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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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The Second Highland Land League

Conradh na Gaeilge

25p

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

ALBA

THE KILBRANDON REPORT

The Kilbrandon Commission set up 4 years ago published its report on the 31st October last. It had been set up "to examine the present functions of the central legislature and Government in relation to the several countries, nations and regions of the United Kingdom . . . whether any changes are desirable in their functions and whether any changes are desirable in the constitutional and economic relationships between the U.K., the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man."

In their main report the majority made the following recommendations:

A Scottish Assembly with a membership of about 100 elected on the single transferable vote system of proportional representation for a fixed term of 4 years. They would deal with most domestic functions such as local government, town and country planning, roads, environmental services, education, health, sport and recreation.

Government. A Cabinet system would operate with one minister possibly, having the title of Premier.

Administration. Scotland would have her own Civil Service Department.

Finance. An Exchequer Board would be established independent of Scottish, Welsh and U.K. Governments. The Scottish Assembly would prepare Budgets for submission to the Board.

At Westminster. The office of Secretary of State for Scotland would be abolished. The number of Scottish M.P.s would be reduced from 71 to about 57.

The Westminster Parliament would retain in full their sovereign powers but would not normally legislate on transferable matters without consent.

Wales. An Assembly for Wales was favoured by six of the 11 signatories to the main report.

England. Regional advisory councils would be established on which no legislative power would devolve.

Northern Ireland. Representation at Westminster would rise from 12 to about 17.

The Islands. A Council of the Islands would aid consultation between the Government and the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man.

Some further points from the report —
"Parliament would retain ultimate legislative authority IN ALL MATTERS but it would be a convention that in the ordinary course this power would not be used to legislate for Scotland or Wales on a transferred matter without the agreement of the Scottish or Welsh Government.

Though "education" is listed as a transferable it will probably exclude Universities.

Referring to financial arrangements the report says

the assemblies would be allowed the greatest possible financial scope consistent with the political and economic unity of the U.K.

Some Scottish Office matters which would NOT be transferred are electricity supply and some aspects of agriculture, fisheries and food.

The commission claim that their evidence received showed, in Scotland, the emphasis placed largely though not exclusively on economic considerations while in Wales, though the economic factor was important it was closely associated with a desire to preserve and foster the Welsh language and culture.

The commissioners reject the case for the transfer of complete sovereignty to an independent Scotland and Wales "mainly on the ground that the vast majority of the Scots and Welsh people do not want any fundamental change in U.K. relationships".

They assert that there are no grounds for claiming that Scotland and Wales are neglected under the present system or suffer materially and produce figures from Scottish and Welsh Treasury "budgets" for 1969 to "prove" this.

On Northern Ireland the Commissioners say "their work has been taken over by events". "In devising our scheme for Scotland and Wales we have drawn extensively on the Northern Ireland experience and this has led us to suggest a number of substantial modifications to the old Home Rule provisions."

Earlier the report gave an account of how the parts of this United Kingdom had "evolved" and later traced the discontent with its workings as mainly caused by frustration due to feelings of remoteness from government, lack of any voice in the acquiring and allocating of finance and general loss of civil rights to nameless bureaucratic bodies.

The last Labour Government took its time to initiate this report only doing so at all because of the rising tide of Scottish and Welsh nationalism. The report comes to the light of day in the last year of a Tory government whose Premier "promises devolution proposals this session". This was said in the house of commons on the day of publication which also heard an English M.P. asking that it should be "buried and forgotten". It is obvious from the reactions to the report that this is the secret wish of many on both sides of the house. Such scorn they have poured on it because it was not unanimous, because it contained a minority report, because there was so much disagreement on certain points. No mention from them of the main and important area of agreement — the need for devolution. From Labour M.P.s in particular such consternation at the idea of the loss of the office of Secretary of State and such wild and passionate promises to fight to the last man to see that the number at Westminster is not reduced by one single Scottish representative.

The Liberals welcomed the report in the main and Mr Donald Stewart, at that time the only S.N.P. member in the house called on Mr Heath to set a time for giving a measure of self-government to Scotland

otherwise the Scottish people would make their views very clear in the near future.

Well that is exactly what they did. The people of Govan (one of the Glasgow constituencies) went to the polls on Thursday November the 8th and elected the S.N.P. candidate Mrs Margo MacDonald who now joins Mr Stewart in Westminster and the Party makes history by becoming for the first time a "party" in the terms of parliamentary procedure.

The Govan vote was as follows:

Mrs Margo MacDonald (S.N.P.)	6360
Mr Harry Selby (Labour)	5789
Mr John Mair (Conservative)	1780
Mr Peter MacMillan (Liberal)	1239
S.N.P. Majority —	571

Labour lost this seat having had a majority of 7142 at the last General Election.

A few days after the publication of the report called after him the chairman Lord Kilbrandon said — " . . . what is to be done is a matter for you, the people of the U.K. and not only in the context in which I am speaking today (at a forum organised by the Scottish Council (Development and Industry) but essentially in the only context in which the commission itself makes sense — the people of Scotland, of Wales."

THE SECOND HIGHLAND LAND LEAGUE

le Seumas Mac a' Ghobhainn

(Part 2)

It was on the attitude taken to the question of Scottish independence that the second Highland Land League differed most from its predecessor. While the leaders of the first League had in the main been as individuals committed to the idea of Scottish political independence, their organisation could not be termed a nationalist organisation. The second Highland Land League, however, was overtly nationalist and as the years went past it became more and more committed to achieving genuine independence for Scotland. In June 1916, a Special Appeal was made by the League for support to all Scots at home and abroad who would like to see Scotland "enjoying no less political freedom than the overseas Dominions". This appeal was published in various journals in the U.S.A., Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. However, in the instances where it was submitted to "English military censors" it was not permitted to be published.

A year later, the Central Council of the League, in order to make it quite clear where the League's loyalty lay, made it mandatory — "that the flag to be given the place of honour at all League gatherings shall be the Scottish National Flag, the white cross of St Andrew on a blue ground" and furthermore, they stated — "that the wearing of Highland costume on such occasions be encouraged". They also advised the use of the Gaelic language and the performance of Scottish songs and music at all League gatherings.

The year 1919 saw the League unequivocally pinning their colours to the nationalist mast, when the organisation's Central Council stated:—

"After several years' experience of distributing relief in the Highlands and Islands, the members of the Central Council see no possible end to it unless Scotland gets the management of her internal affairs into her own hands. Westminster seems to take but little interest in the welfare of the Highlands. Things are only going from bad to worse there under English Government rule. Scotland must have its own Parliament again. The Highland Land League leaders feel that it would be better in the future to devote every

available shilling and concentrate every effort on getting Autonomy for Scotland, so that the Scots may have the opportunity of righting the wrongs and stopping the bleeding of their homeland.

"Scotland's sons have fought and died for the rights of other small nations, and all these nations, to the smallest principality, have their rights acknowledged and a place given them in the League of Nations, but the door is slammed in the face of Scotland. This is surely a matter for Scots the world over to think deeply on.

"A special appeal is made this year to Scots and their descendants at home and abroad to give the Highland Land League, which is the oldest democratic organisation in Scotland (it having over a century's record of effort for the people) a fund that will enable it to fight every constituency in Scotland, if necessary, for Autonomy for Scotland and The Land for the People."

As most of the Highland Land League's leaders were fluent Gaidhlig speakers, as were the great majority of its members, the Gaidhlig language played a great but entirely unselfconscious part in all affairs of this truly Scottish organisation. The official motto of the League was 'Airson Dachaigh agus Duthcha' and a truly Scottish Gaidhlig philosophy was the driving force of all its varied activities. It was one of the first organisations in Scotland to advocate the 'official' use of the Gaidhlig language. It urged, in 1916 — "that Government proclamations posted in the Highlands should be issued in Gaelic as well as the English language in districts where Gaelic was the language chiefly used".

Being a genuine Scottish-Celtic organisation, the Highland Land League was naturally in constant communication with similar organisations to itself in the other Celtic countries. The Pan-Celtic conference was held in Birkenhead in 1917 and five of the League's delegates were elected to the Scottish Executive of the Celtic Union.

Two years later, the Pan-Celtic Conference was held in Wales and it is worthy of note that one of the League's delegates was its vice-president, that great and tireless worker for complete Scottish freedom, Ruairaidh Arasain is Mhairr. He was duly elected convener for Scotland on the executive of the Celtic Union. Not only was the League active in inter-Celtic affairs but it took its place in international affairs also. From its New York branch, delegates attended a Conference of Delegates of Small Nations, held in New York in 1917. This conference was convened in order to secure small nations rights in whatever peace arrangements that were to be made at the culmination of the World War then being fought.

The League's Annual Report for 1917 also tells us that — "verbal inquiries into the grievances of the Highland people were made to the League by delegates from the people's organisations in Russia and France".

When the true history of Scotland is written some day in the future, there is no doubt that the second Highland Land League will be recognised as one of the greatest and most significant organisations to have appeared upon the Scottish scene, if only because of its attitude towards the question of land ownership.

The second Highland Land League was the first organisation in Scotland to advocate that the land of Scotland should be returned to its rightful owners, the people of Scotland.

In 1918, the League adopted a clearly defined land policy which said: "the State assume possession of all land, lochs and rivers by immediate conscription where land, lochs, and rivers are held for purposes of sport, and by means of a graduated tax rising to 20/- in the £ on land values in all other cases; compensation for improvements to be allowed where titles are produced and held valid by a competent authority, the sub-division and resettlement of the large unoccupied or singly-held areas found suitable for this on a co-operative system. The establishment of a Ministry of Agriculture and county or district elective boards with local administrative powers."

In the General Election of 1918, the Highland Land League fought alongside the Scottish Labour Party, both organisations basing their campaign upon this 'advanced' 'Land for the People' policy. Taking into consideration all the forces that were thrown against them, it is not surprising that they were badly beaten. Much water has passed under the bridge since that time.

In many ways we might be living in a different world altogether from the world people knew in 1918, but there can be few fìor Ghaidheil or fìor Albannaich who would not agree with the author that the work of the second Highland Land League has been far from completed. Perhaps we will yet see a third Highland Land League arising to complete the work that those kindly and fearless fellow countrymen of ours started so many years ago.

(Concluded)

JOHN MACLEAN AND SCOTTISH EDUCATION

by R. Mulholland

"It is an abiding and indisputable truth that a people which does not understand the past will never comprehend the present nor mould the future."

Tom Johnston: A History of the Working Classes in Scotland. 1929 2nd Edn.

Prior to the 30th November 1973 (St Andrew's Day) the significance of John MacLean and his work was known to only a few people in Scotland; however, on that day — the 50th anniversary of his death — there emerged a fairly numerous variety of commemorations, journal and newspaper articles, T.V. and radio programmes and public meetings, together with the important publication of "John Maclean" — Nan Milton's long awaited biography of her father; all of which have contributed to a somewhat clearer picture of the man and his life's service on behalf of the Scottish people.

James Connolly's ideas and his work in Ireland are probably more widely known than is John MacLean's great relevance to Scotland; however this may be, they each occupied a similar position within their respective Irish and Scottish contexts and a renewed and intelligent interest in the ideas of both these men has been developing for some time past. This writer holds the view that both men were of major importance for their respective countries; however, up till now any serious enquirer has come up against certain difficulties when trying to gain a clear understanding of their overall viewpoint. It is the purpose of this article to highlight the main thrust of John Maclean's educational work as well as to indicate the measure of the tragedy for the Scottish people that his peerless endeavour was not continued and developed.

The so-called education system encourages them to become good mechanics, doctors, plumbers, solicitors, engineers, etc. but the system takes a quite anti-thetical attitude when it comes to pupils and students acquiring an understanding of the real history of the Scottish people; there is no attempt made to explain the origin of classes in Scotland, how the land of Scotland once belonged communally to the people but was usurped by piratical feudal-minded Norman aliens and remains in the possession of their land-owning progeny, no account is given of how the Scottish language has been repressed over the many centuries and why English is given exclusive priority, no explanation is given concerning the economic relation between wage-labour and capital. Many other such

basic questions are thus regarded as extra muros and as long as they remain so the Scottish people are at an almost insuperable disadvantage.

By now it should be no surprise to anyone that 'education' was introduced in Scotland on a mass basis before it was similarly set up in England; it was necessary to deal with the 'barbaric' Scots and their 'Irish' language. It is quite in the realm of mythology to imagine that public education was introduced for the public good; quite the contrary — it suited the economic purposes of the English speaking ruling class.

The outstanding significance of John Maclean lay in the fact that he, almost alone as far as the Scottish Labour movement was concerned, understood all this and set out with astonishing vigour to rectify it. In 1916 he wrote a pamphlet entitled: "A Plea for a Labour College for Scotland" in which he stated that because "capitalism . . . will not provide a full education . . ." it was necessary "that the workers must establish and maintain their own colleges . . ." Maclean also wanted "more and better working class papers and magazines . . . if the people are going to get facts instead of fiction, working class instead of capitalist leading articles".

At the end of the First World War, the Scottish Labour College, with an already fairly wide curriculum, ran huge classes in numerous Scottish towns and many hundreds of students were enrolled. The 'success' of the College was anathema to the authorities and even to the reactionary elements within the Labour movement who naturally favoured the 'neutral' so-called Workers Education Association. Hostility to Maclean and the Scottish Labour College grew and led eventually, by manoeuvre, to control of the College being integrated into the National Council of Labour Colleges; the entire idea of a Scottish Labour College, was thereafter, and particularly after Maclean's death in 1923, tragically allowed to collapse.

It is important to understand that probably the primary aspect of Connolly's and Maclean's work lay in their extraordinary understanding of the relationship between the struggle for National Independence and for Socialism as being two related stages necessary for the full regeneration of their people's respective countries. This understanding tended to put them somewhat in advance of their national Labour movements; thus, in Ireland and in Scotland Connolly and Maclean, almost inevitably, became controversial figures both during and after their lifetimes. They were of course Marxists, involved with what appeared to the majority of commentators as irreconcilable ideas, namely Socialism and Nationalism.

In Scotland, to this day, many Socialists fail to understand the necessity for National Independence; for Independence as the prelude for Socialism; as the indispensable instrument for resuscitating and safeguarding the heritage of every Scotsman — particularly on the language question which is one of the main distinguishing features of a national identity;

and as the weapon for countering the destructive effects of history on our cultural identity and thence to rebuild from the foundations a secure internationalist position in the family of co-operative nations.

This leads on to the connection between John Maclean and the problem of working class education which Maclean regarded as being of crucial importance. It is undoubtedly true that just as the bulk of the Scottish people knew little or nothing of John Maclean they equally are not encouraged to understand the political/economic function of 'Scottish' education; despite the fantastic paradox that education in Scotland is the single activity involving the greatest number of Scots each day — well over one million pupils and students, 45,000 teachers and with the annual cost of the whole thing running currently at around £400 million, or £400 per year for every school child in Scotland. Incredibly, out of this vast and grossly expensive machine — with ever increasing numbers of its products emerging with a variety of 'O' and 'H' grades, and an expanding profusion of university students — those 'educated' products know very little indeed about their own country of Scotland.

Today, 50 years later — nothing has taken its place; regrettably, the Scottish Labour movement — together with the disregard shown to John Maclean's political views on Scotland — has so far failed to catch up with Maclean's ideas and to carry forward his great project for working class education. There is not the slightest doubt that classes and a College such as was envisaged by Maclean are urgently required; a Scottish working class newspaper is also necessary, even if only a fortnightly. There is also no question that the Scottish Labour movement could easily afford the cost of supporting such projects — only the political will is required and the concomitant desire to break out of the London-orientated status quo which has been the bane of the Scottish Labour movement since Maclean's death.

I have tried to show, very briefly, that the Maclean guideline on education is an exemplar which in today's conditions would help to revolutionise the Scottish people's situation; at time of writing I am reminded of the tremendous relevancy of Maclean's ideas by a newly published Edinburgh university booklet on "Student Illiteracy", which reveals the fact that "many new students cannot have mastered the basic processes of reading and writing". This sign of the times indicates something of the extent and nature of the present problem facing any projected overhaul of Scottish education; such is an expression of the need for John Maclean's root and branch ideas on Scottish education.

For further information concerning John Maclean and his work, pamphlets, books, etc., contact Mrs Nan Milton, Secretary, John Maclean Society, Atholl Cottage, Westfield, near Bathgate, West Lothian.

* * *

Kings and Kingships in Early Scotland by Marjorie Anderson, 1973, Scottish Academic Press, 310p, £4. The book is primarily for scholars, as it sifts and analyses most painstakingly the evidence available from the old annals and regnal lists covering the sixth to ninth centuries in relation to the kingdoms of the Dal Riata and the Picts. The emphasis throughout is on kingship rather than individual kings. It will also be of the greatest interest to those who want to base their knowledge of the bonds uniting Ireland and Scotland on secure information. From 40-42 William IV Street, London WC2N 4 DF.

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Gairm

Quarterly : 100 pages : all in Scottish Gaelic

Published by Gairm Publications, 29 Waterloo Street, Glasgow, Scotland. 25p per issue, £1.20 annual subscription (post free).

Founded in 1951, and published by the leading Gaelic Publishers in Scotland, **Gairm** publishes new work in poetry and the short story, folklore, musical and literary criticism, articles on current affairs and scientific topics.

* * *

JOINT PUBLICATIONS

One of the difficulties facing publishers in minority language groups is the cost of production — given a comparatively small reading public. This is especially true about illustrated books — children's books for example.

One possible alleviation of this problem with illustrated books is to use the practice of the art-book publishers. They print multilingually with the same illustrative plates serving all editions — the bigger the run, the lower the cost.

It seems to us that there is more than a possibility in thinking on the lines of joint publications in all the Celtic languages — myths, history, art, adventure books for children, all seem to be areas where fruitful co-operation could be organised. We would welcome comments and suggestions towards the implementation of such a scheme. Frang MacThomais, Director, Club Leabhar (31 Braeside Park, Balloch, Inverness IV1 2HJ) is particularly interested in this topic.

BREIZH

REGIONAL REFORM A SWINDLE

A law instituting regional reform in France went into application this autumn. Let the friends of Brittany not be misled into believing that the Paris government is beginning to loosen its grip on our country. There is going to be some deconcentration of powers, but no decentralisation, and still less regional autonomy.

In each region there will be two councils: a) a regional council to be composed, in the case of the so-called "Région Bretagne," of the 26 députés which it elects to the French National Assembly, of 29 delegates elected among its 160-170 département (general) councillors and 9 delegates for the towns of more than 30,000 inhabitants; b) a social and economic council made up of 77 members representing trade and agricultural chambers, industrial employers and trade unions.

The attributions of the Regional Council are severely restricted: it will be entitled to make studies, supervise the execution of plans decided in Paris and vote some regional taxes (this will make it popular!). Any decision it may take contrary to government, ministerial or prefectorial, regulations will be void. The preparation of its agendas and implementation of its decisions is reserved to the existing network of State agents, in particular to the chief Government nominee, the Préfet de Région. The latter will control the regional purse, which, apart from a tiny share of the driving license money, will depend on State subsidies. Everything under control!

It is the answer of a system, which became clogged at the centre as a result of its interference with the most local affairs, to the decline and restiveness in its peripheral areas. Something must be transferred or seem to be transferred from the centre, but the whole attempt betrays the fear that it might cause cracks in the "national" edifice. If anything, it tends to prove that the old State cannot be reformed. All it can produce is a device which hopefully will give the disgruntled regions the impression that they are getting a say in running their own affairs while enabling the rulers to continue to channel their forces into the service of the State.

Precautions

In order to make sure that the new institutions will not be used to boost any loyalties other than to the French State, the regions will not have the status of territorial communities but of "public establishments" in the same category as the ORTF (Radio-TV) and the Académie Française. The "département" which the 1789 Revolution created to disrupt the alien regions and "provinces réputées étrangères" such as Brittany is maintained as a more important unit of administration. The members of the Councils are not

selected expressly by the people to represent them at regional level, so they will feel no responsibility towards the "Région" as such. As far as Brittany is concerned no specifically Breton organisation has been allowed to have a representative on the Social and Economic Council. By refusing to extend this "establishment" to the limits of Brittany the French government is pursuing its policy of keeping our country as weak and on as low a level of consciousness as possible. For the same reason, they have taken care not to consult the people of Loire-Atlantique: there was little doubt that the great majority of its 550,000 people would have opted to stay with those whose destinies they have shared for 1100 years. The mass of the people are not meant anyway to take so keen an interest in the work of the councils. Since the wage earners, who constitute the bulk of the population, will have only 13 delegates as against 20 for the employers on the Social and Economic Council, no startling social change can be expected to come from this body.

Far Cry

Pompidou's reform is thus a far cry from the minimum demands of the two reformist Breton parties, Strollad ar Vro and Union Democratique Bretonne, which both include:

1) democratic institutions: a regional assembly elected by universal suffrage, empowered to decide on the regional planning, as well as a socio-economic and cultural council; 2) the replacement of the regional prefect by an executive (a regional government, in other words) elected by and responsible to the regional assembly.

SIGNPOSTS

Orders have been given to the French administration of Roads and Bridges not to put up any bilingual signposts on the side of the "national" and "departmental" roads of Brittany, even if they are supplied (as was locally done) by district councils. Following the fining of a student in Montroulez, for doing what an administration responsive to popular demand should have done, numerous monolingual signs, bearing the place names in French disguise, have been painted over in the areas around Brest, Montroulez, Keraez, Kemper, Fouenan. Pompidou, on holiday in the latter place, stated he found it hard to find his way "with all the change". But he may have meant the destruction of the landscape but tourist-developers.

An association "Brezhoneg Bev" (Living Breton) has called on all concerned with the future of our language to join in the good work. Don't wait for the French to put Breton in the right place. Let us do it ourselves, "Sinn Fein".

For leaflets, records, small flags, coats of arms, books about Brittany and the Breton problem, visit or write to the new Breton Information Centre, 19 rue St-Marc, 29 200 Brest: its aim is to give accurate and impartial information.

There is another long-established information centre: Brudan na Skignan, 30 Place des Lices, Rennes.

FINGERS ON THE LANGUAGE PULSE

In reply to a question which a priest in the Kemper diocese put to 251 of his parishioners, 206 said they would like to have mass in Breton. Most of these belonged to the old and to the young age groups. 86% of those aged 13 to 30 expressed this wish. Those of middle age are affected by the "education" which they received during the period of high pressure de-culturation from 1918 to 1950 when Breton was treated as synonymous with inferior, dirty, uncivilised. The vast majority of the priests followed the trend and gave up using Breton in their pastoral work. They were no longer trained in its use either. Should a demand for masses in Breton become general in the West of Brittany, many priests would not be in a position to satisfy it. The association of Breton priests, Beleien Vreizh, might well set itself the task, which a hierarchy allied to the State is unlikely to undertake, of providing special classes for those of their confreres with no Breton and preparing them to minister in this language.

An investigation of the bilingual situation carried out in 1971 by a school teacher in Tredarzeg (adjoining Landreger/Treguier) involved 400 persons in a total population of 1132. BREIZ has just published the results:

Age	Number	Speak- ing both but		Speak- ing Fr.	Knowing no Br.
		ing only Br.	ing both Br. and French	but knowing Br.	
over 70	30	11	17	2	0
50-70	86	9	66	9	2
20-50	144	1	91	45	7
below 20	140	0	18	60	62

It will be seen that half the people are bilingual in practice, but 6/7 of those below 20 speak only French. This may well be the case in all the Breton speaking area. In spite of the much vaunted "Prise de conscience" among the young people and the increasing number of those attending voluntary classes, we have not heard nor read that the practice of speaking only French to the young, is being reversed anywhere in the rural areas. 20 out of 24 pupils aged 10-11 questioned by the investigator knew Breton but hesitated to speak it for fear of being laughed at. Not one knew that it was a language with a vocabulary and grammar comparable to those of foreign languages: they thought it was a patois derived from French hence useless and ridiculous.

What can be done to remedy this alienation?

A new association, EVIT AR BREZHONEG, has been set up. Its founders want to go from the known to the unknown 99% of the people who speak Breton cannot read nor write it. Most can read French. When they see a text in Breton, and they try to read it, they tend to do so as if the rules of French pronunciation

also applied and often fail to understand. But if the Breton were presented side by side with a translation in French, they should easily recognise the Breton expressions with which they are familiar and gradually learn to read without reference to their French equivalents. Once they will have realised that Breton is a language in its own right, distinct from French, they may no longer despise it and they may even be prepared to pass it on to their children.

We are not told if there has been any psychological research before launching EVIT AR BREZHONEG. The author(s) of *La Langue Bretonne et la Revolution* which we review elsewhere would say that its assumptions are false; in particular, that for the mass of the Breton speakers, the motivation for learning to read and for transmitting the kind of Breton they happen to know is too weak. Is EVIT AR BREZHONEG going to prove them wrong?

It was decided anyway to publish a weekly six-page magazine, also called EVIT AR BREZHONEG, with interviews on various non-political subjects; the first issue to be distributed free on December 22-23-24 as widely as possible among the Breton-speakers; the distributors to collect 10F subscriptions.

A network of distributors has been organised. At the end of October E. ar B. had already 300 volunteers ready to help. They were mainly in Treger (North-Central Brittany), an area where our language seems to enjoy most dynamism. The organiser of the campaign is Claude Henry, Beg Leger, 22300 Lannion.

Involve the people

Since World War II determined protagonists of the restoration of Breton turned their attention away from the dialects because they had become too fragmented, corrupt and impoverished to express modern needs and command respect even from their speakers. They concentrated on the task of making our language a modern instrument of expression, discarding many of the French accretions and adapting freely from Welsh with a view to strengthening its Celtic character. They organised correspondence, holiday and week-end courses to impart instruction in and through this new medium to young Bretons. This effort is going on.

However great the merit of these pioneers, they were rash in neglecting the "native" speakers. They could still have learned a good deal from them, if only to correct a Frenchified pronunciation and frequent gallicisms. However defective the dialects have become, they may be compared with embers from which a strong fire involving the people will have a better chance to grow than from elaborate arguments at scholarly level. To live, a language needs popular participation. A bridge is being established by learners going to work among the farmers. As for EVIT AR BREZHONEG it is a more ambitious project. Let us hope it is not undertaking too much. It will be hard to edit and finance a 6-page weekly. Still harder to maintain an efficient distribution network and collection of subscriptions. The volunteer helpers should

carefully report back the reflections they hear, so that the editor may better adapt the contents of the magazine. It should stimulate its readers' curiosity about the meaning of family and place-names, the history of their area and of Brittany: this might supply the beginning of motivation required for the success of this experiment.

A.H.

* * *

UN DEZRANNAD EUS EMGLEV SUNNINGDALE

E lec'h all en niverenn-man e tisklêrier preseurt renkadur a zo bet graet e miz Kerzu etre gournamantou London ha Dulenn ha tri strollad norzh-ierzhonat. Gwelout a reor pegen dispis eo an diarbennou degermeret evit kompezan an diaesterioù a zo atre ar re a zo o fal, peél pe dost, adunanin Iwerzhon hag ar re a fell dezho e chomfe ar CHwec'h Kontelezh stag ouzh Breizh-Veur — eus ar re-man eo a reer "Unanourien" daoust ma'z int a-enep unaidigezh Iwerzhon.

Damc'houde war-lerc'h Emglev Sunningdale an em vodas un toulladig mat eus izili an Irish Sovereignty Movement a Dulenn evit breutaat an diferadoù anezhan, ha divizout petra ober evit herzel ouzh ar gwallefedoù a c'hellfent kaout.

Daltún O Ceallaigh, ar pennprezeger, a lavaras e oa dav gwelout petra zo emsavus ha petra zo fall en emglev, diouzh ur sellboent broadel Iwerzhonat. Ur skouer eo eus ampartiz ar Saozon o pledin gant ur gudenn drevadennel: n'eus netra diogel, petra bennak zo divezet a c'hellout bezan jubennet an doare a zere gwellan diwezhatoc'h. Ke eo bet an "tevezeg" Lian Cosgrove gant e ziskleriadurioù ma c'heller kredin ez eus krafioù na dle ket tud'zo, aman pe ahont, kompren diouzhtu.

Er rannbennadoù dentan e stader ez eus en Iwerzhon daou rummad uhelvennadoù na hallont kendonian. Anaout a reer an diforc'h evel pa verfe un dra da badout An diforc'h-se a dalvez da ziogetaat dere dibar, brientek (dreistwiriek), an "Unanourien": ar re-se a zalc'h da lavarout ez eus anezho Breizhveuriz evit merkan ez int dishenvel diouzh ar re a zo aneaho Iwerzhoniz hep muiken. Setu ar c'hontrol eus an uhelvennad republikan a zisklêr ez eo dleet karout holl vugale ar vro kement-ha-kement (1916).

AR GEVRENN 5

Ar gevrenn 5 an hini a roij ar muian a abeg da rendaelan. Cosgrave a jubenn anezhi en un doare enep-krenn da hini Faulkner ha Napier. Hervezan ac'h asant Dulenn e chomfe digemm dere po=itikel Norzh-Iwerzhon, pep kostezenn o terc'hel d'he breutaenn keit ha na ro ket poblans Norzh-Iwerzhon dre vras a-du gant kemman. Er gevrenn-man ez eus avat div destenn kichen-ha-kichen an eil o tisklêrian ar sellboent Dulennat, sinet gant Cosgrove, hag eben o

tisklêrian ez eo Norzh-Iwerzhon ur rann eus ar Rouantelezh Unanet, sinet gant HEath. En eil ne spisaer ket eus pe zere ez eus anv, gant Heath. En eil ne spisaer ket eus pe zere ez eus anv, gant aben ez eo sklear. Cosgrove a lavar n'en deus aberzhet den e bennaennoù. Faulkner a lavar avat ez eo bet anzavet gant Cosgrove n'he deus ar Rpublik beli ebet mui war Norzh-Iwerzhon, ha Napier a c'houlen grons e ve kemmet bonreizh ar 26 Kontelezh en anaoudegezh a se — pe ne vo ket a Guzul Iwerzhon!

* * *

HERVE AR MENN, PIONEER OF BRETON MUSIC REVIVAL

Herve ar Menn who died last August in Paris lived for a Breton Brittany. Like hundreds of thousands of our compatriots he had to emigrate for a living. It is in exile that he became aware of the value of the Breton culture, both in its linguistic and in its musical aspects. During the first third of this century the Breton instruments, bombard and biniou, which were widely played at communal festivities, went into decline. Only a dozen or two old "sonerien" remained. In 1928 Herve decided to introduce the Scottish-Irish bag-pipe in Brittany, the biniou being unsuitable for band playing. In 1932 he founded the pipers' association, Kenveuriezh ar Viniaouerien, with three other exiles and he started an astonishing revival of the Breton instrumental music. One of them, Dorig Le Voyer, back in Brittany, specialised in making bag pipes and founded a new association, Bodadeg ar Sonerien, of which ar Menn was made honorary president.

In 1942 he published a collection of airs, "Toniou Biniou". In 1959, when the nationally-minded were beginning to recover from the post-war repression, he brought out an important volume of songs collected in the 19th century by Col. Bourgeois, and soon afterwards he republished the great work of Kervarker, BARZAZ BREIZ which had long been out of print. He contributed to a "Histoire du Biniou" which has yet to find a publisher.

But he also took an active part in the language struggle by writing countless articles for seven or eight periodicals. His history of Hanveg, in Breton, is now with the printers: it should be an important source from a linguistic and ethnological point of view. He was president of the Kervarker Cultural Centre in Paris and treasurer of the Association of Breton teachers. He himself taught Breton at Kervarker.

Though living in Paris he brought up his children speaking Breton. He fully lived up to his Breton beliefs and succeeded in transmitting them. His son Gwenole is in turn rearing a Breton-speaking family in French-speaking St-Brieg. In the past 25 years, thousands have familiarised themselves with the Breton instruments; the BAS developed by P. Monjarret is training players at regular courses; the old biniou is regaining popularity and D. Le Voyer is working full-time, unable to satisfy all orders.

SOME BRETON PUBLICATIONS IN FRENCH (1) Periodicals (in alphabetical order . . .) BREIZ, for those interested in the cultural field, esp. music and folklore, 9 Av. du Gal de Gaulle, 44-La Baule; BRETAGNE REVOLUTIONNAIRE, organ of the marxist-leninist Breton Communist Party, (enquire from Y. Drezen, 6 rue de Guyenne, 35 Rennes); Douar Breiz, information bulletin, independent from party affiliations, 10 rue du Champ de Foire, 22530 Mur de Bretagne; L'Avenir de la Bretagne, organ of the nationalist-federalist party Strollad ar Vro, BP103, 22000 St-Brieuc; Le Peuple Breton, organ of the socialist party Union Democratique Bretonne, BP 304, 29 273 Brest; Sav Breizh, cahiers du Combat Breton, independent, devoted to analysis and research, BP 96, 29 103 Quimper.

2) Pamphlets

La langue Bretonne et la Revolution, a critical analysis of the real and alleged reasons for the decline of the Breton language and for the struggle to restore it, a re-definition of this struggle as part of the task of rebuilding an integrated Breton society. From EMSAV, BP 125, 35003 Rennes.

Bretagne - Colonie, documenting the interpretation of the Breton problem as being one of colonial exploitation. From U.D.B., BP 304, 29 273 Brest.

3) **Books** a) BREIZ ATA0 — Histoire du Nationalisme Breton, by Olier Modrel, 556p, 38F. Published by Alain Moreau, 3 bis quai aux Fleurs, Paris 4. Modrel was one of the founders of the modern Breton nationalism, took a leading part in its development from 1919 to 1940, mainly as editor of *Breiz Atao* and as author of doctrinal texts. His relations with other leading nationalists, his escape to Germany in 1939 and relations with the German authorities, his removal from the leadership of the national party after 1940, all this is very interesting reading, particularly as much of it was never published before. His judgement of the events, after an interval of 30 years, seems very much affected by hindsight.

One does not expect leniency from Mordrel's sharp pen towards colleagues who thwarted his ambition to lead the national movement during the war, but one is left wondering if he is trying to exonerate himself of the accusation of having harmed the Breton cause by seeking German support, when he indulges so much in denigrating C. Laine, who organised the first Breton armed resistance to France since the 1789 revolution. Modrel should have left it to others to belittle the import of this action. He does a disservice to Brittany by allowing his vindictiveness to colour his criticism. Provided the reader is aware of the author's strong egocentrism, and that he can check against other (published or unpublished) sources, BREIZ ATA0 may be considered as the most internally informed testimony about the Breton national movement up to 1945.

b) Fransez Debauvais de Breiz Atao et les siens

Debauvais like Mordrel was a founder of Breiz Atao formed as a Breton national movement immediately after World War I. It was he more than anyone else who ensured the continuity of the national struggle from 1920 to 1940. Jailed in 1938, he too escaped to Germany in 1939. He died of tuberculosis in 1944. The publication by his widow of the first of three volumes of memoirs based on his letters and files should be a very important contribution to the history of Brittany. Anna Youenou, who actively supported her husband in the struggle, gives a personal touch to the narrative by putting in the context of her home life. Letters in Breton are given with a French translation. The book, covering the period up to 1932, can be obtained for 36F from Mme Debauvais, 20 Place des Lices, 35 Rennes (money orders to CCP Rennes 26 56-42N).

An appreciation by the writer Xavier Grall after reading the first volume:

"Il se degage de ce livre le portrait d'un grand caractere (celui d'un leader breton que nos compatriotes n'ont pas le droit d'oublier); aussi la description d'une aventure exceptionnelle et le tableau fort bien enleve de la psychologie bretonne des annees 30.

"J'ai beaucoup aime le recit de votre enfance a Douarnenez, et celui de votre mariage avec un homme qui, je le savais deja, fut un homme de rigueur, de droiture, d'intelligence et de devouement."

Learn Breton by correspondence, practically free of charge, from SKOL OBER, 30 rue de la Corderie, 29S-Douarnenez. Or use the textbook "Brezhoneg Buan hag Aes," with accompanying records or minicassettes, available from OMNIVOX, 8 rue de Berri, Paris 8^e.

Penpals If you wish to have a correspondent to help you in learning Breton, write to SKINGOMZ HA SKINWEL, 18 bis rue Duguay-Trouin, 22000 Saint-Brieuc, with addressed envelope and international coupon-response (stamp), stating subjects in which you are interested.

According to a communique issued on behalf of the FLB-ARB, the new headquarters of the French police in Kemper was destroyed by a bomb explosion at midnight on the 28th of November 1973.

Padraig O Maolchraoibhe, 49 Glengoland Park, Suffolk, Dunmurry, Belfast BT17 0JB, offers his house to a C. L. member during the months of July and August 1974 or parts thereof. No costs except for electricity used. Quiet area, ¼ mile from the Shaw Road "Gael-tacht" Write directly to above address.

If in New York, phone Jim Olwell, 693-6016 for information on the free workshops in Irish language, music and dance organised twice a week by the Irish Arts Center, An Claidheamh Soluis.

If anyone can part with his copies of the C.L. annual volumes 1967 and 1968, please write to the General secretary, stating prices.

CYMRU

The Welsh language is now exactly poised between successful revival and total decline. The preliminary census figures released on Monday, show that the next 10 years will be decisive.

In 1971, 542,400 people in Wales over the age of three were able to speak Welsh, a percentage of 20.8. This compared with 26 per cent in 1961 and 49.9 per cent at the turn of the century. In the last 10 years, the numbers able to speak Welsh have dropped 20 per cent, the steepest drop in a decade this century.

A plan to restore the Welsh language will be prepared by Plaid Cymru Research Group, using the new census report. It is intended that the plan will match in scope and detail the Economic Plan which was published by Plaid Cymru in 1970.

Announcing this, Dr Phil Williams, Chairman of Plaid Cymru, added: "A careful analysis of the census report shows that the Welsh language is now exactly poised between successful revival and total decline and the next ten years will be decisive.

"The fall in the total number of Welsh-speakers was predicted: in 1961 the highest proportion of Welsh-speakers was among old people and since 1961 many of these had died so that a fall was inevitable.

If the proportion had fallen as low as 18 per cent — as Mr George Thomas and others had predicted — the position would have been hopeless.

At 21 per cent the results show that the efforts of the last few years had certainly prevented the collapse of Welsh as a living language but a more concentrated and carefully planned effort was essential in the next ten years to ensure complete revival."

Dr Williams also gave a provisional analysis of the statistics. Several factors have reduced the figures quoted below the true figures.

The census officials refused to count Welsh-speakers who were in England on census night. These included several thousand whose homes were in Wales, such as students at college in England or Welsh people on business trips or on holiday. In addition, there are estimated to be over 100,000 Welsh speakers living permanently in England.

On the other hand, the population of Wales on census night was inflated by people whose real home was in England, such as students in the University of Wales and weekend visitors and by people who had retired to Wales. The large increase in the number of retired people contributed to the fall in the percentage of Welsh-speakers in counties like Caernarfon.

If we consider the percentage of Welsh-born people who speak Welsh the proportion is now about 26 per cent, and this is a more realistic figure than the 21 per cent quoted.

"A very marked feature of the census figures is the way in which the emigration of young Welsh-speakers affect the figures," went on Dr Williams. "In 1961 the proportion of school children speaking Welsh in the age group 5-14 was 18.3 per cent.

But in 1971 the very same generation — now aged 15 to 24 — were only 15.9 per cent Welsh-speaking. The difference shows that over 13,000 young Welsh-speakers had to leave Wales to find work, and there is independent evidence that this, in fact, occurred.

"In the 1960s there was an almost total failure of the Government to bring new employment to the Welsh-speaking areas and this was the most important single factor in the decline of the language.

"It is significant that only in Anglesey — where Rio Tinto has provided employment for several hundred men — has the number of Welsh-speakers remained constant.

"One very encouraging feature of the report was the noticeable impact of the teaching of Welsh in schools. In 1961, only 13 per cent of children under five were Welsh-speaking but in 1971 the very same children now aged 10 to 14, were 17 per cent Welsh-speaking.

MARGINAL REGIONS, ESSAYS ON SOCIAL PLANNING, edited by Maurice Broady, Bedford Square Press of Social Services, £1.60

This interesting work follows a seminar attended by representatives from Ireland, Norway, the Islands and Highlands of Scotland, and Wales, which was held at Swansea on the problems of planning in marginal regions.

These were all countries faced with similar problems, totally different from the growth zone of SE England and the Midlands with their direct link with the Common Market.

The seminar is reported and summarised by the editor, Professor Maurice Broady of the Department of Social Administration at University College, Swansea.

Surveying the much-publicised community development project at Glyncothrog, Maurice Howell declares that local people resented the Whitehall classification that the community was "socially deprived". Glyncothrog was a deprived community only in the economic sense of lacking work, adequate transport and other essentials.

Discussing preservation of the Celtic languages and cultural inheritance of Western Britain, the strength of this inheritance in America, it was noted, had been emphasised by research there revealing that descendants of different immigrant groups still retained very distinctive behavioural characteristics within a common American culture.

Welsh culture, it was suggested, like that of other Celtic countries, was essentially linked to an agrarian social system, and declined under urbanisation influence. But this point was challenged — urbanisation had not entirely obliterated the Welsh language, as instanced by Llanelli being a Welsh-speaking industrial town, and the reported increase of Welsh speakers in Cardiff.

G.W.

* * *

Tre-garth,
Cywn.

Sir,

My family and I have just returned from a caravanning holiday in Scotland — at least, I believe we were in Scotland. Signs along the M6 motorway directed us towards "The North". When we arrived at Gretna, we looked at each other and said: "I suppose this is Scotland."

We travelled the breadth of Scotland, as far north as Portree on the west and Inverness in the east, but we saw nothing but Anglicised place-names and English-only directions and signs. The only words of Gaelic which we saw were on two posters at Kyleakin; we heard not one word of Gaelic anywhere, although two Skye men assured us that they had *Galdhlig ge leotr*.

In Wales, for example, you are constantly reminded of your whereabouts, if it were only for the International Registration Plates "Cymru", "Cym" and "Pays de Galles" carried on the backs of cars. At Fort William we notices "Sco" behind one vehicle.

At the end of our fortnight's stay we travelled southwards from Hawick towards Carlisle and saw a roadside sign: England, and then we were confident that the country which we had left behind was surely Scotland.

What a majestic and impressively beautiful country Scotland is, but have the Scots no pride in their nationality, their native language and culture?

Yours, etc.,
Gwyn Williams.

ADFER

RESTORING Y FRO GYMRAEG

1. Resist the using of more homes in Y Fro Gymraeg as holiday homes by outsiders.
2. Resist the destruction of the Welsh-speaking community by developments such as holiday camps.
3. Resist the plunder of agricultural land in Y Fro Gymraeg by afforestation and capitalist companies.
4. Resist the takeover of rivers and lakes in West Wales by outsiders.
5. Resist the drowning of land in Y Fro Gymraeg by alien corporations.
6. Create homes in Y Fro Gymraeg for our people.
7. Create work in Y Fro Gymraeg for our people.
8. Create an economic and cultural revival by developing all the resources of Y Fro Gymraeg.
9. Create a wholly Welsh-speaking community once again and re-populate Y Fro Gymraeg by organising the return of our exile people.
10. Create a new Wales which will be a permanent and secure home for our people, our language and our community.

* * *

Professor Melville Richards

Friends and students of the Welsh language will have been shocked to hear of the untimely death of Professor Melville Richards, head of the Department of Welsh in the University College of North Wales, Bangor, on November 6th last. Professor Richards' scholarly interests were not confined to Welsh — for example, he studied Irish in Dublin under Osborn Bergin in the early thirties — and his work on Welsh is remarkable for its great range and variety: language and literature, textual studies, law, history, and above all the study of place-names, a subject in which he was the unrivalled authority in Wales; his *magnum opus* would undoubtedly have been the great onomasticon which was already at an advanced stage of preparation when interrupted by his death. Melville Richards worked assiduously for the advance of Welsh studies and for the maintenance of the Welsh language. His death is a grievous loss to both.

APPEAL TO MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS

RENEWALS Membership fees for 1974 or subscriptions will now be due for renewal in case you have received 4 issues of CARN, except if the first issues were paid for separately from your regular payment.

We hope you will be pleased to renew your support. We shall need it perhaps more than ever if the looming economic crisis worsens. We shall endeavour to improve both the contents and presentation of our magazine. You can help by sending us comment and articles: if they are clear, factual, relevant to our aims, we shall publish them. In criticising, remember that we have no full time professional staff. And we barely manage, financially.

CARN 3 cost us 23p per copy to print. This was due to there being 50% more material in it than previous issues and to the depreciation of the £. We have to reckon with further rises in costs. **TO KEEP CARN SOLVENT, WE MUST INCREASE OUR RATES OF SUBSCRIPTION AS INDICATED ON BACK PAGE.**

Money considerations should however not exclude anybody from joining the CELTIC LEAGUE. If application is made, we shall consider reducing rates or taking subscription in half-yearly payments. We hope this will not unduly complicate our task.

RENEW NOW, DO NOT WAIT FOR A TIME-AND-MONEY CONSUMING REMINDER.

SALE OF CARN

We have secured a satisfactory increase in the number of standing orders for CARN in recent months. This effort must continue, even though our profit from selling in shops has so far been nil or negative. We should like to ask you to see the booksellers in your area, show them CARN, ask them to stock it on a reasonable retail allowance. Unsold copies could be taken back if in good condition. Arrange supply through the secretary general of the Celtic League.

Equally important from a dissemination point of view, and more remunerative is the sale of CARN by C.L. members among their acquaintances and at gatherings of nationally of interceltic minded people. In Dublin, 160 copies of CARN 3 were sold during the Oireachtas and 30 at a Stivell concert. Sales by members and friends in Belfast, Dublin, Cork, Conamara, Bangor Afrom, Caerdydd, Aberdeen, Leicester, New York, Texas, etc., . . . enable us to reach many people who do not join organisations. All this help is precious.

Long Kesh Cooperative

You can give definite help to the dependents of the Long Kesh internees by buying handicrafts produced by a cooperative formed in the camp. There is variety of goods in leather and wood for sale, of the highest quality. Most of the items (wallets, purses, wall plaques, harps, Celtic crosses, handkerchiefs) are decorated with Celtic designs or symbols of Irish Republicanism. Write to Sean P. o Brian, 54 Elderfield Road, London E15, England for the price list.

LEAGUE'S WORK

1974 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING The Breton branch secretary has agreed to the holding of the 1974 A.G.M. in Brittany, also with the proposal to organise a week-long seminar which will include talks on various aspects of the Breton situation as well as an introduction to Breton. It was decided that it would immediately precede or follow the Celtic Congress due to be held in Nantes from the 13th to the 18th of August. From the point of view of accommodation the 19th to 25th August week might be preferable but this can only be decided after further consultations. Those who plan to attend should write if possible before March to the secretary general, stating which week would suit them best.

* * *

CELTIC PRISONERS

In their different ways the London and Paris governments view themselves as models of enlightenment, neither readily admitting to a Celtic problem. Last year the French removed a very embarrassing indication that they have such a problem when they released those Bretons charged with political offences. The London government was not able to wish away its own Celtic problem quite as easily because its existence is palpably demonstrated by large numbers of Irish political prisoners, not to mention those from Scotland and Wales. Since the Ulster abscess burst English legal philosophy has been veering ever closer to the view that where political motives might be involved a suspected activist should be classed as guilty until proved innocent with the rider that every obstacle should be put in the way of establishing innocence. Many prisoners have had no trial and where there has been a trial its fairness has tended to be extremely contentious.

This aspect of the Celtic scene was discussed at this year's League conference where it was recommended that members should be encouraged to "adopt" prisoners. It is assumed that many members have already adopted prisoners from their own country. Naturally the League's function is rather to encourage members to adopt prisoners from another country. This is a humanitarian activity worthwhile in itself. In addition, with the help of letters, magazines and books it should develop Celtic consciousness among the prisoners, while in turn the writer will acquire a deeper understanding of the prisoner's nation and its problems.

The number of prisoners in the 6 Counties is too high to keep up-to-date lists for regular circulation. Although the number of Irish prisoners in Britain is much lower, the official policy of moving political prisoners from prison creates a similar problem. Instead of circulating lists with "Carn" it seems that it would be more practical to include the addresses of 4 or 3 liaison officers, each able to provide details for a particular group of prisoners. Until these liaison officers have been appointed those interested should write to "Fo-Choiste na bPríosunach," 84 Pulley's Ave., East Ham, London E6 3LZ. The Nationality of the prisoners to be adopted and that of the writer should be stipulated and volunteers to act as liaison officer will also be welcome.

It is worth noting that the authorities tend to raise the maximum of bureaucratic difficulties, but this should serve to harden the resolve not to allow prisoners who are in the final analysis, either passive or reactive victims of official violence to be forgotten.

MANNIN

MANN WITHOUT A GOVERNOR

In the autumn, Sir Hugh Norman - Walker, O.B.E., was nominated as Lieutenant-Governor of Mann (the Manx themselves have no say in the selection of the man for this still powerful post). Norman-Walker is 56 and has spent the last four years as Colonial Secretary in Hong Kong. However, the normally smooth transition of power from one governor of Mann to another ran into trouble when it was revealed that Norman-Walker's wife would not live with him on Mann but would stay in England to look after her aged parents. Colonially minded Manx people (and others) took this as an insult to Mann and angry members of Tynwald arranged to send a deputation to London. The unfortunate Norman-Walker denied that he would be a part-time governor. He wanted to take up the appointment and had been "reading books about the Isle of Man" on the way back from Hong Kong. His wife revealed she would not even be able to visit the Island, further enraging those members of the Manx Government who had complained that an absent governor's wife could not undertake the "normal duties of the Island's 'first Lady'". Norman-Walker hoped that he could persuade "a female relation" to reside at Government House in Douglas and undertake these duties. This suggestion produced some irreverent cartoons in the Manx press.

Finally, Norman-Walker decided not to take up the job, saying: "One doesn't want to try to run a place where you feel you are not wanted". The decision was well received in Mann, both by London-orientated Government figures and by nationalists and others. Letters to Manx papers had complained of the sense of shame felt by not a few Manx people over the whole affair. As a Mee Vannin columnist had written in the "Examiner" before Norman Walker's retraction:

"The current idiotic hullabaloo about Lady Norman-Walker's decision not to accompany her husband . . . is one of those things which rub the noses of the subject Manx in the mud of their political inferiority . . . Do we need a governor? Of course we don't!"

Meanwhile, the present governor, Sir Peter Stallard, remains in office, even though his seven year term is up. It seems likely that this charade over the new governor will accentuate demands for the removal of the post of governor in its present form. People in Mann apart from those describing themselves as "The Manx Republicans" are starting to make such demands.

Brian Mac Stoyll

* * *

Association Culturelle
Inter-Celtique,
Siege Social,
21 Rue Des Hautes Coutures,
78700 Conflans,
St Honorine

33 Clare St.,
Riverside,
Caendydd.
28/10/73

Monsieur,

Nous avons le plaisir de vous faire savoir que nous avons créé une Association qui a pour but des échanges culturels entre Pays Celtes.

Pour créer un effet un lien d'amitié entre ces pays, nous voudrions organiser des échanges d'enfants. Les enfants d'origine bretonne et aussi des français, amis de la Bretagne, seraient recus gratuitement, pendant les congés scolaires, dans des familles d'Ecosse, et en échange ces derniers viendraient dans les mêmes familles bretonnes.

Nous aimerions que ces échanges puissent se réaliser des l'été 1974 et nous pensons qu'il serait bon dès maintenant qu'une correspondance s'établisse entre les enfants des familles intéressées.

Je vous précise aussi que notre Association travaille bénévolement et que seul le prix du voyage et d'une assurance sera à la charge des familles.

Monsieur J.L. (Kernow) m'a suggéré de vous écrire pour vous demander de m'aider à réaliser ce projet en faisant publier si possible un article dans le journal de langue celtique que vous publiez.

(et attee pays Celtes)

* * *

72 Compton Street,
Llundain.
EC1,
Lloegr
9/11/73

Annwyl Gyfaill,

Yngylch yr erthygl "papers and Publications" CARN Rhif 3 Tu. 19 mae'r Finsbury Communist Association, 72 Compton Street, Llundain, EC1. yn unig gymdeithas gomiwnyddol a chredu bod Cymru ac Alba a Cheryw yn genhedleodd a hawl yr ymreolaeth ganddynt hwy.

Bydd y FCA yn falch i gwrrd a ffrindiau eraill a chytuno. Cyhoeddir cylchgrawn bach "Finsbury Communist" yn misol a phamffledau "STALIN'S DEFINITION OF A NATION (Theoretical basis of "left" Great-National Chauvinism)," "NATIONS IN BRITAIN," "DRAFT OUTLINE PROGRAMME FOR A MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY," "SOCIALISM OR SOCIAL IMPERIALISM."

Yn gywir,
Ifor Kenna

A Chora,

I refer to two items in this week's 'Welsh Nation,' the letter on page 2 from John G. Owen, and the report on page 6 (the pages are wrongly numbered!) about the Gaelic speakers on Cape Breton. Could or should the C.L. take up the cause of all linguistic minorities (on the grounds that there is no one else). I certainly feel that since no man is an island, the C.L. should at least involve itself, though one wonders if the C.L. could become the linguistic equivalent of Amnesty International without ceasing to be the Celtic league.

As far as Cape Breton is concerned, I wonder why the C.L. would *appear* to have forgotten them and the people of Patagonia. I certainly think that a forthright protest to C.B.C. on behalf of the C.L. is called for, together with some outline of the rationale of minority cultural rights.

Le meas mor
Barra o'Toibin

* * *

A DATE FOR YOUR DIARY

MAY 11th-19th 1974

EVENT The Pan-Celtic Festival of Arts, Crafts & Sport.

VENUE Killarney.

This yearly event is an occasion not to be missed. It provides a holiday at the best time of the year, in congenial company with entertainment laid on to suit every taste and yet gives ample opportunity for peace and quiet in fabulous countryside, which also enjoys worldwide fame for the 'welcome' extended to visitors.

Here 7 languages are spoken daily, not in the rarefied atmosphere of a language school or convention, but in the streets of the town, the lobbies and reception rooms of the hotels and guest houses and, of course, in the pubs.

In 1974 Cornwall hopes to send a contingent of at least 50, which will include a team from Westward Report, entrants for the singing competitions, a wrestling team (we hope) and as many anglers, golfers, chess-players and cine-film amateurs as we can muster.

ON SUNDAY FEBRUARY 24th at the Penventon Hotel, Redruth the Cornish entry for the Celta-vision song contest will be selected. Tickets, 50p can be obtained from: Miss S. Cook, Penventon Hotel, Redruth 4141 who will also supply details and entry forms for competitions.

EIRE

AN T-OIREACHTAS

An t-Oireachtas, the Irish equivalent of the Eisteddfod or the Mod, was held this year in the plush surroundings of the Burlington Hotel in Dublin. The festival was very successful and one of the most heartening points was the very large number of young people who attended, an obvious increase on previous years. The interest in traditional Irish music has of course been increasing over the past few years and groups like Planxty or the Chieftains are as popular, if not more popular, than groups playing pop, jazz, country and western etc.

The festival lasted for ten days, with a very packed programme, something taking place every afternoon and night and frequently three or four competitions taking place at one time. The opening event was An Faightiú (welcoming), quite a formal affair with a sit-down meal and a Ceili afterwards. This attracted about a thousand people. A welcome absence at this year's Faightiú was that of the politicians, who had been using An t-Oireachtas over many years as a proof of their own so called "support" for the Irish language. This has caused many demonstrations at An t-Oireachtas in recent times so it was decided this year to invite no special guests. Tomas O Domhnaill, minister for the Gaeltacht, did however attend, but only in his private capacity and received none of the V.I.P. treatment which was given to the politicians in the past.

There were many competitions which included singing — accompanied and unaccompanied — sean — nós singing — a very distinctive type of old style singing quite different from ordinary unaccompanied singing; choir competitions; group pop singing in Irish; scoraíocht competitions — singers, musicians, dancers, reciters etc. working together; instrumental competitions including harp, tin whistle, flute, uilleann pipes, and violin; story telling and many others.

There were three concerts, a Celtic concert, a prize winners concert and a concert in memory of Edward Bunting, the famous collector of Irish harp music, who was born two hundred years ago this year. This particular concert consisted of a talk about Bunting's life and works and was illustrated by examples from his collection, many of which have now been popularised by traditional music groups. The concert was given by the well known Irish harpist Grainne Yeats and was certainly considered as one of the highlights of An t-Oireachtas. The Celtic concert was also one of the most important events and it is estimated that there were over a thousand people present. Among

those musicians who took part were Ceoltoirí Laighean and Aedin Ni Choileán (Eire), Padrig Sicard and his group (Breizh), the piper Duncan MacDiarmid (Alba), and the harper Helen Davies (Cymru). It has been suggested, however, that this concert costs too much and should be done away with. I personally feel, however, that this would be a step back both for An t-Oireachtas itself and for the communication between Celtic peoples.

There were other important features of an t-Oireachtas — Club na Féile which was open from 10.00 p.m. until 1.00 or 2.00 a.m. where people could drink, talk and sometimes make music till morning. There was also the Oireachtas art exhibition which took place in Trinity College and of course the literary competitions. poetry, short stories, novels, plays, etc., which are of great importance to modern writers in Irish.

It has been decided to bring an t-Oireachtas out of Dublin to Connamara in the Galway Gaeltacht next year. This will be a new experiment for an t-Oireachtas but there is no reason why the festival should not be just as successful, if not more successful, than it has been this year. Many people from the other Celtic countries, particularly Cymru, attended the festival and it is hoped that this communication among Celts will continue and increase in the years to come.

Ite Ní Chionnaith

CONRADH NA GAELIGE

Conradh na Gaeilge — the Irish Language organisation — like any living movement should be forever developing. I fear, however, that for many years this was not the case. The movement fell into the hands of a small elitist pro-establishment, pro-government group. They continued to hold Irish classes, Ceili's and musical sessions and seemed to have forgotten the very raison d'être of the language movement — to make the Irish language and culture once again the language and culture of the Irish people. The achievement of this aim calls for more than the weekly class or conversation in a backroom, but needs to involve wide sections of the Irish people and calls for a basic change in the Establishment's view of Irish, which on the surface may appear to be one of support, in action is clearly seen at best as one of apathy if not sheer opposition.

In the past number of years there have changes in Conradh na Gaeilge. The movement again began to move outwards instead of retracting into itself. It went out and opposed those forces which were, either directly or indirectly, destroying the Irish language and culture. In the more recent past there have been two particular developments which should help the movement to develop its potential to the full (1) the drawing up of a charter of rights for the Irish language and its speakers, (2) a nationwide door to door canvass to speak to people about Irish and encourage them to join the movement.

The charter of rights is possibly the more important of the two because it gives the language movement a new battlefield on which to fight — the field of civil rights, rights which are at the moment being denied to the Irish speaking community. The basic demands put forward are:

- (1) Full equality of rights and of status for Irish with those of English in the domains which are within the sphere of Government influence, thus ensuring the ability of every Irish person to enjoy all his natural and civil rights.
- (2) The development and maintenance of the Gaeltacht AS GAELTACHT to be a top priority in Government policy.
- (3) The right of every Irish child to enjoy its cultural heritage through learning the Irish language.
- (4) The promotion of the use of Irish to be Government policy.
- (5) Fair treatment and international support for the languages and cultures of the world's minorities.

It is also hoped through this charter to draw support from language movements in other countries and perhaps get some International campaign going for the rights of minority language groups — certainly a serious problem in the world to-day.

I also see the nationwide canvass as being of extreme importance. First of all by speaking to people about the language it is certainly evoking the question in people's minds. But more than that I believe it can alter the basic structure of the organisation as a whole by attracting members from all strata of society rather than having it based on the middle class only. Previously when branches of the movement were set up they tended to be dominated by this middle class, because of political and social circumstances it was mainly the middle class who could speak Irish. The ordinary people seeing a local branch dominated by the local clergy, teachers, shopkeepers, civil servants, and white collared workers in general, tended to feel alienated by this set-up and understandably so! But this canvass is a personal invitation to people to join and is attracting a much broader section of the people to the movement than has ever been attracted before.

The strength of the movement is of vital importance at the moment because our language and culture are facing very strong opposition from certain sections of the community. The idea is being put forward that now that we are members of the E.E.C. we need Irish no longer and would be better off forgetting about it and learning French or some other European language. This is a false belief because every people if it is to retain its own identity must retain its own language. Another idea that is being put forward is that the Protestants (Unionists) of Northern Ireland could be encouraged into a united Ireland if the Irish language were abandoned — wrong again because the language is a unifying factor for a divided people and will be of vital importance in the ultimate freedom and national unity of this country in the future.

Ite Ní Chionnaith

IRISH LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

Held in Cork this year it was a muted performance — the price of power, perhaps. The left wing seems to be still in check though Noel Browne spoke manfully, trenchantly, and sensibly in favour of the nationalisation of the mines — perhaps the recent taxation on their profits, slight though it is, is the first tentative step in that direction.

Outside the conference the Left Liaison Group sold a pamphlet by the late Brendan Scott, *Labour and Socialism* (10p) which was a moving attempt at recalling the party to its original base. Refusing a copy, Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien — who more than any one man had urged (successfully) the expulsion of Brendan (and the Howth branch to which he belonged) from the Party — said that he had given his spare pennies to Chile. The proceeds of *Labour and Socialism* go to the support of Brendan's widow and children.

Of the latter day two-nation theorists O'Brien is one of those who support the theory of two nations in Ireland. In the first decade of this century, Southern Unionists campaigning against the Irish language were "two-nation"-ites. In the next decade, it was the turn of English Conservatives — from whom Asquith interestingly enough dissented — to urge the "rights" of partition. To the latter-day two-nation theorists, Brendan Scott addressed the following questions in his pamphlet:

(a) Do they believe that separate development is ever likely to lead to socialism in South Africa or Rhodesia.

(b) Are they supporting separate development in Wales, Scotland and Brittany — why the British and Irish Communist Party? Why the B&ICo. rather than the English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh Communist Party?

The questions of course were rhetorical. The groups concerned are the self-styled Stalinists — the British and Irish Communist Organisation — to whom reference was made in *carn* no. 2. They have published a pamphlet "proving" that Wales is not a nation. As shown by Domhnall Iain Cambeul (*Carn* no. 3, p.19) they are allied with imperialism.

P.OSn

SKOL DRE LIZHER: CURSAI COMHFREAGRAIS SA mBRIOTAINIS

Bhi 806 foghlaimoiri ag déanamh an chursa seo i rith na bliana 1972-73. Ba mhic-léinn 400 díobh sin agus muinteoiri 94 díobh; bhi breis agus 600 faoi bhun cuig bliain is fiche d'aois. Fuair an SKOL DRE LIZHER deontas ó Chomhairle Condae Finistère, agus bhí tacaíocht á fail chomh maith ó chúrsa a craoladh ar Raidio Brest gach Déardaoin agus Sathairn idir 12.43-13.00 (tonn-fhaid 214 m). Chuirfí na ceachtanna i gcló i nuachtán aitiúil an lá roimh-ré: bhi foireann ochtar muinteoirí i mbun an chúrsa. Tá cúrsaí Comhfhreagrais eile á reachtáil ag SKOL OBER, 30 rue de la Corderie, 29S-DOUARNENEZ.

CAIDREAMH TRACHTALA IDIR EIRE AGUS AN BHRIOTAIN

(Irish-Breton Trade)

Nuair a thug Justin Keating, aire Tionscail agus Tráchtála na hEireann cuairt ar an Bhriotáin sa Samhradh 1973, d'fháiltigh M. Gloagen, uachtarán an chomhlucht "Armement Coopératif Artisanal du Finistère, roimhe ag rá go mba chóir don Bhriotáin agus Eire comhoibriú ar bhun a ngníomhaíochtaí mhara d'fhonn bheith in ann pairt níos éifeachtúla a ghlacadh i gcoimhlint an Chomhargaidh. Is léir do na Briotáinigh go bhfuil coinníolacha fabharacha don chomhoibriú sin i réimsí na talmhaíochta agus na trealmhaíochta (equipment) ach go hairithe.

San iris Bretagne Economique maíodh le déanaí go mbeadh deis ag Eire agus an Bhriotáin na malartuithe atá cheana eatorru a mhéadú go mór ach an seirbhís bád fearrantóireachta, a bhunaigh an comhlucht Bretagne-Angleterre-Irlande agus a oibríonn faoi láthair idir Roskov agus Plymouth, a shineadh treasna go hEirinn freisin. D'áitigh sé ar lucht ghnó na Briotáine staidéar a dhéanamh ar mhargadh na hEireann agus monarcháin, oilfigí, córas dlolacháin a chur ar bun sa tír seo.

Tá súil againn sa Chonradh Ceilteach nach é trácht aon-bhealaigh a bheas ann ach go nglacfaidh na hEireannaigh an dúshlán seo. Sna blianta 1970 agus 1971 d'allmhuirigh an Bhriotáin luach 3 900 agus 4800 MF faoi seach d'earraí Eireannacha agus d'onnmhuirigh luach 4 600 agus 3 550 MF faoi seach d'earraí Briotáinacha go hEirinn (Ní léir dom cé acu sean — nó nua-Franc atá i gceist ach is ócha go sea-sann M do "míle"). Dhíol an Bhriotáin báid íascaigh, arbhair, earraí eile talmhaíochta, páipéar agus cairtchlár, ineallra éatrom. Cheannafodar earraí íascaireachta, feoil stáin, báid phéisiúir, capail agus asail, bia eallaigh.

FOGRACHAN NO ANNS BIAL FEIRSTE

(Constructive slogans such as "Slow! Speed kills" have appeared recently on Belfast walls as part of a campaign conducted by the Jemmy Hope Republican club).

Do cleachtach, ta na fograchan er na ballachan anns Bial Feirste mo-cheann a' Phab na mo-cheann Ri Illiam na mo-cheann na Feini. Cha nel mi gra nach bhel na daoine sein fiu, ach nis ta fograchan no er dtiot er ballachan a' bhailde, fograchan gul ris "Do mall! Se bas a' biuid" Seo obair Sheiseacht Phoblachtach Jemmy Hope. Ta oltanan na seiseacht giarraí cur er slaigh anns gluaisteanan gul nas maille er a' fa do robh paite ionadach buailt sios ec gluaistean er do ghoirid. As ba mhaith leis na Poblachtaí cur er saighdiuran Shostan iomain nas maille as nas cearaili: ta droch ghuth ec na saighdiuran son a leid.

SCOILEANNA SAMHRAIDH BRIOTAINISE (Breton language Summer Schools)

Reachtáil na heagraíochtaí seo leanas scoileanna Samhraidh sa mBriotáinis an Samhradh seo caite: Skol an EMSAV, KAMP AR VREZHONEGERIEN, ALLEUR NEVEZ, SKOL VREIZH, an UDB. B'é an cuspóir a bhí ag Skol Vreizh ná muinteoirí a oiliúint i dteagasc na teangan. Trí Bhriotáinis a rinneadh an cursa seo go hiomlán, agus leagadh béim ar na canúintí mar b'fhacthas go raibh gá le feabhas a chur ar foghraíocht na gcainteoirí dúchais Francise. Déanta na firinne bíonn sé deacair in amanta déanamh amach an i bhFrancis nó i mBriotáinis a bhíonn an comhrá ar siúl aca. Cuigear agus dhá fhicid ar fad a rinne freastal ar an gcúrsa seo ach níorbh muinteoirí iad uilig. Bhí taithí muinteoireachta meán-scoile ag cuid aca cheana agus bhíodar lena gcuid eolais agus taithí a roinnt. Bhíodhas den tuairim go mba choirclóí chomh dluth agus a bhéidir leis an teanga labhartha i scríobh na Briotáinise má bhí dúchas na teangan le teacht slán. Rud eile de, san an-chás inabhuil an Bhriotáinis ní bheadh ciall le níos mó na litriú amháin, cé nach mbeadh aon locht ar chaint na ndaoine a úsáid ins na ceantracha éagsúla. Níorbh aon dochar labhairt sa chanúint dúchais agus gan ach litriú amháin a úsáid sa teanga scríofa.

Bhí amhras ar stiúrthoirí an chúrsa seo go bhféadfadh an Bhriotáinis a thabhairt slán trín a múineadh ins na scoileanna amháin; bhí tacaíocht na ninstiúidí eile ag teastáil leis. Ba cheart pobail Briotáinise a bhunú. Ach idir ama bhí feidhm le baint as na scoileanna, cibé olc maith iad; tugann siad réimse níos leithne don teanga, lasmuigh de 'geiteo' intleachtóirí na 'gluaiseachta.' Bhí spreagadh máisiúnta ag teastáil ón ghluaiseacht seo, cinnte, ach níor chóir í scaradh ón bpobal. Bhí óige na tíre ar lorg a hoidhreachta a bhí ceilte uirthi le fada an lá.

The fortnightly review HIBERNIA has anything but a constructive attitude towards the Irish language but it can be recommended for its forthright reports on the political scene in Ireland. Its editorial on August 24 warns that "day by day, the Northern cancer is inflicting Southern society . . . the fundamentals of our democracy are being whittled away. We have become accustomed to trial without jury, conviction on the 'belief' of a police officer, prisons filled to capacity.

"The increasing frequency of army involvement in law enforcement resulted in the deliberate shooting and wounding on August 3, of an unarmed civilian by a member of the Irish army . . . Also for the first time, this summer the army discharged rubber bullets at demonstrators near the Curragh detention camp . . . thus breaching one more boundary of official restraint.

A precedent of another kind was created in the Special Criminal Court on August 4 when the editor of An Phoblacht, Eamonn MacThomais, was sentenced to 15 month's detention for allegedly being a member of the IRA: The only piece of evidence — a caption to a photo of the accused in the 'Irish Press' was rejected by the judge, but MacThomais was convicted on the simple and unchallenged statement of the police Chief Superintendent Fleming that 'he believed MacThomais to be a member of the IRA.' This is the longest of the 31 convictions under this charge since the passing of the Amendment to the O.A.S. Act on December last."

This act was passed after the explosion of two bombs in central Dublin. These were in all probability placed by agents of the "British" Intelligence Service.

FOR SOVEREIGNTY

The Irish Sovereignty Movement was founded in October 1972. It is partially a successor of the Anti-Common Market Campaign. This is reflected in one of its aims which is "to minimise the adverse effects of EEC membership on Ireland." In line with this aim, the ISM has criticised the implementation of Irish legislation following accession to the EEC which, it argued, was unnecessarily wide and sweeping. The ISM has also carefully followed developments in the EEC over the past twelve months on matters such as regional and social policy and intends holding a major conference in the New Year to assess the advantages for Ireland.

The question of Irish sovereignty now most arises however in connection with the new settlement in Hiberno-British relations: a further aim of the ISM is "to maintain the constitutional claim to the reunification of the national territory." This is of the foremost importance at a time when Northern Unionists and the British Government are pressing for the Dublin Government to recognise the validity of partition.

The ISM argues that the basis of conflict in the North lies in the interference in Irish affairs by Britain, whereby the nation's political dynamism is dissipated in Catholic/Protestant and North/South antagonisms. Partition is the instrument which weakens Ireland as a whole and creates the conditions of privilege for Unionists by giving them a majority in an artificial area.

Any effective end to privilege and discrimination in the North must therefore involve the immediate provision of fair and democratic rights for all citizens there and a commitment by Britain to end the Union and transfer her law-making authority for the North to an all-Ireland Parliament.

The Irish Sovereignty Movement has also set itself the task of advocating the practical use of the sovereignty we already possess over our mineral and other resources. Now that the myth of Ireland's natural poverty has been destroyed, it should not be followed by laxity in exploiting our resource endowments for our own good.

Other vital areas in which the ISM has an interest are the official primary status of the Irish language, the political and military neutrality of Ireland and the maintenance and extension of civil liberties. The ISM is, of course, aware that there are other organisations operating in these areas and seeks to liaise with them so as to ensure the maximum utilisation of political resources and to enable it to concentrate on the promotion of Irish unity and independence.

Daltun O Ceallaigh
(We shall report about the Resources Protection Campaign which seeks to mobilise public opinion in Ireland of the nationalisation of the mines and the use of the ores for the benefit of the nation).



UILLEANN-PIPER: LEON ROWSOME

I teach Commerce, Irish and Gregg Shorthand and typewriting in one of Dublin's Community Schools. At night twice weekly I teach my pupils how to play the Uilleann pipes, our national instrument, at the College of Music. At week-ends and during the holidays I am engaged to play the pipes at many functions both at home and abroad. My father who taught me how to play the pipes from a very early age was world famous as a performer and manufacturer of the instrument and he has handed down this tradition to me. Since he died on September 20th 1970 I have built up a small workshop of my own where I can make chanters, reeds and practice sets for my pupils and many friends throughout the world.

Since the age of twelve years I have been very fond of Scottish traditional dance music — mainly the accordion/violin combination with orchestration and percussion based, of course, on the Scottish Highland pipe music. I have managed to play and almost master the piano accordion and most of my leisure hours are spent playing some Irish but mostly Scottish tunes on the accordion. But it is a pity that we have so few links with Scotland in this respect. In the future I would like to meet and play with many Scottish musicians and to introduce them to the Uilleann pipes and Irish music also.

After playing on Scottish television I had many enquiries from retired Highland pipers and some Scottish wheelchair patients interested in the Uilleann pipes. These of course are played sitting down and are meant for indoor use. They are blown, like the Northumbrian pipes, by pressing with the elbow (in Irish *uilleann*) on a bellows. My father told me that the Scots say that it takes seven generations to make a piper. Well, we are well on the way because my son is the fifth in the Rowsome family.

During the past five years I have played on Scottish and Breton television and have been to places like New York and West Germany. I hope to revisit these countries particularly the Celtic ones because I myself am a Celt.

It is unfortunate that political persuasions tend to be associated with music wherever one goes. At times it is ridiculous.

I am absolutely opposed to violence of any kind and believe in the unification of Ireland by peaceful means. I would like to see closer ties between the Celtic countries and to see the Irish become more aware of the plight of the Bretons who should be allowed to teach their national language in all of their schools and who should be allowed to preserve their identity as Celts. Their music is quite attractive also and at present people like Alan Stivell are doing a lot to popularise it in Ireland.

Leon Rowsome

KERNOW

KESUNYA HA KESUNYA : UNITE AND UNITE

"Kesunya ha kesunya, ha gwren-ny oll kesunya, rag dufa an haf hedyu." Yndella y kenyr pup bledhen dhe Lodenek (Padstow) yn Kernow.

Dres lyes cansvledhen an bobel Geltek re be ow tos dhe dymyn arag gallos ha gothvos polytykel agan kentrevogyn. Aban ve an wheghes cansvledhen ny re gollas ha tyr ha rythsys. Y'n whetegves cansvledhen kenethlow gallosek Europ a dhallathas dhe omlesa tramor, ha dos ha bos whath creffa. An vrasyon yth esa war dhalghenna an bys oll.

Y'n ur-na an gewry a dhallathas dhe omlath . . . ytho, yth esa Kewry Dha ha Kewry Dhrok . . . mes wosa y dhe omlath, y o lenwys a own, ha leverel: "Cam yu hemma; pup den yu kehaval (yth esens-y ow styrya: pup cawr yu kehaval); kenethlow byhan yu camtermynyeth (anachronism); gwren kesunya, may fo onen poblow an bys oll; ha ny a wra Bys Noweth (rag Kewry, heb mar)."

Hag awos ankevy an uth o dheadha defen stuth an bys, y a dhallathas dhe wary 'Sewyeugh agas Hembrynkyas'; an kensa rewí dhe vos "Myreugh warrak," ha'n nessa: "Na vyreugh wardhelergh." Ha'n hembrynkyas dhyffrans a'gan dros aberth yn mylhentall, yn un grya aga garm, "Brassa-brassa, Gwell-Gwell!"

Ha henna ow cortos, an Hembrynkyas, yn un nagma kenethlegeth aga servysy, a wruk gweres du'un bobel wan ow tasserghy aga henethel yn gwlas coth aga hendasow: an Yedhewon.

Mes dysempys ot an Yedhewon esa owth omlath gans aga envy. Ytho, an keth envy-ma a wertha dhe'n Hembryndysy ran vrassa aga oyl-men, ha drefen na vynna an re-ma cuhudha an Yedhewon, an envy a wruk dhe astel gwerth an oyl dhedha. Ha'n hembrynkyas ha 'ga holyoryon a vyras un wolok aderdro ha gweles bos aga Bys Noweth fundyes war oyl. Fatel vya lemmy'n? Dyw forth yth esa: kensa, cuhudha an Yedhewon (ha cafos an oyl); nessa, scodhya an Yedhewon (an un forth lei) . . . ha kelly an oyl.

Ytho, an gwelyow-oyl noweth hag a alsa settya pul dhe'n Bys Noweth, ymons-y ow crowedha yndan an Mor Keltek. A vyth hemma ynweth, par del ve an Tyr Keltek, sacryfyes war alter an Gewry?

R.R.M.G.

The People of the Celtic Sea, through lack of political cohesion, have allowed themselves to be led; and now once more up another blind alley in the maze of this bigger-and-better society. With the oil crisis, do we give our left arms as well as our right, to keep the flag flying?

More live in Cornwall

The 1971 census figures for Cornwall, published yesterday, show that the county's population grew at almost twice the national rate to reach the highest figure ever recorded, 381,672.

This figure is an increase since 1961 of nearly 38,400 — 11 per cent compared with a six per cent increase in England and Wales as a whole.

The census figures appear just one week after the Cornwall education authority asked for an emergency meeting with Mrs Thatcher, Education Secretary, to discuss its worst ever school accommodation crisis.

Mr James Harries, Cornwall's secretary for education, told his committee recently that the increase in primary and secondary schoolchildren was wildly outstripping the school building programme. The Department of Education and Science, he said last week, had repeatedly refused to believe figures showing the real increases in population.

The accelerating increase is explained by the apparent success of the Government's regional policy begun in the mid-1960s. Every small town has now got, or is developing, small industrial estates which are bringing families into the county in large numbers.

A New Beginning?

More than two hundred years ago Cornish ceased to be the daily speech of any community in Kernow. More recently Manx suffered the same fate. Now, as a tide of alien culture drives the remaining Celtic languages into the western extremities of our lands and threatens to engulf them completely, is it not about time we took fresh stock of the situation?

While we are all aware of the present precarious position of our national languages, we nationalists continue to talk of restoring them as the vernaculars of our countries. Perhaps if we had absolute political and economic power, the full support of our peoples and complete control of the communications industry we could indeed begin restoration but, alas, we are not in this happy position. If we continue to use up our scant resources in campaigns to improve the legal status of our languages and in seeking empty official assurances of equality, the tongues will have joined Cornish and Manx before any of our efforts are rewarded by success.

In Carn 3, in an article headed "Environment and Language" Alan Heusaff raised the question of how presently isolated speakers of Celtic languages could form communities without enclosing themselves in ghettos. The mention of ghettos is interesting because it points in a direction in which a solution to our problems may be found. The state of Israel was established and the dead Hebrew language revived by kibbutzim planted in Palestine from the 1890's onwards. Backed by a Jewish National Fund into which money flowed from Jews all over the world, most of whom had no intention of ever going to Israel, a comparatively small number of dedicated idealists

established farms and factories, schools and synagogues against a background of local hostility. Their success is a matter of historical record. While we Celts have not had to endure the pogroms and persecutions which have so unified the Jews and while we certainly could not expect such great financial support, we are not untalented peoples and with a little dedication and a lot of imagination and we too could establish National Funds.

The aim of the Funds would be the setting up of new Celtic-speaking communities, initially in areas where the national language was still spoken but later in other districts. By introducing new people and by encouraging the local people to take pride in their heritage, the Funds would try to create conditions in which Celtic speech and culture could live and thrive among growing communities. The Funds would operate by purchasing land from absentee owners and using it to establish communities of highly motivated incomers. Agriculture would be improved, land turned over to more labour intensive use, small scale industry introduced and houses built to accommodate the resulting inflow of population. Every effort would be made to gain the sympathy and support of the local populace. All functions organised by and amenities provided by the Funds would be open for all to enjoy or use.

Although the setting up of new communities would require us to devote most of our energies to fund-raising or to helping out in some other way and although many of our most active and able propagandists would be among those who went to form the communities, the very fact of the communities' existence would generate so much enthusiasm that we would probably get more recruits to our cause rather than less.

While the complete restoration of our national languages may well have to wait until there is a change in the present over-materialistic value system fostered by the mass media, there is no need for us to pass the wait on our knees begging our imperial masters for concessions. If we act boldly and decisively we can shape our own futures. Let us remember that the only thing which gives alien governments the power to rule us is our own acquiescence and if we decide to stop acting as pseudo Englishmen or Frenchmen, not only can the governments do nothing to stop us but they also can do nothing to preserve their power over our lands. As soon as we stop acquiescing we will lose our shackles.

Uilleam MacChaluim

Cornish Studies

The Institute of Cornish Studies officially came into existence almost two years ago when, on the 1st of January, 1972, Professor Charles Thomas was appointed Director of the Institute. For many years previous to his appointment, a great number of Cornish men had felt the need for a regional centre for

research and services at a further educational level, and for them, his taking up the duties of Director represented the first step towards answering this need. Despite the fact that on that New Year's Day, Professor Thomas lacked certain facilities one would expect of such an Institute, things like premises, staff, furniture, a library, or any publicised programme of work, deterred neither him nor any of those who had worked to make the Institute a reality.

What does the Institute do? In their first Bulletin, published six months after Professor Thomas's appointment, he outlined the aims of the Institute in these words: "It would be misleading to think of the Institute's work being confined to archaeology, or to local history, or to the world of the 'Old Cornwall' movement. While the theme of Cornish Studies will always be the central aim, this can be, and should be, interpreted as the study of all aspects of man and his handiwork in the regional setting (Cornwall and Scilly), past, present and future." In detailed terms this meant that the Institute was going to try not only to help researchers and students in established fields of Cornish Studies, but to enlarge and expand into areas that had been left largely untouched.

The Institute's function can be divided into three areas. It provides detailed information, particularly booklists for Cornish subjects to all grades of the County's schools, and seeks to stir interest in Cornwall through an arduous round of lectures and seminars. Secondly, it compiles indexes, surveys and assessments on subjects as widely disparate as the county's museums, musical activities in the county, and a mammoth survey of Cornish Place-Names. This last work, which will contain some 20,000 names when finished, will be of great importance in the study of both the changes in the Cornish language and of plotting the decline in the speaking of the Cornish language. The Institute also carries out surveys designed to provide the County Council, the South West Economic Planning Council and local industries with information on a wide range of topics.

(continued overleaf)

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Today the Institute has found itself a permanent home at Trevenson House, a 19th Century granite building, set in the grounds of the Cornwall Technical College at Pool. Its staff has risen to six members, if you include part-time researchers and two graduate research fellows. In the two years since Professor Thomas was the entire Institute, they have published no less than ten items from pamphlets on prehistoric Cornish mammals to a reprint of the Cornish classic *Reminiscences of Camborne*, and are now preparing for publication a "most exciting and unpublished" diary of an early 19th Century wrecker and smuggler. They have also undertaken a biological records scheme for the Nature Conservancy, a massive project which, when finished will be a listing of the entire natural history content of Cornwall and Scilly.

In the summer of 1972, Professor Thomas wrote in a pamphlet entitled *An Institute For Cornwall*: "The Institute intends to prosecute its task with vigour and enthusiasm . . ." and that it has undoubtedly done.

(from "Peninsular West")

* * *

PRISONERS As we write, more than a thousand of our fellow Celts are held in jail or in detention camps because of their political beliefs or as a result of actions deriving from them. Whether you approve or not of these beliefs or actions, you may be concerned with the fate of these men and women, particularly if they are serving long term imprisonment. You may agree that nobody should be held without trial for months or years. Join your voice to those asking for the release of such detainees. You may wish to help the sentenced ones to overcome despair and frustration, to resist the processes of disintegration to which they seem to be purposely subjected. You can do this by writing to them, by sending them periodicals, by helping their dependents. You can obtain names and addresses from your branch secretaries. It is up to you.

* * *

Cornish Nation

the quarterly journal of Mebyon Kernow, the Cornish National Movement. Examines the Cornish scene to-day in all its aspects. Works for Celtic unity. Annual subscription 80p (£1 overseas) from M. K. Publications, Trelispen, Gorran, St. Austell, Kernow.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

It is usual in a national revival in Europe for the political activity to be preceded and accompanied by a cultural renaissance. In Cornwall the cultural revival started at the beginning of this century though the organisation of political activity only began in 1950. The cultural revival has lost none of its impetus and one of the most noticeable signs is the increasing spate of books about Cornwall and Cornish topics.

More of these books have appeared in the last ten years than in the preceding forty and some publishers restrict their output entirely to Cornish books. As well as new books many out-of-print standard works are being republished to satisfy the increasing demand for knowledge of Cornwall and its culture. Some books, like the prolific Tor Mark Press booklets, are aimed as much at the tourists and settlers as at the native Cornish but Bradford Barton of Truro and David and Charles have produced many scholarly volumes.

One of the most encouraging ventures, however, is the Lodenek Press at Padstow under its energetic proprietor, Donald Rawe, author, poet, playwright, bard, and active in every aspect of the Cornish movement. His press produces books on Cornwall, by the Cornish for the Cornish themselves. They are a true expression of Cornish national culture and blaze across a wide spectrum. Cornish customs are represented by monographs on Padstow's May Day celebrations and on Hurling at St Columb and elsewhere. Cornwall's music and folksong are reflected in "Strike Sound" — the Padstow Carols and reprints of Dr Dunstan's Cornish Song Books — worthy companions to Inglis Gundry's "CANOW KERNOW — Songs and Dances of Cornwall", published by the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies in 1966. "Traditional Cornish Stories and Rhymes" and "The Boy and the Bucca" provide our children with an introduction to Cornish folk-tales.

Drama is well represented in the Lodenek Press output with "Petroc of Cornwall"; "The Trials of St Piran"; "Geraint, Last of the Arthurians" and "A Cornish Quintette — Five One-Act Plays". It is also intended to publish new translations of two of the classical mediaeval Cornish miracle plays.

The Lodenek Press has also produced "Names for the Cornish" reflecting the reviving use of specifically Cornish Christian names, and Lyver Lavarow Kernewek, a Cornish phrase book. However, the major publisher of books in and about the Cornish language is the Cornish Language Board whose latest production is "Kernewek Bew" by Richard Gendall, a lesson book using modern language teaching techniques.

Mebyon Kernow has contributed to the cultural activity by publishing "The Celtic Background of Kernow" by Dr J. Whetter and the continuing popularity of their Cornish language Christmas cards, Calendars, and paper serviettes illustrates the determination of ordinary Cornish people to demonstrate their Cornishness.

Perhaps the earliest book to interpret Cornish culture as the heritage of the Celtic nation of Cornwall was "Cornwall — The Hidden Land" by Richard and Ann Jenkin, published in 1965, and the forerunner of the present nationalist approach to Cornish cultural matters.

Ryalbran.

D. Bradford Barton Ltd., Frances Street, Truro.

Tor Mark Press, Frances Street, Truro.

Lodenek Press, Padstow.

Cornish Language Board, Custodian of Publications:—

Miss M.E. Mills, Amalwhidden Cottage, Towednack, St Ives.

Mebyon Kernow Publications, Trelispen, Gorran, St Austell.

Old Cornwall Publications, Mrs S. Trenberth, "Bron Ruth",

Garker Road, Trethurgy, St Austell.

"Cornwall — The Hidden Land", New Cornwall, "An Gernyk" Leedstown, Hayle.

SUNNINGDALE AGREEMENT

The agreement reached on December 9 by the delegations from London, Dublin and Belfast was looked upon as a new surrender treaty by Sinn Fein, a sell-out by the extreme unionists in Northern Ireland. According to Mr Cosgrave, it will provide the means to secure cooperation between North and South on as wide an area as possible at present, without requiring any side to renounce its principles. If it works, the London government will be able to devote its full attention to its more important economic problems. The problem for politicians, North and South, is to "sell the package" to their followers.

The setting up of a Council of Ireland will be presented as a first step in the direction of a 32-County government, even though the recognition by Dublin that the 6-Counties are at present a part of the "United Kingdom" will be construed by the Faulkner Unionists as relinquishing the 50-year old claim to sovereignty over all of Ireland. The Council of Ireland will be confined to representatives of the two parts of Ireland: it will be the first all-Ireland institution in recent times. But to start with it will be financed by government grants, and the London government reserves to safeguard her financial involvement in Northern Ireland: in other words, England is not withdrawing her interference in Irish affairs yet.

There will be a Council of Ministers with executive and harmonising functions; it will act by unanimity; there will be an equal number of ministers from the North and the South on it. A Consultative Assembly, made up of 60 Dail members and 30 Northern Assembly members, will assist it. A Secretariat, headed by a secretary-general, will supervise the execution of its decisions.

The executive functions will be defined after studies which will determine areas where cooperation is possible: production, trade, development of natural resources, health, cultural matters. Their extent will be a matter for the Dail and the Northern Assembly to legislate upon.

Prior to Sunningdale Faulkner seemed to insist that persons accused of murder in the North who fled to the South should be extradited. The Dublin government on the other hand leaned on international agreements about politically-motivated crimes, and could not agree without risk of electoral repercussions to hand IRA people to authorities which they are accusing in Strassburg of practising torture against detainees. The agreement now is that IRA men arrested in the South will be tried in the South. This is linked with the Dublin-sponsored creation of a "common-law enforcement area" and an all-Ireland Court. A concession to Faulkner is that the Royal Ulster Constabulary, which the Northern minority has always refused to identify with, will remain the police force, but it will be reorganised so as to coax Catholic allegiance. While violence continues "above an acceptable level" the British Army will remain in charge of

"security," but it is planned later to devolve responsibility for policing to the Northern Executive, and to establish cooperation between a new Northern and a new Southern police authorities within the framework of the Council—a first object being to defeat "the men of violence."

Internment without trial (Long Kesh . . .) previously considered by the S.D.L.P. to have encouraged popular support for the provisional IRA, will be brought to an end only when security permits.

A Council of Ireland was to be set up according to the terms of the 1921 Treaty; Southern intransigence over the Border was blamed for its failure, ever to meet.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN N. IRELAND

The London Government was the only side which gave no concession at Sunningdale. There was no declaration of intent to withdraw the British Army, however gradually. Policies which have failed to end the violence and which are in gross violation of internationally accepted standards of human rights will continue to be applied. The results can be judged from the following passages from a statement issued by the N.I. Civil Rights Movement:

"In the last three years, British Governments, their armed forces, and their subordinates have been directly responsible for the death and injury of hundreds of civilians, the harassment of whole neighbourhoods, systematic torture, brutality and degradation of political prisoners. The legal process is riddled with discrimination and political bias and the basic rights of political organisation and expression have been trampled on through the use of anti-democratic bans and proscriptions.

Since August 1969, when the British Army first came onto the streets of Northern Ireland there have been more than 900 violent deaths!

A detailed examination of the first five hundred deaths from August 1969 showed that of the first one hundred and five 'casual victims' of British Army operations, at least seventy had been killed in circumstances 'which suggest a high degree of carelessness on the part of the security forces and an indifference to the safety of the citizen.' As well among those killed in a separate category, 'the security forces had exercised summary rights of execution upon those suspected of being members of the IRA.' Since that report there have been at least twenty three more civilians killed by the British Army in circumstances which revealed gross recklessness or deliberate though unjustified killing. In Northern Ireland there exists no adequate procedures for judicially examining and determining the circumstances of death in cases involving the British Army. Coroner's Courts cannot compel the attendance of witnesses, and the soldiers involved are thus rarely present. Cross examination is not allowed and only general 'open' verdicts may be returned. To date the British Army has admitted the possibility of mistake in

only five cases, in all others the lack of any objective evidence to support such a conclusion. Members of the British Army either in uniform or in plain clothes, have deliberately or recklessly killed innocent civilians in circumstances which reveal a callous disregard for human life. Yet in only two cases have members of the British Army been charged in connection with the death of a civilian and there is no record of disciplinary action being taken."

However Willie Whitelaw may be remembered in Ireland, it is certain that the internment camps of his time will long remain in the people's memory. As a memorial to this let us mention a new booklet by Denis Faul and Raymond Murray, "Whitelaws Tribunals—Long Kesh Internment Camp. November 1972-January 1973." Price 30p. The proceeds will go to help prisoners and internees' dependents.



CORNWALL, IDEA AND REALITIES

Cornwall has been a forgotten land. She became a story in English history, almost a fairy tale, certainly a mere extremity of a different land called England.

Then, England was making work in Cornwall and Cornwall's own work was not frustrated. Now, that is altered. Hardship has made the people think about themselves and the story. The story had reminded them that they are different. Therefore this may be a strength for a new creation of their world.

However, they have studied the story until they know the truth about much of their past and the time has come when they must join the story with things in "Cornish life" today. Filling up Cornwall to her boundary with her affairs, we will present all Cornwall as a matter of practical importance.

Let us look at the newspaper.

Item one. Four Lanes, the high village in the clouds has been changed by the building boom. Bungalows where cattle once grazed and children played have been bought by people from afar, many by people from large cities. Such a one says, "They want more wages without more people: everyone lives a little more here." An old man says, "We can no longer say 'How do?' to everyone in the street." The good vicar says the village must build a new community. May it be so and still be Cornish! But we ask if we must always have a bad job to make the best of Government can build for communities instead of letting builders tempt the people to sell their souls with their land. That is why people in Cornwall must remove temptation forever by becoming common owners of all the land. Otherwise they cry in vain.

Item Two. The fishermen are furious because the Government is taking away help and is fixing lowest prices for mackerel and pilchards. This is the Common Market. The fishermen of Cornwall must ally with the majority of the people of Great Britain against it, seeking to ally as Cornish people across a boundary, refusing to be the edge of a single large people and with a muted voice, speaking with a small voice like music of silver metal. Thus their strength may be a strength to begin a new creation of their world.

Cornwall is an idea and full of affairs right up to her boundary. Let this Celtic people in truth be owners of their soul, their country, and their tradition.

Royston Green.

AGAINST PARTITION

Last October the mayors of the Western communes of Loire Atlantique met to express their opposition to the French policy of partitioning historical Brittany. The meeting was attended by the Préfet of the département and the Minister for Economic Development. In their communiqué the mayors asked the government to consider without delay the wishes of the people and their elected representatives, namely that: 1) Loire-Atlantique be reunited to the rest of Brittany; 2) "Region Brittany be given real executive powers over its future; 3) the Regional Assembly and Executive be elected and not appointed by the Government. They pointed out that reunification made good economic sense. The minister present thought however that the only way Loire-Atlantique could stay part of Brittany was for all of Brittany to become part of a "Greater western Region" (as yet nameless). Something reminiscent of the Westminster solution to the Irish problem . . .



HOUSING THE HOMELESS

The problem of housing in Dublin has been highlighted by the three evicted families now in their third month under canvas on the steps of the Fenian Street tenement building from which they were evicted by their landlord who wanted to have the property developed (i.e. knocked down and replaced by an office block).

Alongside the terrace from which they were evicted is a still unoccupied office block. But these developers do not care too much about when their space is rented: one of them has left a block in London vacant for about ten years and another in Dublin for a somewhat shorter period.

In Dun Laoghaire the local housing action group having won the battle for the preservation of the 18th century and historic Frescati House are actively expressing the actions of the speculators who, once property comes into their possession, set about wrecking the promises so as to render them for habitation.

Behind this 'boom' in office building — which had an *Irish Times* property correspondent speculating over a year ago as to whether a new block would "break the £2.50 barrier" (i.e. exceed £2.50 p.a. per square foot rent); as if galloping rents were some index of human progress — there are some factors worth listing.

Under the last Labour Government in England rent control regulations and a certain levelling off in the production of new buildings led many speculators to look further afield for "investment properties." Their searches often brought them to Dublin where there seemed a comparatively easier market with less government interference. There was, of course, as in any developing metropolis a shortage of office accommodation. That led to the availability of new funds for speculation in Irish property.

Another source was new Irish legislation which caused banks to present their balance sheets in such a way as to reveal their real profits. Most of the Dublin banks have produced massive new buildings in the last few years and so tied up much capital in this way and so again disguised their real returns.

THE PART IS GREATER THAN THE WHOLE
by Soudor Coth

This statement is of course quite illogical but as the life we live is not logical it may well help to guide our thinking into new and productive albeit unconventional channels.

The truth of this concept can often be demonstrated in our organisations where we normally have a large number of people who only passively support our cause and only four or five who are dedicated to it and actively support it. If this handful of committed workers are separated from the lukewarm mass and are encouraged to meet together, decide for themselves what they want to do and then proceed to do it by themselves it will almost certainly be found that they accomplish very much more than the whole organisation, including themselves, could have achieved.

The reason for this is simply that when the workers are freed from the boring and frustrating opposition and delays caused by theorists, perfectionists and compulsive talkers, they can give free rein to their enthusiasm and serve their cause without being discouraged and wearied by the necessity of having to overcome the apathy and inertia that exists in so many of our deliberative assemblies.

So if your organisation has got "bogged down" try separating your workers from the rest, let them decide what they want to do and let them get on with it. They will soon show that the "part" that they form is greater than the "whole" from which they were taken.

The workers group often either act independantly or within the organisation as a ginger group or both according to circumstances. Those that work are the elite in any organisation and must always be encouraged and allowed to work freely.

DROCCH-PHA

(Poor reward)

As iomlán an luach saothair a h-focadh sa bhFrainc i 1972 níor tháinig ach 2.820 chuig an "Région Bretagne" — 2 600 000 daoine — ach fuair an Région Parisienne 33.43% de (10 miliún daoine); sé sin a thrí oiread i gcomhréir. Tá difríochtaí ollmhóra idir na deontais a foictar don dá reigiún le haghaidh a dtrealmhuithe (equipment). Is mar sin a chruthalonn na hEoracrataigh nach bhfuil na limistéirí forimeallacha in ndon marthaint beo. As méad na gcanacha a focann na Briotáinigh don Stá ní fhaighid ach 20% arais i gcomhair a gcomphreal múcháin (equipment collectif).

A.H.

FOSTAIOCHT SA BHRIOTAIN

(Employment in Brittany)

Tuairim is 22000 Briotánaigh atá ag fágáil na tuaithe in aghaidh na bliana, agus ag dul chuig na bailte móra, laistigh nó lasmuigh dá dtír féin. Má

leanann an imirce sin beidh 8000 DAOINE BREISE i 1975 a lorg oibre nach mbeidh le fáil sa Bhriotáin.

Oibríonn 45000 Briotáinigh sa tionscail bia stáin. Tá an tionscail sin i ndroch-chaoi afach, ó thaobh na comhlinte de. Bhí Comharchumann Landernev 8 milliún F. sa dearg i 1970-1971. B'é an diláiriú tionscail a scholáthraigh 430 de na jobanna nua i 1971, ach tá deireadh leis anois. Níor tháinig sé chun tairbhe do na limistéirí fan dtír, laistiar de Roazhon (Rennes).

WORLD PEACE CONGRESS Micheal Mac

Aonghusa represented Conradh na Gaeilge and the Celtic League at the World Peace Congress held in Moscow in October. He presented a very detailed memorandum on the rights of small language groups and linguistic minorities and on cultural decolonisation to an audience of about 500 participants. (An account of this document will be published in CARN). He put the idea of a World conference about these cultural rights, and stressed how the pursuit of linguistic imperialism led to tensions resulting in a threat to international peace. His references to the situation in Brittany and Scotland provoked a hostile reaction on the parts of the English and French delegations to the Congress.

SORAIDH

As this is the last issue of CARN I am editing, I take this opportunity to thank all those who have in one way or another helped me in the job of editing 4 issues of the magazine and also five issues of the League's Annual Volume. In the six years in the editorial chair I had both brickbats and bouquets; the former have always been in the form of constructive criticism; the latter have been more than appreciated. Altogether I have valued the editorial experience and trust that the volumees, memorials both to the contributors and myself, have added stones of significance on the Cairn of inter-Celtic achievement, and be remembered for their assessed worth for a long time to come. A final word of thanks to Messrs Eccles, printers, Inbhirnis, who have coped well with all of the six indigenous Celtic tongues of Europe as well as with both Imperialist languages.

Mille taing dhuibh uile — slainte, sith agus sonas Frang MacThomais.



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 should now be raised to £1.50 for Ireland and Britain; 16F for Brittany and continental Europe in general; £2 (\$5 U.S.) for non-European countries (including airmailing). For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the secretaries:

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All payments are to be made to the Celtic League, if possible by Bankers' Order and sent to the above address, or directly to Allied Irish Banks, 2 Dolphin's Barn, Dublin 8, Eire, or to our treasurer Caitlin Ní Chaomhánaigh, 17 Pairc Heberton, Áth Cliath 8, Eire. When paying through the bank, do **not** indicate **CELTIC LEAGUE on the envelope, but inside**. In any case, notify your branch secretary of the payment, to avoid delays in mailing.

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I wish to join the Celtic League and to receive its quarterly CARN. Please also send me a copy of the C.L. Constitution. I enclose £..... and (optional) contribution towards C.L. expenses £.....

Name

Address

.....

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