the Fourth World Assembly. She thinks the C.L. would do well to initiate a discussion on minority status and ascertain the attitude of our national organisations towards it.

## The Constitution Debate

Dr. Garret FitzGerald, leader of the main Government party Fine Gael, and Taoiseach of the present Dáil embarked on what he called a new crusade aimed at the the 1937 Constitution and in particular at articles 2 and 3 which deal with the country and the state. In effect these articles reiterate the aspiration to the unity of all Ireland while acknowledging that the existence of partition renders its writ inoperative in the six north eastern counties (part of the province of Ulster) which remain in the U.K. His announcement inaugurated — as it was intended — a spate of “letters to the editor”, editorial comment, debates within and without the Dáil.

One may wonder at the timing; one may also wonder at the tactics — as Síle de Valera said (at a time when a massive memorial to her grandfather Eamonn de Valera — the architect of that Constitution — was being erected for unveiling at Ennis, Co. Clare) the simplest thing to do is to put the question to the electorate; the Constitution can only be altered by referendum. Instead Dr. FitzGerald seems determined, by referring the question to the government's legal advisers awaiting their assessment, and by continuing the “debate” to stretch the discussion over the next half year perhaps.

It has been suggested, by Dr. Denis Donoghue for example writing in the *New York Review of Books*, that it might be aimed at removing any legalistic “legitimacy” from the republicans at war in the state of Northern Ireland. But, if so, that is a “legitimacy” they have never evoked. They do not and never did claim the “authority” of the 1937 Constitution's aspirations to justify their military campaigns. They have been — on principle, not as tactic — non-attenders when elected, and specify their abstentionist policy in all election campaigns.

Insofar as constitutions give them a “moral” base, insofar as they invoke such at all, their evocation is of the 1916 Declaration of the Republic, the Dáil formed in 1919 on foot of the 1918 General Election in all Ireland, and the succeeding Dáil (the story of which in its division “supplementation” and replacement is by far too complex for a short article) as well as the tradition of republican resistance whether the insurrection of 1798 or the constitution of the Irish Republican Brotherhood of 1858 be taken as initiation points.

It has also been suggested that the “crusade” is intent on “wooing the loyalists”. If so one feels that Fr. Denis Faul (no apologist for the IRA or INLA) was quite right when he said:

If everybody in the Republic turned Protestant and Unionist, divorced, aborted and used contraception, sterilised themselves and sent their few surviving children to schools without religion, it would make no difference to those who retained the jobs, the powers, the law and the privileges with the help of the dopey British.

And indeed it was so proved some years back when precisely to allay loyalist fears article 44 (which dealt with religion acknowledging “the special position of the Roman Catholic Church as guardian of the faith professed by the majority of the people”) was deleted as a result of a referendum from the Constitution. There was no loyalist move then to indicate that such gestures are of any major significance towards a solution of Ireland's problems.

**Pádraig Ó Snodaigh**

*Le Premier Ministre irlandais a pris l'initiative d'un débat au sujet des articles 2 et 3 de la constitution de la République qui revendique pour celle-ci la juridiction sur les six comtés du Nord-Est.*

## Wage Free for All?

From September onwards the real effect of the Governments mid-summer budget, with its many price rises and VAT increases, was felt in the Republic. Figures released near the end of the month showed that the rise in the Consumer Price Index in the three months to the middle of August was 20.1%. It was predicted that that rate was likely to increase further for the August to November quarter when the bulk of the price increases would be recorded. The only bright spot on an otherwise gloomy horizon was the strengthening of the Irish pound against Sterling and the dollar which it was hoped would result in a freeze in petrol and oil prices until the new year.

The Government committee on Costs and Competitiveness (composed of three leading economists generally termed the Three Wise Men!) reported and recommended that pay rises be limited to 6.5% for 1982 in order to maintain competitiveness within present levels. This suited the Government and employers outlook admirably but naturally failed to impress Trade Union leaders, seeking to maintain their members living standards,



who saw the rate of inflation now exceeding 20%.

In mid October the national pay talks broke down with a wide gap still separating employers and unions and after 11 years of national wage agreements of one sort or another the prospect of a return to a wage free for all seemed likely. At a special conference at the end of October the Irish Congress of Trade Unions gave the go-ahead to affiliated unions to pursue individual pay bargaining. It advised its members to lodge claims which would "maintain living standards" and suggested that unions should cooperate at group and industry level to act in a co-ordinated way. However no pay guideline was issued though some union spokesmen suggested that claims as high as 25% should be looked for.

Despite initial indications that it suited the Government not to intervene to salvage the talks it did suggest they be reopened with an invitation to the chairman of the Employer-Labour Conference to discuss the possibility of an initiative to reopen discussion. However that invitation came in a lengthy statement in which the Government said that if it were to be a party to another national wage agreement, pay increases for this year could not significantly exceed the 6.5% suggested by the "Three Wise Men" and that the public sector would have to accept a "very moderate" increase in pay or else suffer a decline in employment. That statement was looked upon as disastrous by the Trade Union Congress and they refused to resume discussions with the Employers who had proposed a three months pay pause to be followed by a 7% increase for the following twelve months. So the scene would appear set for a series of confrontations. The first of these is likely to occur when the Labour Court issues a recommendation on a 20% pay claim by 5,000 bus workers who have already lodged strike notice but have deferred action while the court was examining the claim.

Meanwhile the number of unemployed has reached almost 130,000, the highest figure registered since unemployment records began. In the North (with approximately half the population) the figures released in September showed a record 114,000 with male unemployment standing at 24% of the workforce and female unemployment at 14.2%.

*Depuis une dizaine d'années, les négociations au sujet des disputes entre les ouvriers et employeurs irlandais étaient contrôlées par un accord national mais aujourd'hui, on risque de revenir à une situation où chaque entreprise serait le théâtre de luttes séparées pour maintenir le niveau de vie des travailleurs.*

## Hunger Strikes: The End of a Phase

Most people were relieved — but that relief may shunt certain facts and features of the strike out of perspective. It is as well to advert to some of them here. Certain of the points developed below come from a longtime correspondent in Belfast whose analysis of the day-to-day situation have always been perceptive.

The strike was called off by the prisoners themselves and it was called off because the hunger-strike weapon had been outflanked (to mix military metaphors!). They were not "defeated" — and the crowing of certain sections of the English press will do no good for England if such an inaccurate "line" is continued — nor did their "morale" collapse: angry and frustrated they may be but dejected and despairing not so, and again any suggestion to the contrary is of no ultimate utility to anyone. Their strike had to be called off because it could no longer be focussed on the target they wished it to be aimed at — the Westminster Government (especially that headed by Maggie Thatcher).

Further, someone — as my Belfast correspondent says "a very clever someone" — found a very clever way around the hunger strike, a way to counter it. What happened in effect was that the barrage of media attention plus the moral barrage was directed on to the relatives and away from the English authorities, easing from them both the inside pressure and the "nutcracker of world publicity".

"It worked," says my friend, "the relatives, especially the mothers, presented with the opening (they took responsibility for the life or death decisions whenever the prisoners reached the point of coma), and given the push of psychology (moral responsibility); did what mothers *always* do, given a chance to *do it*." And of course, "no reasonable person can blame *them* for doing so".

It of course raises the question does this revelation of an Achilles heel in the hunger strike blunt it permanently and for all places and people. Could Gwynor Evans have succeeded last year with his threat of a fast (to death if necessary) had this deflection system been discovered or developed then.

Pádraig Ó Snodaigh

## Irish on T.V. — Supreme Court Case

Cáit Bean Uí Chadhain has been prosecuted three times for not having a television licence. She, like many others, is refusing to get a licence until RTÉ provides Irish speakers with a broad range of Irish language television programmes. Only 2.6% of RTÉ's television time is, at present, given to Irish language programmes. Bilingual programmes account for a further paltry 1.5%. Children have not seen a children's Irish language television programme since April 1980. RTÉ has no plans to broadcast any such programme for them before Autumn 1982 — at the earliest!

The Probation Act was applied, on appeal, in Cáit Uí Chadhain's first two cases. In January 1979 she was fined £10, or 14 days' imprisonment in default of payment. She appealed the sentence and the Circuit Court, in December 1980, decided to ask the Supreme Court to clarify whether or not Cáit Uí Chadhain was entitled to cite the failure of the RTÉ Authority to implement their statutory obligation to the Irish language, as grounds for refusing to purchase a television licence.

The Supreme Court considered the question on November 4, but reserved judgement.

## Towards new Irish-speaking Communities

The emergence of new Irish-speaking communities in the Dublin urban area is the exciting prospect envisaged by the authors of two significant articles in a recent issue of *Feasta*. In these Máire Nic Ghiolla Phádraig and Liam Mac Mathúna summarize the results of a study by a Conradh na Gaeilge working-party which examined the position of the Irish language in the city. They have traced the distribution of Irish speakers in the various suburbs and examined the rise of Irish-speaking institutions serving local needs, notably Irish-medium nursery groups, primary and post-primary schools, and church services, as well as recurring social events conducted through Irish.

The two authors state that the Irish language movement has concentrated up to now on encouraging individuals to acquire and use Irish. They argue that the time is ripe for switching to an emphasis on helping the growth of Irish as a community language in parts of Dublin city. There are significant concentrations of Irish speakers in certain areas of Dublin but a special strategy is needed to provide structures in which Irish can be used naturally to carry out the ordinary business of living.

They have investigated the success of certain ethnic and religious groups in maintaining their identity while still contributing effectively to the mainstream of Irish life. Máire Nic Ghiolla Phádraig and Liam Mac Mathúna contend that these groups offer pointers to a viable strategy for the establishment and maintenance of neighbourhood communities in Dublin using Irish regularly. Ideally, these communities would incorporate Irish-speaking families, mini-Gaeltacht housing schemes, existing Irish-medium schools and services but they would of necessity rely heavily on the involvement of people using Irish as a second language. The emphasis would be on the expansion of the Irish speaking communities and the services available to them. The initial stages of the programme would in fact be very like that of the Glór na nGael competition which centres on community activity.

The authors of the two *Feasta* articles stress that the initiative and impetus for the establishment of these new Irish-speaking communities would have to come from interested groups, families and individuals in particular areas. They contend that co-ordination of existing efforts for the language in defined areas should lead gradually but tangibly towards the emergence of new Irish communities outside the Gaeltacht. Finally they argue plausibly that a development such as this would hold out the greatest hope of convincing Gaeltacht people that their maintenance of Irish as a community language will be of relevance in the Ireland of the future.

### POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS

The long awaited Irish Language course on RTÉ television and radio has finally begun. Anois is Aris is the title of the series and the first printing of the accompanying booklet has been a sell out. The course

was promoted in 40 centres of population in the 26 counties by Bord na Gaeilge by means of a specially designed mobile information and display unit. The 3 year course is, according to RTÉ, "firmly rooted in contemporary linguistic and language teaching research". Special emphasis is put throughout the course on the learners active involvement in the learning process.

That a demand for Irish medium education exists has been proved once again by the establishment this year of two new primary schools. In Ashbourne, Co. Meath the new Scoil Dhún Riabhaigh is attended by 45 pupils and a 20 child play group has also been established. In Donaghmede, a northern suburb of Dublin another school was established with 20 children starting.

Another welcome development has been the opening of Coláiste Pobail lán Gaelach Chluain Dolcáin in the south western suburbs of Dublin. This is the first Irish medium Community school outside the Gaeltacht and it will serve four Irish medium primary schools with a 6 mile radius of its location.

## Foreign Language Status for Irish?

### Background

On two occasions in 1976 Tomás Ó Monacháin, an architect from County Down who now resides in the Donegal Gaeltacht, was fined in the Bun Beag District Court with illegally parking a caravan. Fines totalling £13.80 were imposed and costs totalling £47.60 were awarded against him. Prison sentences of 1 and 3 months, respectively, were decreed in lieu of payment. He was imprisoned on 21/6/1976 and remained in prison until 25/7/1976 when High Court proceedings for an order of habeas corpus led to his being released until legal actions which he was instituting were completed.

Tomás Ó Monacháin then sought a mandamus order from the High Court affirming that the Government had failed to fulfil their obligations under Section 71 of The Courts of Justice Act, 1924; directing and obliging the Government to fulfil such obligations in future; voiding the decisions of the two District Court cases; and awarding damages for illegal imprisonment.

After inordinate delays the case was finally heard by Mr. Justice Hamilton in July 1979. He reserved his judgement until 27/2/1980 when he rejected Ó Monacháin's case. Tomás Ó Monacháin appealed the decision. This appeal was heard in the Supreme Court on the 3rd and 4th of November.

### Clear Obligation

Risteárd Ó Cuaig, Senior Counsel for Tomás Ó Monacháin, argued that Section 71 of the 1924 Act placed a clear responsibility on the Government. He said that it was, in effect, an acknowledgement by Oireachtas Éireann that there were districts in the country where Irish was spoken as the main language and that the people of those areas were entitled to have all their legal business with the state conducted in Irish.

He rejected outright those arguments which were advanced claiming that Justices or other state employees were free to use whichever language they wished in Gaeltacht areas. Stating that the Constitution recognised the Irish language as "the national language" and "the first official language" throughout the country, he maintained that a clear obligation existed on public servants to use Irish in officially recognised and legally defined Irish-speaking areas.

Section 71 of the 1924 Courts of Justice Act reads as follows:

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

#### Judgement Reserved

Justices Walsh, Henchy and Griffin presided. Although judgement was reserved, some of the questions they asked may be taken as pointers to their view of the case. Noting the difference between requiring a Justice to "possess such a knowledge of the Irish language as would enable him to dispense with the assistance of an interpreter when evidence is given in that language" and requiring him to use Irish in his court, they asked whether in fact he was legally required to speak Irish in his court.

Justice Walsh stated that by providing an interpreter a Justice could ensure that an Irish speaker would not be placed at a disadvantage — in that all his evidence could be translated for the court and if he was not a fluent English speaker, the rest of the court's proceedings could be translated into Irish for him. He said that these are exactly the rights which a Frenchman or German would have. That is, of course, the crux of the whole affair — does the constitutional status of Irish merely confer the same rights and facilities to speakers of Irish, as are conferred on speakers of any non-official language of the State?

Does one's knowledge of English nullify one's right to do business with the State through Irish? Justice Henchy asked whether the obligation which existed, according to the plaintiff, whereby Justices in Gaeltacht courts would have to conduct the courts in Irish, was binding when there were people who did not speak Irish present!

Whether favourable or unfavourable to the Irish language, the outcome of this court case is of immense importance. The result will, of necessity, lead to a major review of the Irish language movement's objectives, strategy and tactics.

#### Legal Fund

Conradh na Gaeilge who are sponsoring Tomás Ó Monacháin's court case, are urging supporters to contribute towards the defence fund which has been established. Subscriptions should be sent to:

Ciste Cosanta Uí Mhonacháin,  
f/ch. Chonradh na Gaeilge,  
6 Sráid Fhearchair,  
Baile Átha Cliath 2.

# KERNOW

## Agan Oryon Camhensek

Drefen ny dhe dryga yn ragenys Kernew gans or dhyblans yntredhon ha Pow Saws — an Tamar — ny wren-ny predery menough yn kever keheseth gwyr agan bro. Trawthyow yma ethom dhyn dhe dhathla gans tus an Consel Aberplym pan vynnons gul maystry war nep ran Kernow Soth-Est, mes del usyes nyns us dowt y'gan brys bes an Tamar or ewn Kernow. Mes whethel dyffrans yu gans an browyow Keltek erel. An oryon re be herdhys wardhelergh dres lyes cansbledhen dre Bow Saws ha Frynk rag y dhe gemeres tyryw rych po nep tre gerek. An dre Berwick o y'n 12ves cansbledhen chvfport Alba, mes an Sawson a-s-kemeras lyes gwyth bys dhe 1551, bledhen mayth o ordnys an dre dhe dhes ha bes dyarvys, mes ran Pow Saws whath yn whyr. Mes y'n dedhyow-ma an para peldres Berwick a wary y'n Kesunyans Albanek, arweth gwyr bos spyrys Albanek gans tus an dre-na.

An or yntra Kembry ha Pow Saws a hevel dhe lyes den bos pur gamhensek: y'n conteth Sawsnek Shropshire us tyller may kewsyr Kembrek. Ywys, bys dhe 1750 an dre Oswestry o tyller dyw-yethek. Yma mur a dhustunyon ysterek a dhysqua dhyn bos or goth yntra Kembry ha Pow Saws an avon Wye ha Havren a wartha y'n termyn us passyes. Raghenna, tavaseth tus Forest of Dean yu pur dhyffrans es henna war lan aral a'n avon Havren.

Assay cref re be gans Pow Frynk dhe dhyberth Loire Atlantique dyworth Breten Vyghan. Y'n vledhen 1973 Presydynt Pompidou yn meth "Ny wra kesomformya gans gwyrioneth ystori ha derydhyeth synsyans Loire Atlantique avel ran Breten Vyghan". Gans pencyta an pow, Nantes, y'n randyr-na, fatel yllons-y hy dygelmy? Mes y whylons y wul, hag y fyth dathel bras rak gwytha an randyr avel ran gwyr an pow.

Nyns us travyth sacrys gan oryon 've ynnys warnan gans gwasow bras. Y fyth ethom dhyn-ny scodhya pup muvyans genesegethek Keltek a vo restrys ena.

G.A.

(The borders of the Celtic nations of today were forced on them by imperial powers: there is nothing sacred about them. Cultural movements in these borderlands should be encouraged.)

"THE CORNISH NATION", Mebyon Kernow's Magazine. From: 11 West St., Liskeard, at 25p. Each Plus Post, or £1.50 for 4 issues (Includes Post).

"AN WERYN", Cornwall's Independent Radical Magazine. From: 23 Basset St., Redruth at £1.20 for 4 issues (includes Post).

"THE CORNISH BANNER", Cornish Nationalist Party's magazine. From Trelispen, Gorran, Nr. St. Austell, 50p Subs. £2.50 (overseas airmail £4.00).



## M.K. Conference

Mebyon Kernow took a decided turn to the political Left when it held its annual meeting at the Ponsmere Hotel, Perranporth recently.

A new pressure lobby, the 1913 Group, gained important positions during the election of officers, and the group loosely described as Republican Socialists managed to push through a resolution calling on Prince Charles to relinquish all his Duchy of Cornwall property.

The 1913 Group, which takes its name from the memory of police from Glamorgan being called in to crush a strike by china clay workers, believe that a "social revolution" is necessary before the general MK aim of autonomy for Cornwall is realised, as neither the present Conservative or the present Labour parties would allow Cornwall to be run the way it should be by self-governing Cornish people.

In a statement issued before the conference which angered some of the more moderate delegates, the 1913 Group said: "Mebyon Kernow should rid itself of the 'county set' who want to establish a 'little England' south of the Tamar."

The new secretary of Mebyon Kernow, Mr. Roger Holmes, said later: "It would be fair to say that there was a determined effort by a Left group to mould Mebyon Kernow their way. They partially succeeded, but by no means wholly."

The Republican Socialist motion which was passed 19-15 was, in Mr. Holmes' personal opinion, not a malicious one, but a very unwise one.

It stated: "Mebyon Kernow's concept of sovereignty is that power derives from the people who pool their personal sovereignty for the common good; we therefore can have little time for the concept of monarchy as such — let alone the idea that the English monarchy has any continuing role in Cornwall. As it is Mebyon Kernow's aim to concentrate on creating nationalists rather than on winning superficial support, it is logical that Mebyon Kernow should, at this conference, declare itself to be republican. We do not, however, regard this issue as important enough to become a major plank in our platform and it should certainly not overshadow the economic, social, and cultural problems that confront us."

The next motion was also carried, by 20-13. It read: "Mebyon Kernow calls on the heir to the English and Scottish thrones to relinquish his claim to all Duchy of Cornwall property in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly and to return all such property to the people of Cornwall and of the Isles of Scilly through the agencies of the present Cornwall County Council and the Council of the Isles of Scilly."

The office of president was abolished, and the duties of president were merged with those of chairman.

Officers elected were: chairman, Mr. Richard Jenkin; vice-chairman, Mr. Ted Chapman; secretary, Mr. Roger Holmes; treasurer, Mr. Pedyr Prior; and chairman of the policy committee, Mr. Malcolm Williams.

*La conférence annuelle de Mebyon Kernow a accentué la tendance gauchisante de ce parti.*

## Lowender Peran

Lowender Peran, Kernow's Pan-Celtic Festival, was held again this year at Perranporth, over the weekend October 1-4, and proved to be an even greater success than that of the previous year. The Festival was centred in the convivial atmosphere of the Ponsmere Hotel where accommodation was available for a large number of visiting guests.

The weekend passed all too quickly with music issuing freely from virtually every available corner of the hotel, anybody so wishing to participate being able to do so.

With informality being the key word, many new friends were made and links forged, thus demonstrating the great part these festivals play in strengthening the important bond that exists between the Celtic Nations.

With the increasing success of Lowender Peran, discussions are already taking place with a view to holding the festival somewhat later in the coming year so that even more accommodation may be made available for those participating and also those just wishing to come and enjoy the weekend.

For 1982 details, contact Pat and David Crewes, 8 Tywarnhayle Road, Perranporth, Kernow.

T.

## 1982 Celtic Congress

The next International meeting of the Celtic Congress is to be held in Penzance from 18-23rd April, 1982 and is bound to reflect the increasing strength of the Cornish language, music and dance over recent years.

Following the recent success of the 1981 Breton Celtic Congress in Lannuon, the Cornish Branch plans to make the Cornish Congress of more relevance to the mainstream of cultural activities and organisations in Cornwall and the other countries.

Discussion groups and talks on practical subjects will be emphasized, such as "Co-operatives" (Breizh) and Printing and Publishing in a Celtic Medium (Éire), which are included in the general theme of "Growing Up in a Celtic World".

Perhaps the most significant development for the 1982 Congress is that Dalleth will be running playgroups for young children during the week of the Congress and members of Dalleth will also have the opportunity to meet a Welsh-speaking representative of Ysgolion Meithrin and share experiences.

Workshops in music, dance and Cornish (perhaps wrestling) are planned, along with a children's concert).

In addition to holding the usual concerts and Ceilidhs, the 1982 Cornish Branch of the Celtic Congress promises to take an initiative which hopefully other branches will follow.

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# MANNIN

## Croo Loayreyderyn Dooghyssagh

Manx speakers need to follow closely the Cornish initiative in setting up the means to (effectively) bring up children as native speakers.

Tra va mee sy Chorn tammylt beg er dy henney, va mee jeant bwooiagh tra cheayll mee dy vel paart dy Chornee er chur er bun scoill er-lheh son paitchyn aegey. Sorch dy kindergarten t'ayn raad ta possan dy phaitchyn clashtyn rish Cornish goll er loayrt er aght dooghyssagh. S'treih lhiam nagh row caa aym fakin yn scoill hene as ny reddynt ta goll er ayns shen, agh cha row mee ayns y cheer agh son jerrey shiaghtin. Va ny Cornee ginsh dou yn bun jeh'n skeeal, as lhaih mee peesh my e chione ayns pabyr Britaanagh.

Ayns cooishyn myr shoh, t'eh feer doillee feddyn magh yn kiart 'irrin firrinagh. Vel ny paitchyn Cornagh shoh dy firrinagh gynsaghey Cornish er aght dooghyssagh? Cren aght t'ad goll er? Quoid dy Vaarl ta goll er loayrt sy scoill? Bee ny paitchyn loayrt Cornish ry cheilley? As myr shen foast. Shegin dooin briaght ny feyshtyn shoh er y fa dy re red feer scanshoil t'ayn. Son shickyrys, fod ny Manninee as ny Cornee freayll possan dy 'leih oddys loayrt chengey ny mayrey dy mie ny mie dy liooar. Dy jarroo, ta vondeish ec ny Manninee, er y fa dy row loayreyderyn dooghyssagh er mayrn derrey paart dy vleeantyn er dy henney. Lhisagh eh ve ny sassey da ny Manninee nyn bossan dy loayreyderyn y vooadaghey er y fa dy vel foast cooinaghtyn er mayrn jeh'n Ghaelg myr chengey ny cheerey. Agh lhishagh ny Manninee prowal y red cheddin as ny Cornee, ta shen dy ghraa, lhishagh ad cur red goll rish schoill-chloie er bun da Paitchyn aegey ry hoi gynsaghey Gaelg. Shione dou dy row (as dy vel) obbyr vie goll er as sleih gynsaghey Gaelg da paitchyn aegey. Agh ta shin ayns feme jeh schoill-chloie taitnyssagh raad oddys paitchyn feddyn magh mychione y seihll ayns Gaelg chammah as ayns Gaelg. Quoi vees jannoo en, shen y red (myr t'eh dy kinjagh!).

Er lhiam nagh vel shin toiggal veg mychione chengaghyn, erskyn ooilley mychione cooishyn-chengey bentyn rish paitchyn. Ta'n chooid smoo dy 'leih feddyn eh doillee agglagh chengey elley 'ynsaghey. Myr dooyrt mee, fodmayd as ny Cornee freayll possan dy 'leih as nyn jengaghyn oc. Agh, erskyn ooilley, ta shin ayns feme jeh paitchyn oddys loayrt ny chengaghyn Celtiagh dy flaaail as er aght bioyr. Myr ta ny Bretnee er ngeddyn magh, she scoillyn-cloie yn aght share shen y yannoo ayns boayl raad ta'n chengey goll sheese ny ersooyl, bunnys.

Cha loayr mish agh Gaelg rish yn inneen as y mac aym derrey-v'ad mysh queig bleaney dy eash. Va Gaelg dy liooar ec my ven, agh v'ish loayrt Baarl roo son y chooid smoo. Ga dy ren ny paitchyn toiggal dy chooilley nhee ayns Gaelg as ga dy row ad gymmydey Gaelg nish as reesht, cha ren ad rieu loayrt ee car y tra. Er lhiam dy row eh myr shen er y fa nagh row paitchyn elley ayns Gaelg oc. Va 'n inneen as y mac aym toiggal dy re chengey "folliit" v'ayn, chengey

nagh row ec ny caarjyn aegey ocsyn. Ec y tra shen, va enney aym er dooinney as ben va cliaghtey loayrt Gaelg Albinagh rish nyn mac: cha loayr eshyn agh Baarl! Eer ayns scoill-cloie Gaelgagh, cha nod oo ve shickyry dy loayragh paitchyn Gaelg: agh ta mee credjal dy lhishagh shin prowal eh.

Brian Mac Stoyll

## Manns New Government — Crisis Ahead!

November 1981 sees the Manks electorate presented with the opportunity to return 24 new members to the House of Keys (Manks Parliament) to represent Mann for the next five years.

Mann has a tradition of electing independent members to the Keys and it seems unlikely that this will be broken at the forthcoming election. The Labour Party, a Socialist organisation which advocates strong links with the United Kingdom, will probably field about four candidates in *safe* seats and hope to carry these. At present they hold three, two in Douglas and one in the constituency of Rushen. The Labour party will be contested in some of its *safe* areas by the Manx National Party which at present holds one seat in Douglas and could possibly make further gains. The Islands original Nationalist organisation, Mec Vannin will only be fielding one candidate at Peel and will be hoping to gain from this token gesture at least a 'voice' in the Keys. The majority of members elected will remain therefore independents and it seems likely that many of the members of the present Keys will retain their seats.

The first crisis a new Keys is likely to face will come from the U.K. where there is every indication that a radical Socialist government will be returned at the next election in a backlash against policies pursued by Prime Minister Thatcher. Such a radical government will have no time for the tax haven Islands which have grown up off their shores and into which large sums of U.K. finance have been getting "laundered". Some U.K. Labour Members of Parliament have already referred publicly to the I.O.M. tax haven status and one, a Mr. Foulkes, referred to Mann and the Channel Islands as "parasites" and promised measures to deal with the problem as soon as a Labour government were elected.

Nationalists warned some years ago that the Tax Haven policy adopted by the government of the day would be ruinous if allowed to grow unchecked. Since then there have been various scandals. People glibly keeping the company of government officials, in Mann, one day were being sought by the U.K. authorities for financial fraud the next. Successive Manks governments have pinned all their hopes on a strong finance sector whilst retaining links with the U.K. and critics of this policy have been scornfully dismissed. In carrying through its Fiscal policy Tynwald has attained a considerable degree of autonomy — but Mann is still linked inexorably with the United Kingdom. Should the U.K. decide to reverse its policy towards Mann it would take a strong House of Keys to resist.

The make-up of the Keys after November will very likely be little changed. We may see a small group of Nationalists (from the two Party groups and some independents) and these will balance the *quisling* element in the Manx Labour Party. The vast majority of M.H.K.s however will still be independents, with a County Council mentality which will stand them in poor stead should they be called upon to argue NATIONAL issues with a strong minded U.K. government.

D. G. Kermode in his book "Devolution at Work" warns that "the Isle of Man is extremely vulnerable to external economic and related political forces," he goes on "the Islands status as a tax haven could be affected either by changes in the international economy or by policies of the British Government". A future Tynwald should bear these statements in mind!

**J. B. MOFFAT**

*Le nouveau gouvernement de l'Île de Man va probablement se trouver en conflit avec celui de Londres a cause d'une politique qui permet aux riches de ne pas payer d'impôts.*



*Dr. Shorys y Creayrie conducting the tour of Cregneish Folk Village.*

## Annual General Meeting 1981

The Celtic League AGM was held this year during the last week-end of August in Peel, Mannin. Delegates of five national branches (Mannin, Éire, Cymru, Kernow and Breizh) as well as the general officials attended. Four working sessions were held in the Viking Long House on Saturday 29 and Sunday 30. On the Friday evening, the delegates gathered informally and on the Saturday night there was a lively, well-attended "Giense" — traditional music, singing, dances representative of various Celtic countris. On the Sunday afternoon the participants were taken by bus to Cregneish in the South: this tour was conducted by Dr. Shorys y Creayrie of the Dublin School of Celtic Studies who gave an account of the pre-war

life style of the village, illustrating certain points by playing recordings of some of the native Manks speakers who lived there up to ca. 1950.

The meeting first reviewed the decisions and resolutions taken at the previous AGM: some had been implemented, others had not, due to other pressing demands on the secretaries of this *voluntary* organisation. Reports were received from our 8 branches, and from the general officers.

Reviewing the past year, the **secretary general** drew attention to the aims of the Celtic League and showed in what ways we had endeavoured to fulfil them. The fostering of co-operation between the Celtic peoples had been instanced by the implementation of 5 of our 1980-AGM resolutions and by helping on several occasions cultural exchanges and contacts, in particular between Ireland, Wales and Brittany. Inter-Celtic solidarity had found expression in support for Breton, Irish and Welsh prisoners or defendants. We had disseminated information about our nations and their struggles by answering dozens of enquiries. This took up a considerable amount of our "free" time.

### ROLE AND IMPACT OF THE CELTIC LEAGUE

A lot of time was also required to ensure proper co-ordination between the different parts of the organisation and the bulk distribution of CARN. There was enough work there for a full time secretary general. He was not satisfied with the results achieved. He asked whether they were commensurate with the efforts made. That people were as interested as ever in interceltic relations was shown by the tens of thousands who flocked to the Lorient Festival, and by the hundreds who attended the International Celtic Congress or the Killarney Panceltic Festival. These one-a-week-a-year events required hard work from their organisers but did not call for any effort on the part of their participants whereas we tried to involve our members in activities spread over the whole year. We reached a few thousands through the medium of CARN but when one considered the small attendances at our AGMs one had to ask whether the Celtic-minded wanted to get together for anything other than entertainment and pleasant company. It was also a question of employing one's time for the promotion of our national aims in the most useful way. We got more appreciations from those of our members and subscribers living "abroad" than from our own compatriots. When one of the main motives is to develop co-operation and solidarity, one needs to know how those who are engaging in the same struggles view our contribution. It is disappointing for instance to see no mention of Carn in a brochure published on the occasion of an interceltic event and listing several other periodicals. One of the reasons why the Celtic peoples have not achieved a greater degree of freedom is that our organisations are too self-centred. While it is quite in order that different views should find expression in a variety of associations, only distrust could justify a failure to co-operate on those grounds which are held in common.

Yet it was felt by other participants that the Celtic League exerted a definite influence, even though it might not be possible to quantify it; that without it, national organisations might become more provincial in their outlook; that we constituted a permanent link between them and the wider world scene. It was



understandable that the national groups could be absorbed by their immediate concerns. Results were seldom brought about by any single organisation. The Celtic League should be seen primarily as having an educative function, that of making people see the Celtic dimension of their national struggles; also of making those inclined only towards cultural pursuits see the political aspects. Every organisation suffered from a shortage of committed workers. We should hope that our members would strive to spread the Celtic outlook into the national organisations, and stir elected representatives to act in an interceltic sense.

## PRICE OF CARN AND RATES OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

It was decided to confirm 50 pence as the price per copy and to raise this to 60p from 1/1/1982 if necessary. The annual fee/subscription was fixed at IR£4 for Ireland, £4 Stg. for Britain, 40 FF (Brittany & France) and \$9 (U.S.A.). Membership for two persons in the same household, getting only one copy of CARN, would cost only £1 extra.

Proposals to publish a pamphlet on Women in Gaelic Ireland, a synopsis of the Franco-Breton Treaty of 1532, a map of the Celtic countries in the national languages, and a booklet of statistics for these countries were adopted with certain modifications or provisos.

**Elections:** Shorys y Creayrie was elected chairman of the Celtic League in succession to Jorj ab Herve Gwegen who did not seek re-election. C. O Luain, R. Green and A. Heusaff were reappointed respectively as editor, treasurer and secretary general — all honorary!

**Future AGMs:** In order to stimulate stronger attendance, it was decided that they should be held as far as possible in conjunction with major gatherings attended by people from the different Celtic countries. The 1982 AGM will be held in Ireland. The date will be announced in CARN 37.

Altogether, this AGM turned out to be a successful one from the point of view of the work done and we got plenty of enjoyment into the bargain. The branch secretary and those who helped him, particularly with transport and refreshments at the Viking Long House, deserved full marks and congratulations for their efficiency.

## RESOLUTIONS

The following were adopted:

1. (Proposed by the secretary general). This Conference urges all the members of the Celtic League to support the appeal from the International Peace Bureau, marking Hiroshima Day, to the presidents of the USA and of the Soviet Union\*; urges them also to ask their elected representatives to press governments to work for disarmament; in particular, in Europe, as a first step, for a European Nuclear Free Zone; views the production of neutron bombs as a development which tends to blur the distinction between conventional and nuclear armaments and as such to increase the likelihood of a military confrontation between the super-powers; questions the assumption that the defence of either of the opposing ideologies, or ways of life justifies a nuclear war which would result in the total disruption of all communal life if not in the destruction of Life itself.

2. (Proposed by the Scottish branch). This conference urges the organisations in the Celtic countries working on behalf of their languages to increase their co-operation to a much greater extent than at present; in particular to exchange news and to give help where a situation arises in one country which has already been met, successfully, in another.

§We should be happy to facilitate this through the pages of CARN.

3. (From the Breton branch). In view of the hopes raised in Brittany by the French Socialist Party promises, this conference calls on the French government to urgently adopt the following measures as the first steps required to safeguard the Breton language:

- a) training a body of teachers specialised in the teaching of Breton and introducing this language to all levels of education;
- b) taking charge of and developing the network of schools such as the DIWAN schools teaching through the medium of Breton;
- c) setting up a service responsible for broadcasting in Breton (i) several hours on television daily; (ii) all-day radio programmes audible throughout Brittany; (iii) daily several hours of dialectal Breton from five local transmitters (in Brest, Kemper, Lannuon, Centre-Brittany, Gwened).
- d) putting up bilingual road signs;
- e) introducing bilingualism in all public services.

4. (From the Cymru branch). This conference, considering the high number of second homes in Wales, calls on the Westminster government to legislate in this matter so as to bring the situation into line with that obtaining in Scotland where it is illegal for a person's name to appear on more than one voters list.

5. (From the Irish branch). This conference condemns the duplicity and intransigence of the Westminster government and of PM Thatcher in allowing the death of ten hunger strikers in the H-Blocks; calls on that government to grant the five demands of the prisoners in Long Kesh and the Armagh women's prison and to introduce immediate prison reforms to that effect before further deaths occur.\*

6. (From the Kernow branch). This conference recognises that the spontaneous refusal by 50-100 Cornish people to fill in their census forms in English, despite vague threats from the census authorities, marks a qualitative change in the nature of the language struggle in Cornwall; notes the authorities' apparent acceptance of Cornish as an official language for the purposes of the Census; consequently, calls on the Westminster government to recognise Cornish as an official language in Cornwall, on an equal status with English, and to provide facilities for those Cornish speakers who wish to use their own language in their own country.

7. (From the Manx branch). This conference:

- a) urges the Isle of Man Board of Education to adopt a constructive attitude to the promotion of Manx Gaelic, history and culturally related subjects in Manx schools;

- b) whilst applauding developments such as the availability of Manx Gaelic as part of the General Certificate of Education curriculum and the individual efforts of certain schools and teachers, contends that this is no substitute for an official enlightened policy by the Board;
- c) deplores the inability of Manx radio, the island's only independent broadcasting medium to provide a number of programmes with a *Manx Gaelic and cultural content*§ (at present only a single weekly (?) one-hour programme of Manx Gaelic is broadcast during six winter months);
- d) deplores the lack of progress over human rights in Mann and again urges the I.o.M. government to ratify the European Convention on Human Rights and to retain the right of individual petition for Manx residents.

\*New developments have occurred since.

§We understand that progress has been made since in that direction.

## European Parliament Backs Lesser-Spoken Languages

A resolution on a "Community charter of regional languages and cultures and on a charter of rights of ethnic minorities" was presented by the Italian Socialist MEP, Gaetano Arfe, to the European Parliament in Strassburg on October 16th. He referred to the growth of the ethnic and linguistic movements seeking recognition of a historic identity which the peoples concerned experience today as one of their most important psychological needs. The "regional" languages and cultures were a source of enrichment for the European civilisation and an expression of its vitality. All EEC governments had in principle acknowledged the ethnic groups' right to their own culture but proper conditions for safeguarding this heritage had not been established everywhere. Pointing out that the recognition and the promotion of cultural diversity would lead to a close union of the European peoples the resolution requested member-governments as well as the regional and local authorities to adopt and implement a joint policy:

1) **in the field of education:** that they take steps to ensure that the language, literature, culture and history of each ethnic minority be taught in the official curriculum from nursery school to university; and if the need be expressed by the population, that the regional language be used as a medium of teaching, with particular emphasis on the nursery school so that the child would be able to speak his or her mother tongue;

2) **in the field of mass communication:** that access to local radio and television be ensured in such a way as to guarantee consistent and effective communication and the training of regional presenters; and that the minority groups be given financial assistance for their cultural events equivalent to that received by the majority groups;

3) **in the field of public life and social affairs:** that direct responsibility in this matter be assigned to the

local authorities; that the geographical boundaries correspond with those of the cultural regions; and that individuals be free to use their own language in dealing with official bodies.

The resolution requested the EEC Commission to gather data on attitudes towards the regional languages in the various member-countries and to set up pilot projects to try out methods of multilingual education capable of ensuring the survival of the individual cultures and their openness to the outside world.

It recommended that financial assistance be provided for such projects from the Regional Fund. It pointed out that the development of the regions' economies was a basic condition for their cultural development. Community legislation and practices must be changed if they discriminate against the minority languages.

The resolution was adopted, after representatives of the various parliamentary groups had stated their positions, by a vote of 80 in favour, 21 against and 8 abstaining. Those in favour included the Socialists, the Communists, the Independents and the great majority of the Christian Democrats; among them were all the Irish MEPs present (Sile de Valera, and Ian Paisley were absent), except for John Taylor, Unionist. The latter voted with a solid block of British Conservatives who wanted the preservation of the minority languages to be left in the hands of local people and authorities, in other words: left to their own devices. The French Gaulists were expected also to vote against but in deference to their Irish Fianna Fáil allies they just abstained.

The resolution will be forwarded to the governments and regional authorities of the member-States and to the Council of Europe. The latter had already on October 7th discussed a report concerned with minority languages and dialects in education presented by the Catalan Cirici. It was adopted unanimously after an amendment by S. Flanagan which read: (The Council of Europe) recommends that the Committee of Ministers consider the feasibility of undertaking action within the Council's Secretariat by establishing a working party within the Council of Europe for the purpose of gathering and disseminating information on developments in this field.

These resolutions represent a political and psychological boost for our languages but nobody should expect decisive actions to follow from them. We have friends but it is primarily up to our organisations to make their pressure felt on the governments and local authorities. That is what emerged from a seminar organised by GAEL LINN in Dublin on September 12, on the "Lesser-Spoken Languages of the EEC". On that occasion, Dr. Riccardo Petrella, author of "La Renaissance des Cultures Régionales en Europe" and of "The Demands of the Periphery", spoke on "The Changing Socio-Economic Context of Regional Cultures in Europe"; John Hume, MEP, on "The European Parliament and the Future of the Lesser-Used Languages"; co-author with A. Alcock of a work on "Policies to Support Radio and TV Broadcasting in the Lesser Spoken Languages of the EEC", on "The Activation of a European Cultural Policy".

# The Celtic League — Twenty Years a Growing

*A Personal View by Peter Beresford Ellis.*

*(Continued from CARN 35).*

*P. B. Ellis continue l'exposé de son point de vue personnel sur la manière dont le Ligue Celtique s'est développée depuis sa fondation en 1961.*

While one could sympathise with Mr. Evans position as a Welsh politician, it became obvious to the 'Young Turks' that officers of the League, particularly the august office of president, should be non-party political ones. The League was, after all, concerned with the good of six different nations and, difficult as it was, had to express the good of all of them.

The first success of the 'Young Turks' in September, 1969, was in getting the League to pass a resolution expressing full support for the campaign to obtain full civil rights for all citizens in the Six Counties. The resolution blamed the violence on the succession of English Governments who had acquiesced in the malgovernment of the Unionist Party. The resolution went further and expressed the opinion that the only long term solution was a united Irish Republic.

I gave an address entitled "A new image of the Celtic League", expounding my ideas as embodied in "The Creed of the Celtic Revolution" which led to a debate. At the end of the debate it was agreed to set up a working party under my chairmanship to examine ways and means of establishing an information service within the structure of the League. I had stressed the need for a well-oiled Celtic information service linking not only the Celtic countries together but linking them with the outside world.

Sadly, I spent two years trying to get a regular exchange of information between the Celtic branches for issuing news stories to the media. In the end I had to resign myself to the fact that, at the time, there was still too much apathy or individualism to run the information service professionally and successfully. The need for this information and propaganda organisation is as necessary as ever it was.

Yet for all the progress which was made at the 1969 Conference, it ended with a bad note. The highlight of the conference was a lecture by Gwynfor Evans entitled "The advance of the Celtic Nations" at the O'Lehane Hall, Cavendish Row, Dublin, which was open to the public and media. The hall was packed with several hundred people. It must be stressed that Gwynfor Evans was speaking in his capacity as president of the Celtic League (not Plaid Cymru nor as a Plaid Cymru MP). It was therefore with some shock that Bretons listened to Mr. Evans once again stating his view that the French persecution had been provoked by Breton violence. More importantly, he also blandly spoke of the formation of a Brittanic Federation of Nations and suggested that Ireland should join with England in such a union... the obvious interpretation for the Bretons was that Brittany would have to fend for herself in a French context. Thirdly, as a final straw, he told his predominantly Irish au-

dience that the problems in Northern Ireland were "religious". The speech provoked a great deal of anger among the audience. I recall Seumas Philbin standing up to ask a question and becoming, literally, speechless with indignation.

Mr. Evans had misjudged the situation. And what he had, in fact, said as president of the Celtic League was contrary to the stated aims of the League. Had Mr. Evans expressed his views in any other capacity than that of president of the League, the situation might have been remedied. As it was, it underlined the fact that the League's honorary offices of president and vice-presidents had to be re-examined. As I have said previously, no blame attaches itself to Mr. Evans (who has worked so passionately for those causes and aims he believes in) for, by holding dual office as president of a particular political party as well as president of the League, a conflict was bound to arise sooner or later.

However, I remember several of us accompanying Alan Heussaff back to his home after that meeting and trying to persuade him not to resign from the General Secretariat there and then. It was the League's good fortune that he did not.

Well, the League did recover and it has grown strong and it is no small thanks to the tireless energy of Alan Heussaff that it had done so. But at the time, the Breton secretary Jakez Derouet said he and his membership felt they should disband the Breton branch as it was clear from what Mr. Evans had said that the League was not understanding of, nor supportive to, their problems. Who could blame them?

At the very time the League was meeting in Dublin, a programme for a new national umbrella movement — Front for the Liberation of Brittany — was being drawn up in Rennes. The French had blamed a shadowy FLB for bombings and had arrested anyone suspected of being in sympathy with it. The Bretons now laid down a challenge to the French authorities by making FLB an open and mass movement. Many groups supported this open movement and attended its inaugural meeting which, as a further challenge, was held in the French capital itself in November, 1969.

I was honoured to be invited to address that meeting on behalf of the Celtic League. Between 2,000 and 3,000 attended. It was in those still heady days following the abortive '68 Revolution with riot police (CRS) with arms and equipment on every Paris street corner and with 30 French Special Branch officers, making no attempt to conceal themselves, in attendance at the meeting. The meeting was widely reported in the French and Breton newspapers and *Bretagne Révolutionnaire* and *Sav Breizh* carried the full text of my speech in their January, 1970, issues. I spoke of the need for Celtic unity and what we, the 'Young Turks' at least, hoped the League would achieve. It would be immodest of me to suggest that this demonstration of pan-Celtic solidarity at a time of Breton need helped to dissuade the Bretons from breaking with the League. Certainly for some years following, activists like Jakez Derouet, Philippe le Sollicec and Ronan Tremel (just released after nine months imprisonment without trial and with a permanent kidney injury after being 'questioned') made the Breton branch one of the strongest and active in the League.

In view of the 1969 conference, it was a surprise



that no specific motions on the problem of conflicts of interest by those holding presidential office were passed in 1970. The matter was remedied at the Glasgow 1971 conference when it was proposed the honorary presidential offices, then constituted, should be abolished. It was agreed the vice-presidential offices be immediately abolished and the presidential office be subject to annual scrutiny. Unfortunately, this was taken by the then Welsh secretary, as a personal attack on Gwynfor Evans. It was not. The contribution of Gwynfor Evans to the movement was warmly applauded but the time had come when the clash of conflicts was all too apparent. However, the Welsh Secretary felt forced to resign and tried to set up another Interceltic movement which never got off the ground. The League had clearly explained its position. The Welsh branch recovered from this setback and remains one of the strongest in the League. In 1972 the office of Honorary President of the League was abolished and leading representatives are now elected from League activists so no conflict of interests arise.

Another move forward was, after my statements embodied in 'The Creed of the Celtic Revolution', the move towards social commitment by the League. In 1971 the Irish branch put forward a motion which gave a socialist tinge to the League's constitution. An amended version was adopted agreeing that the League 'recognising that, on achieving freedom, the national resources of each Celtic country must be used for the benefit of all the people of the country'. In 1975 Jakez Derouet began to canvass for a clearer statement of social intention (*Carn* 12, Spring, 1975) and the matter was discussed at the 1976 conference. The constitutional clause being amended to: 'Recognising that the Celtic peoples will be free only in a society which will give to all the means to participate actively in the national affairs i.e. to control production, exchange and services and the exploitation of all national resources for the benefit of all'.

It is sad to note that attempts to water down even this moderate statement of social intent was made by the London Branch, at the 1980 conference. It had taken the 'Young Turks' (now feeling their age) fifteen years to get a statement of social commitment

through and it will certainly be a retrograde step for it to be deleted within five years!

Still, we have all come a long way since 1969. Today, thanks to the activities of the Celtic League there is a tremendous upsurge of Celtic consciousness: there is a growth of awareness of a common cultural identity, a common Celtic root, a sameness of purpose in striving to achieve political, economic and cultural independence. The League has come a long way since those first faltering steps at Rhos, North Wales, in the summer of 1961. Yet the tasks ahead of the League remain the same. The League must continue to make proselytes, to extend its membership and to seize every opportunity to publicise the Celtic struggles and its own particular role in them. There is still the urgent necessity for it to become an information organisation linking the Celtic countries together and informing the world's media of the struggle.

On a personal level, since writing 'The Creed of the Celtic Revolution' in 1969, nothing has happened which would cause me to amend or change the views I then expressed. And I still believe that one day it may be possible to build up a Celtica on the Scandinavian model — the idea I first mooted back in 1969 and which still finds support among *Carn* correspondents today.

Cornishmen and women will forgive me if I paraphrase the words of Henry Jenner, the Father of the Cornish Language Revival, when I say: the Celtic League has been set on its feet; indeed, it has been made to walk. The next decade must surely see the Celtic League not only running but winning the race as well.

Peter Berresford Ellis.

**NOTE:** I have subtitled this reflection 'a personal view' and I must emphasise that all the opinions given in this article are my own opinions and in no way endorsed by the editor of *Carn*, nor any branch or officials of the League. It is not my intention to open old conflicts but to simply reflect as an individual on the development of the League as I saw it.

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