

coypu

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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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25p

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

EDITORIAL

As this is being written, a ceasefire obtains in the North of Ireland. In common with most, the Celtic League welcomes this halt, this time for thought, this opportunity for a permanent settlement of the problems created in the final analysis by the English presence in Ireland.

Howevrmuch we may regret occurrences in this phase of the Anglo-Irish war; howevrmuch we may feel in disagreement with aspects of the policies or campaigns of those in arms against the English presence in Ireland; howevrmuch some of us may feel that excesses have hindered our own progress or others' understanding; it behoves us to first point the finger in the direction of the root cause. The reactions of a people in subjection, under imperialist rule, or being sapped by the subtleties of neo-colonialism, are in general to be measured not against peace-time norms but against the arrogant assumption of a sort of divine right to control on the part of the root cause. To lose sight of this, to be side-tracked away from it in any discussion of the question is in the ultimate to be subject to if not unwittingly part of the propaganda machine of our temporary "masters".

10-2-75.

This alludes to expressions of concern from C.L. branches in "Britain". Further exchanges are needed in order to recognise the interest of the C.L. as a whole.

CELTIC LANGUAGES CONFERENCE

Conradh na Gaeilge, the Irish Language Organisation, has announced its intention to hold a conference of Celtic Language movements in Dublin in early 1976. Every language organisation in the Celtic countries will be invited to take part and representatives of other threatened languages as well as international organisations will be invited. The aims of the conference will be (a) to discuss the question of the rights of the Celtic peoples and those who speak the Celtic languages; (b) to assemble together the Celtic languages movements; (c) to present demands on behalf of the speakers of the Celtic languages and on behalf of each country in particular; (d) to plan future steps in an international campaign; (e) to draw the attention of international organisations and the mass media to the problems facing the Celtic languages; (f) to prepare a report in which the Conference will speak on behalf of the Celtic language organisations in so far as this is possible.

A working group has already commenced preliminary work and it is hoped to have an Organising Committee with representation from each Celtic country functioning in some months time. This will be followed later in the year by the setting up of an International Preparatory Committee and National Preparatory Committees in each Celtic country to organise for and further the aims of the Conference. Conradh na Gaeilge and the working group would like to make contact with any interested party and would welcome suggestions about any aspect of the Conference. Publicity of the Conference and its aims or any financial support would also be welcomed. Contact M. Mac Aonghusa, f/ch Conradh na Gaeilge, 6 Sráid Fhearchair, Baile Atha Cliath 2, Eire.

For details of Celtic Congress to be held in Caerlyon-Bay Cornwall at Easter (30-3 to 4-4-75) write to Mrs. B. Hooper, 93 Mt. Pleasant Road, Camborne.

CELTIC LEAGUE PROPOSALS TO ANNAN COMMITTEE

At the end of December proposals were submitted on behalf of the Celtic League to the Annan Committee on the Future of Broadcasting in the "United Kingdom". They were prepared by our Welsh Assistant Secretary, Mr Meic Patti-son, after consultations with CL branch secretaries and members in those Celtic countries under the jurisdiction of that State.

The question arose whether it was proper for the C.L. to act upon the invitation issued to concerned organisations to put forward suggestions for the improvement of "U.K." broadcasting services. Although Radio Telefis Eireann is a shockingly bad example of what a national broadcasting service may do to further — of counter — our cultural aims, we hold that these can be served adequately only under governments of our own; but pending the attainment of this political freedom, and while we have to pay taxes to alien governments, we hold the latter liable to provide us with services suited to our needs. Recent measures in favour of Welsh language broadcasts show that our cultural rights can go a long way towards obtaining recognition if they are backed by determined people.

The text submitted on our behalf runs to about 2,800 words. It refers to the recognition given in the Pilkington Report on Broadcasting (1963) to "the persistent, apparently imperceptible, but in the end prevailing" influence of television on the values and moral standards of society, to the obligation imposed on the Scottish and Welsh Broadcasting Councils of the BBC to ensure that "full regard be given to the constructive cultural and linguistic interests and tastes of the people in the countries for which they were established; to a similar obligation on the Independent Broadcasting Authority. In our view, these requirements have been consistently neglected, particularly as regards the use of our languages. Present broadcasting services are harmful to the social and cultural fabric of the Celtic nations. Hence our call for independent broadcasting services for each of the Celtic countries, charged with maintaining and strengthening our cultures and making full use of our languages.

The proposals are:

Scotland: 1) the establishment of an independent Scottish National Broadcasting Authority; 2) a Gaelic Radio station for the Gaedhealtachd; 3) a substantial increase in Gaelic hours on television; 4 and 5) comprehensive TV and radio services in English suited to the Scottish people's interest; 6) bilingual educational programmes including teaching of Gaelic as a second language throughout Scotland for children and adults.

Wales: 1) as for Scotland; 2) implementation of the Crawford Committee proposals, but in order to ensure maximum availability of new services, broadcasting of Radio Cymru and Radio Wales on both Medium Wave and Very High Frequency; 3) retention of some programmes in Welsh on other channels than the Welsh language TV; 4, 5, 6) as for Scotland, adding courses suited to Wales for the Open University of Wales.

Cornwall: 1) an advisory Broadcasting Council to advise on policy and contents of programmes; 2) a Cornish Radio station with full regard for Cornish distinct characteristics; 3) increase in TV hours with similar regard; 4) educational programmes, with special provision to assist study of Cornish language and to promote Cornish culture.

6-Counties. 1) Any broadcasting system to have full regard to the distinct culture and interests of people in the

area; 2) Irish language programmes on TV and radio; 3) special programmes for teaching Irish as second language to young and adult.

At present, both BBC and IBA refuse to broadcast anything in Irish, yet it is estimated that there are 40,000 fluent speakers of Irish in the area and a further 100,000 who understand it.

The text concludes with an outline of Celtic League policy on Broadcasting, the main point in which is the demand that television and radio be provided as a national service for each of the Celtic countries, independently of commercial interests, and that a complete spectrum of programmes, reflecting all aspects of life, be available through the national language.

Our Manx correspondents felt they were not directly concerned in the operation of "U.K." broadcasting.

CELTIC LEAGUE BROADSHEETS

Because of the varying circumstances and climates of opinion which obtain in the different nations which the Celtic League links together the function of the League has been propagandist, or we could say educational, rather than directly political. By far the greater part of income from subscriptions or donations is channelled towards the League's publications. When it is considered that our people have been subjected to generations of brainwashing to which both the consumer society and the state apparatus of our individual countries are geared, the educational task is enormous. The League's efforts are inevitably circumscribed by its lack of finance. This article is concerned with a supplementary propagandist activity that would cost next to nothing.

The Consumer Society

One aspect of the consumer society is that all of us have too much to read. Useful articles frequently fail to make the ideal impact because they are in magazines. They tend to be put in a pocket, left aside and perhaps thrown away if not read by the time the next edition appears. This was doubtless one of the virtues of *Celtic News* that it could be read in five minutes flat.

A broadsheet, being limited to the space of a foolscap page can be read right away; the slowest reader would read it in, say, two minutes. In a small way, then, it is contended that broadsheets could make an impact by virtue of the financial necessity which so inhibits the more orthodox spreading of the League gospel.

Despite the brevity of a broadsheet, as it covers only one topic it can also have a certain element of depth. Even so, to ensure that it is read it is very important to give sufficient thought to provide a little slant calculated to arouse the curiosity, or even the shocked hostility of the potential reader to whom it is addressed.

As an ounce of practice is worth a ton of precept, a sample broadsheet is herewith incorporated in this article. Before reading it it should be noted that the sample given has to follow the format of this periodical, although the space used is that of a standard foolscap page.

The Sour Irish Grape

Generally, the children of Irish emigrants tend to be assimilated readily into the new community. Apart from having perhaps an Irish name and their being slightly better informed about Ireland they will be indistinguishable from their neighbours of a comparable age. This Ireland will of course be the Ireland of their parents. Exceptions being exceptional those second-generation Irish who consider

themselves to be Irish will tend to be more "extreme" than the average immigrant direct from Ireland.

This broadsheet is directed to those exceptions. It concerns an attitude which is common among them, but to which few of them have given any attention.

Few second-generation Irish people speak Irish. In the rare instances where Irish is the natural language of their parents the latter will nevertheless tend to speak English with the object of helping the children to fit as easily as possible into the host community. Again, exceptionally, these exceptions will recognise Irish from other "foreign" languages.

More likely they will merely be aware that some words in the Anglo-Irish vocabulary have a derivation from the Irish language.

In effect, then, these second-generation Irish who are Irish according to their own classifications will have been completely alienated from the Irish language. Subconsciously they tend to resent its existence. It represents a possible barrier between them and the Ireland to which they still feel attracted. If the Irish revival were to be a complete success they would be effectively cut off from Ireland. As little enough Irish is normally heard or seen, the question is not likely even to receive their conscious attention. Most likely they experience a mild resentment if more than two consecutive words of Irish are spoken at meetings they attend. All in all, they will tend to dismiss it as an irrelevance.

The object of this broadsheet is to help those people to consider the "Irish" question objectively and uninhibited by subconscious prejudice occasioned by their own accident of birth.

The "Irish" question merits more than a broadsheet of its own; it will have at least that. In the meantime, bringing the question back to a subjective approach it is worth noting that Irish can as readily be a door as a barrier. Those who are Irish by choice are sometimes embarrassed by their English accents. Such accents frequently serve politically uniformed, but Irish-reared individuals as a means of evading argument. Thanks to an inept politico-social system in Ireland few such individuals themselves speak Irish. By acquiring a working use of Irish, those who are Irish by choice can put paid immediately to any condescension of that nature!

Copyright: It is said that decadent/creative writing in the Soviet Union is circulated through copies being made to be passed on with the originals. The Celtic League claims no copyright for this broadsheet!

Background commentary

In explanation of the above broadsheet it was noted that many "Cockney" Irish have an unconscious aversion to the Irish language and the broadsheet was written with the object of stimulating them into considering this question objectively. By merely substituting the words "Wales" and "Welsh" for "Ireland" and "Irish" the leaflet could be adapted for the "Cockney Welsh". Substituting "La Bretagne" and "Breton" in the same way and translating the rest into French it would serve for Parisian Bretons. Scots having been submitted to more harmful brainwashing than the other Celts, a further paragraph, mentioning a complementary "Highlands/Lowlands Myth" broadsheet would be necessary.

As the underlying psychological difficulties apply in Ireland for the average Irish person who has managed to complete schooling with no real grasp of the Language, a suit-

ably adapted broadsheet would serve there. Again allowing for differences in the local situations, such a 'Mark 2' broadsheet would be applicable to the rest of the Big Four. Although Mann and Kernow have more difficult language situations they too could produce an adaptation.

Subject matter for Broadsheets

Numerous topics would have a similar 'universality' to that of the "Sour Irish Grape"; others would be peculiar to merely one or two countries. The scope is almost unlimited. It is a matter of identifying a problem and dealing with it in the space of one foolscap page. Where a problem is clearly too complex for this it should normally be possible to break it down into component elements which could be treated in the space of one page.

At present the 6-Counties is the Celtic area which invariably claims plenty of newspaper space, not infrequently on the front page. However, the English media with very few exceptions are biased in the extreme. Despite themselves other Celtic nationalists are likely to have very distorted impressions. Although these would be ephemeral, broadsheets explaining various background aspects of the situation would be very useful.

Many people, although accepting the need for the League find difficulty in making any personal contribution, apart from paying their subscription and reading the League's publications. It is likely that some of these frustrated members could usefully direct their attention to locating broadsheet-type problems. They could then either devise suitable broadsheets themselves or invoke the aid of someone else.

The League should be able to derive some publicity from broadsheets by means of wording similar to that at the foot of "The Sour Irish Grape." There might also be more controversial topics, that could usefully be treated in the same way, but where it would be more discrete not to include mention of the League. If broadsheets are plagiarised it will not matter, but on the contrary will be all grist to the League's mill. Some of them should have the effect of stimulating treatment of their topics in greater depth. Several of them on related topics would readily lend themselves to cannibalisation in the form of an article for "Carn".

Responsibility

If this activity is undertaken to any extent it will be desirable to establish a system of co-ordination. A Broadsheet Secretary could be charged with reporting on this activity each year to conference. This B.S. would need to receive a copy of each broadsheet issued by a national or district branch. In turn the B.S. could suggest topics meriting broadsheet treatment to National/Area secretaries. Where a broadsheet seems readily adaptable to suit other national/local circumstances the B.S. could pass on a copy to the appropriate national secretary/ies suggesting that the adaptation be made. Individual members not in contact with an active national/local organisation could also be encouraged to write directly to the B.S. either with broadsheets that they have written or with ideas for broadsheets that they hope someone else will tackle.

Without exception, the Celtic peoples are imprisoned in an alien system. General Education is used as a means of maleducating us. The mass media are component parts of this alien status quo. This paper, sound and television wall

(continued p.24)

SOME COMMENTS ON BILINGUALISM IN AN IRISH CONTEXT

Grant Noble and Graham Dalton

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Father MacNamara's survey of the effects of teaching Irish in Irish primary schools suggests that the second language adversely affects both the academic and intelligence abilities of Irish children. However the fact remains that the comparison made between Irish and English primary school children is not entirely valid. Nor can MacNamara's findings be reconciled with Goethe's comment that one cannot fully understand one's own language until a second language is learnt. Whorf's hypothesis of linguistic relativity would lead one to expect that bilingual children are able to dissect reality in two different ways, the ways determined by the structure and lexical characteristics of the two languages concerned. Whorf argues that one is only able to think in one's native language and that monolinguals are unaware that their language imposes only a relative schema upon the way reality is described. Monolinguals thus tend to think that their language is the only way, and hence the absolute way, by which to describe reality.

Children with access to only one language may be expected to be cognitively different from bilinguals should Whorf's hypothesis of linguistic relativity hold true. For the purpose of the present study it was expected that the effects of bilingualism would not be immediately apparent as regards a single test score — of for example intelligence. Rather we anticipated that the effects of bilingualism would be apparent as regards the relationship between different cognitive abilities. The structure of the conventional intelligence "test" dictates that to score highly a child must think convergently, must be able to deduce the relationship in a series of items and predict the next item. Only one correct answer is possible. However more recent research has indicated that a second form of intelligence may be measured, by what are known as creativity tests. In such tests children are asked to think of any many uses as possible for any single item. Clearly children have to think divergently in order to score highly. There is no one correct answer but rather an almost infinite number of 'correct' answers. It was hypothesised that monolingual children who are only able to dissect reality on one way, using their native language would **either** be able to think convergently or divergently in that language. It was thought they might experience some conflict between the type of thought employed if they attempted to think both divergently and convergently simultaneously. It was thought that bilingual children, who are able to dissect reality in two relatively distinct ways, would experience less conflict between adopting a convergent mode of thought and adopting a divergent mode of thought, since they would be able to switch the 'set' or Einstellung with which they approach the tests.

One hundred and twenty children from three 'bilingual' schools in Dublin were sampled, schools teaching in Irish, French and German. To act as a control 50 children from a monolingual school attracting middle class children were selected. The average age of the children was nine-and-a-half years, ranging from eight to eleven years. Each child completed a convergent test of intelligence and a divergent test of creativity. The Cattell 'Culture Fair' test of intelligence was selected as a test of convergent thought. It is a test of logical deduction and for each item there is only one

correct answer. To measure thought the Torrance creativity test for non-verbal activity was selected. For each item there are a large number of correct answers. The two tests were scored according to the manuals, except that for the Torrance test only scores for fluency — that is the shift between ideas, and for originality — that is the uniqueness of the child's answer, were further analysed. A correlation co-efficient was calculated for each school between the raw scores for the Cattell test and for fluency and originality summed for the Torrance test.

The correlation coefficient for the monolingual sample was — 0.54, indicating that children *either* scored highly on convergent items *or* on divergent items. Monolingual children were not able to score highly on both tests, a high score on one test predicted a low score on the other. The correlation coefficient calculated for French bilingual children was 0.18 and for Irish bilingual children 0.11, indicating that one cannot predict the convergent score from the divergent score and *vice versa*. Thus results indicated that in monolingual samples children are *either* good convergers *or* good divergers, but not both; whereas bilingual children can think both convergently and divergently.

Results however must be treated with caution. Children from the German school, who were not found upon detailed analysis to be truly bilingual, were similar to the control group ($r = -0.56$). Moreover it is possible that the education philosophy of the Irish and French schools may differ from the others which may constitute an alternative explanation of results. However the study does suggest that bilingualism does help to educate the 'whole' man, rather than either his convergent or his divergent skills. It is after all the individual who can converge when necessary and diverge when necessary who is likely to have the greatest 'all round' abilities. Further research is envisaged and replication invited.

Mac Namara, J. (1958). *Bilingualism and Primary Education (A Study of Irish Experience)*.

Whorf, B. L. (1956). *Language, Thought and Reality* (edited by Carroll, J. B.).

IRISH PAINTERS IN BRITTANY AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

All over Europe in 1974 art galleries commemorated with exhibitions the centenary of the first exhibition of impressionist paintings. Such an exhibition was organised in Ireland but due to the fact that a true impressionist school never existed here it was confined to the display in the National Gallery of the influence of the french impressionist school on the contemporary Irish painters. Actually several of them, Trevor, O'Meara, Osborne, O'Connor, Lavery, Leech, etc., had lived for a while on the continent before being brought under the influence of the impressionist painters. The French will say that, once again, the most beloved country in the world fulfilled her role as 'Mother of the Arts' in welcoming painters from everywhere and in this instance from Ireland.

But it must be pointed out that although a lot of them stayed in France and studied in Paris, others, amongst them the best, went to study in Brittany, mainly with Gauguin in the Pont-Aven school. Also it should be remembered that some Irish painters went to study in Antwerp, which shows that even in those times France was not the focal centre of international artistic research. Moreover it seems that in the Antwerp school Brittany used to

enjoy a certain fame, for we can find artists from different nations who have studied both in Antwerp and in Brittany and never stayed in France.

The painter **Joseph Malachy Kavanagh** (1856-1917), born in Dublin, is one such person. Having studied in the Antwerp school he lived in Brittany from 1885 to 1887. The Municipal and National Galleries must certainly own some of his painting from that period but none of his works painted in Brittany are exhibited nowadays. Neither are the paintings of **Nathaniel Hill** (a friend of Osborne's) who also went to Brittany from Antwerp. Having missed Van Gogh in Antwerp he missed Gauguin in Pont-Aven, and that may be the reason he is not very well known. **Thaddeus** a painted of little fame also seems to have been quite fond of Brittany and he lived in Pont-Aven in 1881. Like Hill's his paintings are not exhibited in any of the Dublin galleries, as far as I know.

Helen Mabel Trevor (1831-1900) strangely enough has a name that sounds like a breton one, but was born in Ireland, in Co. Down. She studied in Paris and then went to Italy for six years. The National Gallery in Dublin owns three of her paintings. Only her self portrait was exhibited in the 'Nineteenth Century French Art and Ireland' room. Her 'Interior of a Breton Cottage' was appreciated by the Royal Irish Academy.

The painter who could have created a true Irish impressionist school, had he lived long enough, was **Walter Osborne** (1859-1903), a son of William Osborne's. He also travelled through Brittany having studied in Antwerp and he joined the Pont-Aven school. It is a pity that none of his breton period paintings have been displayed in the 'Nineteenth Century French Art and Ireland' exhibition. He painted, however, a lot of canvasses and sketches in Brittany and he stayed in the picturesque medieval town of Dinan, in Quimperle and in Pont-Aven for nearly a year. Before Gauguin, many foreigners came to Pont-Aven, some of them Dutch and Flemish, which may explain why Osborne like so many others went to Brittany from Antwerp. Osborne's short stay in Pont-Aven could not have influenced him in Gauguin's style. But he was influenced by Jules Bastien Lepage who worked in Concarneau and, as in his flemish paintings, his breton style is rustic. Because of this some critics surmise that some of his breton paintings were in fact painted in Flanders or elsewhere. One such may be 'Coast' (1864) a painting from memory of the Breton coast. 'Cottage Garden' (13, 8, 1884) was probably not painted in Brittany although 'View in Quimperle' may be read on the frame. Critics wonder also if 'Head of a Woman', is flemish or breton. It seems to me that the headdress of the woman is a breton one. The same doubt arises in the case of 'View of a Town', but here I am more inclined to consider it a breton painting, as the church tower in the background looks like the one in Quimperle (already painted in the famous 'Apple Gatherings').

Roderic O'Connor (1860-1940) was born in Roscommon and studied in Paris (1895) and in Gres-sur-Loing (1889-90). He settled in Brittany in 1890 and worked with Gauguin with whom he became quite friendly. While he is known to have completely adopted France, going so far as to give himself in his self portrait the features of a typical french face, he nevertheless adopted Brittany also. (He had studied in Antwerp in 1881). In spite of his theoretical independence, the influence of impressionism is obvious in his paintings (*Ferme A Lezaver, Finistère 1894* — Municipal Gallery, Dublin), (*Yellow Landscape, Pont-Aven 1892*).

Van Gogh's influence stands out also. Like Osborne, O'Connor painted various scenes of the Breton way of life, peasants at work, nature, the coast, etc. Several of his paintings have been on show in the exhibition of the National Gallery. Amongst them one entitled 'Rocks' belonging to the Municipal Gallery, has a dominant rose tint. One would think possibly that 'Rocks' had been painted in Brittany, on a stretch of the northern coast called the 'Rosy Granite Coast'.

William John Leech (1881-1968) exhibited in Dublin canvases which he had painted in Brittany at the beginning of the century where he stayed for twenty years (from 1903 to 1920). He studied under Osborne and under painters in Paris. He is no doubt the one who best depicted Brittany at that period. In my opinion better than Gauguin himself, whose theory of simplifying lines and colours tended towards the exclusion of diversity and peculiarity in the depiction of detail as in the traditional dress for instance Gauguin painted the coiffes and skirts of the Breton woman as being plain unadorned fabrics, ignoring the marvellous embroidery and astounding lace and made the Breton costume similar to any other ordinary peasant dress. Leech on the contrary in 'Convent Garden, Brittany,' deals with the young Tregor girl's coiffe and shawl as carefully as he deals with the plants and foliage in the convent garden. In a very impressionist way he exploits the light passing through the lace of the coiffe in the same fashion as the light passing through the foliage. Due to this facet, notwithstanding the linear execution of the figures, Leech's paintings of that time were rather impressionistic and 'Convent Garden, Brittany', exhibited in Brussels in 1938 under the title 'Religieuse', is one of Leech's masterpieces.

Leech also liked to depict Breton earthenware in his paintings as may be seen from 'Quimper'. One may appreciate the original talent of Leech who, instead of painting St. Korantin Cathedral as characterising Quimpertown, reproduces the famous crockery from HB or Henriot. In 'Woman Darning' (Municipal Gallery) Breton earthenware may be seen also. Indeed Brittany was the right land for Leech whose gift to pick up the typical and the original could only have bloomed in the very exotic country that Brittany then was. It was precisely this exoticism that Gauguin was looking for travelling from the Pacific archipelago to Brittany. An extract from a letter of Gauguin's to Schaffeneekier, already published in various books about the Pont-Aven school, must be quoted here — 'I love Brittany, I find wildness and primitiveness there. When my wooden shoes (Gauguin had adopted the Breton male's costume) ring on this granite hear the muffled dull and powerful tone which I try to achieve in painting.' The Irish painter Thaddeus describes Pont-Aven as follows: '... the villagers in their picturesque Breton costume, providing the distinctive note so highly prized by painters' (p. 18 'W. F. Osborne' by Jeanne Sheehy).

Distinctiveness, exoticism, wildness, primitiveness, the original and the typical, that is what the artists who came to Brittany were looking for. Irish painters had the merit to have found what they were looking for in Brittany, when Brittany was still distinct from the rest of Europe; when the effervescence of life, the great originality and the beautiful garments of the inhabitants made her an exotic country remote from industrial Europe. Few famous painters have been able to appreciate the Breton peasant world when it was the butt and laughing stock of the Parisian intelligentsia of 'La Belle Epoque'. It is no wonder that posterity honour-

ed those who, joining in the paramount artistic revolution of impressionism fixed their impressions and pictured the last glimmerings of a country which was beginning at the turn of the century to suffer the hardest upheavals in its history.

Nowadays Brittany is not to be painted anymore. What became of her after two wars? The Pont-Aven school has died away — the painters have moved to the Mediterranean coast.

Gweltaz Durand

ENGLAND — THE WAY AHEAD

What is wrong with England? It is being seriously suggested in some quarters that there is no will to survive. What is perplexing however, is the serenity and complacency with which the situation is accepted. Is it the aftermath of imperialism? For England has been involved in imperialism — the military and the Economic kind — for decades, and probably now finds it difficult to adapt to an unimportant and trivial role in the order of things.

Despite denials to the contrary, the English are an emotional race. Their country has never been occupied and their language has never been in any danger. Over the centuries some very fine institutions have evolved and Englishmen have been pioneers in many fields. The public school system produced leaders who not only thought that their country and their language was the best but indeed believed it with passionate conviction. And yet the same country could build concentration camps and sanction torture; indulge in intimidation and worse in cold blooded murder — that would not seem out of character in any communist country.

Forgetting (if possible) for a second England's habit of launching a terror campaign every so often (as if to reassure herself) and the very masterful propaganda campaign that accompanies it, some other habits and old English customs are plainly funny. There is the New Year honour list granting a whole range of bewildering titles and letters. The social contract is something that no one understands. Then there was the despatch of the English foreign secretary on a tour of African countries. Perhaps the concern for the fortunes of the national cricket team is something that only an Englishman himself can understand.

Five of the Celtic nations (Ireland included) are tied to the English economy — and that is anything but funny. On the other hand it is only reasonable to ask whether the Celtic nations, free and sovereign, would fare any better. Part of Ireland has obtained freedom of a sort and for many years has had at the helm 'politicians' of the most gullible type. Could the same situation develop in Wales or Scotland? Not only can they no longer propose anything positive for a solution of the 6-County problem, they seem to act gleefully as "boss-boys" for those who want to maintain the status-quo.

In an attempt could be made to bring the English mind from the past to the present. And if it could be achieved then indeed that would be something worthwhile. Neither the English army nor its political arm, the Westminster government, own North East Ireland anymore than they own Scottish oil or Welsh water.

The task facing the nationalist and republican leaders are enormous. In the face of mass indoctrination by the English media this task cannot be underestimated. English television is in the living room of almost every home. Confident-

sounding English voices talking of someone or other having 'arrived safely in England' or reports of the 'security forces' gaining the confidence of the people of occupied Ireland are heard almost daily.

No. Before some semblance of sanity can be seen in these islands the English mind must be brought to the present and jolted to face the realities of the situation. The English empire is dead. It's as dead as the old Hapsburg empire and no amount of OBE's and MBE's is going to revive it. A little advice could be offered (afterall, they have been advising us for ages). Almost weekly there are reports of the 'security forces' discharging their duties with zeal in occupied Ireland, living, apparently, in damp and crammed quarters and often working for 12 hours and more per day; cheerfully risking their lives for a cause they do not understand. When not lurking on street corners and dark alleys they gladly give up what little spare time they have to play Father Christmas or to erect social centres and try to organise outings for youngsters to give them 'character building'. There are about 15,000 of them in Ireland at present. Why not bring them all home to England and encourage them to utilise the same energy and devoutness in industry there? There would, indeed, soon be a balance of payments surplus.

The English 'man in the street' is a likeable enough chap. It's when politicians at Westminster gather that trouble starts. As one famous man said "The English people are decent enough. But for God's sake keep them away from guns and Royalty". J. Rhyd Humphreys

FISH AND FRIENDSHIP

The failure of the Celtic nations to clearly recognise the colonial nature of their relationships with the great central powers of Paris and London has been one of the great obstacles in the evolution of a common Celtic strategy to date. Instead of their forming a common front to alter this situation, they are manoeuvred by the imperial powers into a situation of "divide and conquer" which sets the immediate short-term interests of one Celtic people against the short-term interests of some other "peripheral area" in more or less the same way that American bosses have been able to exploit the poor whites' fears of black progress. Similarly British imperial interests have been able to exploit the fears of working-class Protestants in the North of Ireland to ensure that they remain divided from the deprived Catholics. Indeed the recent trouble between Welsh farmers and Irish meat exporters is only one other example of what is involved though in this latter case there are some important variations of the theme.

The futility of such of what passes for "Celtic co-operation" is due to the failure of those who do not wish, for whatever reason, to face the political realities of the situation and to recognise the subtle power-game that continues to be played at the expense of the Celtic nations. Part of the trouble is frequently found in the fact that those who pretend to speak for the various Celtic peoples are in fact the most assimilated section of the local power structures who are entirely ignorant of their national heritage and whose only aim in public life is to preserve the status quo, the present structures, which give them a limited power in their own tiny part of the world.

A good example of the type of situation which arises between the Celtic peoples when the exchange of friend-

ship and ideas is left to such people arose recently when Galway city and Lorient in Brittany were "twinned" under the international scheme for such exchanges which is being promoted by the United Nations. Galways and Lorient have indeed much in common. Both are regional centres of commerce on the West coasts of their respective countries. Both are on the fringe of genuine Irish/Breton speaking rural areas and both are English/French-speaking bastions which exercise a negative linguistic attitude on the surrounding hinterlands. Both are also ideal fishing centres and share some common geographic and economic similarities. In point of fact it was the possibility of establishing a fishing complex which first interested the Lorient business community in Galway. Some Galway people are today so totally confined in their thinking that they felt it would be a good idea to invite in the non-Irish businessmen to develop even fishing, which apart from agriculture, is the most natural industry in the country. It was even proposed that the Breton enterprise be given grants similar to those which the Dublin government pays to firms establishing manufacturing industry — the main plank in Ireland's industrial development policy since 1957. Initially this policy was designed to attract new industry, new skills and expertise and new projects which Irish people, for one reason or another, were unable to undertake. But gradually Ireland has come to rely so much on this policy for its industrial expansion that aid is given to some concerns which are in certain respects in competition on the home market with native enterprise. There is also a tendency to extend the grants to spheres like food processing where there should be no need whatever for foreign enterprise. Tourism and fishing are now just about the only two fields of development where it is regarded as desirable that Irish business interests retain a dominant position and even here we are not certain any longer!

However in the case of the Breton development proposed for Galway some fishermen, including the local Irish-speaking fleet based on the Aran Islands, objected and it now seems unlikely that it will go ahead. The local objections did nothing to warm the celebrations which took place to mark the Lorient/Galway "twinning" despite the best efforts of the fishermen to stress that they have nothing against their Breton Celtic brethren. Their quarrel is with the investment policy of the Irish government which they feel does not give native enterprise the chance to develop that they suggest is made available to projects from abroad. Another Irish-Welsh cattle situation of sorts had arisen.

At a formal level also there was little in the Galway celebrations in any case which stressed the Celtic connection between Ireland and Brittany. The Mayor of Galway is unable to make a simple speech in the national language and the same is true of many members of the corporation. The linguistic ability of the official Lorient delegation may have been a little better but they did nothing to emphasise this fact at the "twinning" ceremony. The formal documents signed by the Mayors were in English and French respectively — and this despite some pious phrases in the regulations surrounding the entire idea as promoted by the U.N., about the rights of minority, not to mention national and official languages. This English/French exchange of documents would not be appropriate to an exchange of social and cultural links between any two Irish and Breton cities. But it is all the more inappropriate when the two cities in

(continued p.23)

CELTIC SPIRITUALITY

Those involved in the Celtic struggle should not fail to ask what its ultimate end is. Beyond national recognition, national freedom, social welfare and cultural enjoyment of a Celtic way of life, each of us seeks personal happiness, and such a happiness as can be shared by all worthy members of the Celtic family.

Personal happiness is quite evidently not to be found in technical progress, the consumer society, sexual so-called liberation, alcohol, drugs and the like, since we have now abundant experience that technical welfare and leisure increase the general feeling of frustration. Of course it cannot be stated that the causes of frustration are greater now than they were in the past; only the other challenges were so many and heavy then that few people had time to think of basic frustration as such. Modern evolution in our countries should therefore be welcomed as it compels or enables us to go deeper in our basic search.

However, for us who are involved in the Celtic struggle, there are still so many obstacles in our way and — let us admit it — so much excitement in our daily toil, that we could be tempted to leave aside the basic question of human condition and personal happiness. But what would be the meaning of a Celtic struggle if its ultimate aim were not the general harmony of a Celtic society?

Actually many of us are tackling the problem by tacitly inferring that a Celtic way of life based on Celtic culture and traditions would ensure personal happiness in a better society. But it is also true that a great many of our fellow Celts will take their assumption as a romantic dream and assert that the Celtic ways inherited from a tribal society are bound to be inadequate in our modern technological and cosmopolitan world. They will not think of "Celticity" as being anything more than a superstructure, a folkloric and linguistic peculiarity. Such people, when politically involved will act in accordance with foreign ideologies, either adhering to the capitalistic pattern of society or sharing the — as yet unrealized — socialistic hopes. They are the majority in all our countries, so it is no wonder that their views are permeating the Celtic movement and that those engaged in the latter are, personally or in groups, adepts of foreign ideologies. What I want to make clear is that along this path Celticity will not be more than a superstructure, and I would ask if we should burden ourselves with so much toil for a mere superstructure?

What is stated above about personal happiness is true for all our fellow countrymen. The capitalistic consumer society and the socialistic egalitarian system are both equally unable to foster personal happiness, equally unable to abolish frustration feelings which are inherent in human nature and cannot be remedied by materialistic welfare.

I refer of course to the foremost importance of spirituality for human happiness, and that means religion for most of us. Religion has declined in Celtic countries as elsewhere in Western Europe.

Roman Catholicism as well as Evangelic denominations seem to have lost their appeal among young folk. The inadequacy of Western religious ways in the modern world is the subject of enough discussion. I would ask whether the common forms of Christianity are only unadapted to modern society or are they not also, and even more, inadequate for the Celtic people? I mean, are not those religious minded people, who are trying to modernize religion by "desacralizing" it, simply on the wrong path, while the real problem is to find the way back to Celtic sacredness?

The call of the Absolute is not weaker now than in the past. Besides intoxication by drugs, sex, alcohol, mass-media and over-consumption, which are basically only means to try and forget frustration, the tendency to adopt Eastern spiritualities, occultism, sorcery, reveals clearly that there is a gap in Western society between what our people need and what they find in churches and chapels.

The question is thus: is there a Celtic way to the Absolute, to personal happiness? Is not that the ultimate purposes of our struggle? This is of foremost importance, for if there is such a way, we are not fighting for mere superstructures but for the essential kernel of our personality, for a light which should ensure the harmony of our future Celtic society.

There was a Celtic way to the Absolute. It was Druidism. If we admit that the Vedic religion and its derivatives, the various Bouddhisms, and the Zoroastrian teachings which continued in Persian Islam, are traditional ways to the Absolute, then Druidism, which was their Western counterpart, was undoubtedly as valuable, and classical commentators testify to the profoundness of its philosophy. Now that Druidism has left the field to Celtic Christianity, and who would deny that the ancient Celtic Christians had a genuine and original relation to the divine Absolute?

Some modern Celts have been found to advocate a return to pure Druidism and I would beg readers to make a difference between serious dedicated searchers in this field and fanciful hobby druidists who call druidism the fruit of their own delusions or disguised modern occultist notions. I mean to be one of the former and assert that Druidism is by far not (by no means) so unknown and hopelessly forlorn (irretrievable) as is often thought, and that the myths and philosophy of our ancestors are as worthy of consideration as any Old Testament in the World.

On the other hand I am not ready to reject the Gospel any more than it was rejected by our ancestors and would point to the fact that only in Druidic lands was the transition to Christianity achieved without bloodshed (testimonies of a few cases of opposition between Druids and Celtic saints are by no means verified), and there are good reasons to believe that the Druids themselves welcomed the Christian message. Anyway I am not prepared to throw Patrick and Dewi, Colmcille and Gwenole, Peran and Eriugena into the dustbin. When after them the Peir Dadeni or Cauldron of the Dagda became known as the Holy Grail, the Celtic tradition was still alive and authentic.

There is a Celtic way to the divine Absolute. The decay of the religion forms inherited from the last decadent centuries, with their English and Roman tinctures, may be providential, if it opens the way to a new Celtic unity, going back to origins, leaving aside all what we owe to foreign power politics and retaining all what Celtic genius created, even in foreign influenced frames.

Such is, in my view, the farthest aim we can set to the Celtic struggle. This does not of course solve the political and social problems we are facing, but we must reach this aim, so that the forthcoming battles will not be won in vain, so that above political freedom, above social justice and welfare which we must establish, Celtic men and women will attain this personal happiness that cannot be gained but through the wisdom and the enlightenment derived from our spiritual relation with the divine Absolute.

Alan J. Raude

ALBA

LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD

TEACHERS' STRIKE. The outstanding event in Scotland in the closing weeks of 1974 was the strike of school-teachers in primary and secondary schools. A remarkable degree of solidarity was achieved and education was effectively disrupted nationwide, especially in the two main cities. It was not something that had blown up suddenly but the logical end to a long and patient and reasonable campaign for better pay and conditions to which the powers that be had paid no heed. Two things showed the Scottish people very clearly their status on a U.K. basis. To begin with this very important event affecting the lives of so many was quite disregarded by the so-called "national" news which top-billed instead a bakers' strike in parts of England (the wife of an English M.P. had to queue up for bread!) and it took a long time before the seriousness of the situation was acknowledged.

The other situation which emerged and incidentally can do the S.N.P. nothing but good and swell their support was that despite the fact that agreement had been reached at one stage between the salary negotiating body meeting in Edinburgh, they had to go down to London to see if the agreement was in order and incredibly in the present political climate Willie Ross was not allowed to give his sanction to it. Scottish teachers have had to wait for their full salary increase until their English colleagues, who had not even started to negotiate, got theirs.

The office of Secretary of State for Scotland is the all powerful one that the Labour Party are going to insist on retaining and thereby possibly hindering devolution!

The present administration in its short lifetime has passed two Bills on very different subjects but each giving them powers never before given in peace time. The Offshore Petroleum (Scotland) Bill gives them wide and vague powers of compulsory land acquirement and the Tories supported most of it because of course they had had just such legislation in preparation when they called the election in February last year. The S.N.P. spokesmen commented forcefully on this totalitarian piece of legislation and the colonial status it reduced Scotland to but of the amendments they made the ones accepted were innocuous and any that would have made any meaningful modification were defeated. This governmental behaviour contrasts ironically with the way in which they allow themselves to be dictated to by the oil companies who are currently black-mailing them that they will give up, or curtail, or (most ironically of all what all right thinking people want them to do) — slow down the rate of extraction, unless the Government gives up the idea of taxing them to a degree more suited to the profits they expect to make.

Prevention of Terrorism Bill

On the 29th November parliament passed the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Bill. The Home Secretary and the police are given wide powers of which the favourite description was "draconian". "Terrorism" is defined as "the use of violence for political ends" — "violence" is not Defined. The Bill appeared as if by magic in the tense climate following the Birmingham bombings and was made possible not by Civil Servants working overtime but by the fact that it had been left all ready and waiting by the previous administration — a rather disturbing thought.

The National Council for Civil Liberties has published

some useful factsheets on the Bill and 10p and postage would obtain them from N.C.C.L., 186, King's Cross Road, London W.C.1.

An N.C.C.L. spokesman is reported as saying that the Bill requires no "tailoring" at all to be used in any other than Irish dimension!

The E.E.C. There has been much activity in Brussels and much journeying by many people a propos these "Renegotiated terms" which the electorate are going to be told will make it all right for Britain to remain in the E.E.C. It is now known that it will not be via a snap election but by a referendum that we will choose — some time in June or early July. Apart from the main debate there are other areas of speculation — the wording of the actual question — since we are ostensibly "in" will "Yes" mean we stay in or come out and/or vice versa? The counting of the votes on a U.K. basis or nationally or constituency by constituency? When Mrs. Ewing asked if the arrangements would show clearly how Scotland had voted she was given the following answer by Mr. Wilson: "I cannot anticipate the vote of any part of the U.K. when this decision is taken." In fact it looks as if he is determined that we will not find out. He is on record as saying that if "we get the right terms" the Government will back entry but he has not so far said they will resign if the vote goes against them. We wonder what Mr. Wilson is trading for those terms — a full scale campaign to brain-wash us into entry?

The two "main" parties are disunited but the campaign in Scotland to get out must be clearly stated in Scottish terms and make it quite clear that we are not the allies of the English, chauvinist, "save the last of the Empire", Colonel Blimps and their new fellow "stay putters" Labourites concerned with "sovereignty".

The E.E.C. summit talks are set for early March in Dublin and after that we may expect to hear the terms of the proposed referendum.

Devolution. Mr. Edward Short is the Cabinet Minister in overall charge of devolution and Mr. Harry Ewing the Scottish member with responsibility though the latter does not seem to be getting the help one would think necessary for such a monumental job, and despite all the lip-service from the government they are moving very slowly on this issue. The S.N.P. have got no satisfaction on points raised regarding trade, industry and employment or finance. In the middle of December they stated that it was a year since there had been a debate on the Scottish economy, and demanded more time for this. Mr. Gordon Wilson speaking in Dundee on January 10th stated that it would be completely unacceptable to have a Secretary of State responsible to the Westminster Government. After the Scottish Assembly is set up and that finance must be under the control of the Assembly. The S.N.P. are keeping up pressure on the Government for a much speedier timetable than the one envisaged, they are trying to get them to keep to their promise of setting up the Assembly 2 years from acceptance of Kilbrandon and that would be 1976. However on present performance that will be surprising — The P.M. held an all day session at Chequers on January 17th but no definite reports emerged. "There were one or two indications that progress had not been as rapid as some members expected." A debate is promised for the beginning of February and a White Paper — probably in the early summer. When the speed at which local government reorganisation is proceeding, is considered it gives cause to doubt the government's intentions.

CHAN I SCOTLAND ALBA

The Alba a'siubhal gu mall a dh'ionnsaidh féin-riaghaltais. Neo am bheil? Gu pearsanta tha cul-earbsa neo dhà agamsa. 'S dòcha gu bheil 'Scotland' a dh'ionnsaidh féin-riaghaltais, ach chan i 'Scotland' 'Alba' 's e dùthchannan ro eadar-dhealaichte a th'annta. Cho eadar-dhealaichte ri 'Wales' is 'Cyrmu' neo 'Ireland' is 'Éire'.

'S e miocracasm na dùthcha a th'ann riaghaltais. Mur bruidhinn an Dàil Atha Cliath cànan na hEirinn tha iad ag radh gu h-éifeachdach 'Tha Eireann marbh — Long Live Ireland!'

Cha lughdaichinn na tha an Scottish National Party air deanamh. 'S e astar mor a tha sinn air ir tighinn 's na deich bliadhna seo chaidh. Ach feumaidhsinn feòrachadh de is ciall dhoibh an nàiseantachd. Ma's toigh leotha neo nach toigh se cor-bheòslàint an soisgeul a tha iad a'searmonachadh. Feumaidh sinn roghnachadh 'their iad' eadar a bhi nar 'Breatannaich' bochda neo Albannaich beairtich'. Uill, a'bruidhinn air mo shon fhìn, thaghainn gu h-aobhneach a bhi nam Albannach bochd an aite Breatannach beairteach ma fhuair mi féin-riaghaltais le mo bhoichdainn. 'Se seo a chionn gu bheil ùidh nas motha agam ann an cultur na cor-bheòslàint.

Chan eil mi ag radh gu bheil an SNP gu buileach filisìn-each, ach nam bharail-sa tha iad ro thrang a' craobh-sgaol-eachd iomhough luchd-poilitig cruaidh-bhrùichte de linn na hOla. 'S e seo nàdurra ann an seagh. Tha sinn beò ann an saoghal sgaiteach 's tha feum mor aig luchd-poilitig air creideasachd.

Ach se seo a'cheist — A' bheil sinn a'faicinn fein-riaghaltais gu simplidh mar mheadhon chon airgid nas motha? Tha mi'n docha nach eil. Air cinnte tha sinn airson féin-riaghaltais sa cheud aite chum ar n-ionannachd naiseanta a shaoradh. Chan fhiù parlamaid móran ma tha sinn fhathast am bogadh suas gu ar sùilean ann an cultùr Anglo-Amaireaganach. Feumaidh sinn ath-mhineachadh sinn féin mar chinneadh, agus airson seo a dheanamh gu riarachaidh feumaidh sinn athbhuidhinn ar canan.

Ged a tha am Pàrtaidh Naiseanta comh-mhothachail a thaobh Gàidhlig, chan eil ann an Alba idir a' chomh-ionannachd eadar ar gluasad poilitigeach agus ar gluasad cànanach a th'aca mar eiseamplair sa Chuimrigh. 'S mór an truagh e Gun teagamh tha a'chuid as motha de na naiseantaich Albannaich fhathast a'faicinn na Gàidhlig mar chanain nan Gaidheal mhàin 's chan ann mar an Albais a th'inn — canain na hAlba gu léir. Aig an aon àm tha iomadh Gallann a tha tionndadh chon na Gàidhlig airson a nàiseantachd a chur an céill ann an doigh chultùrach — mi fhìn nam measg. Ach tha sinn fhathast tearc.

Uime sin, ged a tha an cath poilitigeach faisg air buaidh, chan eile an cath cànanach fhathast blath. Sgrìobh Billy Wolfe leabhar ainmichte 'Scotland Lives'. Tha 'Scotland' beo gu dearbh, ach tha 'Alba' a'fantainn beagan nas motha na aisling. Cò-dhiù, cha bhi sinn gun dòchas. Cha robh ann am Parlamaid Albannach ach aisling o chionn cóig bliadhna dheug.

Recent Gaelic Publications: It is now almost impossible to keep up with the flood of Gaelic books from several presses. Two of the most recent are: An Aifirionn — An Liotuirge 1970 (Comunn Gàidhlig na h-Eaglais Easbaigeach, Inbhirnis), English-Gaelic Key to Dwelly's Gaelic English Dictionary (Gairm, Glasgow), Buile Shuibhne by Uilleam Néill (Club Leabhar, Inbhirnis) . . . Scottish Arts Council

are now subsidising 8 Scottish Literary magazines, including Gairm (all-English). Great value and excellent reading. Order from: The Scottish Association of Magazine Publishers, 55 Marchmont Road, Edinburgh EH9 1HT, or direct from individual publishers. (Crann Tara).

CURSA GAIDHLIG AIR CLAIR (Records)

"Sàth, a Gaelic Teaching Course", Calum Ferguson, M.A., Caledonian Music Co., 59 St Vincent Crescent, Glasgow, G3.

NATIONAL LANGUAGE

So far the only political party that has pledged any kind of support for the Gaelic language is the S.N.P. with its plan to give the language official recognition in the Highland areas. But why only the Highland areas? Once Gaelic was spoken everywhere in Scotland except possibly for the area around Peebles and (though this is disputed) in the Northern Isles. No language has such a claim to be Scotland's national tongue. This is not to say, of course, that we are not in favour of the teaching and preservation of the Lallans tongue, but Gaelic is the Scottish language par excellence. (Crann Tara)

BOOKS IN SCOTTISH GAELIC

"Although they say that our old language is dying, it is wonderful to see how many books are being published now. We never had the like before. Here is a list of some of the publishers of books in Scottish: GAIRM, Club Leabhair, Stornoway Gazette, Oliver and Boyd, Gaelic Texts Society, An Comunn Gaedhealach, Scottish Academic Press, Glasgow University, Aberdeen University, Techmac & Co. You can get any books in Scottish from Club Leabhar, 31 Braeside Park, Balloch, Inverness, IV1 2HJ, or from GAIRM Publications, 29 Waterloo St., Glasgow G2. (transl. from Crann Tara, bilingual newsletter of Comunn na Cànan Albannaich (same address as Club Leabhar).

• Dr Donald Grant (Cardenden, Fife) whose 4 grandparents were Gaelic speakers, writes: I wish all members of Celtic-minded movements would write, write and write again to people in positions of power in our countries as well as in England and France to show the strength of their convictions and obtain Celtic-oriented services, facilities, press and broadcasting.

He himself has protested to the controller of BBC Scotland because of the lack of programmes about Scotland and in Scottish language; he asks that such programmes as Bonn Comhraidh be heard by those thousands of Gaelic speakers who live in the various parts of Scotland. Pakistanis get services in their language from the BBC throughout Britain. Why not the Scots in Scotland?

• Fred MacAuley (BBC Glasgow) announced a new BBC radio service based on Inverness to start in 1976 with an initial 15 hours/week in Gaelic.

• A proposal was adopted at the Merriman Winter School, in Co. Clare (1-2-75) to start an annual Summer School, beginning in 1976, to teach Irish and Scottish Gaels how to communicate in their common language. This should have the full support of the Celtic League members. It should of course apply to the Manx too. Radio broadcasts could contribute to this renewal of communication.

BREIZH

SMALL FARMERS CONFRONT FRENCH GOVERNMENT

During protests in various parts of Brittany and France by small and medium farmers against a price policy which deprives them of remuneration for their work while enabling industries connected with farming to cash all the profit, dozens of demonstrators were held at random, fined or arrested last November and December. They belonged to organisations which have proved unwilling to accept the EEC policy of favouring big ranchers alone. It is significant that the 4 arrested were Bretons. On November 15, the Breton-minded farmers' leader, E. Morvan* was arrested in Pondivi during a protest against the forthcoming trial of 5 farmers in Nantes. During the latter (20-11) 3,000 farmers supported by about 1,000 workers demonstrated in the streets of Naoned/Nantes. On December 5, 24 farmers due to appear in court in this town kept away. Those sentenced refused to pay their fines. On December 7, a night commando of 40 farmers seized a truckload of bacon belonging to the Olida concern and distributed it to people in the poorer quarters of Brest and Kemper. As a result one person was detained for a day and two others for a week, their release being due to mounting anger in the population. In St-Brieg 50 "paysans-travailleurs" occupied for one afternoon the local justice court. Sales of farm products were organised by farmers of the Rennes area during Morvan's trial. But it was in Morbihan that demonstrations eventually surpassed anything done elsewhere, with sales of farm products, a week-long picket at the Lorient prison, meetings in front of the Lorient justice court, of the Gwened/Vannes Palais des Arts (during a reception given to 2 ministers), of police barracks. 1,500 demonstrators gathered from all areas of Brittany on the day of Morvan's trial in Lorient (19-12-). He was set free.

Support actions were organised by various professional and Breton-minded groups, leaflets were distributed, posters put up, slogans painted, festoù-noz (Breton dances) organised to collect money. Aid committees were set up in many towns, undertaking to sell farm products and to inform the population.

Thus an originally reserved public opinion became sympathetic. It was finally a victory for the farmers. It is a further encouraging episode in a series of actions including a.o. the strike at the Joint factory and the Milk War (Spring 1972), the FLB trial (Oct. '72), the Pederneq strike (1973). These actions were supported by a movement of solidarity affecting all Brittany and strong enough this time to check the tactics of taking hostages among the militant farmers and to effect their release.

Aid Committees

Multiple actions were carried out by Aid Committees in support of striking workers and farmers and of Breton, Basque and Corsican prisoners during the past 3 years. Following the November arrests, consultations took place between farmers and Breton "militants" to discuss what forms support action should take and leaflets were issued to explain its advantages. In December 5 Breton organisations jointly invited other associations to cooperate in

Footnote: * He took part in frequent actions to defend the interests of small farmers; was involved with Breton Action Committees in support of strikes at Joint Francais (1972) and Pederneq (1973); expressed Breton language claims; came as witness for FLB men on trial (Oct. 1972).

carrying out agreed tasks; they urged such steps as the acceptance of certain elements of the farmers' analysis, giving them a wide dissemination; explaining to farmers the specifically Breton aspects of their problems; showing the convergence of the farmers, workers and Breton (national) claims, e.g. the refusal of cheap labour treatment, the right to work in Brittany, resistance to French Army grabbing of farm land, opposition to the destruction of the Breton environment for the sake of tourism. The aim was a synthesis of the struggle of all Bretons subject to exploitation and of the efforts to reactivate the Breton culture: festoù-noz, pipers parades, Breton films provided opportunities to collect money to support strikers. Whenever possible the Breton flag should be introduced as a symbol of resistance to exploitation and a challenge to all Bretons to share in that struggle.

BEGINNERS' AND ADVANCED COURSES IN BRETON

The end of 1974 saw the creation of a new Breton language group whose name so far is BREZ(H)ONEG YEZ(H)VEW as a result of a close to scission move from the younger elements of the federation AL LEUR NEVEZ. The main difference was one of militancy. AL LEUR NEVEZ proper remains mostly centered on fostering love and practice of traditional dance cum alternate singing (especially in grammar schools) and uses French as its medium.

The new group has a wider scope. It insists on Breton as the only language of internal affairs and it aims to create the conditions of a Breton language popular culture. It hopes to achieve this by creating cultural centres throughout Brittany which will be sustained and organised by the local community. As a first stage, intensive sessions of language learning are necessary to provide suitable future organisers. Believing as it does that there can be no progress unless the language can be made part and parcel of the everyday lives of the people it denounces the folly of continuing to write Breton songs for singers and listeners who do not live even a part of their lives through that language.

Although the group is new it has already successfully organised holidays and language camps. Ten such sessions are on schedule for 1975. The first two were held in 1972. There were four in 1973 and seven in 1974. There are four levels of study — two of them bilingual (formative sessions in the practice of the language). The bilingual sessions will be held this year as follows: One before Easter, two in the 3rd week of July, a beginners course in the 3rd week of August and another regular one in the fourth week of the same month. Each course lasts six days and proceeds in a manner that makes it possible to continue on to a direct method course (using Breton only). The inclusive cost of a course is about £13 a week. Most venues of instruction are in the province of LEON (Northwest by Roscoff) or then in Menez Kamm through no choice of ours but due to the fact that the majority of our teachers come from that province.

Breton courses are of two types. One could be called 'classical'. Accommodation is usually in a school. The two main activities are contact with the Breton-speaking population and participation in various activities that usually includes informal ceilidh sessions. In such cases no formal distinction is drawn between organisers and learners. There will be two such courses this year — one in the 1st week of April, the other during the last 10 days of July. The second

type of course consists of staying and working on a farm for a fortnight. This idea was inaugurated by our group some three years ago and has proved very successful. Only people with a fair degree of fluency in the language are accepted but it is a highly rewarding (as well as tough) experience. There will be three such sessions in August — either during the first or second half of the month — open to both male and female. Basically these courses cost nothing as the "student" works on the farm with alternate afternoon group study in centres such as LEZNEVEN or KASTELL PAOL. All these courses are open to all comers. The only drag for fellow Celts is that at least an understanding of French is necessary. Although a fair number of us can speak English and some Welsh or Gaelic (lessons through the medium of Welsh were organised in '72) it is not easy to organise classes through these media. It would be possible to co-operate with interested bodies in the Celtic countries who wished to organise such courses but it will be obvious that such an undertaking cannot be a top priority — for the time being anyway.

For further information contact: An Ao. Ollivier, Glazvezenn, Al Lividig, 29238 Brignogan, Breiz(h). M.M.

NEWS OF SKOL AN EMSAV

A 3-day seminar, held by Skol an Emsav (Dec. 27-29) in Menez Kamm was attended by 55 members. The function and methods of work of the centres on which SAE is based were discussed. Apart from teaching Breton, activities vary a lot from one to another. They all seek to be involved in local life such as demonstrations for a better environment or against French Army encroachments; also to inform the people about the Breton problems.

The agreement to co-operate in external activities with Al Leur Nevez and Ar Falz (State school teachers who teach Breton) was renewed. SaE members help to sell the bulletin *Evid ar Brezhoneg*. Its Kastell-Paol branch is involved in preparing Gouel ar Brezhoneg, a festival which ambitions to develop into a Breton Eisteddfod and is to be held this year on May 16th to 18th in Kastell.

Skol an Emsav is planning for Easter information seminars and 3 courses for beginners; for August a 12-day course all-in-Breton for intermediate students; for September a course of university level to train active members and discuss important current problems. People from outside the Breton-speaking area will be offered opportunities to work on farms with native speakers.

A majority of SaE members have voted in favour of adopting immediately important changes in Breton spelling, agreement having been reached on a number of points between holders of other "orthographies" in use hitherto. SaE will be represented at discussions to solve remaining differences. They agree that spelling has no longer anything to do with a political option (nationalist v. regionalist).

A meeting was held in Karaez on January 19th between Al Leur Nevez, Ar Falz, Evid ar Brezhoneg and Skol in Emsav with the aim of creating a common front which will welcome all the progressist organisations operating through the medium of Breton. Practical decisions were taken to co-ordinate the cultural manifestations of the Breton people's struggle.

T.L.

BRETON ALIVE

"Breton is used more and more frequently at internal level in the Union Democratique Bretonne (several members of

the Executive Committee address its meetings in this language, translations being provided). The same practice exists in local UDB groups. Efforts are being made now to hold bilingual or exclusively-Breton public meetings; this was done by L. Kervoaz and F. Morvannou near Lannuon and at Plougastell-Daoulas. Breton can easily be adapted for political expression". (P. B. Nov.-Dec.)

The UDB has printed posters in Breton for its election campaigns. Parallel to Le Pepule Breton it publishes another monthly, Pobl Vreizh, in Breton. One can thus be satisfied that the UDB is genuinely committed to making Breton a viable language.

There are already two if not three correspondence schools for learning Breton (supplemented by records and mini-cassettes): Skol OBER (28 rue des 3 Freres Le Goff, 22,000 St-Brieuc) and Ar Skol dre lizher, each with seven or eight hundred students, both practically free of fees. Since 1973, another course is given by the Centre de Télé-Enseignement, Université de Haute-Bretagne, 6 Av. G. Berger, 35 Rennes, with 3 levels. They are under the responsibility of Per Denez, lecturer in the "Section de Celtique". There are more people trying to learn Breton than can be attended to. To satisfy the demand, some voluntary untrained teachers have to give 3 or 4 classes outside their normal working hours.

Skol ar Merc'her. On Wednesday 22-1-75 the Brest "Federation des Oeuvres Laiques" (Lay teachers association) had invited primary school children to a first weekly class in Breton (Wednesday is a day-off). 16 people were in charge of enrolling: they were nearly swamped by the number of applicants. An hour after starting, parents were still patiently waiting their turn to enrol their children. It was meant to be an experiment: it was a masterly success! The course will use an audio-visual method worked out by teachers of "Celtic" at the Brest University.

The negative side

What about the public schools? Since 1972 about 4,000 pupils can learn some Breton within the regular teaching hours, as an optional subject for the Baccalaureat (Leaving Certificate). The vast majority of Breton schoolgoers has no such opportunity offered to them. Breton is of no use for those doing the B.E.P.C. exam (taken at the age of about 15). Most of them can at best attend extra-curricular classes, if voluntary teachers are available for them.

Latin is held officially to be infinitely more important than Breton. In many CES schools it can be taken optionally by the pupils in 4th and 3rd years to whom it is then taught at a rate of 13 hours a week, and there is no problem about paying the teacher even at overtime rates. In the same CES schools, pupils cannot be taught Breton at all. If a teacher wants to run a class after school hours, he will get no recognition for his work. Latin is compulsory for pupils in fifth classes (13 years) for French. One of their textbooks is titled, "Our ancestors the Romans" and refers to Breton as a "dialect"!

Now that the French Post Office also uses postal code numbers, one might expect them to admit addresses in Breton. But nothing has changed since the time when letters were sent back with the mention (translator): Return to sender — Breton not admitted as a foreign language. Since the present minister is the député for Kastell-Pol, one of the areas where Breton is most widely spoken, the Gwened Cultural Group asked him to allow Breton addresses on envelopes. Reply: NO!

The French system cannot bend, it can only crack. It is too old.

F.L.B. : HOW MANY FISH IN THE NET?

Eleven people aged 21 to 38 were arrested at the end of December in 4 towns of W. Brittany, following bomb attacks in the Kastellin area in protest against the spread of French Army installations in the Krozon peninsula and the Porzhe area. They included a young woman and belong to various professions.

Since the announcement of an amnesty for acts committed prior to May 27, 1974, several attacks were carried out in the name of the FLB in the west of Brittany — on the Brest police barracks (26-6-); on a plane at the Kemper airport (causing a £1 million of damage, 6-8-); on a radio aerial near Kast (19-10-); against the houses of the mayor of Kastellin, his deputy and the local government representative, 30-10-); on the Brest Navy Club, 6-11-).

We mention elsewhere the destruction of 3 milk lorries in the Rennes area at the height of the farmers' disturbances in December.

The latest attacks in Finistere were thus directed against French Army encroachments in the area south of Brest (see CARN 7) Militarisation is one of the worst calamities to befall Brittany, not only on account of the grabbing of land but more importantly because of the servile mentality it fosters in the surrounding population. The 3 "notabilities" whose houses were damaged had openly vaunted the benefits that would result from the army presence, in spite of increasing popular opposition. Of the 11 arrested only one, Kaou Puillandre (from Kastellnevez ar Faou) was eventually charged and transferred to Paris (January 3) where he is to be tried by a State Security Court. It is not clear on what grounds exactly.

At a press conference in Rennes (1-1-75) a police officer recognised that "the autonomist FLB-ARB was now better organised; it was much more difficult to infiltrate it than hitherto". A total dismantling of its network looks unlikely. The FLB have learned from past mistakes.

The arrest of the other 10 persons brought protests not only from Breton organisations but also from trade unions branches in Finistere (CFDT, Comité Départemental des Jeunes Agriculteurs, Federation Départementale des Sociétés d'Exploitants Agricoles, Paysans-Travailleurs, MRJC), and local branches of French parties (Socialist Party, Parti Socialiste Unifié, etc.). A movement of solidarity with K. Puillandre is also gathering momentum. He was still in jail — with 2 other "suspects" on February 5.

A new attack in the night on 3rd to 4th January was directed at a garage in the main car park of the French War Navy in Brest: one bus was totally destroyed, 8 others were damaged. The action was later claimed by the FLB-ARB.

NEBEUTOC'H - NEBEUTAN A IWERZHONEG ER SKINWEL

Breutaet e vde kudenn an iwerzhonég er skinwel en ur vodadenn eus Kuzul Broadel ar Gouezeleg, d'ar 6 C'hwevrer. An holl aozadurioù a gemer perzh e stourm ar yezh a zo kevreet er C'Huzul. Diskuilhet e voe taer an dilez a veé graet anezhi gwashoc'h-gwazh gant Radio Telefis Éireann: ret e oa enebñ ouzh an doare ma 'z eo izelaet dere ar yezh er roll-programmoù ha ma vez lamet tamm-ha-tamm abaoe un nebeut bloavezhioù an elfennoù a sevenadur iwerzhonat a ziskouezont. Keñveriet e voe programmoù iwerzhonég ar sizhunvezh kentañ a viz C'Hwevrer 1975 gant re an hevelep mare seizh vloaz'zo: neuze e veé skingaset 5 eurvezhiad ha kard a programmoù en iwerzhonég ar sizhun, bremañ n'eus mui nemet div eurvezhiad koulz lavarout.

Seizh vloaz zo e veze diskouezet bemnoz programmoù gant un endalc'had sevenadurel iwerhonat, estreget ar C'Heleier. Bremañ ne vez anezho nemet div wech ar sizhun. Hevlene n'eus nemet ur skingasadenn ar sizhun en iwerzhonég etre 7 eur ha 10.30 eur, ar mare ma vez ar muiañ a dud o sellout. E 1968 e veze 14 skingasadenn ar sizhun etre an euriou-se. Anat eo ivez ar c'hilañ pa seller ouzh kannadig RTE. Seizh vloaz'zo e veze embannet peder fajennad en iwerzhonég ennañ. Bremañ, ma lakaer a-gostez programmoù Radio ar Gouezelva, n'eus mui nemet un hanter pajennad.

Goude e-leizh a vreutadegoù, kounskridoù ha dileuriadurioù e-pad seizh vloaz, o tisplegañ da RTE atizoù ha kinnigoù niverus evit reizhañ an traoù, setu ar par m'emaomp degouezhet: n'eus heuliad programmoù sonerezh iwerzhonat ebet er skinwel, daoust ma'z eus ur morad a dud, re yaouank dreist-holl, dedennet gant ar sonerezh-se; n'eus koulz lavaret programm ebet evit ar vugale hag a ve aozet er vro-mañ (n'eus hini en iwerzhonég); n'eus programm arbennik (dibar) ebet er yezh-mañ evit rummadoù bras eus ar bobl; n'eus netra evit tud ar Gouezelva; ne reer netra a bouez war dachenn an diduamant; n'eur ket deut a-benn da genderc'hañ kement ha pevar fezh-c'hoari en iwerzhonég en ur bloaz, daoust ma voe diskouezet n'eus ket pell e oa dedennet ur bern tud gant unan hag a oa bet skingaset. Hag all...

Bremañ ez eo bet lakaet ar pemp-munudad a geleier iwerzhonég da 6 eur, ur mare ma n'o devez ket kalz tud amzer pe tu da sellout ouzh ar skramm. Diagent e vezent da 7.50, ha goude ma oa siek a-welc'h ar programm — ne veze ket a filmoù eus an darvoudoù dezrevellet — gouest e veze e-leizh a dud d'o c'hlevout. Setu e gwirionez unan eus ar gwashañ taolioù rak evel m'hen diskouez un enklask, ar C'Heleier eo a roe tro d'an niver brasañ de glevout iwerzhonég: evit meur a hini an tu nemetañ zoken. A.H.

KONDAONIN?

Ar pennad-blein en niverrenn-mañ (Editorial) zo anezhañ respont un Iwerzhonat da vignoned eus Kembre ha Kerneveur hag a voe nec'het en abeg da darzhadennoù c'hoarvezet e Bro-Saoz en diskar-amzer, dreist-holl unan e Birmingham a lazhas kalz tud. Ar vignoned-se, a gontomp warno evit diorren ar C'Hevre Keltiek, kavout izill, gwerzhañ CARN, o devez d'ober ouzh tud fuloret ouzh Iwerzhoniz ha disfizius e-keñver kement kaoz a gengred pe a genobererezh etrekeltiek. Ha n'eo ket ar C'Hevre un aozadur-bruderezh de Arme Republikan Iwerzhon? Pe ma n'eo ket, perak ne "gondaonomp" ket an ARI evel ma ra an dud a-feson? Pa darzhas ur vombezenn e Casnewydd (Gwent) — taolet gant piv'ivez? — e voe abeg deomp da vezañ nec'het a gwirionez. Skrivañ a rejomp da dud 'zo, o c'houlenn outo reiñ da c'houzout d'ar C'Hwelidélourien (Provisionals) e raent gaou bras d'an emglev etrekeltiek. Kement-se daoust ma tamalle Iwerzhoniz Béal Feirste da soudarded ur rejimant "kembreat" bezañ ken gwazh ha re all o heskinañ an dud en Andersonstown, ha n'eo ket un Aerouant Ruz gwintet ganto a-us d'o c'hazarn a vire outo. Goprsoudarded... ha petra 'da! bannieloù hiziv an deiz?

Ahendall, setu ar pezh a respontomp: ar C'Hevre Keltiek zo dizalc'h diouzh kement aozadur/kenurzhiaù all, ha ne isomp den ebet da stourm gant armoù, daoust ma ouzomp ivez ez eo evelse he deus gounezet meur a bobl he frankiz; keloù a roomp avat eus ar stourm e Norzh Iwerzhon, ha dleet e vije komz muioc'h anezhañ zoken (e zebrannañ?), rak un devouder a-bouez e buhez ar vro ez eo.

CYMRU

YSGOL BASG

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg — 'YSGOL BASG', Mawrth (March) 26-30th Y Bala, Gogledd Cymru/North Wales.

Sgyrsiau a thrafodaethau ar frwydr yr iaith — adloniant — dawnio.

Talks and discussions on the battle for the Welsh language and noson lawen, dances, etc.

Call in Bala on your way to the Celtic Congress in Cornwall! Observers from Celtic countries welcomed. Accommodation details from: Ysgol Basg, Heol Y Domen, Y Bala, Gwynedd, Cymru.

BROADCASTING IN WALES

The Autumn of 1974 proved a momentous one for broadcasting in Wales. Two events of major importance occurred — one which marks an appreciable gain in the battle for the language. Firstly the Government has accepted the recommendation of the Crawford Committee on Broadcasting that the Fourth Channel in Wales be allocated to a separate Welsh-language television service. Secondly, BBC Wales have announced a proposal to introduce two new radio services: Radio Wales and Radio Cymru.

Crawford and Television:

'The Fourth Channel in Wales should be allotted to a separate service with priority given to Welsh-language programmes.' So declares the Crawford Report on Broadcasting. The new service it says should be operated jointly by the BBC and HTV (local commercial television) and should be introduced as soon as the Fourth Channel becomes available. Welsh-language programmes at present broadcast on the other channels should be transferred to the new service and the weekly output in Welsh doubled to 25 hours. The initial cost is reckoned to be between £6m and £7m with an operating cost of about £2m a year. These, briefly are the two main proposals of Crawford.

The Home Secretary has now set up a working party to deal with transitional problems. It will be asked to report in about 3 months. The Government has also undertaken to make the new service financially possible by agreeing to provide the subsidy which will obviously be necessary. It could be implemented in about 2 years.

What is the political background of the Crawford recommendation? To a great extent they coincide with the consensus view on broadcasting in Wales. The Welsh Labour group of M.P.'s collaborated with the Welsh Council of Labour to provide a documented memorandum on the need of the fourth channel for Wales. It should be noted, however, that the motives of Welsh Labour M.P.'s were decidedly mixed. Some were doubtless sincere in their concern for the languages (Tom Ellis of Wrexham, a shining exception among them even agreed to speak at a Cymdeithas yr Iaith rally in London) but the majority led by south-easterners such as Nat Kinnock and Leo Abse supported a separate service simply because they saw in it a means of excluding Welsh-language programmes from the other channels. The Crawford recommendations are also broadly in line with the views of the Welsh Broadcasting Council, Urrd Gobaith Cymru (Welsh League of Youth) and the Welsh Language Council. The representations of the three Plaid Cymru M.P.'s to the Government, together with the political climate created by their election, could not but have a salutary effect. That said, there can be not a shadow of doubt that it was the nationalist campaign of dis-

obedience and agitation, chiefly inspired by Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg that brought about these advances. This was primarily a victory for them. The campaign, beginning in the mid-sixties, involved over 500 people who refused to pay for television licences. There were 360 court cases and 18 imprisonments ranging from 3 months to two years. It has now been ended.

Radio Wales and Radio Cymru:

Plans have been announced to introduce two new radio services for Wales during the next few years — Radio Wales and Radio Cymru. While welcoming the proposed introduction of a Welsh-language service many nationalists have reservations concerning the fact that it will be broadcast on VHF. The new English-language service — Radio Wales — will use medium wave. Despite the claim of the Welsh Broadcasting Council that VHF is the wavelength of the future many nationalists (but certainly not all) consider that this decision is yet another example of the Welsh language having to be content with second-best since only about 50% of Welsh people at present have VHF sets.

Rh. M.

THE WELSH FOLK SCENE

The growth of Welsh folk music to its present stage of development has only occurred within the last ten years. Prior to the early sixties very little can be said of anything even vaguely resembling a Welsh folk scene and indeed the roots of the present upsurge can be traced back to only 1964/65 when Dafydd Iwan, a religious minister's son from near Bala in Gwynedd started suddenly to sing his own songs in the Welsh language. His guitar accompaniment was to the accepted standards of the time, basic, nevertheless the emotional power of his lyrics and the force of his personality won through. His effect on the people of Wales was significant for not only did he demonstrate it was possible to write songs using the Welsh language in the modern folk idiom. The initial impact Dafydd Iwan created at the outset of his folk singing career has remained with him to this day when he can easily be said to be the most popular of all Welsh male folk singers.

Amongst the number of groups which resulted in the expansion of the 'folk scene' in 1966, the group which created the greatest impact, public wise, was 'Y Dilau'. The 'Dilau' is a trio of three young women who specialise in close harmony singing. Even today they are still as popular as ever being much in demand for social evenings as well as honouring B.B.C. television commitments. In 1967 the first significant female vocalist entered the scene. Heather Jones has now developed into a folk singer of truly outstanding ability. She has created a completely new dimension in Welsh folk singing and her beautiful clear voice will earn her a high reputation on an international level. One may be assured that Heather Jones is, even today, far from having reached the pinnacle of her career.

1967 is notable also for the interest the 'Urdd' (Welsh League of Youth) took in the trends and development of folk music. Folksinging competitions from then on became a highly respected part of their 'Eisteddfodau' (singing festivals). This was a significant development and resulted in the discovery of much new talent.

Soon after the discovery of Heather Jones another character entered the scene. Meic Stevens, already an established musician in 'folk' circles in England returned to his native

Wales to continue his career. His experience as a session man backing England's 'folk' stars proved of immense value in aiding the developing Welsh records industry. He joined Heather Jones and Geraint Jarman (Welsh poet/playwright) for a time in a new venture but he left to continue his solo career in Wales. About the same time another talented person appeared, Huw Jones, who has succeeded in developing a completely original folk act. Today Huw Jones is a force behind 'SAIN' records and was the first to record on that label.

In 1969 a whole cluster of folk groups appeared, the most notable being the 'Triban' who are a contemporary orientated folk trio. Although their songs lacked the patriotic fervour some groups were expounding, they nonetheless gained wide public support. An act widely different from that performed by 'Triban' came with the arrival of the 'Hennesseys'. Singing songs with a 'traditional lilt', they became great crowd pullers and easily filled the gap left by the demise of the Meic Stevens, Heather Jones, Geraint Jarman group 'Bara Menyn'. Alongside these came 'Y Tebot Puis' (Purple Teapot) whose contemporary style of music and antics on the stage resulted in their wide acceptance by the public. Max Boyce, a man from the South Wales valley, also created a great following with songs about hardship in the Welsh coalmines coupled with comic songs about the yearly sacrifice of the English rugby team at Cardiff. Today Max is a firmly established folk star who has recorded both in Welsh and English.

A later development in 1971 was the emergence of 'Nhw' (Them). Unfortunately due to musical differences a notable member, Peter Griffiths left with another, Eleri Llwyd, to form a popular duo. The 'Chwyldro' (Revolution) group which was formed out of the remainder brought to attention the musical capabilities of Hefin Ellis. Here is a man who will have great influence on the course of Welsh folk music in the years to come.

Today the Welsh folk scene is moving from strength to strength. Notable innovations have been the arrival of 'Atgyfodiad' (Resurrection) a group who until lately specialized wholly in songs of a christian bias. Endaf Emlyn, who has also recorded in English, has within twelve months recorded two excellent albums containing much of his own work in the Welsh language. He is an artist of considerable talent with a unique style of his own alternating between expositions of rock music and contemporary based folk. Edward H. Dafis' the brainchild of Hefin Ellis and ex 'Tebot Puis' member Deric Morris have created a major impact on the scene with their brand of Welsh traditional music and 'rock' music. Let us also mention the celtic orientated group 'Ac Eraill (and Others) who have created a large following amongst young people in Wales; 'Hergest', a contemporary based group, have succeeded in maintaining a large appreciative audience amongst many folk scene enthusiasts; 'Gododdin', a Welsh traditional folk music group, are well on the way to achieving the kind of acclaim experienced by the earlier established groups. This is appreciated when it is known that they substituted at short notice in April '74 for the injured Scottish folk star Alistair MacDonald at a number of venues in North Wales — a task they carried out well.

Neville R. Jones

CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH

Following the Crawford Committee recommendations on broadcasting Cymdeithas yr Iaith has decided to call off its direct action campaign in this field for the time being and to concentrate during the first few months of 1975 on the campaign for equality in the Post Office. There have been numerous attacks in local Post Offices all over Wales involving taking down and ripping up all English posters and leaflets and disposing of the litter by means of the letter box! More serious action involving limited damage to P.O. vans has resulted in a court case at Prestatyn where 11 people were fined £5 each and ordered to pay costs of £7.30 each, and another person (who had a previous 'criminal' record) was fined £25. The chairman of the magistrates expressed his support for the cause, but not for the methods adopted (we've heard that before somewhere!). In the meantime, the Post Office itself has issued a leaflet explaining how they are bending over backwards to promote the Welsh language. If this is true, they will have no option but to bend a little more.

Two members have recently been imprisoned, each for a period of 14 days, for refusing to pay a fine that had been imposed following the London broadcasting demonstration in March. They are Amranwen Haf of Glyndyfrdwy and Mari Roberts of Waunfawr. Since there are no prisons for women in Wales, Amranwen had to be taken to Pucklechurch (near Bristol) and Mari to Risley in the Midlands of England. Several others are expecting to be arrested for the same reason.

Manifesto

The long awaited English translation of the Manifesto of Cymdeithas yr Iaith has now been published, incorporated in the current issue of the magazine 'Planet'. The manifesto gives the historical and social background to the campaigns of the society and outlines the conditions that have to be won in order to ensure the survival of the language. Copies are available from Cymdeithas yr Iaith, 5 Maes Albert, Aberystwyth, Dyfed (60p plus 10p. postage).

Y DYFODOL

Yn sicr mae rhyw ysbryd newydd ar gerdded yng Nghymru heddiw. Nid yn unig yn wleidyddol ond hefyd yn iaethyddol. Mae rhywun yn cael yr argraph weithiau fod Cymru a'i phobl yn rhyw ddeffro ar ol blynyddoedd hir o drwmwsg, ac nid ddwywaith nad ydym yn byw mewn amser mor gyffrous ac amser Glyndwr ac oes aur ein llenyddiaeth rhai blynyddoedd yn ddiweddarach. Ydyw, mae pobl Cymru wedi sylweddoli fod ein gwlad ag ein hiaeth yn werth ei hachub; yn werth gweithio trosti ac yn werth treulio amser yng ngharchardai Lloegr trosti hefyd.

Nid yn unig mae llyfrau newydd yn ymddangos yn wythnosol (ac ar bron pob pwnc o wyddoniaeth i farddoniaeth) mae comics i blant a recordiau pop yn fwy poblogaidd nag erioed. Ac mae mwy o bobl ifanc yn mynychu ysgolion nos i ddysgu Cymraeg yn ardaloedd Seisnigaidd ein gwlad nac a fu erioed.

Ac nid yn unig yng Nghymru. Mae'r iaith Gymraeg ar wefysau miloedd yn Lloegr mewn Capel a chlwb ac ar faes rygbi. Hyd yn oed yn Mhatagonia fe siaredir Cymraeg gan y drydedd ar bedwaredd genhedlaeth. Pobl na fuont yng Nghymru erioed.

Bu brwydyr hir i gael disc treth dwyieuthog ar geir ac arwyddion dwyieuthog ar ffyrdd, ac er mae'r Saesneg sydd uchaf (ar y pryd) mae'n arwyddocaol fod hunan barch yn ennill y dydd.

Mae gelynyon Cymru yn dal yn lluosog. Ac nid Saeson ydynt i gyd. Mae'n uchelgais o hyd i rai Cymry wasanaethu Lloegr-ac nid yw Cymru yn wahanol i wledydd Celtaidd eraill yn hyn o beth.

Ond ymlaen bo'r nod. Rhaid cael Cymru rydd a Chymru Gymraeg. Nid yw'r naill yn golygu dim heb y llall. Ac i ni sydd yn y frwydyr yma y ffordd oreu i orchfygu y gelyn oddifewn yw trwy esiampl a phenderfyniad di-ildio.

J Rhyd Humphreys

ADNODDAU IWERDDON

Ymgrych sy'n cynyddu'n fawr iawn yn ddiweddar yw'r Ymgrych i Amddiffyn yr Adnoddau (Resources Protection Campaign neu R.P.C.). Seiliwyd yr ymgrych yma ar yr ymchwil fanwl a wnaethpwyd gan nifer o fyfyrwyr ac a gyhoeddwyd mewn dau bamffled yn 1970 a 1971. Dangosodd yr ymchwil yma fod y rhan fwyaf o'r miliynau o bunnoedd, oedd yn cael eu cynhyrchu gan fwyngloddion Iwerddon, yn cael eu cadw gan y cwmnïau mwyngloddio — y rhan fwyaf ohonynt o Ganada — yn lle mynd i fewn i economi'r wlad. Cafodd yr ymchwil yma dipyn o sylw yn y papurau, ar radio ac ar deledu ar y pryd, ond nid oedd llawer o weithredu yn ylyn â'r peth cyn rhyw ddwyflwydd yn ôl pan sefydlwyd yr R.P.C. Ymgrych heb ddim cysylltiad ag unrhyw blaid gwleidyddol ydynt. Eu gofyniad yw cadw cyfoeth adnoddau Iwerddon yn Iwerddon, i'w defnyddio er lles pobl Iwerddon. Mae'r ffaith bod ymchwiliadau ar waelod y môr o gwmpas arfordir Iwerddon yn rhol lle i gredu fod yno gryn dipyn o olew a nwy hefyd yn gwneud y gofyniad yma yn bwysicach byth.

Mewn gwirionedd, rhoddodd deddfwriaeth 1940 y gallu i lywodraeth Delyn wneud yr hyn a fynnai a holl gyfoeth y wlad i gyd. Ers hynny nid yw'r llywodraeth wedi defnyddio'r ddeddfwriaeth yma. Yn lle hynny gwnaeth drafodaeth ag International Mogul yn 1955, trafodaeth oedd yn rhoi'r hawl i 91% o'r elw i Mogul, ac o hyn allan dyna'r math o drafodaeth y mae pob cwmni arall wedi'i disgwyl — ac wedi'i chael. Nid yw hyn yn newid ffaith fod y ddeddf yno o hyd, ond i'r bobl gofyn i'r llywodraeth i'w defnyddio, a dyna ofyniad R.P.C. Mae nifer aelodaeth yr ymgrych yn tyfu o ddydd i ddydd; eisiau llawer mwy ohonynt ac eisiau arian sydd amynt hefyd. Yn y diwedd bydd rhaid i'r llywodraeth gymryd sylw. Mae pobl trwy'r wlad i gyd yn dechrau mynd yn fwy gwybodus ar y pwnc, diolch i waith caled yr R.P.C.

Mantais y 26 sir deol o Iwerddon ar y gwledydd Celtaidd eraill i gyd yw 'r ffaith fod ganddynt lywodraeth iddynt eu hunain, llywodraeth y gellir pwyso arni, er ei bod yn un ddiffygiol i raddau helaeth. I ble'r aeth cyfoeth pyliau glo Cymru, er enghraifft? Nid i fewn i bocedi'r Cymry, bid sicr. Mae'r Alban hithau'n sylweddoli pa mor bwysig bath fydd cael llywodraeth iddynt i'w hunain a'r darganfyddiad fod ganddynt olew. Os caiff hi lywodraeth, well iddi ddilyn esiampl Norwy, ac nid Delyn ynglyn â sut i ddefnyddio'r adnoddau. Gobeithio hefyd nad yw hi'n rhy hwyr i lywodraeth Delyn wneud iawn am ei chamgymeriad.

• John Jenkins, a category A Welsh prisoner on the Isle of Wight, is putting his enforced leisure to use learning a second Celtic language, i.e. Irish.

CENEDLAETHOLDEB FFUG

Ymhlith cenedloedd bychain a gwan y mae diwylliant yn llawer bwysicach nac ymhlith y rhai mwy, ac enghraifft dda o'r hyn ydyw Prydain.

Yn nyddiau cynharach yr Ynysoedd Celtaidd yr oedd pedwar nerth mawr, Eingl-Saeson a Daniaid y gwledydd a ddaeth yn Loegr, a Cheltiaid "Cymru", "Iwerddon" a'r Alban". Er fod yr Eingl-Saeson yn fwy niferus na 'r Celtiaid, nad oedd un cenedl yn fygythiad mawr i'r lleill, am nad oedd syniad, fel ein syniad ni, o wledydd unedig fel Cymru neu Lloegr.

Yng Nghymru Rhodri Mawr a Hywel Dda, pan ddaeth nifer o wledydd Cymreig o dan un coron, yr oedd ymwybod sylfaenol o fod yn Gymreig — yr oedd iaith a chyfraith gyffredin, ond nid ymwybod gwleidyddol oedd hyn. Bu farw Hywel yn "Frenin y Cymry oll," ond estroniaid oedd y Dyfediaid i'r Gwyneddiaid a'r Powysiaid i'r Gwentiaid ac yn ystod y flynyddoedd a ddilynodd ei farwolaeth, rhyfelodd Cymry yn erbyn Cymry fel y rhyfelodd Saeson yn erbyn Saeson.

Yr oedd Lloegr yn rhanedig, nid am fod teyrnasoedd gwahanol ynddi yn unig, ond am fod dwy bobl ynddi hefyd, Daniaid ac Eingl-Saeson. Sut bynnag, gyda'r Goresgyniad Normanaidd a chanoli graddol nerth Lloegr gyda'r brenin yn Llundain, mi ddaeth hi'n amlwg y byddai Lloegr yn brif wlad Brydain.

Aeth amser hir heibio cyn i ddiwylliant Lloegr cael crap cryf ar y diwylliannau Celtaidd (trwy ddeddfau uno yn fwy na goresgyn milwrol). Heb eu llywodraethau eu hunain yr oedd Cymru, Yr Alban ac Iwerddon yn archolladwy iawn.

Heddiw, y mae'r diwylliant Seisnig yn gryf, ond y diwylliannau Celtaidd yn wan. Dyna pahan y mae angen gwisgoedd cenedlaethol yng Ngheltia, ond nid oedd fath angen yn Lloegr.

Sgerti Albanwyr, hetiau uchel, brithwe — arwyddion cenedlaetholdeb?

Astudiwn y sgert (kilt). Y mae pawb yn meddwl am yr Alban yn gyntaf pan welont y sgert, yna Iwerddon, ac weithiau Cernyw gyda'r sgert ddu (a mabwysiadodd y Cernywiaid fel sgert hyn na'r lleill). Ond a ydyw 'r sgert yn wisg hynafol a thraddodiadol? Mae'n draddodiadol erbyn hyn, ond nid ydyw pawb mor sicr ei bod hi mor hen.

Yn ei llyfr "Old Irish and Highland Dress" y mae H. F. McClintock yn dweud fod y wisg hon yn anadnabyddus yn Iwerddon cyn yr unfed-ar-bymtheg, ac yn yr Alban, ni ddaeth y sgert a'r clogyn (plaid) yn ddwy wisg cyn y drydedd-ganrif-ar-bymtheg — un darn o frethyn oeddynt cyn hynny.

Am hynny, mor ynfyd ydyw fod rhai Cymry yn ceisio "adfywio" sgert Gymreig! Nad oedd un byth. Y peth agosaf i sgert a wisgodd y Cymry oedd y crysbais hir yn y Canoloesoedd, hyd yn oed yn nyddiau 'r Ymerodraeth Rhufeinig, llodrau oedd gwisg y Celtiaid.

Y mae McClintock yn credu y dyfeisiwyd y sgert gan y pennaeth Ian Mac Donell — a Sais o'r enw Thomas Rawlinson! Y mae rhywbeth tebyg wedi digwydd yng Nghymru. Nid oedd tystiolaeth fod y betgwn, y pais a'r het uchel yn wisg genedlaethol ar unrhyw adeg cyn y 1830au, ond, diolch i'r Saesnes rhamantus yr Arglwyddes Llanofar a'u lluniau o werin Dde Cymru, mae rhywbeth arall gennym i'n gwahaniaethu o'r Saeson!

Heb gael ein maeddu gan yr hen elyn, gallwn ymffrostio am Gymro rhamantus, Edward Williams (1747-1826), yn enwocach i lawer fel lolo Morgannwg. Campwaith ddychymyg a rhamantiaeth oedd ei Orsedd y Beirdd.

Heddiw, y mae'r Orsedd yn rhan bwysig a lliwgar yn ein Gwly Genedlaethol ond mor newydd ydyw ac mor anghymharol gyda moddion gwyllt y derwyddion paganaidd! Nid ydwyf yn dweud fod yr Orsedd yn ddiwerth. Beth byddai safle'r Gymraeg heddiw os nad oedd un? Ond rhaid inni wahaniaethu rhwng ein hetifeddiaeth dirweddol a'r etifeddiaeth ffug.

Y mae pethau fel hyn yn perthyn i genhedloedd gwan, ansafadwy ac i'r rhai sydd wedi colli eu gwreiddiau. Y mae'r Ddraig Goch i'w gweld ym mhob man yng nGymru, ond nid felly gyda Chroes Goch Sant Siôrs yn Lloegr. Yr unig lle y dangosir Baner Brydain mor aml ydyw'r Chwe Sir truenus ac ansicr. Yng Nghymru a'r Alban y mae Baner Brydain yn fwy o arwydd o lywodraethu Lloegr — yn arbennig yng Nghymru am nid oes cynrychioliad ohoni ar y peth.

Y mae cennin mwyaf Gwyl Ddewi ar gotiau Cymry di-Gymraeg, a'r sgert yn fwy boblogaidd â'r rhai Albanwyr nid ydynt yn siarad Albanneg. "Pobl yr ymylon" ydyw'r rheini, yn byw yng nghanol dau ddiwylliant hollol wahanol — gweddillion truenus pobl a rheolodd Gorllewin Ewrop a chrëodd diwylliant a chelfyddyd a ddangosai ym mywyd cenhedloedd y cyfandir trwy'r canrifoedd dilynol.

Yn ffodus iawn, nid yr unig gweddillion ydynt. Yr ydym ni yn yr Undeb Celtaidd yn ymladd dros ein bodolaeth diwylliannol fel Celtaid. Mae'n rhaid inni ymladd dros y pethau gwerth eu cadw, ac anwybyddu'r cenedlaetholdeb ffug sydd yn perthyn i'r gweinïon a'r rhai cymysglyd.

A. Ab Osborn

Summary: Many small nations have to take their cultures to the extreme to preserve their identity. This has happened in Celtia. We have inherited a rich culture from our forefathers, but many aspects of it have been made up in an attempt to enrich. Are the national costumes of which many are so proud the things they are made out to be? There is now growing uncertainty over this.

False cultures belong to weak nations. We are not at the height of our power or at the peak of our perfection in the cultural field, but it would be far better to discard that false nationality which finally must make us weaker, and fight for those true aspects of our inheritance which will help us to survive.

INTER CELTIC EXCHANGES

The Kelc'h Sevenadurel Kemperle (Cultural Centre) has a section interested in promoting inter-Celtic relations: pen-pal correspondence, visits, hospitality scheme, holiday accommodation on a return basis. This would be operated in co-operation with the Menez Kamm, Centre which welcomes visitors from other Celtic countries at very reasonable prices. Those interested should write to An Ao. Yann Mestr, 5 Quai Brizeux, 29130 Quimperle, Breizh.

Skosiz ha Kembreiz zo o vountañ a-gostez ar skoilhoù war hent o yezhoù. Breizhiz zo a soñj e reont berzh evelse peogwir n'eo ket ar Saozon ken aheurtet hag ar C'Hallaoued war dachenn ar skingomz hag ar skinwel. Koulskoude, ma c'hellfe holl ar re a c'houlenn e ve graet a-zevri gant ar brezhoneg en daou servij-se unaniñ o strivadoù e-lec'h pouezeñ dalc'mat war o diforc'hoù, e lakfent bec'h war an digarezerien c'hall. Pa zispleger da lwerzhoniz ha Kembreiz peseurt puilhder a strolladoù, kevredigezhioù, emglevioù, kuzulioù ha peolgorioù hon eus o "stourm" evit Breizh hag ar brezhoneg, ec'h anzavont diouzhtu ez omp hep mar ar re Geltiekañ eus ar Gelted!

EIRE

THE COALITION'S 'POSITIVE' LANGUAGE POLICY!

News on the language front in Ireland worsens daily. With the latest piece of its 'positive' language policy the Coalition Government has taken from Irish the last shred of status it had. Despite its cynical performance hitherto its decision to remove the language from the Civil Service with no provision for the rights of Irish speakers has come as a shattering blow. The promise by the Minister for Finance that these rights would be guaranteed sounded very hollow indeed beside his incredible assertion that now at last the two languages had full equality in the Public Service. What does he mean? That native Irish speakers do not require English? Not likely. This latest move, seen as a blatant insult, has undoubtedly hardened attitudes among even those who were critical of the old system. The realization that Irish has no more rights in Ireland now than say, Swahili or Spanish has thrown many into a veritable panic. The first reaction of some was that there was a case against the Government for violation of the Constitution but the official Language Movement isn't quite sure that this is the case. Protest marches and meetings have been held here and there but the plain truth is no one seems to know what to do. We must assume for the time being that the Language Movement has plans it has not yet revealed. One thing is certain. Not even the most naive, can imagine any more than any of the political parties care a hoot about Irish. They are all, in fact, intent on phasing it out as quickly and as painlessly as possible. There is only one hope left. The case in favour of the language is better than the case against but it will have to be put before the people of Ireland with force and clarity. It must be pointed out to them that the ideal of a people restored to their cultural heritage is not just a hazy, spiritual notion with appeal for poet and dreamers but a very real necessity the lack of which seriously hampers their psychological well-being with far-reaching effects on every department of their daily lives — not the least their ability to earn their daily bread. There is a long, tough fight ahead. We cannot afford to lose time.

IN COURT FOR REFUSAL TO PAY TELEVISION LICENSE

Alan Heusaff was brought to court in Dublin on January 7 after refusing to pay his full television licence. He had informed the P & T Department last Summer that he would not pay because RTE was discriminating against the Irish-speakers by broadcasting in Irish only for 2.2% of the time (7 years ago it was over 5%). He had offered to pay 7.5% of the fee: that was all the service was worth to an Irish-speaking family. The court case was conducted fully in Irish.

In defence, A. Heusaff said he was speaking on behalf of all other Irish-speaking families and all those wanting the restoration of Irish. RTE was a public service. The Irish-speakers had rights based on the Constitution (declaring Irish to be the national language), the Broadcasting Authority Act (urging RTE to help in promoting the restoration of Irish), international conventions proclaiming the freedom from discrimination on linguistic grounds, the dignity of man, the right of access to public service. These rights were not respected. RTE was operated as an agency for the

final anglicization of Ireland. All legal means of trying to change this had failed.

The judge recognised that Irish-speakers were not fairly treated by RTE but he had to apply the law. He imposed a fine of £12 on February 3. An appeal was lodged. Others intended not to pay their license.

● UNEMPLOYMENT

All the Celtic countries of course are being badly hit by the current inflation and unemployment problems. Some of our fellow Celts may think that the Republic of Ireland, being politically independent can weather these problems better than themselves who are at the mercy of central states. Not so, unfortunately in the case of a state whose policy for the past 15 years has been one of inviting all and sundry with the spare cash to come along and exploit our cheap labour and natural resources. These subsidiaries of multinational firms are amongst the first to close down when the winds of economic recession blow. Couple with this, the continuing failure of industries hard hit by E.E.C. competition and it adds up to well over 100,000 unemployed — the highest figure here since the 1940's.

In the 1950's the unemployment of the time gave rise in Dublin to the Dublin Unemployed Association and monster marches on the Dail (Parliament). An employed candidate was even elected a member of the Dail. Now however, unemployment benefits are much higher and are pay related (for 6 months only) so similar happenings do not look like occurring in the near future. During the 50's though, there was the escape valve of emigration which is now closed. So if the recession and unemployment continue we may yet see a repeat performance in Dublin and other cities and towns. The Government's only action has been to introduce a deficit budget with Social Welfare and tax increases below the year's rate of inflation even. No capital programme to generate employment, no mention of mineral, oil or gas resources.

THE NORTH CEASEFIRE

The Christmas truce declared by the Provisional I.R.A. was of course generally welcomed, and its possible extension looked forward to. To analyse all the twists and turns in policies which made the ceasefire possible would be too lengthy and complex to undertake here. Unfortunately the ceasefire was not extended beyond January 16th. Amongst the reasons given by the Provisionals for breakdown was the slow rate of release of internees. The releases sanctioned by Mr. Rees during the ceasefire period did not apparently lead the Provos to believe that a speedy end to internment would be brought about if the ceasefire continued and Rees's statement in Parliament was not explicit enough for them. Renewed negotiations were brought about since between British officials and the Provisional Sinn Féin by the Protestant clergymen who were instrumental in arranging the initial ceasefire.

This is certainly to be hoped for as no one wishes for a return to the deaths caused by a bombing campaign or indeed the harassment and deaths caused by soldiers on the streets either.

In the south the Dublin Government's attitude to the initial ceasefire was not too clear — they certainly were not happy to see the British negotiating with the Provisionals. Mr. Cooney, Minister for Justice seems bent on confrontation with the Provisional prisoners in Portlaoise prison. Some reports state that following the takeover of part of the prison some time ago by the prisoners and their sub-

sequent peaceful surrender the Garda (police) riot squad entered the prison and wrecked and damaged personal belongings (radios, etc.) and clothes belonging to the prisoners to the tune of a few thousand pounds. Some prisoners have been on hunger strike since early January for the return of various rights which were accorded to them prior to October 1973. The Dublin Government however issued a statement reiterating that no concessions would be granted.

P.S.: A ceasefire has now been in effect again since 10/2/75. The hunger strike ended on 16/2/75 after 45 days, with the prisoners' demands granted "de facto".

● GROUND RENT IN IRELAND

(A campaign is being conducted to abolish ground rent in Ireland)

The basis of the present ground rent system in Ireland goes back to the final English conquest of Ireland leading up to the defeat of the Gaelic order and the flight of the Earls, after the battle of Kinsale in 1603. Despite the fact that nearly 400 years had passed since the Norman invasion the authority of Henry VIII after 13 years of rule extended no further than Dublin and three of its neighbouring counties. He prevailed upon the small and unrepresentative English Parliament of the Pale to declare him King of Ireland as well as King of England. Previous kings held only the title of 'Lord of Ireland'. The 'Surrender and Regrant' enactment followed. This spurious piece of law gave Henry the right to receive obedience from Irish chiefs conditional upon the regranteeing of their lands to them with the addition of an Earldom or other 'title'. The first success of this policy was when Conn Bacach Ó Néill, most powerful of the northern chiefs, went to England to receive the title of Earl. O'Neill's surrender precipitated a small landslide and influential southern nobles took English patents for their estates. This first incidence led to a major clash between the Irish Brehon law and the feudal code and set the pattern for the collapse of the Brehon clan system and the victory of the feudal way of life. Conn's title, under the English dispensation, left his earldom and his lands to his eldest son, Matthew. This struck at the Brehon law of Tanistry by which the people had the right to elect the worthiest of the clan as successors. Worst still, the English patent assumed the territory surrendered by Conn and regranted by royal patent was the sole and absolute property of the chief — a doctrine repugnant to the Celtic law under which Conn had merely a life estate in the Uí Néill territory. Shane Ó Néill, slew Matthew and on his father's death was elected Chief of the O'Neill according to Brehon code. Having escaped poisoning, Shane was murdered by the MacDonnells of the Isles in Antrim in 1567. Posthumous confiscation of the O'Neill lands followed and a generation of sporadic warfare gave way to an open war of extermination. The history of the O'Neill territory explains in microcosm the pattern of the conquest of Ireland. Statecraft first, then poison wine and war, with the old maxim of 'divide and conquer' and the results compounded with corruption, on this stands the basis of property in ground rent and indeed gaming and water rights to the present day.

By the end of the 17th century the feudal system of land tenure had been imposed on Ireland in substitution for the indigenous system of land tenures recognised by the Brehon Laws. A feature of the feudal system was the practice of holding land for a term of years under a lease. Ireland was a conquered land however and by a series of

statutes, starting in the early 18th century and culminating with the Landlord and Tenant Law Amendment Act, Ireland 1860, every formality by which the common law of England obstructed and delayed the landlord from repossessing the tenant's land was abolished.

A person holding land for a term was not recognised as having or acquiring an interest in the land. Because of the doctrine 'quid quid plantatur, solo, solo cedit', buildings erected by the lessee (person leasing the land) ceased to be his property when the lease expired and passed back to the landlord. In urban, as in rural areas, the same principle of leasehold applied. A lease usually contained covenants to erect a specific number of buildings on the land, to maintain and keep those in repair and to surrender them at the conclusion of the term and to restrict the user of the building from making alterations or additions thereto without the consent of the landlord. Generally, in the cities and large towns lengths of leases varied from seventy five to ninety nine years.

In Ireland, the first movement to reform the landlord and tenant laws was aimed at helping the tenants of agricultural holdings. The 1850's and 60's saw the new landlord class, that had bought out the Famine bankrupts, ruthlessly clearing the land of peasants. The unprotected tenants were driven off the land to make way for cattle and sent to drown in coffin ships on the high seas. Agitation and agrarian "outrages" led to the Landlord and Tenant Act (Ireland) 1870 three years after the Fenian Rising of 1867. The Act gave agricultural tenants the right to compensation for disturbance and improvements. It was the first step in a code, which, under the impetus of the Land League, introduced peasant proprietorship, first by voluntary purchase schemes and later by compulsory purchase schemes. Michael Davitt's New Departure led to the founding of the Land League, the rise of Parnell and eventually the fall of feudalism in agricultural Ireland. The Land Annuitants War of the 1930's was to prove the last major engagement between agricultural Irish tenants and exploiting landlords. Only gaming and fishing rights remain to be possessed at a later date.

In every urban area and town in Ireland, however, feudalism slept on undisturbed by the battles waged in rural parts. So the urbanite was still subject to the 'Divine right' of private property and so it remained up to and after the fight for independence.

(The above has been gleaned from the pamphlet 'Ground Rent is Robbery' available from 30, Gardiner Place, Dublin 1. Price 20p plus postage.

It is hoped to continue, in the next issue of CARN, with an account of the lead up to and developments in the campaign now being waged against Ground Rents.)

IRISH NATURAL RESOURCES :

State control or minor share?

In "Carn" No. 6 David Nelligan stated the arguments in favour of a mining policy which would allow the benefit from the newly-found Irish Mineral Wealth to be retained in the country; it would give us our first real opportunity for economic independence, especially if a smelter and ancillary industries were established. Investment in oil exploration yields an average 30% return; were it not so profitable, there certainly would not be over 60 companies knocking on the minister's door asking for offshore exploration licences.

However, in view of the uncertain outcome of the negotiations now going on between the Irish Government and Tara Mines, it is useful to be familiar with the arguments of those who advocate a liberalistic approach which, if not opposed by an alert and informed public opinion, could result in a sell-out of Ireland's great assets. An idea of these arguments can be gathered from a supplement published by the Irish Times on the 25-9-74, in which various aspects of mining policy are dealt with from exploration and development technology to taxation, legislation and finance — by contributors representing the view that it is vital to attract as much foreign capital and expertise as possible. They are all based on the assumption that the multinational consortia know best how to handle our affairs in this respect. There was however an article by the Minister for Industry and Commerce, in which he stated that his over-riding concern was adequate public control; however he had no wish to discourage private enterprise. At present all petroleum and most minerals are state-owned, "but a policy of sole state responsibility would divert capital from other essential economic objectives." He added that resources should be used at home whenever possible; that Irish firms should supply goods and services; and that the rate of development should be such as to allow related sections of the economy to keep pace with it.

The Irish Petroleum Exploration Group warns against excessive public euphoria and backs this up with facts and figures. It will be increasingly difficult to drill wells and find mines as the easiest ones have already been discovered. Much technology will have to be imported. They emphasize the need for expertise with a warning that a slippage in time schedules could mean a disastrous drain on the balance-of-payments. One thing we may not have to import is transportation and communication services. The chief executive of Seashore Ltd. considers the possibility of Irish firms providing other necessary services to the offshore industry; but there will be serious competition from U.S. and U.K. firms, proven for reliability, to provide basic material and service requirements.

The Irish Association for Economic Geology deplores the abolishing of tax incentives; "it has caused a serious crisis of confidence in the industry." Confidence must be restored. The best discoveries were made during the tax holiday. Published reserves in Tynagh, Gortdrum and Silvermines will have expired by 1980, so we need to attract risk capital for the continuing discovery of new ore, if the industry is to thrive; loops in legislation must be resolved. According to an accountant, profits from mineral resources are at present liable to a taxation rate of 50%, with a capital expenditure allowance; but losses incurred by a company on one deposit may not qualify for any tax relief in calculating profits by the same company on another deposit.

The cost of exploration and development depends mainly on the size of the field, weather conditions and the technology used and could vary from £60m to £500m. A capital outlay of £100m would be needed to extract the 5m tons annual domestic oil requirements for the Republic of Ireland. The participation of Irish companies in mining investment consists in most cases of a 20-50% shareholding in multinational consortia. It is argued that it is not advisable for the state to participate, except with a small percentage interest, especially at the high-risk exploration stage. This is mainly due to the fact that Ireland must compete for capital with other petroleum-prospective areas throughout the world.

A new training course in Mineral Science is offered by the Athlone Regional Technical College. It is at present biased towards exploration technology, but it is hoped that its scope will soon be expanded to cover extracting/mining, quarrying and mineral beneficiation. Anxiety is expressed that government policy might lead to a curtailment of activity resulting in a lack of employment opportunities for graduates.

Indeed the need for expediency is emphasized in several of the articles; other reasons offered are that the Arabs might bring down the oil prices; that world demand might fall off; and that current shortages of the commodities in question will be overcome.

Kintilla Heusaff

Most of the contributors to this I.T.'s supplement are primarily concerned with sectional interests. To follow their advice because of the pressure of unemployment might bring short-term gains but it would be very wasteful of the possibility of considerable earnings and much greater employment opportunities in the future. Big mistakes previously made were due to the hurry in granting concessions to Tara Mines and foreign-controlled companies: particularly to Marathon-Esso (the latter have struck methane gas South of Kinsale sufficient to supply Dublin's power needs for 20 years, but the license, issued for £500, reserves to the Irish State only 12½% of the gases estimated value of £300 millions). I am not sure if the opinion can be defended in the perspective of the misery outlined by burning concentration camps, but it has been said that, for the future of Ireland, the issue of Irish oil and mineral exploitation could rank in equal importance with the problem of the Six-Counties.

A.H.

An agreement reached between the Minister for Industry and Commerce and Tara mines in mid-February in no way approximates to the demands of the Resources Protection Campaign, as pointed out in a forceful letter, in the *Irish Times* on 19th February, from the Labour Liaison of the Left.

AN PÍOBAIRE BA MHO CLU IN ALBAIN

O'n 17ú go dtí an 19ú aois, bhí cónaí ar Chlann MacCrimmon le Taoisigh MacLeod ag Caisleán Dunvegan ar Oileán Scitheadach in Albain. Ar feadh na céadta bliain, bhí clú agus cáil ar an gclann ó ghlún go glún, mar phíobairí.

De réir scéil amháin, tháinig an scil anuas ó bhean sí — duradh leis an gcéad Phíobaire bheith i láthair ag lios áirithe, agus fuair sé an tabhartas ansin Tá daoine ann a deireann nach mar sin a tharla ar chor ar bith. Bhí an t'athair agus triúr de chlann mac air-beirt díobh mór agus meatach, an triúr duine lag agus beag (cíoch deireadh na clainne, mar adéarfá) (ciúin, tanaí, gan dul chun cinn ar bith ann. Nuair a bhíodh obair an lae críochnaithe, thógfadh an t'athair na píob anuas, agus bhuailfeadh sé suas cupla port. Ansin shíneadh sé an gléas chuig an mac ba shine agus deireadh leis iad a sheinmt-rud a dhéineadh gan aon stró. Ansin go dtí an dara mac — sheinneadh seisean iad gan aon stró. Bhí an mac ab óige gan ceol ina cheann. B'eisean an sclábhái bocht a rinne obair na feirme.

Lá amháin nuair a bhí an t'athair agus na driotháireacha eile ar aonach i gcuid eile de'n oileán, tháinig sé isteach ó'n stabla, rún ina cheann gur mhaith leis ceol a fhoghlaim is beith ar aon dul leis na driotháireacha. Fuair sé an cantaire ach ní raibh maith ar bith ann. Leis sin isteach le sí-bhean ó Chaisleán Dungevan. Chaith sí tamall ag éisteacht lena chuid ceol liopastach is dúirt. "A fhir óig, tabharfaidh mise ceacht duit, ach innis seo dom, cioca a b'fhearr leat-

scil gan toradh nó toradh gan scil? "Scil gan toradh", ar seisean. "Níl ag teastáil uaim, ach ceol a dhéanamh amhail m'athair agus mo dhriotháireachta".

"Beidh sin agat, agus níos fearr", arsa an sí-bhean.

"Ní hé amháin go mbeaidh scil agat, ach beidh t'ainm inairde ar fud na Alban." Ansin ar aghaidh léi leis an ceacht. Chuir sí a méaracha ar poill an chantaire agus chuir seisean a mhéaracha ar a méaracha siúd. Dárdaigh sise a méaracha agus d'ardaigh seisean a mhéaracha. Ar an tsli seo sheinn sé a chéad phort. Ansin d'iarr sí air a phort féin a sheinnt. Ba bheag nár thit an tanam as, nuair a chuala sé a cheol féin-ceol níos binne agus níos deise ná mar a sheinn a athair ná a dhriotháireacha ariamh, "go hálainn — go haoibhinn", arsa an sí-bhean.

"A Mhic Crimmon, is tusa an píobaire is fearr in Albain anois. Ní raibh do leithéad ann ariamh, is ní bheidh do leithéad ann go brath."

D'éalaigh an sí-bhean ó radharc ach lean Mac Crimmon air ag ceol agus ag ceol. Bhí draíocht ins na méaracha aige, agus sheinn sé port binn, álainn i ndiaidh phort bhinn álainn. Chuaigh an ceol trasna an fhraoigh, gur bhuail cluasa an athar agus na driotháireacha a bhí ar a slí abhaile ó'n aonach. "Éist do bhéal", arsa an t'athair, "tá duine éigin ag seinnt ar an gcantaire." Níor chula mé a leithéid de cheol im shaol," arsa an mac.

"Is ón ár dteach féin atá an ceol ag teacht."

Nuair a shroich siad an teach, bhí chuile rud mar a bhí, gan fuaim ceoil, ach an mac sa bhaile ag suí cois tine. Cé go raibh iontas mór ortha, níor leig siad tada ortha, ach ag caint ar an aonach agus gnóthaí eile an lae. Nuair a bhí an súipéir thart, thóg an tseanlead na píob anuas, sheinn port, agus mar ba ghnath leis shín ag an mac ba shine iad agus ansin ag an dara mac.

"Seinn", arsa an t'athair, agus shín sé na píob ag an triúr mac.

"Ní haon píobaire mise, ní ionam ach sclábhái, anseo."

"Seinn agus ní bheidh tú id sclábhái, feasta."

Thóg an triúr mac na píob agus sheinn sé ceol le lán scil. Sheinn sé Brón na Mara, sheinn sé fé ghliondar an oileáin, uaigneas ríocht na Beanna Mora agus teacht le chéile na gClann.

Bhí an triúr eile ag éisteacht ina suan. Nuair a bhí sé réidh, rinne an sean-lead rince ar an urlár le gliondar chroí.

"A leithéid de phíobaireachta, níor chuala mé ariamh", ar seisean. Ní bheidh tú id sclábhái, timpeall na h-áite seo feasta, seinnfidh tú ceol ar son airgid agus ar son phléisiúra, chomh fada is a mhairfidh tú."

Rud a dhein sé ar feadh na mblianta fada ina dhiaidh sin — rud a dhein a mhac ina dhiaidh, agus a mhac siúd agus a mhac siúd arís.

Tá scéal eile fós ann fé Mac Crimmon, Innsíonn sé mar thug an bhean ó sí cantaire airgid chuige, agus an scil chun é a sheint, ar choinníoll go dtabharfadh sé arais chuic é, go dtí Pluais an Oir, laistigh de bhliain agus lae. Ag deireadh an ama chuaigh sé chuig an pluais ag seint an phoirt sin ar a dtugtar "Caoineadh Mhic Crimmon". Bhí a chairde ag éisteacht leis agus fios acu go raibh sé ag smaoineamh ar na páirceanna glasa, an ceo ar na cnoic, agus na cairde a bhí sé ag fágáil sa bhaile, go deo na ndeor.

"Ní bheidh — ní bheidh — ní bheidh mé ag teacht arais," adúirt an ceol, go dtí sa deireadh gur imigh sé i léig agus d'imigh ar fad, go bhfuair bás sa chiúnas, agus uaidh sin amach, níor fhacthas an píobaire ba mhó chlú arís go brath na ndeor.

Uinsin O Donabháin,

CUIL AODHA

I do Áine

Ritheann an abhainn go ciúin
tré mo chuimhintí, an tam
ar léimeamair ar na clocha
trasna na habhann, an
toiléan, an choill, tusa Áine,
an lá, an talamh bog, na crainn.
Le bliain tá tú imithe uaim
ach thángas thar nais
go dtí'n áit fontach so
is braithim thú i ngach áit
mar taibhse ag rith is ag léimnt.
An féar sna páirceanna
mar do ghruaigh órga,
an ghrian ag titim
ar gach áit mar báisteach,
i ngach áit chím tú
ach tá tú imithe.
Níl aon rud le mhúineadh a'm dhuit
anois, ach so :
binneas na habhann ag sníomh tré Chúil Aodha
is do lorg fagtha ar gach rud.

II

Uisce ag rith ar sleasa
na gcloch is
san uisce dathanna
is, uaireanta, breac.
Creatlaigh gluaistean
in aice an bhóthair.
An ghrian mar deatach
i ngach áit.
Ní chreidim a thuille i gníomhachtaí fir.
Bhí grá ann uair ach tá sí imithe.
Siúlaim ar bhruach an tSuláin,
braithim an taer bog meirgeach.

CUIL AODHA

The river swung, like a car
changing direction. To the road
marshland. On the other side
a hill elbowing out.
But the river speeds over rocks
making a symphony of falls.
I have traced this place
so many times, making mythologies
of stones, houses, broken cars
by the road to the new factory
and Irish here like the stream,
flowing, like the Gaeltacht, daingean.
I have spent months here
living among language and water
missing you, my love, who would
give meaning to all this,
yet making the best of it,
walked the many roads, Ard
na Coma, where the mass rock
was, and saw the same river
in so many places. I never
discovered where that river rose
as I never told you I loved you,
but having discovered neither
the source nor you, as I accepted
you weren't there, the river was.
Making the best of things
I lived with the river, the language. Tomas Mac Sheoin

KERNOW

MEBYON KERNOW'S AIMS

"I would like to comment on Leonard Truran's article
"Defending the English" in Carn 7.

I would firstly like to agree that Kernow (and Mannin)
are often ignored when reference is made to the Celtic
nations within the United Kingdom by prominent Scottish
and Welsh nationalists. However might I suggest that Mr
Truran would catch the attention of a greater proportion of
the unenlightened by expressing his views in publications
such as 'Welsh Nation' and 'Scots Independent', as I think
he will be preaching to the converted in using Carn as his
media.

Perhaps however, through the columns of Carn, Mr
Truran could give us some much needed education on
nationalism in Kernow. For example why two national parties,
Mebyon Kernow and the Cornish National Party, and
why so much co-operation with the Liberals? Is the goal
really independence, or is it federalism? How strong is the
feeling of being Cornish as opposed to being English in
Kernow? I'm sure we would all be pleased to learn more".

Iain Hutchinson

L. Truran, president, Kernow Branch, Celtic League replies:
"Mr. Hutchinson suggests that I might be preaching to
the converted by expressing my views in "Carn". Less
than three months ago I had a letter from a long standing
member of the Celtic League who suggested that Kernow
instead of acting as a dis-unifying factor in Celtia as he
put it, should become a Welsh speaking part of Wales
under a Welsh Secretary of State. That gives me one mem-
ber to convert at least.

There is only one Political Movement in Kernow, Mebyon
Kernow. C.N.P. has to all intents and purposes ceased to
exist and most of its members have now rejoined M.K. as
they are happier with the Political content of our programme
than they were at the time of their break.

Co-operation with the Liberals? This is hardly the case,
we supported in one Cornish Constituency at the last Elec-
tion, an Independent who was standing against the official
Liberal Candidate. It happens that the radical tradition in
Cornwall was best represented by the Liberals in former
years and there is a very large support for Liberal
Candidates. In my view we must seek to occupy
the radical middle ground that they once occupied — such
being the case we must espouse causes that they would
wish to champion and we must out-think them in radical
politics. What you mistakenly see as co-operation is in
fact a take-over bid by Mebyon Kernow of the middle
ground. Socialism has small support in Kernow, Toryism
holds sway over the majority and is the best instrument of
the English Colonial establishment in our country. Social
Democrats are largely to be found in the Liberal camp; it is
their views that we must represent. As our strength grows
the Liberals can only see us as their chief opponents.

The goal Mebyon Kernow seeks is internal self-govern-
ment and in the present scene this is a radical step forward
indeed. We would support a Federation or Confederation
of British States — but by and large we are a young party
compared with S.N.P. or Plaid Cymru and our philosophy is
in an early state of development.

On the question of Cornish or English, I can speak for
many thousands when I say that the only answer is that to

be Cornish excludes any possibility of being English or of being any other nationality in fact — this is the first lesson in Cornish Politics. This is a lesson that was in danger of being submerged at the beginning of the Century. It is not so now when thousands of us rise again as Cornishmen to affirm our national rights, our national aspirations and our Celtic heritage.

I appreciate Mr. Hutchison's concern, he asks, quite rightly, to examine our credentials. I can show him conclusively that Kernow is truly a nation, is truly Celtic and is truly becoming alive to the implication of these two facts. We hope only to show ourselves as worthy allies to all our Celtic brothers. Kernows bys Vyken.

ELECTIONS: The number of votes that Dr Whetter (MK) lost between the February and the October 1974 elections was very much the same as enabled Cornishman D. Penhaligon (Lib.) to take the seat from P. Dixon (Con.) in Truro. Valuable experience was gained by MK member J. Davey and his helpers in Falmouth-Camborne, fighting under Indep. Lib. banner: he received 2,246 votes. Dr Whetter, encouraged by Welsh-Scottish success, pledged to fight again. His chances to be nominated were put in doubt by an upset over his editorship of the MK quarterly CORNISH NATION, (Trelispen, Gorran, St Austell, Cornwall). After a special general meeting of MK members, at which differences were thrashed out, the wound was healed: Kernow must be put first. We in the C. League can only rejoice at this outcome.

STANNARY PARLIAMENT. Efforts to re-establish the Cornish Tin Miners Parliament have received widespread publicity. They met with opposition from U.K. dignitaries and officials. They have challenged the latter with the proposal to issue Promissory Notes. The Post Office authorities have refused to accept these.

THE CORNISH LANGUAGE AND ITS LITERATURE By P. Berresford Ellis

(Routledge and Kegan Paul 1974)

A new book concerning the Cornish language is a rare and welcome arrival for those (rapidly growing in number) engaged in our language revival. The authors name is known to most Celts and in Cornwall as the author of a readable handbook 'The Story of the Cornish Language'. The new book is a vastly extended version of that.

This attractively produced and very readable volume gives an account of the rise, fall and rebirth of the Cornish language from the 6th century to the present day. But there is also a lot more than that. The opening chapter provides an early history of the Celts, followed by that of Kernow up to the Prayerbook Rebellion (partly stemming from the refusal to produce a Cornish translation) of 1549. The final chapter fills in the political background to the 20th century revival.

In the bulk of the book innumerable quotations witness the medieval flowering of Cornish literature in extensive religious plays and verse. This was followed by a slow decline, halted for a while in the 1700s by a curious rearguard action of some gentlemen around Penzance and Newlyn. In the nineteenth century, the few remaining scraps of Cornish vernacular were united with the newly printed plays to make possible the present revival.

The choice of extracts is mostly good, though someone better acquainted with the language might have made a different selection of 17th and 18th writing. The examples of 20th century Cornish are most interesting and may persuade some cynics that Kernewek has been and is a living language.

One useful addition would have been a brief explanation of the differences between Cornish at various periods and perhaps a direct comparison with Welsh and Breton. Besides its appeal to the general reader, and notwithstanding certain errors that have crept into some of the texts, this book should also be valuable to the academic reader especially for its very full list of sources in the appendix. The death and resurrection of a Celtic language is a subject not without parallels in Celtia today.

J.H.

AN MUUVYANS KENETHLEK KERNEWEK YN 1975

Ryb tenewan an sowynnyans bras a gafas Alban ha Kembry y'n vledhen us passyes, a yllyn-ny Kernowyon myras adro gans nep sort a lowender? Ny wruk sur agan whylor orth Parlament Westminster gwaynya namur a lefow. Bytegens yma nebes toknys may hyllyn-ny aspya gwella vledhen ow tos. Dres ken, yma deu dra a brys wharfedhys, nyns yu nep pell, aberth yn Mebyon Kernow.

An kensa tra yu an nowedhys a'n dasunyans cosel a wruk Party Kenethlek Kernow (CNP) gul gans MK. Ny a yl gwaytya gweles nerth ha bewnans noweth ajy dhe'gan muvyans kenethlek, a vu tam hevelep orth scryfor an goloven-ma, hen yu dhe leverel, ow kewsel pupprys orth an dus a vu trelyes kens hemma. Res yu porres perthy yn cof an ethom a hedhes brys an bobel.

Ancombrynsy mur a sewyas pryntyans fotograf ha lytherow a Vyghel Gaughan y'n 'Genethel Kernewek' an paper offysyel a MK. Mr Gaughan a wruk merwel yn pryson sawsnek wosa maga dre nerth. Bresel vras a sordyas yn mysk an paperow 'bro-west' hag ynweth yn mysk nebes sodhogyon ughel MK hag a vynnas remuyva Dr Whetter avel dyllor an paper. Woteweth ef a wra tryga, mes ganso peswar cusulyador rag gwytha dysquedhyansow an paper herwyth cowsys an party.

Yma an 'govynnadow Ywerdhonek' pupprys penfenten a ancomhrynsy genen-ny. Pup kelt a dal crys y'n unyans wlas Ywerdhonek, mes ny yllyn-ny bysqueth na scodhya na hevelly scodhya nell ha denlath avel toul an dhathel wlasek. Gwell yu dhyn sur hola an sowynnyans usy gans an partyow a vu dewysys gans an bobel.

There are signs of new unity in the Cornish National movement. The Cornish National Party seems to have quietly rejoined Mebyon Kernow, and it is to be hoped that with renewed vigour MK will address the people, whose mind must be reached. The Irish question is a source of embarrassment to us who believe as a matter of course in Irish unity, but can neither support nor seem to support political violence.

• Plaid Cymru have assured Mebyon Kernow that, if Cornish candidates were elected, their participation in a parliamentary grouping of nationalist MPs at Westminster would be welcome.

For details of Celtic Congress to be held in Cornwall at Easter, write to Mrs B. Hooper, 93 Mt. Pleasant Ave., Camborne.

MANNIN

BLOW TO MANX AUTONOMY — OR BLOW TO TAX DODGERS?

Details of the proposed "wealth tax" were revealed recently in the English parliament during the first reading of the Finance Bill. Clause 40 of this bill has caused consternation in government and financial circles in the Isle of Man because it states that anyone coming from the United Kingdom to live in the Isle of Man will remain subject to U.K. income tax, surtax, estate duty, capital gains tax and capital transfer tax in spite of the fact that they are no longer residents of the U.K. This proposal is bitterly resented by Manx politicians, who were not consulted in any way. No hint of the proposed legislation vis-a-vis Mann was given in the white paper which preceded the parliamentary bill. The Manx Finance Board has made representations to London, doubtless pointing out that if clause 40 becomes law the U.K. parliament will be assuming the right to tax people in Mann whom it does not represent. Some Manxmen think that this is the first step towards absorbing Mann into the U.K. and consider it the most dangerous threat ever to Manx autonomy. As the "Mona's Herald" put it in an editorial: "As things are at present, the economic advantages of being attached to our larger neighbour are diminishing by the day — and the political disadvantages are becoming altogether too much."

The whole issue presents difficulties for many Manx nationalists. On the one hand they are strongly against the sell-out of Mann to rich English people, and on the other they are disgusted by the gross insensitivity shown by London mandarins to a parliament far older than Westminster. Difficulties arise because what tax-dodgers and slick financial operators there are in Mann seem to have come there following the "New Residents" policy launched by top Manx politicians themselves several years ago. Manx nationalists feel that some of the well-heeled new residents ("the New Manx") will try to be Manx and talk of the "destruction of our Island heritage" just so long as they can avoid taxes or make more money by being honorary Manxmen. But how are these people to be got at without reducing the considerable autonomy Mann has at the moment? A native movement could do this, but the prospects of this happening seem remote at present simply because such a movement would have to be a left-wing one. Manx Labour Party members seemed very embarrassed recently by the public "accusation" that they supported land nationalisation — a move which would be essential if the land speculators were to be stopped. In any case, the Manx Labour Party (in spite of all that has happened in Mann, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, etc.) is still flirting with the idea that Mann should be integrated into the U.K.I.

There is no doubt that London would not hesitate to use the fact that many Manx people do not like the New Residents policy to justify more and more interference in Manx affairs. That is why it is imperative that the Manx themselves should set their own house in order. Probably Mec Vannin are the best people to attempt this, in spite of their recent failure to capture a seat in Tynwald. But Mec Vannin (or some other party or group) will have to work hard and fast to save Mann from the twin forces of native speculators and foreign speculators and tax evaders.

Brian Mac Stoyll

DEATH OF NED MADDRELL

Ned Maddrell, the last native speaker of Manx, died in Noble's Hospital, Douglas, on 27th December aged 97 years. Ned came from Glenchass, near Cregneish in the south of Mann. Cregneish was the last village where Manx was the everyday language. At the age of seven, Ned went to live with an aunt who knew no English, thus getting a unique opportunity to learn the native language.

Ned's gentle devotion to the language impressed all who met him, as did his patience with those learners who sometimes seemed to camp on his doorstep. The Manx language movement is fortunate to have had someone like him and to possess the priceless tape recordings of Ned and of the other native speakers. Although this is a sad occasion, it will increase the determination of Manx patriots to fight for their language. "Dy bannee Jee e annym".

Brian Mac Stoyll

CEAU NY PADDIES MAGH (traditional spelling)

(Not only Irish people and sympathisers are disturbed by England's Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act. Some English MP's have expressed their concern over the operation of this Act and over the increasing tendency to involve the judiciary in politics).

Haink yn Slattys noi Atchimys (Shallidagh) ayns feme ayns Sostyn Jeheiney, 29 Mee Houney. Hug y slattys shoh er Arm Poblaghtagh ny hErin y ve ny heshaght anleighalagh as hug eh kied da ny poleenyn sleih fo ourys chummal as 'eyshtey rish shiaght laa. Nish fod Mnr Jenkins, Scrudeyr Hostyn, ceau magh ass y cheer peiagh erbee t'eh coontey y ve ny 'er-atchimys — gyn boirey mychione cooyrtyn as nyn lheid. Lurg ny bleaystannyn ayns Birmingham, va'n chooid smoo dy 'leih ayns Sostyn arryltagh dy cheau ersooil nyn seyrshyns oolley dy noddagh ad geddyn greime er ny fir-vleaystan. Agh veih'n toshiaght, va M.P. ny ghaa feer voirit mychione yn Aght shoh, ny mast-oc Stan Thorne as Leo Abse. Hug ad raaue dy beagh Yernee ceaut magh son cooishyn politickagh, cha nee son yn atchimys — as t'eh sheiltyn dy vel shoh er daghyrt hannah. Myr sampleyr, va Albert O Rawe currit er ash gys Beeal Feirshtey veish Sostyn ga dy daag eh yn IRA eddyr 1943 as 1947. Er dy gerrid, cha row eh agh chymsagh argid son ny pryssoonee poblaghtagh. Agh v'eh goit, cummit ayns boayl follit, as ceaut magh ass y cheer; daag shen e ven as ny shey paitchyn echey ayns Lunnin. As tra raink O Rawe Beeal Feirshtey, lhig ny poleenyn da gholl seyr! Red mie shen, agh t'eh soilshaghey magh nagh row y dooinney shoh ny 'er-atchimys eddyr.

B Mac Stoyll 3-1-75.

• The Parliamentary Secretary to the Taoiseach agreed there should be a second television channel, in Irish (Conradh na Gaeilge's demand is for a full service in Irish shared by two channels). He also favoured setting up a new Gaeltacht near Dublin. This is a project which a group of people are actively canvassing.

CELTIC LEAGUE A.G.M.

We are still waiting for replies from some branch secretaries before deciding the date of the A.G.M., due to be held in Mannin. One proposal is to make it coincide with the Manannan Festival (11-15 June). Those interested please write to your branch secretary.

MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS: RENEWAL OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

Please renew your subscription now if (as) your last payment was made for issues No. 5 to No. 8. We succeeded in balancing our budget during 1974 in spite of the inflation and thanks to generous donation from some members.

Help us to continue our work by giving prompt attention to this request. Let us know what you think of CARN.

Note addresses of Manx secretary and Welsh P.R.O.

CELTIC LEAGUE BROADSHEET (continued from p.4)

can be breached only by exhibitionism, by violence or by the outlay of considerable money. Broadsheets are certainly not the answer; they do provide one means of burrowing beneath the communications wall, however negligible. They provide an individual as distinct from a mass approach. If a sufficient number of individuals can be interested they will sooner or later be in turn able to interest the more or less a political mass.

FISH AND FRIENDSHIP (cont. from p.7)

question are each situated on the verge of areas or regions where the Irish and Breton national languages are still in everyday use.

The whole episode underlined once again the urgent need for real cultural exchange between Celtic nations by persons who appreciate the genuine links we have in common. It also emphasises the need for realistic inter-Celtic awareness and co-operation at economic and political level in order to defeat the common exploitation of the "peripheral" areas as at present.

N. O. Gadhra

ORTF LTD. (to French)

Since January 1, the services of the French State Television have been split up between 7 State companies. The label has changed but not the product. Following repeated requests the fortnightly 15 minute Breton broadcast "Breizh O Vevañ" had been placed at a more favourable time, 12.30, on the 2nd Channel. But new programmes have displaced it again, to 13.30, on Mondays, when only sick or retired people and women at home can watch it. The broadcast is repeated at 18.30 on Saturdays . . . a most suitable time, only that it is on the 3rd channel which will not cover the traditional Breton-speaking area for another year !!!

MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

All who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are entitled to membership. The membership fee (entitling to CARN) and the subscription rates are now £1.50 for Ireland and Britain; 17F for Brittany and continental Europe in general: £2 (\$5 U.S.) or equivalent for non-European countries (this includes airmailing). For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the secretaries:

- Alba:** Mrs. M. Denovan, 9 Dalglish Road, Dundee, DD4 7JN.
Cymru: F.R.O.: Rhodri Morgan, 4 Ael-y-Bryn, Radyr, Caerdydd; Administration Secretary: Anton ab Obsorn, 92 Northumberland St., Wallsend, Tyne and Wear, England. Applications and subscriptions to be sent to this address.
Assistant secretary: Meic Pattison, Neuadd John Morris Jones, Ffordd y Coleg, Bangor, Gwynedd.
Breizh: J. Derouet, 9 Avenue de Toledé, 44100 Nantes-en-Bretagne.
Kernow: I. J. Evons, 3a Lemon Villas, Lemon Street, Truro, Cornwall.
Eire: C. O Luain, 37 Dun an Oir, Tamhlacht, Co. Atha Cliath.
Mannin: Miss Patricia Bridson, Bell Cottage, Derby Rd., Peel.
London: J. Rh. Humphreys, 113 Loveday Road, Ealing, London W.13.
U.S.A.: M. Burke, 2463 Grand Ave., New York City, 10468
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