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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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25p

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

EDITORIAL. Favourable attitudes.

We report in this issue on two surveys - one concerning attitudes towards the Irish language and restoration efforts, the other concerning attitudes towards Brittany and the way it is governed. Both show that despite the adverse policies of past centuries and the pessimism engendered by their problems, the hearts of our peoples are still relatively sound. Given the right leadership recovery is possible. The trouble is that those who govern us at present are neither favourable nor pressed to take action to strengthen our national identities. The people of Brittany have not yet learned to see that the remedy to their difficulties is political - in relation to France, in particular. It has also to be impressed on the Irish language 'supporters' that they must put the problem of restoration in a (non-party) political context. Irish is being gradually phased out (of T.V., schools, civil service ...) because politicians chose to believe that 'the people did not want it'. The contrary is now proven. Would it be wrong to shout 'subversion'? Clearly no change of course will take place unless some seats become hot!

It is hoped that those committed to national survival will know how to draw and to apply the lessons from these surveys. But until we get statesmen ready to serve our national interests in all respects let us work out ways and means to improve our language learning methods and multiple the opportunities to practise the knowledge acquired. So that a web of relations through the medium of our languages may become established even more tightly within our societies.

(The following statement is made in a personal capacity by the secretary of the Breton Branch, Celtic League.)

HAS THE CELTIC LEAGUE ANY SOCIAL MESSAGE?

When will the Celtic League define a minimum social basis acceptable to most of its members yet sincere and strong enough for the League to be taken seriously by social and workers' organisations?

I don't agree with the proposals made in "Synthesis" (CARN Nr. 9, p.23) especially with the example given at the end! I don't consider "free enterprise" as a fundamental human right: fundamental is the right for all to create, individually and collectively. Capitalist "free enterprise" is but a small and often illusory aspect of that fundamental right I intend to clarify this view in the next issue of CARN.

I generally agree with the values upheld by Alan J. Raude in "Celtic Spirituality" (CARN 8). But I don't follow him when he says that capitalism and socialism are alien ideologies: this would imply that certain peoples would be suited by nature for these ideologies. No, a class of people in every country finds capitalism suitable, but I don't know of any single nation which would be "made for capitalism". ... Socialism in its broad meaning is not an alien ideology but an answer to certain social problems, an answer arising from the terrible exploitation suffered by the peasants for many, perhaps countless, centuries and by the industrial workers especially at the beginning of industrial society. Improvements have of course occurred but not without trouble or struggle!!

In my opinion, each people must re-think socialism for itself and in communication with others. Socialism is not faultless, it does not fully satisfy man but in many respects it is a great improvement.

Still in connection with A. Raude's article, let me state clearly that I would not help to set up a theocratic national State, be it Celtic, Roman or Protestant, however much and truly I respect those who devote their lives to God. The national State should be there for all the people.

May I assure you that I am not one of those who wish to destroy the Christian faith. But I have seen very clearly that the capitalist society, the modern liberalistic society of the Giscard or Tory Type, the consumer society, is as devoid of spirituality as the Marxist society. Christians envisage social justice from the viewpoint of a spiritual philosophy, Marxists from that of a materialist philosophy. In some respects the difference is not that great.

Christianity (or another - Celtic? - spirituality) can

complement socialism, mainly by bringing to it a sense of justice inspired by love, by giving it a sense of forgiving and an element of individualism.

To certain doctrinaire Marxists I would say that, if there is no superman, that applies also to Marx. He may have analysed the exploitation of the proletariat better than anyone before him. He was a man, so perhaps he made errors. We must not look at his writings as a new catechism.

What can the Celtic League propose in the social field?

In my opinion there is an inadequacy between our long term aim of a Celtic confederation and the lack of a concrete social basis. It seems that we are side-stepping the social problems for the sake of a temporary unity. But we know very well that we cannot nowadays carry out a long-term struggle of full de-colonisation in that way. For the long-term we need also to make a more precise social choice and to express it in our Constitution. It would not mean that we could not co-operate on certain well-defined points with other organisations not sharing all our aims. Neither should we divide ourselves with too narrow choices.

I would then propose the following addition to our Constitution: The Celtic peoples will be free only in a society which will give to all the means to participate effectively in the national affairs, i.e. to control production and the exploitation of natural resources for the benefit of all. This is a fundamental right which cannot be dissociated from the struggle for national liberation.

Various proposals are made by advocates of integral federalism, self-management socialism, state socialism, etc. It is not for us to choose between them but to help our peoples to choose by making them as aware and as free as possible, in particular always free to make new choices according to experience.

Jakez Derouet.

SMEAR JOURNALISM.

The first day of the official proceedings of the 1975 Annual Conference of the League was marked by an unusual degree of publicity. This was an article "Manx militants shake a leg" in the London Guardian. From its apparent familiarity with the island scene the inference is that the anonymous writer is a Manxman. What would otherwise have been an excellent article was spoiled by the penultimate paragraph:

"The youthful Manx underground will be seeking fresh impetus from the more experienced Celtic campaigners amid a debate centring on the question of a pan-Celtic federation economically and politically independent from the United Kingdom and France."

This was clearly an inference that (presumably the Irish Branch of) the Celtic League is some sort of umbrella organisation for seasoned bomb-planters.

For many years now the Guardian has been living off the capital of an old reputation for both responsible and radical journalism. In fact it does not merit being taken too seriously, except that to have ignored the article would have appeared to have given in credence. Accordingly, the executive chairman wrote a brief refutation as soon as the Conference had ended. For the next few weeks he was in Ireland, but on return to London ascertained that the letter had never been published. After a telephone call and a further letter, this one with an inference of legal action the letter was finally published on October 17th, just over a month later than publication of the offensive article. The sequence described is of little importance except for those who regard the Guardian as being of some repute. It also exemplifies a very strong tendency common to both English journalists and assimilated to tar all the Celtic national movements with a taint of violence.

Gevier ar C'heleier: Ar "Guardian" zo ur gelaouenn saoz brudet evit hec'h atebegzh ha "siriusted". Abaoe 6 vloaz ez eus bet enni pennadoù binimus ha gaouiad e-enep Iwerzhoniz. Da geñver Bodadeg ar C'hevre Keltiek e Manav e embannas e oamp deut di da rein kentelioù feulster da Vanaviz.

ALBA.

THE CONVOLUTIONS OF DEVOLUTION.

October was all alarms and excursions not to mention a strong strain of Marxism which came from Labour and Tory spokespeople - "the S.N.P.'s policy on oil is immoral" - "there must be fair shares for all" - "the greedy Scots must not prosper at the expense of the poor English regions". By the end of October the headlines were "Home Rule Bill at Risk", and we were referred back to the actual wording of the Government's commitment "they would urgently prepare for the implementation of the decision to set up directly elected Assemblies in Scotland and Wales". Certainly there was no hurry on their part - no pushing from the opposition and from the Liberals only the eternal wail for the voting for the Assembly to be by Proportional Representation. (Now that the Tories are rapidly becoming a minority party in Scotland they are becoming the champions of this too.) At the end of the month an S.N.P. amendment to the Scottish Development Agency Bill asking that the Agency be responsible to the Assembly was defeated. This body was to be a smaller version of Neddly (National Economic Development Agency) though now that it has been appointed with a board of aged members it will be more like an old Tartan Donkey.

The talk of "undue haste" led to warnings from one of the more acute of the Labour columnists, John Mackintosh, "the consequences of some of the talk would turn the staunchest believer in the United Kingdom into a nationalist" and he had to remind his English (sorry, British) brethren "backlashing" furiously that the subject had been on Labour Party Conference agendas since 1957. He asked the little islanders to look round the world at the places where devolved governments worked, and firmly refuted the "Ulster type Situation" bogey by reminding people that it was the refusal to pay any heed to the demand for Home Rule that led to the present sorry state there. "Ignoring legitimate demands is not the hallmark of wise politicians."

There were demands for a referendum and debate on the matter, especially as to how the question would be put. It became very apparent to all, what many had known all along, that the English - people and politicians alike - knew absolutely nothing about Scotland -- a T.V. programme with cameras following two of the latter around on a "fact finding mission" bordered on farce.

On 10th November the results of an opinion survey on behalf of Granada World-in-Action, (they had done the fact finding programme) showed that Labour could lose nearly a third of its support, mostly to the S.N.P. if they established a weak Assembly or allowed the Bill to be talked out of the Commons. Tam Dalyell interpreted this as a protest at the economic situation. By the middle of November it was evident that the timetable was slipping further still and on the 20th when the details of the Queen's speech were made public there was an outcry across the whole of Scotland. The rifts in the two "main" parties increased and the whole issue was kept from becoming boring by their fantastic squirmings - the colourful language made exciting reading - "a growing number of people are getting tired of having their country put in jeopardy by a bunch of political flat-earthers called the S.N.P." - Sproat, Tory M.P. Despite saying that they would not, the Liberals joined the anti-Government vote and only the non-intervention of the Ulster Unionists prevented a Christmas election.

The much heralded White Paper was daylight on the 28th and was more dismal than could be thought possible. There is no room to give the details here but essentially it creates a glorified Regional Council and the subsequent discussions have highlighted its shortcomings: the lack of control over economic planning; lack of tax raising power except the derisory one of a levy on local rates; the Universities left under English control; the huge increase in the powers of the Secretary-of-State; the veto power of Westminster - parliament and government - the list is endless.

As an S.N.P. spokesman put it "the Scots expected to be disappointed but not insulted" and it was not long until that proved right. The results of two by-elections for regional councils on the 2nd December were as follows (figures for May 1974 in brackets):-

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|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Bishopbriggs in Strathclyde. | Bo'ness in the Central Region. |
| S.N.P. 3,878 (2,199) | S.N.P. 1,897 (1,228) |
| Con. 2,221 (2,264) | |
| Lab. 1,317 (2,274) | Lab. 377 (1,550) |
| S.N.P. Majority 1,657 | S.N.P. Majority Dec. 2nd 1,520. |

The most convoluted convolution came again from Tam Dalyell (the present M.P. for the constituency which contains Bo'ness): "the Labour vote began to fall when the party embraced devolution!"

Much hard work went into these S.N.P. victories but the scale of them was tremendous and two days later, on December 4th, an O.R.C. poll (Opinion Research Centre) gave the following as the voting intentions of the Scottish electorate then: S.N.P. 37%, Labour 30%, Cons. 28%, and Liberal 5%. "S.N.P. Go 7 Points Clear at Top." A reversal of the situation viz-a-viz Labour since the last poll.

The negative, frightened attitude of the government was emphasised as they celebrated the New Year, 1976, with a campaign "against sepratism". Various districts, regions and organisations debated the White Paper and gave their findings and the debate in the House of Commons began on 13th January and finished on Monday the 19th when the voting was done. The vote was taken after 4 days deliberations in an atmosphere that was described as one of "menacing silence". The belief is that the Bill will have a very stormy passage and indeed may not even survive. An unhappy Harry Ewing (the Scottish Minister in charge of devolution) appeared on T.V. at 11 p.m. after the vote and tried to put a good face on the whole sorry business but his government and his party have nothing much to look forward to unless the campaign which he predicts is successful - the one in which he and his Scottish pro-devolutionists are going to tell their English colleagues that if they do not support devolution there will not be a Labour government at Westminster after the present one for a long, long time.

The government motion was that the house "take note of the White Paper" and they "won" by 395 votes to 37. However an analysis shows that even this watered down miserable facade of devolving power has 20 or 30 Labour M.P.'s who will not "take note" and a considerable number doing so but threatening that that is all they will do.

The Tory amendment was that they accepted the need for an Assembly (no mention of "elected") but not one that might lead to the break-up of the U.K. It was defeated by 315 votes to 244 and 15 Tories including 2 Scots found that too "extreme".

The S.N.P. amendment regretting that the Bill provided no meaningful control over the economy attracted 27 votes. This comprised their own, Plaid, the Liberals and 3 Labour M.P.'s.

George Reid for the S.N.P. had asked during the debate whether, if the majority of the Scottish people showed that they wanted independence, this would be accepted. Needless to say he got no commitment: which justifies his claim that the White Paper was not, as stated on the front, "for the good government of Scotland" but for the preservation of the U.K. and a Labour administration.

FORMATION OF A NEW POLITICAL PARTY IN SCOTLAND.

On Sunday 18th January a public meeting was held in Glasgow to inaugurate the S.L.P. (Scottish Labour Party) and 400 people are reported to have signed up, including Jim Sillars and John Robertson, M.P.'s who have often been in the news for their efforts to get meaningful devolution policies out of their party. That they have failed in this and ended up voting for the S.N.P. amendment on the White Paper Vote was the end of a long period of divergence not just on devolution but on the increasing diminution of socialism in the British Labour Party. The new party pledged a return to traditional Scottish socialism, that of Keir Hardie, Cunningham-Graham and Tom Johnston. It's a pity they didn't mention John Maclean (they did refer to anonymous "Clydesiders") but at the moment they are in the cleft stick of cleaving to the British state - "nationhood does not mean statehood". However Jim Sillars did mention that dirty word of present day politics - Culture - "when a nation's life is determined wholly externally it suffers cultural, economic and political degeneration".

The formation of this party was predicted in these columns 4 years ago. Its survival will depend on the support of the unions in Scotland and so far they have been more Scottish and more radical than the Labour Party (old British).

CROFTING REFORM - FORWARD OR BACKWARDS.

by Rob Gibson.

There are few times when an important change in our social & economic structure in one area of the nation can have far reaching implications for the rest. Such an issue is the Scottish Highland crofting system and the possibility of legislation by the present Government. There has been no official indication via a White Paper to suggest a model we can criticise, but the evidence available suggests that a split in the Labour Party has further delayed the amelioration of an almost untenable position.

The Crofters Commission based in Inverness & controlling 18,000 plus crofts in the north & west of Scotland, basically the Gaelic speaking areas, has been working with legislation which was anachronistic at its inception 20 years ago. The croft "a small farm surrounded by a large number of regulations" is a tenanted holding of up to about 50 acres with a few arable & most common grazing shared with others in a township. The township controls the use & share of the common grazing. With the rapid development of better roads, new oil-related industry, massive tourist influx and the arrival of more and more white settlers, crofting has become incapable of coping with the changes. To benefit from them is impossible, beyond the bed & breakfast stage or indulging in a non-crofting activity to earn the greater part of one's income. Government pressures on land for oil-related work and landowners attempts to get back common grazing to develop holiday complexes have led to demonstrations, e.g. against landlord Horace Martin, of Dunan, Skye.

So the actions, or should I say words, within the Government party are all the more interesting. The Secretary of State for Scotland believes in making crofters for owner occupiers like farmers in other parts of Britain. The Labour left wants land nationalisation and the Scottish Council of the Labour Party decided at their last conference to support the latter.

The S.N.P. believes in genuine local control of land use guided by a Land Use Commission - set up immediately a sovereign Scottish Parliament is convened. This Commission would identify the best use for land and if large or small areas were not being economically used, they by an avowedly by penal taxation, the present land holder would be forced to economic usage or alternatively to sell the subject to the state at existing use value. Then the local authority, e.g. District Council would rent out the land in future for an approved use. Powers to review the large government holdings of land, e.g. Forestry Commission, would be included in the survey.

Crofting in the meantime needs urgent action and the value of, e.g., producing store cattle and sheep for the national food bank in crofting areas must be recognised as vital. Also a crofter's regret to borrow on the strength of his house, or by some equivalent borrowing mechanism, is necessary. Non-agricultural developments to stabilise the community in the Gaelic areas and offer the young folk a brighter outlook is an integral need; yet the prospect of owner occupier status for crofters merely threatens the Gaelic area with individuals tempted by big offers for their homes - selling up to "white settlers" and moving out. Land nationalisation if controlled in Edinburgh or London will be about as responsive to crofter's needs as a dinosaur's brain would be to a pinprick in its tail. Also the question of compensation arises. Should landlords get anything more than existing land use value, e.g. £5 per acre (the sort of compensation crofters have been getting in resumption cases via the

Land Court)? Can some measure of government control be anything but impersonal, unresponsive and inimical to the hopes and aspirations of Gaeldom?

I would point to the example of Glendale in N.W. Skye where an estate was sold by the government to a "club" of 147 crofters before 1910 and in which they having paid over 50 years the price of their holdings have failed to develop crofting or a strong community based on it. The owner occupier principle coupled with grossly hostile outside economic forces and government indifference to the problem of small remote communities have totally failed to promote the kind of regeneration the area and places like it need. Despite one man's local enterprises to set up a folk museum, restaurant and rebuild a traditional water-mill, their undoubted success and local employment caused the arrival of more and more incomers or the use by local people of their houses in Glendale as holidayhomes, whilst living elsewhere points up the owner occupier system as a blight on community endeavour.

I began by suggesting that crofting reform could provide an example to the rest of the country. I fail to see how it can learn by the lack of real community initiative in owner occupier territory if it is to succeed. I hope that a great pressure will be built up in the Crofting Counties and by friends elsewhere to demand a definite pledge of genuine community control to involve everyone in the building of a new and confident Gaeldom where the land issue is solved once and for all.

The failure by the Highlands and Islands Development Board to use its statutory compulsory purchase powers to stop islands and estates being sold on the free market while a labour government is in power leads me to suspect that the acceptability of such action is not measured in the needs of local people but of the "city" financier etc. Social justice and progress will have to be sought through Scots controlling these decisions in Scotland, but in the interim members of the Celtic League might like to let Scottish members know what happens in their country in such circumstances.

A COLLEGE FOR GAELIC.

The Colaiste Chaidhlig (Gaelic College) at Sabhal Mor Ostaig in the Isle of Skye was founded in November 1972, with the objects of promoting the use of Gaelic as a viable modern language, providing an educational and social centre for the Hebrides and encouraging creativity within the Gaelic speaking community.

The College is housed in old farm buildings which are being gradually converted for their new role. So far a library/office, common room, kitchen and large hall have been created. Plans are afoot to convert other parts of the buildings into dormitories and a reading room although this work is presently being delayed through lack of finance. It is also hoped to install a printing press in the near future.

The College has been fortunate in obtaining a grant spread over three years from the Gulbenkian Foundation which has enabled them to appoint a full-time Director. In addition, with help from the Scottish Arts Council, the College has appointed a Filidh or Writer to the Community. The present holder of this post is Sorley MacLean, a poet of international stature. During the three years of its existence the College has organised a drama festival, a children's poetry competition, and a playschool as well as lectures and night classes. It has received parties of school children from the outer Isles, and Skye for extended visits. In addition, two most successful summer schools for learners have been held with seventy five people from as far away as Nova Scotia and the United States taking part in the courses last year.

The College is run by a trust which has to rely on gifts and grants for its income. Those wishing to help can, for a subscription of £2 (£1 for students) join Caldreabh an t-Sabhail (Friends of the Steading). Members receive a bi-lingual newsletter from time to time and are entitled to use the College's library and study facilities and elect a member to the College's committee.

Details of summer schools and Caidreach an t-Sabhair can be obtained from:- Am Fear-Stiuridh (Director), Sabhal Mor Ostaig, Teanga, An t-Eilean Sgitheanach, Inbhirnis IV44 8RQ, Alba. Uilleam MacCaluim.

GAELIC PUBLISHING IN SCOTLAND TODAY.

Less than two Scots in every hundred, about ninety thousand people, can now speak Gaelic. Because the language was not taught in the schools of the Gaelic-speaking areas until recently, many of the speakers cannot read or write their own language. The market for Gaelic publications is therefore rather limited. There has, however, been a growth of interest in the language over the last few years both among native speakers and learners and Gaelic publishing is now enjoying a modest boom.

The only all-Gaelic magazine is the quarterly "Gairm" which has now been going for twenty three years. It is well produced and its contents, although perhaps rather highbrow, are of a consistently high standard. One strange feature is that about half the advertisements, and it is fortunate in attracting a fair bit of advertising, are in English. Gairm has expanded its activities to book publishing and produces a wide range of Gaelic books as well as dictionaries and learners' material. Club Leabhar ("Book Club") founded in 1971 is now one of the larger publishers. It produces books in English as well as in Gaelic and uses the profits from the former to subsidise the latter. Sixteen Gaelic and bi-lingual titles have now appeared including novels, short story collections, children's books and an autobiography and sales have risen from 2400 Gaelic books in 1971 to 3700 Gaelic and 1200 bi-lingual in 1974. This publisher incidentally, has brought out an excellent history of Gaelic - The Lion's Tongue - by Kenneth MacKinnon. (Obtainable from Club Leabhar, 31 Brae-side Park, Balloch, Inverness IV1 2HJ. Price £1 paperback, £2. hardback.) The Stornoway Gazette, An Comunn Gaidhealach and Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities also publish books of various types from time to time.

Articles in Gaelic have also started to appear in the Scottish press. The Scottish Daily News, run by a workers' co-operative and having a circulation of about 160,000 carries a Gaelic column every Saturday, an article in Gaelic appears regularly in the nationalist monthly Scots Independent and even the arch-unionist Glasgow Herald published a bi-lingual editorial to mark the opening of the National Mod (Scotland's answer to the Eisteddfod) in East Kilbride. In the Highland area, the Stornoway Gazette in Lewis and the radical West Highland Free Press in Skye, both weeklies, continue to run regular Gaelic articles.

Uilleam MacCaluim

Gairm: An Raitheachan Ghaidlig, 29 Waterloo Street, Glasgow C.2. (4 issues £1.50p).

GAELIC CORRESPONDENCE COURSE

An Comunn Gaidhealach, the oldest and largest organisation promoting Gaelic has produced the first ever Gaelic correspondence course for learners in conjunction with the National Extension College, Cambridge, England, a non-profit making educational body. The course consists of thirty lessons and is designed to take the learner up to 'O' level standard for the Scottish Certificate of Education. Recorded material on tapes or cassettes is provided. The author of the course is J.A. Macdonald of the Gaelic Department, Jordanhill College of Education, Glasgow, an enthusiastic propagandist for Gaelic. The course costs £21. Details can be obtained from:- National Extension College, 131 Hills Road, Cambridge CB2 1PD, England.

A BROAD BASIS FOR NATIONALISM.

How Free is the Scottish Press? - 61 Points for Self-Government. The Scots Secretariat, Jess Cottage, Carlops, Midlothian, EH26 9NF. Price 25p post-free.

This 36 page pamphlet contains the arguments for national revival which are usually crowded out by the newspapers. There is an irony worthy of that defender of the Wessex country-side, Thomas Hardy, in some of these letters which cover the years 1965 - 1975. They are full of the lesser known aspects of history, and put the Scottish cause in a background which includes the rights of Fumay and Alsace and the Tyrol.

'LA LANGUE BRETONNE face à ses oppresseurs' le Jorj Gwegen. Foillsichte le Nature et Bretagne, 38 Rue Jeanne-d'Arc, 29000 Quimber, Breizh. A'phrls 35F/£3.

Nach sinne tha faireachdainn aonarach uaireannan agus sinn a' sabaid airson ar cànanan air leth? Ach tha brosnachadh mòr ann a bhi cuimhnich gu bheil iomadh cànan eile air feadh an t-saoghail a tha strì airson beatha. Tha am brosnachadh eadhon nas làidire nuair is e cànan eile Cheilteach a tha fo ar beachd.

Ged is e a' chànan Cheilteach as mò a th' anns a' Bhreatnais (ar brezhoneg), le faisg air muillion de luchd-labhairt, tha i na chuidh-chàs mòr a thoabh sheasaimh na Stàite Frangaich. Chan eil an riaghaltas seo gu sìmplidh aineolach is neoshuimeil mu a dèibhinn: tha i airson cur as dhi.

Anns a' chaibideil "Le Combat des Celtes" tha an t-ùghdar a' dèiligeadh ri suidheachadh nan còig cànanan Ceiltach eile. Tha e a' sealltainn le togradh air buannachdan nuadh nan Cuimreach, agus le dìmeas air polasaidhean Riaghaltas na h-Eirinn: (na luadhach 'The Problem of Language Revival' - 'Ireland is the only country undertaking the task of restoration which has failed in that task'.)

Tha e a' cur nar beulaobh iomadh athbheothachadh buadhach: gu sònraichte an Eabhra, ach cuideachd Innis Tìleis, Faròdhais, Rumanais, Slòbhacais, is Eastoinais.

Tha an leabhar cumhachdach seo sgriobhte le fear a creideas na chànanan fhèin:

'Ce livre est engagé. Comme beaucoup de mes compatriotes, je souhais que la langue bretonne retrouve sa place au soleil. Je n'ai pas hésité à accuser les responsables de la situation présente et à esquisser les grandes lignes des solutions possibles d'avenir.'

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 'O Keltia | (A Cheilteachd |
| Ar mor a glemm fenoz | Tha a' mhuir ag osnachadh an nochd |
| Dindan treid an estren | Fo chàsan a' choigrich |
| Breizh a glemm' (GLENMOR) | Tha a' Bhréis ag osnachadh) |

Ma tha Frangais agaibh, ceannaich an leabhar seo.

Fearghas Mac Fhionnlaigh.

Summary in Breton of "Welsh Assembly Proposals".

Petra 'dalvo an Dael Kembre?

Kudenn ar galloud da vezan roet d'an Daeloù Kembre ha Skosat a vo breutaet ar bloaz-mañ e Dael Breizh-Veur. Ne vo ket aotreet amzer a-walc'h evit peurechuiñ ar vreutadeg (daleañ ar muiañ ar gwellañ a fell d'ar Saozon, gant ar spi e troio an avel a-du ganto marteze). Promesañ ar strolladoù politikel ne vezont dalc'het nemet ma vez ret. An tammig frankiz a vo roet gant London ne dle ket toullañ an hent da freuzhidigezh ar Rouantelezh Unanet! Bro-Gembre, ha n'he deus na eoul-maen e-tal e hec'h aochoù, na kement a gannaded-vroadelourien hag Alba, en devo he Dael nebeutoc'h a c'halloud. Galloud-lezennañ ebet: ur bodad-seveniñ e vo, en e garg aferioù hag a oa betek-hen an emell anezho gant kuzulioù ha pennadurezhioù lec'hel koulz hag aferioù evel an deskadurezh hag a oa kreizennet e London. N'en devo galloud ebet war leviadurezh an armerzh kembre: ar bloc'had arc'hant a vo grataet da Gembre e vo d'an Dael divizout penaos e rannañ etre ar servijoù dindan e vell.

Broadelourien 'zo a gred ez eus aze ur c'hammed, pegen dister bennak e ve, war-du an emrenerezh. Ur genreizhad distabil e vo hag a roy tu emezo da astenn galloud an Dael tamm ha ha tamm. Arouezus e kavont gwelout kannaded Gembre Strollad al Labour o teurel muioù e vevzh bremañ hag a komz evel ma vijent bet abaoe pell a-du gant ar seurt frankiz. Pobl Kembre a chom gwall ziseblant avat. 49% hepen a zisklêr bout a-du gant kinnigoù ar gouarnamant (lavarout a reer ez eus tud hag a zo chalet na c'hoarvezfe disrann ha drañh evel e Norzh-Iwerzhon ma teuje an emsav broadel da dapout lañs. Hag eñ e vo ur c'houlennadeg-bobl?

Displegañ a ra Geraint Jones en "Amheun!" pegen nebeut a fiziañ en deus e talvezfe an Dael Kembre an disterañ da skoilhañ saoznekadur ar vro.

BREIZH.

REPRESSION.

A large scale police operation designed to intimidate the political and cultural movements was carried out in October in Brittany, Occitania and the Basque country. After the bloody clashes in August in Corsica, a minister, Sanguinetti, had said: "We must prohibit the autonomist movements. Governing means foreseeing." He had previously admitted that France had been built in spite of the "French".

Attacks on the homes of, and threats to M. P.'s who had supported the government's colonialist policy in Brittany, were not claimed by the Breton Liberation Front. Were these actions, like the provocation in Corsica, designed to give an excuse for the repression of "minority" freedom movements? In order to win support for its manoeuvre, the government has since presented it in connection with a struggle against crime and delinquency.

At day-break. Thirty members of legal associations had their houses searched at dawn on October 18th and were taken to Rennes for questioning. In all more than 100 were interrogated. 16 were detained for 6 days on the request of the State Security Court created during the war of Algeria to deal with the OAS (normally detention without charge lasts only 2-4 days). Twelve of them were transferred to the Prison of La Santé, Paris, after being charged with endangering the security of the State. On January 5th, 8 were still in jail and there was no sign that they might soon be put on trial.

People were detained on the flimsiest grounds (possession of Breton flag, press communiques from illegal organisations, old model fridges without thermostats, etc.). 150 policemen were brought from Paris and Lille, the army was put on stand-by, helicopters were used. They failed to dismantle the FLB, who a few weeks later claimed responsibility for attacks on a police station in Brest, and a justice court (badly damaged) in St. Brieg.

Reactions: The organisations of the Breton movement were indignant at what they saw as an attack on all of them and an attempt to suppress the freedom of expression. The "Breton" branches of the French "Right" parties applauded the operation whereas on the Left (including the trade unions) condemnation of FLB violence was more or less mitigated by criticism of the indiscriminate repression and of the State's employment policy in Brittany.

Numerous "Breton Anti-Repression Committees" were set up with the support of leftist sympathisers of our cause. They are campaigning for the release of those in jail and for the dissolution of the State Security Court. They organised well-attended demonstrations in support of the prisoners in several towns: Brest, Kemper, St. Brieg, Kemper Rennes, Nantes, Gwengamp, Pondivi (crowd of 1500), with dissemination of information about the Breton situation and evidence that what is at stake is the freedom of expression. The organisers were satisfied with the public response. To them goes the credit for the release pending trial of half the people inculpated. Requests have been addressed to all municipal councils of Brittany (numbering about 1400), as well as to the clergy, to intervene. Ten persons fasted 3-4 days at Christmas in support of the prisoners, in the Kemper cathedral.

Other petitions for the immediate release of the Breton prisoners were organised by the Brussels' Bureau of Unrepresented Nations and a group of European Federalists. They directed attention in particular to the case of Yann Fouere, at 65 the oldest and, internationally as well as at home, the best known of the prisoners. Interventions by Welsh M. P.'s in London, Paris, Strassburg also mainly concerned him, stressing that he was known for his commitment to non-violence. The fact that M. P. Dafydd Wigley was allowed to visit Y. Fouere angered the Breton renegade Abbe Laudren, a Gaullist deputy representing one of the most neglected areas in the French State: it enabled him to conduct a patriotic vendetta in the French Assembly against the Breton Socialist M. P. Le Pensec.

Public attention has been diverted from the Bretons to the jailed conscripts who tried to trade-unionise the French army.

Our compatriots could suffer the fate of prisoners in the pre-1789 Bastille: jailed for their opinions and forgotten. The French Prime Minister vaunts his Liberalism but in practice his government is taking more and more after that of his ancestor, Louis XV.

Celtic League members and readers of Carn! A plea addressed to us from Brittany asks you to help all these prisoners: they are all equally entitled to your solidarity. Whatever a few of them have admitted (under what pressure?), our position is that since the unilateral violation by France of the treaty binding Brittany to her, no French judges have a right to judge Bretons for their Breton activities. You can alleviate their loneliness by writing, if only a few words of greeting to them, indicating their "registration number", (the 3 marked * were jailed already in June 1975 but have not been tried either):-

Yann Fouere, 181 652; J. Laluyaux, 181 655 1/93; A. Le Breton, 181 656 1/39; A. Le Gall, 181 657 1/59; Y. Puillandre, 181 739 2/74; G. Coriton*, 180 672 2/66; D. Crochard*, 180 673 1/76; P. Loquet*, 652 084 1/87; all at 42, (Prison de la Rue de la Santé, 75 614 Paris Cedex 14).

Money to help these prisoners, (Laluyaux has 5 children, Loquet 2) can be sent to the Secretary General, Celtic League, who will forward it to the reputed association Skoazell Vreizh.

OPINION SURVEYS.

For the first time an opinion survey specifically concerning Brittany has been conducted by a professional agency (SOFRES). In fact it covered only the official 4-department region, leaving out the Nantes area. It was commissioned by, and published in, the weekly *Nouvel Observateur* (24 - 30/11/75). The results came as a surprise even to the most optimistic Breton "nationalist": 450 years after the annexation to France and 200 years after the introduction of French assimilation policies, ONLY 26% of the BRETONS feel they are FRENCH FIRST. 22% were BRETON FIRST, 50% were equally Breton and French. The percentages of Breton First were actually 37% among the Breton-speakers and 33% among the rural people in Western and Eastern Brittany alike. Nothing could more clearly show the importance of our language as a factor of nationality. The French governments have of course always been aware of this, while some Breton "nationalists" kept arguing that it was not essential. The results of the survey were so embarrassing for the State that its agencies (daily press of Brittany, Rennes-TV) decided to say as little as possible about them.

"Feeling Breton first" cannot be presented as nostalgia for former times: 2% feel less but 14% feel now more Breton than 5 years ago. For 81% there is no change, they are Breton and that is that.

Questioned about the status of Brittany, 81% said they wanted it to be a region "like the others" (this, economically, would be a great difference from the present), 12% favoured autonomy within the framework of the French republic and 3% were for total independence. Thus about one sixth of the Bretons now want self-government in some form or other. In all however 54% said they "sympathised with the struggle of the Breton organisations to change things in Brittany". 17% thought these were "rightist", 20% "leftist", 20% "of no particular ideology", the rest did not know. (In fact various tendencies exist among them, though the left predominates.)

Though 28% blamed the French government for Brittany's problems, 49% attributed the difficulties to a lack of raw materials and our geographic situation. 57% thought the problems would not be solved any better if the Left came to power in France (16% thought they would).

Brittany is one of the regions combining a strong attachment on the part of its people with a conviction that it offers little scope for personal advancement, i.e. two elements for a struggle supported by the population. The SAFRES survey revealed that, though only 1% approved the FLB resort to violence, 7% thought it might be useful and 23% "understood that people could be driven to it".

Many remarks could be made about the SOFRES results: clearly the Bretons are not satisfied with their country's situation,

but they are pessimistic about its future; they don't trust the promises of the big French parties; they are not opposed to the Breton "autonomists"; but they are not well informed of the root causes of the Breton problem and tend to shun politics. The ground is favourable for a broadly-based movement for self-government. We have two political parties. One has a sustained record - its outspoken socialism excludes the autonomists of the socially-conservative variety who are still numerous; the other lacking a clear leadership and programme, not to mention workers in the field, does not inspire confidence. There seems to be no organised body able or inclined to do in Brittany what Plaid Cymru or the S.N.P. have done in their countries: to channel the bulk of the partisans of self-government. Will our party "executives" draw the lessons from the SAFRES survey and not let French parties (the Socialist Party in particular) steal their thunder?

A final point: considering the comparatively good results obtained by "autonomist" candidates in the last French general election in Loire-Atlantique the inclusion of this department in the SAFRES survey would hardly have yielded less encouraging percentages.

GENERAL STRIKE.

On November 27th, some 30000 workers were out in the streets of Brittany in protest against the degradation of the employment situation in a "region" which is particularly hit by the rapacity of the big monopolies and the crisis of capitalism. It was by common agreement between the largest groups of trade unions in the area that the first-ever call for a **GENERAL STRIKE** to underline **SPECIFIC DEMANDS** for Brittany was issued in the 4 departements (Loire-Atlantique was again left out). Workers marched despite lashing rain and strong winds in twenty towns: fishermen, dockyard transport building metal workers, but more particularly those employed in the public sector (77% of the primary and secondary school teachers took part). Participation was strongest in the West of Brittany - in Brest alone it numbered 12,000. Work stoppages were observed by tens of thousands, otherwise. It was an impressive reaction against the disastrous dismantling of the Breton economy and a demonstration that the people are no longer prepared meekly to accept emigration (for 100 demands for jobs are satisfied, 125 remained unsatisfied in Brittany as against 90 in France) and a standard of living that is 20% lower than the French average.

The CGT-unions and the FEN (teachers) were at pains to stress that they were not out to support demands for political autonomy but with the C.F.D.T. Breton slogans were much in evidence. In several towns, (Kemper, Lannuon, Gwengamp...) the marchers' front row carried banners with inscriptions such as "Labour e Breizh evit an holl" (work in Brittany for all), "Bretoned war sav" (Bretons arise). In Rennes, the workers gathered in front of the Prefecture carried two Breton flags. Like the CGT, the CFDT so far accepts the official partition of Brittany and refuse to recognise the existence of a specific Breton problem. However, this could change soon. In mid-November a large majority of the participants at a congress of the "Breton" Regional Union of the CFDT (Confederation Francaise des Travailleurs) voted in favour of seeking discussions with the Loire-Atlantique Union CFDT with a view to setting up a regional union for the 5 Breton departements. The proposal is based on the whole range of historical, economic and cultural factors which attest that Loire-Atlantique is part of Brittany.

An important document has also been published by the SGEN/CFDT (teachers Section?) reproducing the demands made on October 26th by the Breton language organisations and advocating bi-lingualism for all areas of the French State where minority languages exist. It can be obtained from SGEN/CFDT Langues et Cultures Opprimées, Claude Asseniat, 5 rue Mayran, 75009 Paris. It represents a departure for trade unionists to recognise that cultural oppression no less than economic oppression is incompatible with socialism.

UNITY ON THE LINGUISTIC FRONT.

A list of demands for the Breton Language was agreed on by Ar Falz/Emgleo Breiz, Kuzul ar Brezhoneg and Skol an Emsav (July 18th), and submitted to other organisations for approval and has now been signed by Kendalc'h, Brezhoneg Yezh Vew, Al Leur

Nevez. The aim was a comprehensive modern status, to be implemented within a year determining the place to be given as a minimum to Breton in public life, immediate steps being:-

- a) In education: measures for the optional teaching of Breton in all classes in secondary schools; training of teachers; introduction of Breton in primary and nursery schools. Creating a University degree in Breton; tests in examinations; teaching aids and advisory services; re-training of available voluntary Breton-speaking teachers.
- b) In radio-television: setting up of specialised services for the preparation of programmes in Breton; financial means to be put at their disposal; increase of TVtime from $\frac{1}{4}$ hour a fortnight to 1 hour a week on three channels; 1 hour a day on radio; area of reception to be the 5 Breton departements; teaching of Breton language and Celtic culture on Channel 3 (TV).
- c) In administration: issuing of regulations concerning the use of Breton with Breton-speakers; gradual bi-lingualisation of sign posts and official notices.

This statement was sent to the French Minister of Education and to all Breton elected representatives, with a letter announcing that the struggle would be intensified if the demands were not granted. As no reply came from the minister before the opening of schools, demonstrations organised chiefly by Ar Falz were held in the schools on October 7th (see CARN 11). Participation was uneven, being strongest in the Gwengamp-Lannuon area and slackest in the cities of Eastern Brittany. Wherever they took place, they were very well received by the pupils/students. More than 12,000 of these were given instruction in or about the Breton language and culture on that day. Most of the teachers' unions supported the demonstration. This backing was confirmed at the General Assembly of the CFDT Union of private school teachers (Catholic) on October 29th in Karaez, when an address in Breton was followed by the adoption of a resolution in favour of teaching the language. Of 150 participants, no one voted against and only 22 abstained.

The next step was to hold a public demonstration in the Breton-speaking area, on October 26th. The place chosen was Gwengamp, a town where some Breton is still spoken, situated in the middle of an area receptive to our ideas. Just the week before, the French police had carried out its big operation to intimidate the Bretons. Following a mass meeting, 2000-2500 people demonstrated in the streets, carrying posters in Breton and chanting slogans such as 'Brezhoneg er Skol', 'Brezhoneg yezh Vreizh' (Breton is the language of Brittany), which greatly impressed the people of Gwengamp. Never had the language struggle reached such dimension.



The success of the Gwengamp demonstration encourages us to press on. So is the setting up of an international association to support the Breton language struggle. The minister of education's reply came on December 11th. He offered some credits for the training of teachers in 'regional languages'. **THIS IS FAR FROM BEING A DECISION TO SUBSIDISE REGIONAL CULTURES**, as reported by U.S. newspapers. There was not a word about a university degree in Breton. The French government is only trying to gain time by means of gestures which can deceive only those who have not been long involved in the struggle.

A new type of demonstration was introduced on December 18th, when meetings were held in front of town halls, university offices and local offices of the Ministry of Education. Demon-

strations organised by the students and pupils themselves would be more effective: they have done it for other purposes. We have a huge task of information before us. For the present **Ar Falz** (teachers association) has submitted a model petition to be written and signed in schools.

The present language front includes organisations or individuals who would be satisfied with minor concessions. What is important is to gather and unite as many as possible in support of easily-understood specific demands. They will open their eyes when they see how deceitful and empty the official replies are. Needless to say it is not our purpose to accustom people to trivial demands and wait like well-behaved children. The movement will gradually intensify and, if well directed, evolve into a kind of Civil Rights campaign. The French State will have to give in to our demands or resort to repression. French imperialism has to be challenged. J.D.

ENKLASK. An darn vrasañ a-du gant an iwerzhoneg.

E derou miz genver ez eo bet embannet disoc'h un enklask bras gouezoniell a-zivout ar pezh a soñj poblañs Republik Iwerzhon a-zivout an iwerzhoneg hag ar strivadegoù da adober anezhañ ur yezh a zarempredou boutin. 1).

Dre vras e c'hell an emsaverien Iwerzhonat bezañ dam-laouen, peogwir ez eus div drederenn eus an dud a-du gant reiñ harp-Stad d'ar yezh; 2) : n'eo ket avat evit argas ar saozneg met evit krouiñ ur saviad a zivyezhegezh. "Evit an darn vrasañ an iwerzhoneg zo talvoudus-bras evit kadarnaat an emskiant ez eus anezho ur bobl diouti hec'h-unan, da lavarout eo ez eo un arouez a "heveleptir broadel" hag a "ziforc'h sevenadurel".

Etre an hanter ha div drederenn eus an 3000 den goulennatet a gred emañ ar yezh o vont da get ar Gouezelva. ha ma 'z a da get eno ne bado ket e-lec'h all muioc'h eget ur remziad pe ziv. 78% zo a-du evit ma rofe ar Stad harp armerzhel d'ar Gouezelva, 1), hag evit ma paouezfed da gas du-hont kargdi diouzeleg ha digas e-keñver ar yezh, evelma reer bremañ.

66-75% zo a-du evit kenderc'hel da zeskiñ iwerzhoneg d'an holl skolidi kentañ hag eil derez. 20% ne fell dezho kaout tamm iwerzhoneg ebet, er skolioù. 70% a lavar krouiñ skolioù holl-iwerzhonek e-lec'h m'hen goulenñ an dud. 3).

40% hepken eus ar gelennerien iwerzhoneg er skolioù goude-kentañ-derez a zisklêr bezañ barrek da gompz ha da gompren iwerzhoneg koulz ha pe welloc'h eget saozneg. 4). An darn vuiañ a gav abeg en doareoù-keleñn: goude 12-14 bloavezh-skol ne vez ket gouest ar skolidi, peurlvuiañ, da gompz ar yezh. Ezhomm zo da bouezañ war ar yezh komzet kalz muioc'h eget war ar yezh skrivet hag al lennegezh. Houmañ a defe bezañ studiet hepken gant ar re o defe c'hoant.

79% a c'hell komz iwerzhoneg mat pe fall. 30% a zo gouest da gas un diviz da benn. Er-maez eus ar Gouezdva 9% a zo barrek da ober gantañ evit ne vern pe zavez: 4% a ra gantañ alies, hag un 11% ouzhpenn bep ar mare.

Anv zo gant ar Gouarnamant da grouiñ ur "Bennadurezh ar Gouezelva" hag a rafe wardro ezhommou 'zo. Krediñ a reer ne vo ket bras awalc'h he beli evit ober kement hag a zo ret evit herzel ouz ar saoznekadur. N'eus ket anv a ziennadegoù war-eeun nag a emrenerezh.

Ne fell ket d'ar muianiver e vije ret gouzout iwerzhoneg evit bout degemeret er Servijoù-Stad, 5), goulenñ a reer koulskoude ar gwir da gaout seurt servijoù dre hanterouriezh ar yezh-se, mar karer.

Penaos harpañ ar re a oar iwerzhoneg un tammig da ober muioc'h hag aliesoc'h gantañ? En ur aozañ dihedoù, dreistholl en ur skignañ muioc'h a brogrammoù skinwel iwerzhonek, 6). Hag en ur reiñ tu d'an dud da gojañ aliesoc'h e lec'hioù ma vo anezhañ yezh an divizoù hag an darempredoù, 7).

EVEZHIADENNOÙ. Talvout a rafe dezrevellañ hiroc'h al lev'r a haller prenañ digant "An Siopa Leabhar", 6 Sráid Fhearchair, Ath Cliath 2. Priz wardro £2-00.

1) Ur c'hemm a c'houarnamant zo bet abaoe ma voe roet urzh d'ober an enklask. Ne gredan ket o deus c'hoant renerien Fine Gael ha Strollad al Labour e chomfe bev an iwerzhoneg.

2) Gant an enkadenn armerzhel bras hag an ezhomm da greñn-an an dispignoù a-bep tu e vo digarez awalc'h da chom hep reiñ muioc'h eget bremañ.

3) Un digresk serzh zo bet e niver ar skolioù eil-derez holl-iwerzhoneg e-pad ar 5 pe 6 vloaz tremenet (pennabeg brasañ: diouer a levrioù, d.l.e. diouer a skoazell-stad d'an aozerien hag em-bannieren). Skolioù kentañ-derez holl-iwerzhonek zo bet savet e Dulenn nevez'zo en despet d'ar pennadurezhioù.

4) Nebeut-tre a iwerzhoneg a vez desket bremañ d'an danvez-skolaerien. Ar gudenñ washañ eo evit dazont ar yezh er "Saozva".

5) Abaoe tost da vloaz e oar paotred ar Gouarnamant petra a oa en danevell-enklask, dre vras. An dra nemetañ o deus graet ha diouzhtu, oa divizout ne vefe ket mui ezhomm eus an iwerzhoneg evit bezañ kargad-Stad.

6) 2.2% well-wazh eus ar programmoù skinwel zo en Iwerzhoneg. Digarez evit na reiñ muioc'h: ne blijfe ket d'an dud. Ar vojenn-se zo bet toullet, met ne lavaro ket Conor Cruise O'Brien en doa faziet!

7) Ezhomm a vefe eus salioù-klub, "tiez ar sevenadur", d'an dud d'en im vodañ hep re a vizoù. Dleet a vije bet o sevel diwar goust ar Stad.

Ar 6-Kontelezh zo bet lezet ermaez eus an Enklask. Ar Gouarnamant mañ n'en deus ket afer eus trubuilherien an Hanternoz, Biz. E saozneg hepken eo bet embannet an Danevell. Koulskoude e ro un darn vat eus ar re o deus e sevenet o anvioù er stumm iwerzhonek.

Ne ray ar bolitikerien netra da heul an enklask-mañ ma ne reer ket aon dezho da goll o "seziou". Ha gouest e vo Kevre ar Gouezeleg da lakaat lusk en dud, da c'houlenn ma ray ar re-se diouzho o c'hoant.

ANNA YOUNOU.

A. Heusaff.

Fransez DEBAUVAIS de BREIZ ATAO et les siens.

386pp. Available from Mme. A. Debauvais, 20 Place Des Lices, 35000 Rennes, C.C.P. Rennes 2656.42N. Price: about £3.50p

This issue of the Second Part of the life and work of Fransez Debauvais, the Pilot of the Breton National Party of Breiz Atao, covers the very eventful and decisive period of the years 1932-1939 which were also permeated by the activism of the secret society Gwenn-ha-Du.

This book will be most welcome to anyone concerned with truthful history. For the first time we get a reliable record in the actual letters and daily memories of the man who, far above any other, determined and maintained the political line of the Breton National Movement of the period. Up to the present indeed, there were published only unscrupulously manipulated accounts of the facts. I particularly refer to the pro domo pleadings and falsities of the 'steerless' Olivier Mordrelle - a desperate case of Superiority Complex - and his good friend Le Boterf. Also to the holy-watered suave falsities of the Ronan Caerleon books. All of which cannot be of much use to future serious historians.

Debauvais of course had to be a cautious man. He could not mention in his contemporary writing many things in which he was a main participant. For example his part in the secret council (Kuzul) which acted in a consultative function between the 'violently monstrous' Gwenn-ha-Du and the 'democratically virtuous' Breiz Atao during all of that period. Without a knowledge of this Kuzul, the Breton National activities appear rather chaotic - whereas in fact they were established after much discussion and carried out in concert as far as possible.

This book will not be a fiction success and is not meant to be. Yet it has the virtue of showing how an outstanding personality like Debauvais - endowed with great thinking ability, firm wisdom, calm audacity, tenacious stability, ironclad character and, above all, terrific national-Breton faith - can arise even in conditions of permanent economic semi-destitution and out of an uninteresting petty bourgeois environment. Therefore it was useful to mention something about his personal relations with his uncles and the like, but there is far too much of it.

The fact that the 'Breton biological pool of genes' could produce a Fransez Debauvais even in such unfavourable conditions leaves us with confidence that other equivalents may arise in due time when there is again a pro-Breton, i.e., an anti-French, opportunity. Meanwhile, he has left us a clear and unequivocal example which does and will bear fruit for a very long time, qui qu'en grogne!

Neven Henaff.

CYMRU.

WESTMINSTER PROPOSALS FOR WELSH ASSEMBLY.

The short period between the opening of the Westminster Parliament and the Christmas Recess was dominated by the question of the London Government's proposals for assemblies in Wales and Scotland. The Queen's speech confirmed speculation that although a Bill will be presented during the 1975-76 Parliamentary Session, not enough time will be allowed for it to pass through the two Houses. Nevertheless the promise is that the Bill will be re-introduced in the Autumn of 1976 and will be passed some time in 1977 at the latest. Naturally this unwarranted delay in fulfilling one of the main election promises of the Labour Party to the Welsh electorate at the last election drew strong protests from Plaid Cymru.

Plaid Cymru was much more pleased by the publication a week later of the long awaited White Paper setting out the government's proposals for the new assemblies in detail. It should be stressed that the party's welcome for this event was heavily qualified by their rejection of the inferior treatment which it is proposed to give to Wales as compared with Scotland. However nationalists are generally pleased that a historic step has been taken along the path to national freedom. It is of tremendous significance that although promises of home rule have been made to Wales for some eighty years, since Lord Roseberry visited Cardiff and pledged the Liberal Government's support for the principle of a Welsh Parliament, the publication of detailed proposals for an Act of Parliament is a step which has never before been contemplated, let alone taken. Quite clearly vague promises have been transformed into something much more concrete and less easily avoidable by the electoral successes of the National Movement.

In the case of Wales, the proposed elected body is to have executive powers only and is to operate through a committee system, led by an executive consisting of the chairman of these committees who will be drawn from the ranks of the majority party or parties. The broad fields in which the Assembly will have responsibility are two-fold. On the one hand we have those relating to the plethora of nominated bodies which already control large areas of Welsh life, as for example in the case of the Health Service, or the Welsh Water Authority. The tendency has been for these bodies to grow up without any real democratic accountability, members of the various boards being either partly or in whole nominated by the Secretary of State for Wales. Secondly, another group of functions is to be transferred from the direct control of the Secretary of State for Wales, for example over some aspects of education. In the allotted fields the new Assembly will be able to decide priorities and authorise the allocation of the block grant which it will receive from the Treasury, as well as to supervise these areas generally. Where powers already exist for the Secretary of State or one of the other bodies to enact delegated or subordinate legislation, in other words to fill in the details of legislation where Westminster has laid down only the broad framework, the new Assembly will take them over. This, however, is as close as it will come to genuine law-making.

In view of the very strict limits to the power of the proposed body and in particular the fact that, unlike that planned for Scotland, it is to have no legislative powers, the question of how far it is to be welcomed by nationalists is bound to be given serious thought. One classic argument for any step of this kind, however small, is that once taken it will lead to the new body demanding greater and greater responsibility. The detailed proposals lend some weight to this argument since the system proposed seems to be inherently unstable in many ways. In particular, the position of the Secretary of State for Wales under the new arrangement must be very much in question. He will be stripped of many of his powers and above all of his tremendous powers of patronage in controlling nomination to the various boards and committees which will now come under the aegis of the Assembly. As things stand he will be even more of a cipher than in the past, and either the post will wither away completely or he will receive much greater powers in the areas where at present responsibility is exercised either jointly with another minister, or by a Whitehall ministry exclusively. Either possibility presents opportunities for the extension of the authority of the Assembly in due course: in the former case by the increased

likelihood of tension between Westminster and Cardiff, and in the latter by encouraging a gradual transfer of power to Cardiff from Whitehall via the Secretary of State and the Welsh office.

The likelihood that this proposed reform, however limited, is the thin end of the wedge, and will lead ultimately to full self-government, has at last awoken the interest of some Welsh Labour M.P.'s in the question and they are belatedly trying to pretend that the last ten years of discussion in their own party and the repeated proclamations of support for devolution to which they have been silent parties did not actually occur.

Some support for the idea that the Labour Party commitment to devolution did not have the approval of the mass of Labour voters was given by a recent opinion poll which indicated that in Wales only 49% of those who had an opinion on the subject were in favour of the Government's published proposals. If this is a true reflection of public opinion in Wales it does show a significant falling off in the support for devolution since the late sixties. However the result is not too discouraging for nationalists since earlier polls measured only the views of the public on the vague idea of a greater say for Wales in her own affairs at a time when this idea was not quite in the realm of practical politics. To be able to say with certainty that even in these much less euphoric times one out of every two Welsh people supports these concrete and complex governmental proposals now before them, or indeed would want to go further, is by no means a disappointment to the discerning.

Of course, government is carried on by the winning of elections, not by opinion polls, and the present Parliament has a majority which is nominally pledged to support the establishment of the Assemblies. Quite plainly if the government should, as it still may, wish to quell the dissension within the ranks of its supporters by another referendum the pro-devolution parties could quite clearly turn the present 50-50 split into an overwhelming majority.

K. B.

CAMBRIAN AIRWAYS.

Two Welsh Institutions and their problems have hit the headlines in recent months, the National Eisteddfod and Cambrian Airways. Yet the problems faced in each case have been instructively different.

Cambrian Airways was established in the 1930's and up until the mid-sixties was reasonably successful in its aim of serving the needs of Wales for an airline based on Cardiff's Rhosse Airport. Whilst Cardiff's relatively good communications with London meant that the scope for scheduled flights operation from Rhosse was to some extent limited, Heathrow and Gatwick airports being able to provide access to dozens of cities around the world at only a few hours travelling from South-East Wales, the growth in cheap holidays by air charter offered tremendous opportunities for the Welsh airline. As Cambrian's business grew, so did the interest of the state airline BEA (now part of British Airways) which had for some years owned a controlling interest in Cambrian. Gradually Cambrian was drawn further and further into the BEA net, and the outward signs of its separate Welsh identity were erased. When the recent slump in the charter industry hit Cambrian's business one alternative would have been an imaginative and serious attempt to develop direct scheduled services to other European capitals, a proposition which has by now become much more viable. British Airways plans instead to cut back on existing services from Cardiff and to transfer planes and personnel to Birmingham. This, together with the elimination of the last vestige of the Cambrian livery means the end of Wales's airline as a distinct entity. Protests have been loud and have come from all sections of Welsh life. Amongst those who have put their faith in past promises of a future for Cambrian have been the consortium of local authorities who own Rhosse, and who have spent many millions of pounds on the improvement of runways and terminal buildings in the belief that Government financial assistance would be forthcoming and that traffic using the airport would grow. Whilst in the long run their hopes will certainly be realised, this is yet another example of remote centralised governments and their agencies subjecting the people of Wales to hardships which a little foresight and understanding of Wales's status as a nation soon to attain its freedom would avoid.

AMHEUON!

Diddorol oedd nodi a sylwi ar sylwadau Cynhadledd Plaid Cymru ar y Senedd Etholedig i Gymru. O ddydd i ddydd, ni allafond poeni'n fwy am yr oedi a'r gohirio. Gwir dweud fod democratiath yn ddull o weithredu sy'n gadael neb ar ôl ond sylwer tra mae'r siarad yn parhau mae cefn gwlad Cymru'n dioddef. Fe ddifethir em ffordd Gymreig o fyw. Fe ddifwyr ein cymdeithas gan ddiwylliant y Sais. Heblaw am cefn gwlad sylwer faint o reolwyr ffatrïoedd a chwmfflau yng Nghymru sydd yn Gymry. Faint o weinyddu a wneir yn Gymraeg? Fawr ddim coeliwch fi.

Mae'r siarad yn dal i fynd ymlaen ac ymlaen a'r geiriau disgyn ar glustiau byddar Whitehall. Sylwer beth sy'n digwydd i'n Colegan, yn enwedig Y Coleg Normal, y coleg fwyaf Cymreig yn y byd "croth ein cenedlaetholdeb". Fe ddifwyr ein Prifysgolion yn yr un modd.

Pan ddaw y senedd: Gymru, mi fydd y rhai sy'n llywodraethu drosom ers y Ddeddf Uno wedi symud ychydig filltiroedd o London i Gaerdydd ac yn ein rheoli drwy bypedau gwleidyddol y gweision sifil Cymraeg.

Geraint Jones.

Doubts: "while the talk goes on and on, our Welsh way of life is being destroyed. When Parliament comes to Wales, we shall be governed by the political puppets of the Welsh Civil Service."

AGWEDDAU POBL IWERDDON AT YR IAITH WYDDELEG.

Clywais ryd ddwy flynedd yn ôl am fachgen bach ysgol ynghanol gwrs Wyddeleg, mewn un o ysgolion Dulyn, yn edrych ar ei athrawes ac yn dweud yn sydyn, "Miss, wouldn't it be great if we all spoke Irish all the time, everyone, in the whole country?" Ateb yr athrawes i'r datganiad oedd synnu nad oedd a fel arfer yn ymddangos yn ofnadwy o awyddus i ddysgu'r iaith. "Oh! but Miss," meddai, "I don't want to learn it!" Dengys adroddiad sydd newydd ei gyhoeddi gan bwyllgor o ymchwilyr, ar agweddau tuag at yr iaith bod agwedd y bachgen bach yma ny nodweddiadol dros ben - digon o ewylllys da ond dim llawer o ddiddordeb yn y busnes o ddysgu. Mae'r adroddiad hefyd yn dangos nad oes gan llawer o bobl, ar gwaetha blynyddoedd o ddysgu Gwyddeleg yn yr ysgol, ddigon o hunan-hyder i arfer yr iaith mor aml ag y hoffent. Nid wyf am fynd i mewn i fanylion yr adroddiad yn y golofn yma. Mae rhestru ffigurau yn fy mlinio, ac yn ôl pob tebyg yn blino'r rhai sy'n gorffo i'w darllen. Ceir yr adroddiad am £2 o swyddfa cyhoeddiadau'r llywodraeth (Oifig Dhiolta Foisleachán Rialtais, Ard-Oifig an Phoist, Baile Átha Cliath), os mynnir, ond hoffwn wneud rhai sylwadau ar agwedd pobl at y busnes yma o ddysgu. Agwedd y rhan fwyaf, mae'n debyg, yw mai job caled o waith yw hi, agwedd sy'n tarddu o etifeddiaeth o ddulliau gwael o'i dysgu mewn ysgolion. Nid dyna brofiad pawb, wrth gwrs. Nid felly oedd fy mhrofiad i o ddysgu Cymraeg na Gwyddeleg, ond digwyddwyd i mi fod yn ffodus dros ben o ran athrawon.

Pobl ffodus hefyd yw'r rhai sydd wedi cael Mr. Dan L. James fel athro Cymraeg. Ffodus hefyd yw'r athrawon sydd wedi cael eu hyfforddi ganddo. Mewn seminar i athrawon ysgolion meithryn yn neuadd Conradh na Gaeilge yn Nulyn ar y 24ain o Ionawr, dangosodd Mr. James y gellir gwneud dysgu iaith yn ddeniadol, yn ddiddorol a mor gyffrous a gêm o rygbi. Roedd y gwrandawyr i gyd (rhai ohonynt wedi teithio cymaint a chant a hanner o filltiroedd i'w glywed hefyd) wedi ffoli, fel plant eu hunain, ar ei arddangosfa o deganau, o bypedau a lluniau, ar ei ffordd o siarad, symud a chanu a chwarae.

Yn ddiweddarach yn y nos' roedd Mr. James ymhlith y siaradwyr mewn cyfarfod mawr cyhoeddus o dros bum cant o bobl (ffaith arall sy'n profi faint o wir ddiddordeb sydd yn yr iaith, er yr hoffai sinig feddwl fel arall). Cynhaliwyd y cyfarfod dan ofal Conradh na Gaeilge a'r teitl oedd. "Yr Adroddiad, Beth Wedyn."

'Roedd yn drueni, meddai, nad oedd dim sôn yn yr adroddiad am bwysigrwydd mamau a phlant bach, am ysgolion meithryn a phwysigrwydd y blynyddoedd cynnar ym mywyd y plentyn o safbwynt dwyieithrwydd. Aeth ymlaen i drafod y chwyldro sydd wedi cymryd lle yng Nghymru gyda llywyddiant a chynyddiad ymgyrch yr ysgolion meithryn yn ystod y blynyddoedd diweddar, a bod 242 ohonynt yn bod erbyn hyn. (Mae'n gywilyddus meddwl mai dim ond rhyw chwarter o'r rhif yna sy'n bod yn Iwerddon.)

Mae Cymru yn cael cryn dipyn o gyhoeddusrwydd ym mhapurau Iwerddon y dyddiau yma. Mewn erthygl gan Donal Foley yn yr "Irish Times" ar Ionawr yr 31fed, dyfynwyd geiriau A.S. Caernarfon, Dafydd Wigley: "The Welsh Language is alive and kicking up hell!" Yn yr un erthygl, tynwyd sylw at y ffaith bod y cysylltiad iaith-a-chrefydd yng Nghymru wedi chwarae rhan positif yn y mudiad i goleddi'r Gymraeg a'i diwylliant.

A chofiwch chi, gefnogwyr rygbi o Gymru sy'n dod i Ddulyn ar y 21ain o Chwefror, i brynu copi o'r "Irish Times" ar y diwrnod hwnnw. I anrhydeddu'r achlysur fe fydd adroddiad arbennig ar Gymru yn y papur hwnnw - yn cynnwys erthygl gan Dafydd Wigley ei hun.

Janice Williams.

N. The above is a reference to the recent report of the Irish Language Attitudes Committee's Report. It mentions the meeting addressed by the Welsh expert on language-teaching Dan. L. James, the seminar given by Mr. James on Welsh nursery schools and the growing interest shown by the press in Ireland in the Welsh language movement.

Y COLEG NORMAL.

Education in Cymru is split between London and Caerdydd. Caerdydd runs the schools and pays the teachers; London trains the teachers and decides how many there should be!

The Minister of Education in London had intended to close a number of Colleges of Education (Ecoles Normales) including one of the two colleges that trains teachers in Welsh. It would appear that the English Minister of Education did not know that the demand for Welsh speaking teachers was increasing. He now knows different and Y Coleg Normal is to be saved.

Surely the fact that the Minister was so ignorant of Education in Cymru makes it clear that ALL education, schools, colleges and Universities should be controlled by the future assembly in Caerdydd.

Y SWYDDFA BOST - The Post Office.

The Post Office in Cymru has agreed to use Welsh in all its forms and publicity, with Welsh before English on Bi-lingual forms. Unfortunately 60% of the forms in Post Offices are published by other government departments, which don't yet use Welsh. So until these departments are pushed the Post Office will still be a 'nightmare' for the Welsh speaking Welshman.

CAMBRIAN COAST RAILWAY.

The west coast railway was badly damaged by the storms on 2nd January and is still not repaired. At least one railway line has been lost because it was 'too expensive to repair'. Even now the replacement bus service is so bad that passenger traffic is declining. Where are the people responsible for the line in deepest England, Stoke-on-Trent, where the problems of Cymru mean nothing.

I. S. H.

PROBLEMS OF SUCCESS.

The Eisteddfod is arguable Wales's most successful institution. Inevitably expansion causes strains and this year a certain amount of heat has been generated by matters difficult for the outsider to understand unless he realises that what is happening is natural under the circumstances. One issue, relatively easy to appreciate, is that of the main pavilion, purchased last year from the company who had previously hired it annually to the festival. For the first time it was necessary for this, the largest demountable building in the world, to be erected under the overall control of the Eisteddfod itself. A matter of weeks before the Eisteddfod was due to open it was found that the erection had left much to be desired and frantic efforts were necessary to render it safe. That a problem like this, and the other associated problems of finance and organisation, should have arisen is only natural, but some critics became so frightened by the pace of change that they proposed that the Eisteddfod should be reduced in size or suspended for a year.

Fortunately this was only a minority view, and in Eisteddfod circles as throughout Welsh life the realisation is growing that the problems of success although no less difficult than those of failure, are much more fun to tackle.

JOHN JENKINS - SION AP SIENCYN.

John Jenkins is to be released soon from Albany Prison. Jenkins was imprisoned in 1970 for organising a series of explosions in Cymru in the 1960's.

When he was imprisoned few people were concerned about his political beliefs but since then a cult has developed around him. He has become the first martyr of the political idea that as long as Cymru is not free violence against property is justified. Sion ap Siencyn is no mindless man of violence, he has developed a detailed political ideology which is certainly not without its followers, as evidenced by the 800 Christmas Cards he received last year.

However his release is not without publicity. A fund has been established to buy and repair a cottage for him ready for his release. The fund has created a great deal of interest because of the large number of well known Welsh people who have contributed, including well known pacifists. The contributors include Rev. Euros Bowen (a former Arch Druid), actor Meredith Edwards, poets Alan Llwyd and Rev. R. S. Thomas, two university professors: J. Gwyn Griffiths and Jac L. Williams, and Labour M. P. Ted Ellis.

EUROPEAN NATIONAL MINORITIES.

The Heggen Verlag, D-567 Opladen, Postfach 1546, Düsseldorf, Strasse 45, F.R. Germany, have published a book of 216 pp, by Rudolf Grulich and Peter Pulte under the title "Nationale Minderheiten in Europa", price DM12. It describes, in German, the situation of the European minority linguistic groups. It will be very useful to anyone wishing to acquaint himself with, or to check data concerning these minorities and affords means to compare the treatments given to them by the States, both in practice and in law. As well as articles of their constitutions defining linguistic rights and other policy documents, the book reproduces statements of claims, resolutions adopted by conferences, international agreements dealing with the problem.

If democracy is to be measured by the treatment a State gives its minorities, the States of Western Europe have little to be proud of, compared to most Central European ones. We find here multiple examples of minorities numerically smaller than the Breton and even the Gaidhlig speakers endowed with primary schools and daily newspapers in their own languages. Rumania can allow its 2½ million non-Rumanian speaking citizens to have over 1000 primary schools of their own, why does France deny a similar right to (at least) one million Bretons?

The only Communist State for which the authors have no good word to say is the Soviet Union. They roundly denounce the myth of the USSR as the protector of 70-odd minority languages. Russian is throughout essential for access to important positions. The position of the minorities is undermined by the immigration of ethnic-Russians, for instance in the Baltic countries where the latter form now 25-30% of the population (the Riga Protest issued by 17 Latvian Communist Party officials in July/August 1971 and addressed to six Central and Western European Communist Parties gives evidence of the persistence of Great Russian imperialism and chauvinism).

In Brittany too there is an experience of pro-Moscow-Communist intolerance of Breton national aspirations - as recently as last Autumn when, in Brest, on the occasion of a demonstration against the execution of three Basques and two Spaniards people carrying the Breton flag were assaulted, as if those Basques had wanted to preserve a monolithic Spanish State! Since then the French C. P. has become critical of Moscow but there is no sign of its having abjured its French chauvinism.

We must criticise the information concerning the Celtic countries. Obviously the authors share the view that nationality is to be strictly defined by language. There map shows Ireland with no Donegal-Gaeltacht but with 700,000 Keltic: so, only those who state in a census that they could speak Irish are to be reckoned as Keltic? But this "nationality" is not applied in any other area. "Brittany has to-day 3,200,000 inhabitants, of which at least 1.2 million are Bretons." Why? No doubt because a 1928 estimate gave this as the number of Breton speakers. But since then it has drastically decreased. Yet the descendants of those people most certainly still claim they are Bretons, and so do most of the people in the part of Brittany which has not spoken Breton for centuries (see SO FRES survey).

A. H.

ÉIRE.

IRISH LANGUAGE SURVEY REPORT.

The report of the Committee (established in 1970) on Language Attitudes Research was finally published in January. It is the most scientific piece of research ever undertaken on the Irish Language and while it shows that widespread support exists for the language it also illustrates clearly some apparently contradictory attitudes. The report is divided into 4 main sections - attitudes, ability, usage and policy implications. It is based on a national survey of 3,000 people and additional surveys in three different policy areas - education, the Gaeltacht (Irish speaking areas) and administration. The report states:- "The first and most central dimension around which people's attitudes are organised is a basic belief in the value of Irish as a symbol of national or ethnic identity, or as a symbol of cultural distinctiveness. For a clear majority of the population the Irish language is valued as an important element in validating or publicly confirming their feelings of national identity or sense of separateness as a people. Linked to this are values about the intrinsic cultural importance of the language itself. Closely related to these values are strongly held beliefs that the future of the language should be ensured and that it should be publicly supported."

Sixty-four per cent of the national sample feel that Ireland would not really be Ireland without its Irish-speaking people; 65% feel that without the language the country would lose its cultural identity and 72% agreed that no real Irishman can be against the revival of Irish. All of these responses are higher for Gaeltacht areas. At national level, 82% felt that Irish traditions have a valuable contribution to make to national life. However, only 39% felt that Irish could be revived as a common means of communication.

Also, in spite of the first four percentages given above, 48% agreed that far less money should be spent reviving Irish, no matter what effect this had on the language, while only 46% disagreed.

Educational policy is by far the most significant in relation to Irish, the report says. There is very considerable support for the teaching of Irish in schools and 68% of the national sample feel that Irish should be taught at school and that children should be required to study it. The majority of respondents (67%), for example, would feel very sorry if most Irish children stopped doing Irish in school. The equivalent figure for Gaeltacht respondents is 89%. Sixty per cent of married respondents say it is very important that their children should grow up knowing Irish. There is stronger support for the teaching of spoken rather than written Irish in schools. Seventy six per cent favour teaching spoken Irish and 65% written Irish in schools.

Similarly there is a clear preference for more Government encouragement for Irish teaching. Eighty one per cent feel that the Government should encourage and support the publication of good Irish textbooks; 56%, extra rewards for good Irish teachers, and 64%, free Irish courses for adults. In these three areas respectively 54%, 28% and 26% feel that the previous Government did not do enough in these areas. Seventy per cent feel that the Government should provide all-Irish schools wherever the public wants them.

But there is also opposition to having Irish a compulsory subject in schools. Whereas 80% regard English as a compulsory subject for passing the Leaving Certificate, there is only 34% and 27% respectively in favour of spoken and written Irish as a necessity for passing the examination, although this is not true of the Gaeltacht sample. This opposition to compulsory Irish also extends to the Civil Service; 66% do not agree with Irish examinations for entry into the Civil Service, Garda, etc., and a majority also believes that many civil servants get their jobs just because they are better suited to the job. However 71% thought that Irish speakers should have the right to expect Civil Servants to be able to speak Irish to them.

USAGE OF IRISH.

The current usage of Irish among adults at home, in work, or among friends, is very low, the survey reveals. Outside the Gaeltacht only about 4% of the population appear to use it fre-

quently or extensively. About 15% do use Irish to some degree in these situations. Civil servants and teachers reported a higher incidence of usage of Irish in their home backgrounds than the general population. There appears to have been a small decline in usage of Irish between the parental and actual current home environment of respondents.

There is no reference to Irish language in newspapers, but almost three-quarters of non-Gaeltacht respondents said that nobody ever read an Irish book or magazine in their home. An incredible 70% of respondents with native speaking ability never read an Irish magazine or book.

The report comments on some underlying factors in usage of Irish. The effect of the schools has been to maintain conversational usage levels in the adult population at the same level as it was in the previous generation. But there are three major shifts: The school system has become more central as the number of native speakers declines and schools are now in a better position than in the 1930's regarding parental back-up to their linguistic efforts, as the ability levels of parents have consistently risen.

Secondly, the effects of the dependence on the school has meant the shifting of Irish speaking ability into middle-class, educated, urban sections of the population.

And thirdly, the decline in the number taught through Irish raises questions as to whether this equilibrium can continue. (Only 11% of 17-19 year olds went to schools where some subjects were taught through Irish. The figure for the 35-44 year old group was 28%.)

The survey shows a general apathy towards Irish and Irish language promotion agencies. Sixty one per cent agreed that whether people speak Irish or English "does not matter to me" and 79% believe that Irish is less useful than a continental language. Similarly more people feel that it is important to teach a continental language than Irish at post-primary school. Sixty two per cent feel that Irish cannot be made useful for business or science, 76% said that most activities run by Irish language organisations were of little interest to them.

However, the survey points out, respondents hold these views on the lack of modernity and practicality of Irish while at the same time supporting it as a means of national cultural identity strongly. And 69% of the national sample would like to use both languages equally if everyone could speak both languages. The overall indication, it points out, is for bi-lingualism rather than everybody speaking Irish.

Other interesting results from the attitude survey show that 55% of all respondents feel that public figures should show a good example by using Irish more in the Dail and on public occasions, however only 43% feel that the Government should support such a policy. Sixty six per cent support Government encouragement for more Irish within the Civil Service. Fifty six per cent support the use of Irish in public signs, such as on buses or road signs.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS.

The report does not make any specific recommendations as such, as this was not part of its brief. It does, however, examine the "policy implications" of its finding in some depth. These can be summarised as follows:-

There is widespread support for a bi-lingual objective based on cultural and ethnic significance of the language, but at the same time there is widespread objection to compulsory policies. There is also widespread disillusionment with the Irish language as experienced at school and objections to negative instrumental sanctions. While such instrumental sanctions can help to build up ability they can also produce an antagonism to the language. This presents the dilemma of finding selective instrumental motivations. Past policies were based on a misunderstanding of the potential of the school system, although it was not designed to produce communicative competence.

It is the strong feeling of the compilers of the report that future policies must be based on sociological and psychological research. The existing policies have not arrested decline in the Gaeltacht, but have offset it with a build-up of usage in non-Gael-

tacht areas. This gives the false impression that Irish as a community language is not declining, whereas it is.

The report suggests that Bord na Gaeilge should develop a strong policy oriented research and development unit to develop programmes of language acquisition, strategies of language use, and policy assessment research.

As only a small proportion of people outside the Gaeltacht learn Irish in the home, it recommends more emphasis on home usage and the possible co-ordination of initiatives in the home and on radio and television. In schools it suggests the provision of all-Irish schools where there is a demand, and in view of the poor success rate of teaching Irish as a subject, it asks for investigation into alternative methods of using Irish in schools. It sees an "urgent need to change the focus of school curricula towards conversational Irish". Some system of instrumental motivation in schools, whether examinations or not, is needed and such schemes should be kept under constant review. There should be more attention paid to conversational Irish for teachers.

On the question of post school usage, in view of the dramatic fall-off in usage and ability after leaving school it suggests a "large scale rescue programme aimed at the immediate post-school age group".

This could be done through the provision of attractive cultural, recreational and entertainment events in Irish or bi-lingual settings. It suggests the maximising of interpersonal activities rather than a lone approach here and the linking of Irish classes to "voluntary and attractive domain settings".

In relation to the public service it notes that actual usage in relation to ability is very low and that even parts of the Civil Service and local authorities dealing directly with the Gaeltacht are becoming anglicised. The first and most important requirement is that all parts of the service dealing with the Gaeltacht should be in the hands of persons willing and able to use Irish. This is "more important than having a sprinkling of Irish-using sections throughout the service". In relation to public usage it notes that there is widespread support for public ceremonial usage and suggests simultaneous translation, for example, in local authorities where Gaeltachts are located. This was done in Wales and was most successful. An expansion of bi-lingual programmes on radio and television is also urged.

Because of the decline in population and Irish language usage in the Gaeltacht, and the gradual anglicisation of State institutions dealing with the Gaeltacht, it recommends a single corporate authority for the Gaeltacht to "extract it from the predominantly English-speaking institutions within which they are currently implicated". This would involve the bringing of local authority, central government services, and schools serving the Gaeltacht, under the authority.

The report also calls for further research.

The report was welcomed by the Government as endorsing its decision to remove Irish as a necessary subject to pass exams and for entry to the public service, no mention being made of its failure to formulate effective policies and its many negative actions in relation to textbooks in Irish, the founding of all-Irish schools etc. Conradh na Gaeilge stated that the report disposed of the many myths which have been the mainstay of negative State policies for almost 30 years. We feel sure the main results presented here will be of interest to those in the other Celtic countries but having already taken up more space than intended further comment must be held over until our next issue.

IRISH STATE!

Tomás Ó Monacháin refused to recognise the court in Gaith Dobhair (Donegal Gaeltacht) after failing to get the judge to deal with his case through Irish, without using an interpreter. He does not intend to pay the fine imposed on him. It is only one example of the way the "Irish" government is ramming English down the people's throat and phasing Irish out despite the wishes of the majority of the population.

MARGADH NA SAOIRE.

Bhí a fhios ag mná le fada an lá gur beag meas a bhí ag polaiteoirí orthu - má rinne siad staidéar ar bith ar chúrsaí an tsaoil agus an chaoi a ndeachaigh siad i bhfeidhm orthu. Thuigfí tífir a mbeadh stair fada impireachla aici, ar bh'é a caighdeán saoil an leatrom ar an mbocht agus ar an lag, a bheith ar nós - chuma - liom faoi cheist seo chearta na mban. Ach ceard a tharla do thír a chaith aois na nglunta ag troid in aghaidh na daoirse agus a las sa fichiú aois solas lúcháireach na saoirse sa chuile thír ar domhan a bhí faoi chois ag tioránach? Níor spáráil mná na hÉireann iad féin sa troid sin. Bheithfí ag suil go mbeidís san aireach sa téacs cáiliúil sin a gheall cearta do mhuintir uile na hÉireann chomh luath agus a bheadh an Phoblacht i réim. Is cinnte go raibh freisin ach ar ndóigh níorbh í an Phoblacht a tháinig i réim. An feidir dá dtagadh sí i réim ag an am go mbeadh comh-stádas ag mná na tíre seo lena gcomhdhaoine fireanna nó an rud níos doimhne é a leatrom ná an coras coimead-ach rachmais, a bhuaileann aois ar an té ata fhios, a tháinig is-teach ina h-áit? Níl aimhreas ar bith nach bhfuil drochmhéas ar na mná sa bhfuil ag na fir tríd agus tríd. Feadann an droch-mhéas seo bheith taobh le taobh leis an dúil is cráite agus is fíochmháire. Ach tá fianaise ann freisin nach bhfuil fear ar bith is mó drochmhéas ar mhna ná an fear a thacaíonn le córas a dhuth-shaothraíonn an bochtan bíodh sé fireann nó bainneann. Tá fianaise eile ann chomh maith a deireann gur b'é an fear gur mór aige ceart agus sonas na muintire fré cheile a aithníonn na mná mar a chomhdhaoine agus a éilíonn a gcearta. Ní shin le rá nach bhfuil samplaí sa stair de ghluaiseachtaí ar son na saoirse a rinne neamh-shuim de na mná - cuir i gcás reabhlóid na Fraince, a dhiúltaigh cearta do mhna na h-aicme a thug si i gcomhacht. Ceist chasta í ceist an leatroma ar mhna ata préamhath i gcúrsaí polaitiúla, eacnaimíochta agus cultúir agus tá a cuid snáithí chomh fite fuaite, snadhmáthe ar a chéile gur deacair iad a idir-dhealú go minic. In Éirinn feadfar creideamh a áireamh mar ghné tábhachtach den scéal freisin. Níl mórán udair ag bean ar bith a bheith buíoch den Eaglais Chaitliceach. Níor mhór di (An Eaglais) a coinsias a scrúdu faoina seasamh ar chearta ban agus faoin ómos is cuí doibh mar bhaill den chine daonna. Ní h-aon ionadh é mar sin gurb é an fear céanna nach ligfeadh a choincias breá Caitliceach, Éireannach do bhólaí ar son cearta frith-ghiniúna mhna na tíre seo ansin anuraidh, nár leas leis an coinsias Éiseallach céanna a mhúchadh agus comhphá a dhiúltu doibh. Ce hé? Cé eile ach Liam Uasal MacCoscair - an fireann gearmnaí, cam e fein a threig an díá a chiur sé fein agus a chuid Airí ar leabhar na reacht ar anuraidh. Seo é an beart is suaraí agus is tuataí uilig. Tá a fhios agaibh anois é a mhna. Cuirfidh Liam in ár lúf sinn - faoina chosa pé scéal é: Beidh a fhios againn feasta cén polasaí a dhúiseos na dailí - polasaí an spailpín - Go deo deo arís ná téimís go Caiseal ná ar mhargadh na saoire agus na dearmad-aimis an 'píke'.

Ná bíomís meallta ach oiread ag slosaíocht an chomhréitigh is deireannaí. Ní thugann sé cothrom ach do fhíor-bheagan de na mná a bhfuil sé ag dul doibh. Dala an scéil ma ta míchoth-raimíocht pa ann bíodh mí-chothraimíocht praghasanna ann freisin.

Gráinne Ní Mháille.

(This article looks at Womens Rights in the context of the Irish Government's attempt to defer the introduction of equal pay for equal work - in force in fact from January 1st by virtue of their own Act. This attempt provoked such a storm of opposition from the Trade Unions and the Womens Organisation that a hypo-critical attempt to placate them was made by introducing equal pay for single people of the same sex and married people of the same sex but the differential between married and single people to remain. This was in the public service - if the private sector employers are to be allowed to defer equal pay if they show that it will cause a loss of jobs or closure of concerns.)

(Br.) Dleet e oa da C'houarnamant Iwerzhon, hervez reolennoù ar C'henvarc'had, lakaat goprou ar merc'hed keit-ha-keit gant re ar wazed adalek ar 1st a viz Genver. War zigarez diaesterioù armerzhel hag a zo nec'hus e gwirionez en deus klasket goursezan met trouz zo bet, ha pelegit en deus gant aon na zeufe disrann etre an div gostezenn ouzh ar stur, Fine Gael ha Strollad al Labour. Tagañ a ra "Grainne" ar re a nac'h kenwiriou d'ar merc'hed.

ROAD SIGNS.

In the past three years many road signs in the Irish Republic have been erected in the English language only. Initially it was thought that such signs represented the errant ways of a minority of local councils. However the present proliferation of these signs is a serious erosion of the "official status" of the Irish language and if allowed to go unchallenged and unchecked could lead to the complete elimination of Irish from the roads and streets of Ireland by 1980. It is ironic that this erosion has become significant at a time when our sister nation, Wales, has achieved a considerable measure of success in regard to Welsh/English bi-lingual signs.

The law is quite unambiguous about the status of Irish on these signs. According to the Road Traffic (Signs), (Amendment) Regulations, 1970, these signs "shall be shown in Roman Letters in Irish and in English and where the spelling of a place-name is similar in both languages an Irish inscription only need be shown on the sign". The only exception made is for Gaeltacht areas where place-names "shall be shown in Irish only".

The reality is vastly different. The most shocking part of the affair is that whereas English only signs still constitute a minority of the total, the major portion of those erected in the past five years omit the Irish language entirely.

The response to this insidious campaign has been slow in coming. On driving around the country, one notices the occasional sign defaced here and there. Some towns have relented and after wasting public monies on English-only signs have replaced them with bi-lingual ones - e.g. Sligo.

The author has observed English-only signs in the following counties:- Carlow, Clare, Cork Dublin, Galway, Kildare, Kilkenny, Laois, Limerick, Meath, Monaghan, Offaly, Tipperary, Waterford and Westmeath. The worst offending places are:- Athlone, Carlow, Clonmel, Galway, Limerick, The Naas dual-carriageway and Portlaoise.

It is possible that the problem may be resolved by recourse to the law. The Cuiste Dúiche of Tiobraid Árann (Theas), Conradh na Gaeilge are presently preparing a court test case. If it succeeds, the energies which would have been directed towards destroying these signs could be placed much more usefully in other directions.

A draft bill, now circulating in Government Departments, proposed that the law be changed to allow the exclusive use on all road signs of the language of the majority of the people in the area where they would be erected!

Sean F. O Drisceoil.



In Cashel: Irish being phased out.



Bilingual Sign-posts in Mann.

THE NORTH.

Following the expected rejection by the British Government of the report of the Northern Ireland Constitutional Convention the Convention is to be reconvened for a period of four weeks, from the 3rd February, for discussions aimed at producing agreement on a system of government likely to command sufficiently widespread acceptance throughout the community so as to be stable and effective. (Mr. Rees the British Secretary for the North said that when the Convention reconvenes it would have three matters to consider: the matter of committees as a part of a wider and acceptable constitutional framework which provides adequately for participation and partnership; the matter of more widespread acceptance; and the matter of whether progress could best be made on an evolutionary basis.) In his speech announcing the recall the Secretary of State ruled out withdrawal and a united Ireland. In relation to the "Irish Dimension" he stated that the British Government did not consider it necessary or appropriate to create an institutional framework such as a Council of Ireland for relations with the Republic.

The reaction of the U.U.U.C. (United Ulster Unionist Council) majority in the Convention was to decide on a course of 'passive resistance' which may include a boycott - or the disruption of - the working of local government. 40 members (a majority in the Convention of 78 seats) of the U.U.U.C. have given their personal word of honour not to deviate from support for the Report. It is thought that the British Government may be thinking of holding a referendum on the issue of minority participation in any future government for the North in the expectation that the electorate will vote for an emergency coalition. Even if this produced the desired result - and a negative result would be disastrous for the British - there is no guarantee that the Loyalist majority would comply and indeed a doubt exists as to whether such a non-institutionalised arrangement would be acceptable to the S.D.L.P.

No matter what the outcome will be after a further month of the Convention it is extremely unlikely that the Provisional I.R.A. will welcome it. While they have not yet discarded the ceasefire it can hardly be said to have existed for some months past and it is virtually certain that provisionals operating under pseudonym have been responsible for retaliatory sectarian attacks. It is thought that the Provisionals may be preparing for another general bombing campaign - possible largely in England - to begin at what they regard as an opportune time. With internment without trial officially ended (although those sentenced to prison terms for attempting to escape from internment without trial were not released) the British are apparently trying to classify all bombings and shootings as criminal rather than political acts and have announced their intention of abolishing special category status for prisoners in future - in effect to do away with political status prisoners. Whether the Provisionals still have the same support they enjoyed previously or the capacity to sustain a resumed campaign remains to be seen. What the reactions of the Loyalists paramilitary groups would be to a renewed campaign is another question. In any case the North can only wait out the coming months with trepidation.

GUARANTEED IRISH - BUY ABROAD.

As the number of unemployed in the Republic soars to 120,000 the news that a contract for £200,000 worth of office equipment for a £15 million development for the Irish Life Insurance Company in the centre of Dublin has gone outside the state has shocked and angered people. This has been done at a time when the Irish furniture industry is suffering a recession of unparalleled severity. It has also occurred in the middle of an intensive campaign by the Government and Industry to urge consumers and firms to buy Irish - with the stress on quality - a campaign run under the label "Guaranteed Irish". Lest any reader in another Celtic country think that the Irish Life is a private company who can ignore the Government's wishes let us inform you that it is virtually a state controlled enterprise with the Minister for Finance holding 90% of the issued shares on behalf of the State and the Board is appointed by the Minister. As the affair progresses it appears that Irish Life actually misled the Government in relation to the purchase and placed Irish firms at a disadvantage in the tendering process. Undoubtedly the Irish Life management could do with a crash course from the promoters of the Guaranteed Irish campaign.

KERNOW.

BORDER BLURRING.

by E.J. Pengelly.

The "Principles of Assimilation" were admirably pointed out to us (CARN 10, page 14) in the quotation from the 'Pilkington Report on Broadcasting 1963'. Nowhere can the results of assimilation be seen more clearly than here in Kernow, where the threat is totally out of proportion to the size of the country. The mind conditioning has been, as stated in the "Principles of Assimilation", "... persistent, apparently imperceptible, but in the end prevailing....", due significantly to the relegation of Kernow to the status of English county. County status has meant that Kernow is denied 'official' recognition as a Celtic country and is expected to accept passively all attempts at submerging the people into the English whole. The Cornwall Education Committee have stated that Cornish subjects are receiving their correct place in school curriculums. Cornish schools have never promoted Cornish history and culture, thus ensuring the erosion of a 'Cornish' identity, which has been reinforced by an influx English immigrants, whilst the Cornish have been following that mysterious 'Celtic' trait of self-exile. The reasons for this population conversion warrants a separate article, however, the net result appears to have given Kernow a record population of 400,000.

Numerous examples can be quoted to indicate the extent of Kernow's assimilation: they fall into identifiable categories: a) Anglicisation, which is the object of assimilation and which we endure as part of the Anglo-British State. b) Regionalisation, resulting from an acceleration trend to form larger economic units and which absorbs Kernow into an English S.W. Region, e.g. the recent absorption of the various Cornish Water Boards into a S.W. Water Authority covering Kernow and County Devon, with its administrative headquarters at Exeter, Devon. c) Border Blurring, an act of assimilation by the diminishing of identifiable Cornish territory and/or administration. This form of assimilation has appeared relatively recently and heralds the ultimate extinction of Kernow (the Country) by the destruction of Cornwall (the County). Border Blurring has resulted from Regionalisation and is achieved by creating administrative divisions which merge parts of Kernow with parts of England under a pretext of 'efficiency and economy'. These sub-divisions are invariably referred to as 'West Devon', 'Plymouth', and 'Exeter' or, in the case of the S.W. Water Authority, 'Division 2'.

Most of us have allowed ourselves, to become the tools of our national demise by replacing a subconscious identification with England, with a conscious acquiescence in Border Blurring; allowing Cornish products to be labelled 'England', instead of 'U.K.' or 'Gt. Britain'; even failing to differentiate between English by administration, and Cornish by nationality, a problem which must be shared by our Breton cousins with regard to France. The final indignity has been foisted on us by that pillar of efficiency and economy, the Post Office, in typical authoritarian manner by:-

- 1) The use of English-based postcodes for the greater part of Kernow: the address of, for instance, the North Cornwall District Council is given as Council Offices, Wadebridge PL27 7NU. 'PL' refers to the Plymouth distribution area. Similarly 'EX' for the Exeter distribution area includes a small part of North East Kernow.
- 2) The use of English-based date-stamping, e.g. letters from Liskeard are stamped 'Plymouth, Devon A' confirming the address of Liskeard 'PL--'.
- 3) The projected classification of Cornish telephone users, within 'technical' range of the Plymouth conurbation, as Plymouth subscribers. This would manifest itself by the receipt of a letter date-stamped 'Plymouth, Devon A' from a person living in Saltash, Cornwall (redundant) 'PL12 6LF'. Telephone Plymouth 123456.

As the wedge is driven deeper it becomes increasingly obvious that some form of Cornish compromise could have been implemented and, in fact, could still be applied. The postcodes applicable to Kernow are EX, PL and TR (Truro) based on the economics of transport. When mail is sorted from remote areas it is identified into major districts, i.e. Exeter or Plymouth, thus the latter receives both PL and TR mail. The TR mail is further sorted en route from Plymouth to Truro, similarly all Cornish mail, dependent on postcode, goes to the sub-regional centres for onward sorting. It is a very small step indeed for the Cornish

areas covered by EX and PL to be given a distinguishing code to signify 'West of the Tamar'. The date-stamping has been moved because it is uneconomic to continue to carry out in a local post office. Therefore because we are within the Plymouth and Exeter distribution areas, transportation, in common with all centralisation, dictates that the facility must be moved over the Tamar into England. It is not surprising therefore to find that a small area in N.E. Kernow is date-stamped 'Holsworthy' (Devon) whilst equally close to a major Cornish town, and a very large part of S.E. Kernow, which could surely justify the existence of a Cornish date-stamping centre, is date-stamped at Plymouth. Item 3 above began as a proposal to reclassify two exchanges, this has since risen to four exchanges and will most certainly increase. Whilst the Post Office have achieved a technical feat accomplishing a compromise may be obtained by classifying the 'group' of Cornish exchanges as, say, 'East Caradon'. The technicalities of the East Caradon with Plymouth exchanges would be identical to the proposed 'Plymouth' areas, i.e. direct dialling and a common STD code. The integrity of the Border would be achieved by the separate entries in the dialling code book. Such efforts to compromise do not, however, fit into the inflexible general policy of the Post Office, which appears to be based on a utopian ideal of "... one common identity...." at whatever cost. This reference to one common identity is not applicable to the Anglo-Cornish border alone, as Cymru and Alba may be able to confirm, but an indication of a complete disregard for Celtic identity.

BORDER BLURRING. Eman ar Saozon oc'h ober ouzh Kerneveuriz evel ma ra ar C'hallaoued ouzh Breizhiz: evit gwanaat an tammig emskiant e-kenver melestradurezh. Ar rannvro tost da b-Plymouth a zo lakaet gant Devon, evit ar Post da skouer. Dispisat e vez an harzou evelse.

It is not for the Celtic League to take side in the Stannary Parliament issue except to say, that on the basis of opinions given by most of our Cornish correspondents, we tend to be reserved. We believe that our national claims must be founded in present-day needs much more than on historical tradition. But here we have historical argument that throws very unfavourable light on the Stannary. If anyone can refute it with verifiable references, he is welcome to do so in CARN. We insist however on the need for precision....and conciseness.

THE STANNERY MYTH. (Continued from CARN No. 11)

In 1640 the "Long Parliament" reformed the Stannary Courts, and removed from its jurisdiction all kinds of people who had come to claim the 'privileges' though only being remotely connected with the tin trade: by 1602 most of the members of the Stannary Parliament or Convocation were drawn from the gentry - i.e. Walter Raleigh (a Devon man) was Lord Warden. To quote A. K. Hamilton Jenkin's *The Cornish Miner* - "The privileges of their class being in early times, at any rate, very considerable, the question naturally arose, who was and who was not a tinner. The answer is not clear. In its widest application the term included not only miners and stemmers, but also smelters, carriers, charcoalers, carpenters, smiths, tin merchants and even the owners of tin bounds. For ordinary purposes however the tanners were generally understood to be those who were actually engaged in the getting or preparing of tin for the market". The Long Parliament, and (if we are to believe the *Stannery Gazette*) the then Stannary Parliament, confirmed the privileges as only applying to working tanners.

In 1650, the Stannary, pre-emption and Coinage were abolished by Cromwell's Commonwealth, to the great prosperity of the tanners and all others connected with it (except the Crown and gentry), there was a boom and great prosperity with high prices and good earnings - but the 1660 Restoration destroyed all this, the Stannary (Crown) controls came back in force - leading to great depression in the industry. Prosperity only returned after pre-emption (price fixing) was lessened in 1703, and finally abolished in 1717 (note - only af-

ter a Cornish 'Lord Treasurer' - with a finger in the pie - Godolphin - had been replaced by Walpole - an Englishman!) Coinage markets did not disappear to be replaced by revenue tax - until 1838. The Stannary Parliament ceased to exist in 1752, only having sat 9 or 10 times since its formation - that is 9 or 10 times in 551 years! Though even long before its demise it had passed into the hands of the Crown and gentry, so a writer describing the 1750 Stannary Parliament could say "... during the time of election, gentlemen think it worth while to come down into the country, who are never seen in it at any other time, and to neglect their business for three months altogether, without having or pretending to have the least knowledge of tin or Stannary matters".

It should be remembered that the Stannary only, despite what the present day so-called Stannators have deluded themselves into thinking, applied only to 'tanners': there are other aspects of Cornish life - fishermen, farmers, sailors etc. - who had no such 'highly effective' "protection".

So thus it can be shown that the so-called Stannary Parliament is as about useful to Cornish independence as the Conservative party. The Stannary was a device set up by the English Crown to hold Cornwall, through one of its main industries, even closer to it than obtained in county (or shire) status, by the effective trick - long practised by totalitarian regimes - of using Cornish quislings to hold their own people in slavery and under exploitation, and it was certainly never based on any 'Celtic Assembly' (as has been claimed).

Cornwall has suffered for far too long from being tied to England, and its (Germanic 'Saxon') monarchy: yet these Stannators still wish to be part of a "Greater Britain", a concept that (thankfully) died long ago, and tied to an institution, through its 'branch office' - (the Duchy) that has exploited our people unmercifully, not just the miners (they had the Stannary to keep them quiet) but all of our people - farmers, fishermen etc. The 'Rights' of the Stannary apply only to 'tanners', the method of election is not particularly democratic, and as has been shown, its 'power' was very limited, being designed and used as a talking shop to show that "things are being done", much like many shop-floor workers/management committees in modern industry, a cover for exploitation by our oppressor.

Our friends in Mannin can easily show us the vast disadvantages of being independent, but still tied to the English Crown, and of having a system of government which is too rooted in the past to be truly democratic, and thus unable to defend its people from continuing English exploitation.

The only way Cornwall will gain any independence, and we should be fighting, like Scotland and Wales, for the status of a fully independent self-governing nation, (preferably as a republic), completely independent of England, except in so far as matters of trade and other common interests render treaty agreements between two independent nations necessary. The only way is to get truly Cornish (Mebyon Kernow) Members of Parliament into Westminster, in at least a majority, preferably in all five seats. It is through the ballot box we should work (it can be done), not through self-appointed, self-delusionists in a St. Austell hotel, (or through violence). Our claims will only be recognised when we get our own M.P.'s at Westminster (like S.N.P. and Plaid Cymru). Westminster can easily ignore the claims of people away from its doors, but once inside it will be more difficult for them to ignore us.

A terrible danger to our cause is that Westminster could give some "legality" to the "Stannary", as a sop to Cornish nationalist aspirations, to try to kill it, as they are trying to do in Scotland and Wales.

Could this not be why certain M. P.'s of English based parties have (suddenly) taken an interest in the Stannery and Cornish interests? Giving way to the Stannery call of not contesting the Westminster Parliament elections, would certainly protect the interests of the English based parties, and facilitate England's continuing exploitation of our land.

Mebyon Kernow (at the moment in my view the only truly Cornish national movement) should ignore the Stannery as an irrelevancy; stop trying to tear itself apart with its infighting; and start utilising its potential - fighting hard for parliamentary seats, on the road to independence.

John Treays.

THE CORNISH LANGUAGE AROUND US.

By R. Gendall, 22pp. Lodenek Press, Market St., Padstow, Cornwall.

Explains the names of towns, villages, farms by means of common though sometimes unfamiliar Cornish terms. Bretons and Welsh will be delighted to find how "Marazion", "Ventongimps" "Carland", "Caragloose", were put together: that "Polyphant" has to do with frogs and not with elephants: that "Park Pesky" far from being a fishing field (!) was a place for fattening cattle, which reminds me of the old practice, known in Ireland as well as in Brittany (and elsewhere?) of "paskan boued d'ar vugale", whereby the mother would make sure that the cereal she was feeding her child with was not too hot. Lanivet, I would expect to be in Breton "Lann nevet", sacred enclosure (Ir. naomhtha, naofa), without recourse to a Saint Nevet. This booklet, which also introduces a little grammar, should stimulate the people of Cornwall to learn their language, that they might know what their ancestors saw in the country around them, in Polkerth, Carn Kenidjack, Mongleath, Ponsongath, Nancarrow, Crogley (The Hanging Place!).....

A Mebyon Kernow Conference is to be held on the weekend of the 6th and 7th March. A dinner to celebrate St. Piran's Day will be held on the evening of the 5th or 6th March. Details from National Sec. M.K., Trewolsta, Trewirgie Hill, REDRUTH.

-oOo-

An answering letter from Niels Sigurdsson, Icelandic Ambassador in London, to the Cornish Branch C.L. thanked the Branch for their sympathy and understanding of Iceland's case in extending her fishery limits and states that it can never be sufficiently stressed how vital the preservation of fish stocks are to her survival. Correspondence to the branch from S.N.P. spokesman on Agriculture and Fisheries, Hamish Watt M.P. pointed out that the worry caused to local fishermen through the appearance of large Scottish trawlers, fishing in local traditional waters, off the Cornish coast, could be blamed on the Westminster government's mishandling of this industry. If fish stocks in Scottish waters are depleted by East European boats for example, can the Scots fishermen be blamed for looking elsewhere - in larger numbers?

-oOo-

The Cornish co-ordinator for inter-Celtic exchanges is Miss B. Kernow, 24 Peverell Road, PORTHLEVEN. Please advance postage costs or send stamped addressed envelope with enquiries.

MANNIN.

DOONNEY EDDYR-CHELTIAUGH. (Continued from page 17.)

Goll rish Britaanee elley, hie Fouéré dys Nerin sy vlein 1949. Dooyrt ny Frangee dy beagh eh currit ayns pryssoon dy darragh eh dy valley. Britaanee elley ayns Nerin ec y traas shen, v'adsyn fo aggle y vaash hene dy darragh ad dy valley. Shen yn aght daase kiangleys scanshoil eddyr daa heer Cheltiagh. Gyn ourys, cha mie lesh reilteysyn Paris as Divlyn y kiangleys shoh - cha nel eh ayns coardailys rish reillyn jesh y Cho-vargey. Agh my tod y kiangleys jannoo red erbee dy heyrey Fouéré, she red mie t'ayn.

Brian Mac Stoyll.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN MANN (Continued).

Perhaps at this point I can briefly outline the present constitutional relationship between Mann and the United Kingdom.

Mannin is not part of England nor of the United Kingdom, but is, like the Channel Islands, classed as being part of the "British Islands". Overall sovereignty of the Island rests with the English Crown which is ultimately responsible for the "good government of the Island".

In practise the internal government of Mann (that is in regard to legislation which does not transcend the territorial boundaries of Mann) is normally left to Tynwald, the Manx Government.

However, all legislation passed by the Manx Government requires Royal Assent to complete its enactment. Before the Revestment Act it had been necessary for the Lord of Mann to approve all legislation drafted by the insular government and with the passing of the Lordships of Mann to the Crown, the British Sovereign now has this right.

At the beginning of each Monarch's reign a Committee of the Privy Council is created with special responsibility for Manx affairs and it is through this committee that Manx legislation is submitted for Royal Assent.

The Manx Government itself is made up of two branches - an upper house, the legislative Council and a directly elected lower house - the Keys, with the Lieutenant Governor, the Crown's representative, presiding over the whole assembly.

As the Crown retains control over matters relating to the maintenance of public order and the administration of justice the control of the Manx Police Force lies directly with the Lieut. Governor and the Westminster Parliament can when it considers the situation warrants its involvement, legislate for the Island.

It must though, in fairness, be pointed out that laws passed by the Manx Government relating to solely internal matters are rarely questioned and the Island is virtually internally self-governing. Unfortunately the political complexion of successive Manx Governments has been such as to prevent them from realising the benefits which the present constitution endows upon them.

One example of the failure by the Manx Government to use the independence of action which already exists is the so-called "Common Purse" Agreement.

This freely negotiated arrangement between the Island and the United Kingdom dates back some eighty years. This arrangement has for its basis an agreement that Manx and U.K. duties be kept "in line" and provides that Customs duties (now including Value Added Tax) are collected by the U.K. Government and they apportioned each year between the Island and the United Kingdom. The Island's share of the total British revenue is calculated on the resident population of Mann in proportion to the resident population in Britain and Northern Ireland plus what is known as a "fiscal equivalent" for visitors.

To the present Manx Government the "Common Purse" Agreement is a Godsend. It provides, every year, a substantial revenue without the necessity of taking any responsible government action. But as I have explained this is NOT, despite what some people think, a hand out from the British Government - it is merely a fair return of our own money.

But we in Mec Mannin call for the abolition of this agreement. In 1956 the Manx Government agreed to follow the U.K. in all duty changes and not make

fresh differences or fail to follow in any way. This has prevented the Manx Government being able to assist local industries by levying a reduced rate of tax on locally produced goods. It has prevented the Island offering visitors the advantageous duties which prevail in the Channel Islands (which do not have such an agreement with the Imperial Government), and it has strengthened the chains which tie us to a rapidly sinking British economy.

Whilst we accept that levying reduced rates of Value Added Tax might mean creating yet another department of Government and would certainly reduce the monies collected on every item sold within the Island - we are absolutely confident that increased sales, linked with the many other benefits which would arise from an undoubted increase in tourism, would far outstrip the present amount collected, and would give to the Manx Government the means to effectively control the Manx economy.

The Manx Government is traditionally made up mostly of "independents". That is members who have no party allegiance and all too often no policy, and therefore no real collective responsibility for the way in which the Island is governed. The only political party to be represented in the Manx Government at the present time is the Manx Labour Party (perhaps the most inappropriately named party anywhere - for in outlook it is neither Manx nor Labour), which has consistently failed in its duty to provide a lead and which has failed completely even as an effective opposition to the present reactionary government.

But looking to the future there is one sign of hope. The Nationalist Party, Mec Vannin, is now the largest political party in the Island.

Mann was the last of the Celtic Nations to form a Nationalist Party. Before Mec Vannin's foundation in December of 1964, political nationalism in Mann was confined to a few intellectuals, who, however articulate in their demands for nationalist policies, were, by their limited numbers and lack of cohesion, condemned to be voices in the wilderness.

To an Island unused to Nationalist philosophy, indeed to a people imbued with an inferiority complex of the sort which can be traced at some time or other in the history of all the Celtic peoples, the Nationalists' demands were considered, to say the least, extreme, and is any of Mec Vannin's founders expected instant success then they were doomed to disappointment.

But they soldiered on. Gradually, due to the unceasing work of those Mec Vannin founders, the Manx people realised that a radical change of the sort proposed by the Nationalist Movement was necessary.

But Mec Vannin's first attempts to win seats in the House of Keys were not particularly successful. Mec Vannin candidates campaigned in various bye-elections, but despite the ever growing number of followers, our supporters were not sufficiently concentrated in any one constituency to ensure the election of a Nationalist candidate.

Our first major breakthrough came in the last general election when, although not elected, a Mec Vannin candidate came within 25 votes of winning a seat. Here was proof to the electorate that a Nationalist vote was not a wasted vote, and since that time Mec Vannin's election record has been extremely good.

Three Mec Vannin candidates (including our present party leader Mrs. Annette Bridson) were elected to the Board of Education - which is voted for in the same constituency areas as the House of Keys. These three people became the first official Nationalists to sit on any publicly elected body.

From here on the success story of Mec Vannin becomes a warning to the present government. In local authority elections Mec Vannin candidates really made their presence felt, with a number of heartening electoral successes in both Ramsey and Peel. In a House of Keys bye-election, Mrs. Annette Bridson came a close second to the Labour candidate in a traditional Labour stronghold.

In the eleven years since its inception Mec Vannin has become a force to be reckoned with - and for the present government the day of reckoning is close at hand.

S. L. Keggin.
Chairman of the Political Committee
of Mec Vannin.

MANX PUBLISHING.

Despite the obvious lack of a daily paper, publishing in Welsh is in Celtic terms quite healthy. Publishing in Irish is comparatively well behind, nevertheless a large element of selection is necessary for the average reader who could not hope to keep up with everything published in Irish. It would not be too difficult to keep up with all material published in Scottish Gaelic, but thanks to the efforts of Gairm and An Club Leabhar the last few years have seen a notable increase in the volume of publications.

As the population of Mann is upwards of 50,000 of whom only a small number speak or write Manx the printing of Manx is a costly business. Apart from the Manx Bible there is now another important Manx text Chronicle of the Kings of Mann and the Isles. The original manuscript from the monastery of Rushen was in Latin. It has now been published together with translations in both Manx and English, price £4.

It would be well worth for those who speak Scots or Irish Gaelic to indulge in a spot of patronage by purchasing this book or at least ensuring that it is available in their local library. This would not exactly be completely altruistic as the chronicles have much of Irish and more of Scottish interest. More important, by means of the English translation it is possible to gain a good idea of Manx orthography and to note where it differs from Irish or Scottish. If at a later stage some of the basic sounds could be checked with a Manx speaker the Scottish or Irish Gael ought to have acquired some familiarity with the sister language. For those with a more specialised interest a further volume is to be issued which will provide a historic commentary on the chronicles and relate them to the general contemporary background. Volume 1 can be obtained from:- George Broderick, 3 Royal Terrace, Onchan, Mannin, and volume 2 will shortly be available from the same address at a similar price. Mr. Broderick is a co-editor of the book with Brian Stowell whose contributions in both Manx and in English are already familiar to readers of Carn.

Pádraig Ó Conchúir.

DOONNEY EDDYR-CHELTIAH.

Yann Fouéré, the best-known and the oldest (at 65) of the Breton prisoners, is the author of "La Bretagne Ecartelée" and "L'Europe aux Cent Drapeaux" in which he develops his concept of freedom for ethnical communities through federalism. He is an Irish citizen.

Ga dy vel Yann Fouéré ny ghooiney mooar ayns caggey ny Britaan, she seyraanagh (citizen) Yernagh eh as ta dellal roagan echey ayns Conamara.

Ayns 1934, v'eh jannoo obbyr feer scanshoil son y chengey Britaanagh. Haink eh lesh dy chur er ram olteynyn Britaanagh syn ard-whaiyl dy ghra dy row ad ayns foayr jeh'n chengey. Va reddyn cheet lesh y chengey. Agh eisht, vrish y nah chaggey mooar magh. Va kuse dy Vritaanee ayns foayr jeh co-obbragh marish ny Germaanee, va kuse elley slane noi shen as va kuse elley foast eedyr oc. Hannee Fouéré sy Vritaan tra va'n caggey fo raad. Ayns 1945, v'eh alghoil. Va drogh-ourys ec ny Frangee er as chum ad eh ayns pryssoon rish un vlein, agh eisht v'eh seyrit oc er y fe nagh row feanish dy liooar oc eh y gheyrey. Ec y tra shen, va Britaanee dy liooar marrooit gyn resoon erbee (by liooar eh y ve dty Vritaanagh). (Continued on page 16.)

CORSICA.

Until recently most of us Bretons knew nothing of the history of the Corsican people apart from the official textbook lies: namely that Corsica was bought by the King of France from the Republic of Genoa, of which the island was a colony; this had made it possible - o unfathomable wisdom of Eternal Providence - for Napoleon to "be born a Frenchman". Besides this, Corsica evoked images of préfets (government representatives in the departments), sergeant-majors and cops: good civil-servants, good Uncle Toms, handy navvies for the One and Indivisible Republic. We Bretons would not realise that probably at the same time in the Isle of Beauty a Breton-born préfet, Sergeant-major, policeman was playing the same roles and deserved the same epithets. Machiavellianism reaches its highest point in our decaying Byzantium.

Auld Alliance.

The Breton nationalists were the only ones to recognise in the Corsicans a people whose struggle against a common oppressor made them our brothers. On September 12th, 1927, the leader of the Corsican patriots Petru Rocca, signed the charter founding the "Central Committee of the National Minorities of France" together with the Alsatian Paul Schall and the Bretons Morvan Marchal and Olier Mordrel.

The Corsicans 'ethnic character.

Among the national minorities of the French State, the Mediterranean, dolichocephalic, brown-haired Corsicans with their elongated features and their swarthy complexion are perhaps the ethnic group which most differs from the stock French. In a French crowd, a Corsican is immediately recognisable by his physical appearance, before opening his mouth: something that cannot often be said of an Englishman, a German, or even a Slav.

Corsica means a language.

The Corsicans speak a Tuscan dialect which is quite close to literary Italian. From early times until 1789 Italian was their only official and written language. However a group of writers and scholars, gathered around the periodical "U Muntese", have standardized the Corsican "language". Last year the well-known publishers ASSIMIL brought out a book for learning it.

Corsica is an island.

There is no doubt that living on an island has strengthened further the extremely particular characteristics of the Corsican people and helped them to maintain their cohesion and remarkable unity. Corsica is far from the continent, far from France and communications are not always that good. Geographically, as well as ethnically and linguistically Corsica belongs to the Italic configuration. Its problems don't differ much from those of Sardinia and Sicily.

Corsica means a history.

All during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and until the end of the 18th Century, Corsica is politically a part of the Italian world which was divided in independent principalities with very original personalities and often differing ethnical characters but united by a common culture.

Prior to the French invasion in the 18th Century, contacts between Corsica and France did not exist. Following a long struggle against the Republic of Genoa which occupied some of its harbours, Corsica completed its liberation under the wise government of Pascale Paoli, the most democratic in those days and admired by the Europe of Enlightenment. Thus Genoa owned Corsica neither de facto nor de jure. Genoa 'sold' to France something that did not belong to it, but this fiction will serve as a pretext for the French to launch a military conquest of the island, witnessed by an indignant but powerless Europe. Frederick the Great sent Paoli in testimony of his high esteem a sword engraved with the words "Patria -- Libertas", but he did not send any troops. 30,000 French soldiers landed in Ajaccio under Marboeuf's command. On May 22nd, 1768, the Corsican deputies gathered in Corte under Paoli's presidency proclaimed a general rising against the invader with the slogan "War, war, war to the French". But in spite of a heroic resistance the little Corsican army was crushed by the odds in Ponte-Novo.

Paoli had to go into exile in London, and Corsica was annexed to the Kingdom of France. After the fall of the monarchy, she regains her freedom again, during the Terror: Paoli is recalled and the island becomes independent under the theoretical and distant suzerainty of the English King, but she is reconquered shortly afterwards by Bonaparte and incorporated in the French Republic. The Corsicans fall now into a political sleep that will last more than a century. France, especially after 1870, tries to assimilate them while hundred of thousands of them have to go abroad, above all to France, due to the lack of economic and industrial development. France becomes the only official language, Corsican is prosecuted but maintains itself quite well among all classes of the population. Corsica proves to be unassimilable: although impoverished and stagnant, she preserves her personality.

It is under the 5th Republic that a new policy is introduced, with the result that the indigenous population will gradually be removed and replaced by French-speaking and submissive people coming from France and elsewhere. The need to resettle the colonists (Pieds Noirs) forced to flee from Morocco and Algeria provided the French government with an opportunity for quickening the assimilation process by means of a scheme of subsidies refused to the native Corsicans but lavishly bestowed on the French-speaking immigrants. France brings in thousands of Pieds Noirs with their Moroccan labour. They are competent farmers, buy land at low prices and improve it, gradually driving the "natives" out of their own country.

It is against this dispossession that the Corsican people has risen. During the past few years a movement, which had originally very moderate aims very rapidly radicalized its position under the pressure of necessity and thanks to a growing awareness of reality, passing from regionalism to a demand for autonomy. This evolution is exemplified by the most important of the organisations, the A.R.C. (Association for the Regeneration of Corsica) which was originally similar to the Breton M.O. B. of the early sixties but is to-day prohibited, following the Aleria events. Other more advanced groups now envisage complete separation from France and various armed resistance organisations are carrying out attacks with explosives: this is called *Justicia Paolina*.

David and Goliath.

Let us briefly recall what happened at Aleria. On the 17th July crowds had demonstrated in Ajaccio and Bastia shouting "I Francesi fora" (Out with the French). On the 22nd an armed fight between French and Corsicans resulted in two deaths on the side of the forces of repression. 50 farmers armed with sporting rifles and some automatic weapons and headed by Dr. Edmond Simeoni, leader of the A.R.C., had occupied a building belonging to a "Pied Noir" and fortified it for a token resistance. They were surrounded and attacked by a thousand Riot Police (CRS) equipped with much better weapons and armoured cars. When one of the besieged was grievously wounded by a grenade, they shot dead two of the "defenders of law and order".

Dr. Simeoni surrendered to the French in exchange for safe-conduct for his men who left the building, with arms and flags flying to the amazement of all. A number of them were arrested afterwards and jailed. The A.R.C. was dissolved. Corsicans re-acted immediately. In Bastia a riot flared up during the night, a crowd of young people armed with sport guns and Winchester rifles surrounded the government building. Another CRS was killed and many wounded on either side.

During the following weeks, the Corsicans rally to demand the release of the jailed patriots and claim their national rights. On September 1st, operation "Isola Morta" (Dead Island) is a complete success: the general strike is almost total. On the 14th, a mass meeting in Ajaccio against repression draws also a huge attendance from all over the island. At the end of the demonstration, several hundreds of young people refuse to disperse and assail the prefecture. This results in important material damage, and people being wounded and arrested.

Faced with the magnitude of these reactions, the Paris government seems helpless: half-measures are taken, French préfets are replaced by Corsican-born ones, officially the problem of Corsica is treated as being purely economic or as due to "insular-mindedness". But courage pays. A vast movement of

opinion has started in France which is even favourable to a certain "regional autonomy" while the representatives of the national minorities in the State, Bretons, Alsations, Flemings, Occitans, Basques and Catalans have declared their solidarity with the Corsican patriots fighting for freedom.

Corsicans with backs to the wall.

Vince o more. To-day and not to-morrow the Corsicans must win or perish. If they don't succeed in regaining enough freedom to control their own affairs, they will be submerged. The French government pursues in Corsica the same policy as the Russians have practised so successfully in the Baltic countries where for instance in Latvia they now outnumber the native population. The day the native Corsicans become a minority in their own country they will only have to bow and go. Figures tell the terrible tale:-

For a total population of 220,000 there remains only 120,000 native Corsicans as against 50,000 French and 50,000 immigrants from various countries (North Africans, Spaniards, Portuguese, etc.), brought in mainly since the last World War, and French-speaking now or very soon: in all 100,000 foreigners. Of 75,000 jobs, 47,000 are taken by the latter. On the other hand 700,000 Corsicans live abroad, 150,000 of them in Marseille, 100,000 in Paris and (as many in) Nice. Corsicans are scattered over the World, especially in North America (New York) and the countries of the former French empire.

Apart from the Armenians who fled the great massacres by the Turks and since the Jews have found in Israel a country of their own, there is perhaps no example of a people being so scattered around the world. What we witness here is a process leading to the full liquidation of a minority. It is done in a seemingly non-violent manner, but it is a genocide all the same. But if the Corsicans resist the acquisition of their land by the strangers we hear of course the cry of "Racism".

Only "away".

Are the emigrant Corsicans totally lost for their home country? Not at all, says a famous Corsican lawyer, Me Morro-Galferri: A Corsican does not go into exile, he is only "away" for a while. So it was under the old German legislation: the emigrants and the sons of emigrants always retained their German nationality parallel to whatever new citizenship they might acquire. A Corsican, wherever he may be living, "leaves his heart in his country". The scattered Corsicans remain members of the Corsican nation.

Freedom is indivisible.

The Corsicans are a small nation but they have given us the example of honour and courage. In an extremely difficult situation they have re-acted like men.

However the cause they defend is that of all oppressed nations, especially those of Western Europe subjected to the Spanish, French and U.K. States. Brothers of Corsica, our front goes through your cities, Ajaccio, Bastia, Corte, as your front passes through Belfast, Brest, Strassburg, Bilbao, Barcelona. Brothers, Corsicans, you have raised the torches of freedom and you light our road as well as yours. Freedom is indivisible. Herve Landiern.

THE GALWAY DECLARATION adopted unanimously by the first Convention of the Regional Authorities of Peripheral Europe on October 16th, 1975, (CARN 11), urges the adoption of a "new deal" for Europe's peripheral regions, including the setting up of autonomous institutions. One of the recommendations addressed by the Convention to the "competent European and National Institutions" is that they take the necessary measures to protect and restore the languages and cultures of the peripheral ethnic communities threatened with extinction. To that effect an ad hoc commission should be created by the Council of Europe. Will the latter take any action?

EXCHANGING PUBLICITY WITH CARN.

An Baner Kernewek / The Cornish Banner. Organ of the Cornish Nationalist Party. Ed. Dr. J. Whetter. 4 issues £1.20p (overseas £1.50p). Trelispen, Gorran, St. Austell, CORNWALL.

A DEFINITION OF CITIZENSHIP FOR NATIONALS OF THE FREE CELTIC NATIONS.

A resolution passed at this years A.G.M. in Mannin - referring to a definition of Manx citizenship - that 1) Manx nationality be given legal status; and 2) Manx citizenship be available only after five years of residence, subject to an examination as applicable in other countries - could be expanded as a basis for a definition of citizenship of other Celtic Nations as they gain independence. Thus I would like to put forward the following ideas, to form the basis of discussion on this subject - to be eventually, if allowed, debated upon at next year's A.G.M. in Kernow.

- 1) That each of the Celtic Nations on independence retain their separate national identity and nationality for its citizens, while co-opting within a formal association of Celtic Nations - with possible 'special status' for citizens of one member nation with any other member nation - possible 'joint' citizenship?
- 2) Qualification for citizenship, should be defined as:-
 - a) By birth and subsequent residence in that country.
 - b) By residence for a period of five years, subject to an examination in the laws, history, culture and customs of the country. Excepting citizens of the other Celtic Nations, or those with a strong proven ancestral link with the country (at least two grandparents ?), the qualifying period of residence to be reduced to one or two years - still subject to the examination.
 - c) By being a child or dependent of a person qualifying under (b) above, but those over voting age having to meet the requirements of (b).
- 3) As citizenship is a privilege and it should be revocable - as a punishment for anti-social behaviour against the community - for a set period, say five years minimum.
- 4) The right of residence in a country, except as a second-homer (or similar), should be a basic right - provided the persons concerned respect the laws, history, culture and customs of the country of residence: even if:-
 - a) They are not yet able to qualify as citizens, or
 - b) They qualify for citizenship, but decline, and wish to retain the citizenship of their country of origin.
- 5) All other things being equal the citizens of a country should have a right of employment before non-citizens, excepting where non-citizens can contribute skills, training or experience not held by citizens of that country.

These ideas are put forward for discussion, as I think some definition will be needed for the Celtic Nations as they become independent - it is worth considering that our nations are likely to be desirable places of residence - with the probable collapse of England, when it is no longer able to prop up its decaying economy by exploiting our nations' natural resources. Do (or Will) we want a mass exodus of people to our lands (5% of England's population is equal to 50% of Scotland's! 500% of Cornwall's!)? There will have to be controls. Do we also want tax haven seekers, retired people, 'simple life' seekers and second-homers flooding into what will be our better off nations? There are many other problems and ideas that have to be considered - I therefore put this one forward for consideration, leading, I hope, to a possible resolution for next year's A.G.M. in Kernow.

John Treays.

ENERGY HUNGER AND RESOURCE SUFFICIENCY IN CELTIC LANDS.

We have now heard so much about Scotland's oil, and other potential offshore oil sources that in the welter many important facts get smudged. But some of these are very important: oil from the deep, cold and dangerous waters is limited and expensive to extract. In addition, the damage extraction will cause to the seas' living resources will mount, and will last far longer than the oil, especially if it is extracted at the fastest possible rate. Although there are many causes for oil lifetime estimates to be suspect - such as the political value of saying Britain has energy resources for many years - few have been in excess of about 20 years at current consumption rates of around 3m barrels per day. Translating this figure from 'Britain' to Scotland, the potential resource lifetime, even at present standards of consumption, is more than 300 years. But in the present real-world situation, of acute oil shortage in the U.S. and Europe, the figure of 20 years melts away very fast.

The reason is that Scotland is a subunit of Britain's economy, which in turn is heavily related to and dependent on the U.S. economy. It is a little known fact that U.S. oil import demand is rocketing; for example in 1971 it imported under 12% of its oil, now it imports more than 36%. That oil has to come from somewhere, and as far as the U.S. is concerned, what could be nicer than oil from politically dependable, economically indebted states like the U.K.? Scotland, of course, could respond by pointing out that even in the 1960's the U.S. oil corporations ran their Arab oil business like feudal barons, but this changed very rapidly with the nascence of Arab political nationalism. Nevertheless, it is fair to suggest that a nightmare for Scotland could become real: that offshore oil will be sucked dry by Britain, the U.S.A. and Europe leaving Scotland with the debris of yet another boom-slump before the decade 1980-90 is over.

Other than the obvious political need for Scotland to safeguard its resources and economic future, are there no alternatives to this nightmare? The answer is yes, and comes from some unexperienced sources. Between October 1974 and February 1975 I was involved, in several ways, with the discussion and deployment of new 'life support technology' in Canada. One of the major reasons for the move towards creating alternatives to nearly total dependence on depleting resources is that Canada is facing a rapid end to its oil and gas bonanza, if present trends go unchecked. For example, British Columbia has now adopted strongly-conservationist policies on oil and gas - oil exports will be phased out by 1980; and Canada's equivalent of North Sea Oil, the tar sands and shale oil, are proving fantastically expensive. The 'Syncrude' project, to set up an oil-from-shale facility delivering 40,000 barrels per day, or about 1% of Canada's oil demand, is now expected to cost more than \$1 billion. This is a capital cost hundreds of times greater than that needed for Arab oil fields, and underlines the huge amount of energy that has to be used to get oil energy, which means that Canada is beginning to enter the age of low yield energy resources. A new and mounting concern in Canada over resources involves the rapid depletion of many key resources in the U.S. Already there have been political stresses because of resources issue, notably the threat by politicians in some of the western border States to block the trans-Canada oil pipeline (which supplied oil-deficient eastern Canada) at points where the pipelines stray into U.S. territory, in retaliation to B.C.'s new no-export policy on oil, and gas pricing that reflects the limits of resources and costs of developing new supplies.

As well as these economic and political pressures towards the use of renewable energy sources, and low-energy technology, there is sincere and well spread concern with environment, that rapidly distinguishes

Canadians from British. Because Canadians are prepared to put their money where their mouths are there has been much action in discussing and showing the alternatives that exist and can be foreseen. Major Federal and Provincial projects have been initiated and funded by state Agencies, institutes, and universities. These do not only involve academics and bureaucrats, since it has been realised early on that to get any reduction in energy use and the deployment of renewable energy source technology it is totally necessary to involve ordinary people. One 'mundane' example, with plenty in it for Britain, is that Canadian railways are being heavily subsidised. This is for reasons that include the need to stop the drift towards road and private transport, partly because road transport is so very energy-inefficient and requires - for highway building - such great impacts on the environment. As a result of subsidy and good advertising the railways are well used. While a journey of 2,500 miles, such as Vancouver-Ottawa, would cost more than £100 by British Rail, it costs less than £35 by Canadian National - travelling in comfort with really good service.

In Britain it is true that one or two solar houses, for example, have been built, and that on the rather overworked data, a coterie of 'experts' seek to survive. In Canada it has been realised that the talk:do ratio has got to be radically lower than in Britain if solar houses are ever going to be used. This example is a good one because solar water and space heating, in normal domestic buildings, is not a complex technology and most of the necessary research and development has been done decades ago. So a series of proven-design solar houses, using three or four of the different systems possible, are being built by Federal and Provincial Agencies and organisations. But, more significantly, the Canadian Government, through the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (C.M.H.C.) is directly subsidising construction of solar heating systems in normal housing. It does this by providing an additional supplement of \$2,500, at no interest, to mortgagees who will use solar heating. Other examples are the National Research Corporation windpower project, to design and build prototype vertical axis windmills, and British Columbia Hydro Authority's deployment of production windmills for remote-area power supply.

Adding up the many different types of projects that Federal and Provincial governments are directly supporting, the total value of funding on renewable energy source technology development is probably now in excess of \$40m per year, and climbing rapidly. Compared to Britain where total funding on all renewable energy source research is £2m per year, it is probably 40 or 50 times more intensive.

The link between low energy systems and care for the environment is an additional impetus to Canadian activity, since it is easy to demonstrate that a resource-wasteful and energy-intensive lifestyle is very damaging to the environment. It has begun to be realised in Canada that the environment lasts forever (unless destroyed), while economic growth and consumerism cannot. Realisation of an acute need for change should always be the trigger for social and cultural change - if not there is obviously serious malfunction in society's communication and awareness. Government cannot stand aloof and neutral on the development of new economies, and even on change of the cultural lifestyle of people. Canada has very good social communication and concern, as anyone who has seen the different ways that the U.S. and Canada treats indigenous minorities will be able to vouch. As mentioned, state-funded hardware projects are going ahead rapidly: but in the more important lifestyle area, big changes have to be made in people conditioned from the cradle to consume more. Nobody pretends that this will be easy, but on the other hand the British

'Save It' campaign is so dedicatedly low-profile that it serves as an example of what is not worth doing in developing new 'citizen awareness', and lubricating the wheels of lifestyle change. While the British Science Council is still supporting energy conservation research with one hand, while it funds the developments of new resource-gulping industries with the other, this is not true of Canada's Science Council. In the period 1974-76 one of the three or four major projects (which receive most support) is called 'Implications of A Conserver Society'. It focusses on how we cross the gulf from here to there; a present of industry, cities and centralisation, to something that may be the exact opposite. Research awards have been distributed to workers in a very wide spectrum, from engineering to anthropology and back to physics. But to all of them there is the central focus: what will the new conserver society be like? How will we get there from here?

Complementing and reinforcing the thrust of such imaginative national projects is the action of Canada's environment ministry. It has set up a special group called the Advanced Concepts Centre, much of whose work is centred on the environmental implications and possibilities in the newly developing alternative life-support technologies. There are also many important Provincial projects, such as Prince Edward Island's Man and Resources Institute, and its first demonstration and development project called the Ark. This is run by Dr. John Todd, who has moved north to a saner, safer and more sincere nation, and comprises many of the 'biotechnology' systems his New Alchemy Institute is rightly renowned for. The Ark, which is being built also as a demonstration project for Habitat '76 (the U.N. Conference on Human Settlements), shows how solar heating and windpower can support recycling of organic wastes to grow fish. In greenhouse solar heated tanks the fast-growing, efficient protein-forming Tilapia fish species are fed on intensively grown plants, specially-cultivated insects, and so on. Inter-linked with the process is the treatment of human sewage to get methane gas, with use of the final sludge for plant and insect growth. Very little energy from non-renewable sources is needed, and no agrochemicals are used.

In British Columbia I acted as a consultant on the design, specification and building of low energy houses for the Province's Hydro Authority, which controls all oil, gas and public transport. Originally the project was conceived as a 'one-off' demonstration project for Habitat '76 (the discussion sessions of which take place in Vancouver in Summer 1976). However, the low energy house project gradually developed, with sincere interest from the Authority's directors, as one in which B.C. Hydro's normal building programme would be progressively re-arranged to achieve a big reduction in construction and servicing energy needs, through good conservation measures, renewable energy sources, and localised servicing.

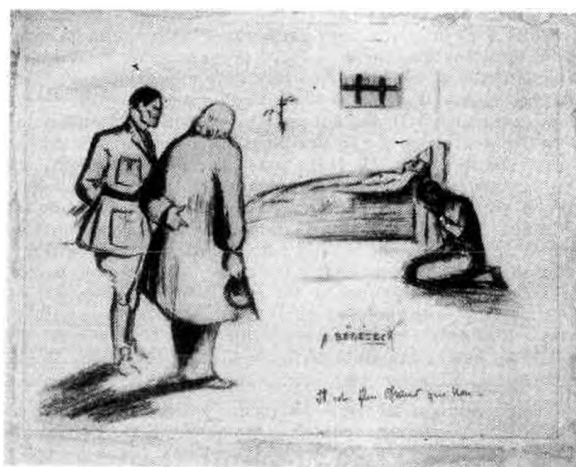
I could add chapter and verse on all the many other projects that relate to the conserver society concept that is growing, right now, in Canada. However, I think that the energy, environment and lifestyle considerations are simply overflowing with significance for the Celtic nations as they newly re-emerge. Very briefly, I feel that the overlooked cultural factors are all important, because if those are changed everything else - like the economy and society - will also change. Now the Celtic people have pre-Roman languages, and pre-Christian belief systems such as mythology, religion, magic. Within this, simply because of its evolution through many centuries of intimate contact and dependence on the environment, there exists an inherent respect and love for nature. For example, the Celtic concept of an afterworld like Tír na nÓg, stressing the beautiful orchard with its spirit animals, is completely different from the confused Christian concepts of St. Peter's gate in the clouds, with an

otherworld city beyond, no doubt with rush house, smog and neon. While Canada is rich, and can afford to take a long-term view of its environment it is argued that nations like Britain cannot. But if we consider only the Celtic people in Britain, and the land area and physical resources of Celtic territories, the situation changes to one more like - though still poorer than - Canada's. Of course this invites the charge of 'racism', but then what the English have practiced on Celts, American Indians, Africans, Arabs, Aborigines and Maoris was nothing if not racist. (Celtic lands, if the Celtic people in them were politically autonomous, could do much worse than move towards the kind of future Canada is beginning to collectively foresee.

Andrew MacKillop.

CORRECTION: KINSALE GAS.

The estimated amount of 98% Methane Gas in the Kinsale find in one billion cubic feet - not one million as was printed in error in CARN 11.



TRAOLACH MacSUIBHNE.

Taidhleoir de chuid Phoblacht na hÉireann abea Art Ó Briain. I measc na nithe a bhronn sé ar Ard mhúsaem na hÉireann bhí an pictiúr seo de chuid A. Benesec nó A. Benesek. Is beag eolas a thug Art Ó Briain faoin bictiúr taobh amuigh de nóta a deir-eann gur Briotáineach abea Benesec. Go dtí seo theip orm teacht ar aon leid faoin ealaíontóir ná aon eolas faoi.

Bás Thraolach Mhic Suibhne, ar 15 Deireadh Fomhair 1920 i ndiaidh stailc ocrais 74 lá, is téama do'n bictiúr. Tá 'Liberte' le léamh ar ghloine na fuinneoige ós cionn na leapa agus dírfear méar sír ar an rosc 'Il est plus grand que nous' ag bun. Lloyd George, Príomh-Aire Shasana na linne sin isea an duine a dhíríonn an méar. Deacair a bheith cinnte cé bhí gceist san duine faoi éide míleata. Seans gur Hamar Greenwood, a ceapadh mar Phríomh Rúnaí d'Éirinn ar 3 Aibreán 1920 a bhí i gceist, sin nó Sir Henry Wilson - ceann-fóirne Arm Shasana na linne sin. Faoi riarachán na tréise san péir bith a tógadh na Dubhchrónaigh is na Auxiliaries isteach in Éirinn agus futha cuireadh na feacht-aig díoltais gránna úd ar bun go bhfuil stair na tréimhse sin lan dá dtuiriscí. Mar bharr ar gach donas ónar dtaobh de Breatnach abea Lloyd George, Éireannach abea Wilson agus de thuistí Breatnach a shíolraigh Greenwood. Muid-ne féin, arís, ag cur cath-anna na himpireachta ar son na Sasanach. Éiric thruamhéileach na comhshamhlaithe agus ceacht dúinn uilig.

Dhúnmharaigh forsaí Shasana Tomás Mac Curáin Ard-mhéara Chorcaí m'f Márta 1920. Ag deireadh na míosa sin roghnadh na bardasóirí d'aonghuth (na hAondachtóirí san áireamh) Traolach Mac Suibhne mar chomharba dó. Ag glacadh leis an bpost dúirt Mac Suibhne:

This contest of ours is not on our side a rivalry of vengeance, but one of endurance - it is not they who can inflict most but they who can suffer most will conquer.

LETTER: BRETON MUSIC AND IDENTITY.

".... I spent almost three months in Brittany with the first 6 or 7 weeks in Rennes (perhaps not really 'Brittany') where I tried to get an idea of what was going on in Brittany. The second half of my stay was spent in travelling from place to place taking advantage of an incredible hospitality and helpfulness.

I did start to learn Breton by taking the one-week "crash course" given at Rennes University the first week of July under the direction of Per Denez. Meeting the people trying to learn or relearn their language taught me a lot about Brittany and gave me a real incentive to continue on my own. To speak Breton one must live with Bretons and practice the living language, but perhaps I will be able to do something with books and cassettes. I can see that I will have to "know" Breton somewhat if I am to try to understand the Breton music or Brittany....

A lot of reading beforehand had prepared me for much of what I found in Brittany, but gave me only the "written" perspective, lacking in an understanding that comes only in talking to people. Three months is a very short time and I cannot claim to have found answers to any of my questions, but I was not really looking for the answers. I probably learned as much about myself as I did about Brittany.

While everyone was very generous in helping me to understand the Brittany they know, I feel I perhaps never gave a very good explanation of my ideas and plans for research. People often asked me why I chose to study Breton music out of a hundred other possibilities. It was not easy to explain and I still do not know really what drew me to Brittany. A liking for the music is only a part of it. Perhaps from what I had read before my trip, I sensed an importance in what was happening in Brittany. It seemed that there was something special about the way people made music in Brittany. From my reading I gained the impression that people divided their time almost equally between dancing and revolution. I wanted to see if this was really the case. I think it is partly true. While "revolution" might not be the right word, Bretons are certainly struggling with themselves as well as their place within France. It is only a visible and audible battle with some. I believe it is an inner, invisible struggle with a great many Bretons who may not even recognise it within themselves.

The question of "identity" was what I originally wanted to look at in studying Breton music - the question of whether music is used to identify people as "Bretons". I was aware before arriving in Brittany of a concern with the preservation of the traditional music and the "problem" of creating music relevant to a "modern" society yet at the same time retaining its "traditionality" (and perhaps also "Bretonness"). After spending a little time in Brittany, I was surprised at the degree to which people debated "traditionality" and talked about its "destruction" by young folk musicians especially, or by any musicians "arranging" the traditional music too much. Everyone seemed to have a good or bad opinion of the music of Alan Stivel and strong feelings about the loss of the "true" fest-noz. But the use of adjectives like "traditional" and "Breton" on record jackets and in newspaper and magazine articles does not help one to understand why people make music in Brittany.

"Traditional" means many things and so does "Breton". "Traditional" music can be defined by a certain use of modes, rhythms, and style of performance. I found many people who identified "traditions!" music by citing musical technicalities. But it is not so much the identification of exactly what could be called "traditions!" in terms of measuring the musical sounds produced, that I found most interesting. What is important is that people have placed a high value on "traditionality" and wish to protect it and encourage its development. Even though many people may have never really heard or experienced "traditional" music, they seem to want to defend it, even if only verbally.

The adjective "Breton" seems closely linked to the word "traditional". Throughout my stay, when I told people I was studying Breton music, they almost always assumed immediately that I was studying the traditional music. Perhaps this is because students like me always study "traditional" music, but my questions about what is "Breton" music almost always led to an explanation of what is "traditional" music, whether asked of Bretonnants, tourists, or anybody. This association underlies a conflict between the words "modernity" and "traditionality".

"Traditional" almost always implied the past or something natural only to a small group of isolated and usually older people. I found a highly realistic recognition that people in Brittany today do not live "traditionally" and cannot go back to a way of life which existed in the past. But the use of "traditional" music is not part of a romantic longing to return to a Golden Age or a nostalgic effort to be a "peasant". It seems more an effort to encourage those who still have such rich musical abilities to practice them, and to encourage those who are strangers to the traditional music, to value it and recognise its beauty. The retention of the traditional music is associated with a retention of Brittany itself and the protection of it is not a matter of collecting data for later historical research, but a question of survival of a very important part of Breton culture. Perhaps I do not have enough of an understanding of Brittany to make such a declaration, but that was what I sensed to be behind all the concern and love expressed for music in Brittany.

For some people there seems to be a problem in being "modern" and "Breton" at the same time. I found a realistic attitude towards the need to change and the inevitability of change, yet there seemed an uneasiness that indicated that something was wrong. It was in looking at the Breton language that I feel I gained most insight into Brittany and perhaps the music as well. The "generation gap" is something that exists around the World, but it has a special quality to it in Brittany. Normally differences between generations involve a change of ideas and attitudes that separates the young from the old. In Brittany the gap is not necessarily a question of age, but something created for the most part due to the imposition of an educational system that is foreign to Brittany. It is more a problem of communication rather than change. There seems to be a large hole separating those who have managed to retain the Breton language and the associated way of thinking (whether by choice or sheer physical isolation from French influences) from those who have been forced to learn to express themselves in French (in terms of thinking as well as speaking). It seemed to me that people in Brittany are angry and saddened by this hole and the lack of choice they had in its creation. Perhaps many people do not see it or do not find it a problem, but I found a surprising number of people who were trying to fill the hole in. It is a quiet, personal struggle for some and a loud and flamboyant show for others, but it is for all, an effort to recognise and show others that Brittany is a special place with the right to survive and develop. This is perhaps the "revolution" I had read about.

When I read about Brittany and its "colonization" before going, I felt I was being exposed to the propaganda of a small group of people who were probably a little extreme in their thinking. All the talk of "cultural genocide" and the suppression of minority peoples seemed a little overdone. I am not so sure now. Perhaps it was underexaggerated. The language problem is a serious one in itself.

It is impossible for me as an outsider to really understand Brittany's problems. Much will always remain hidden from me, and I am blinded from seeing other things, no doubt. I cannot pretend to have figured out what is going on in Brittany or exactly why. I did not expect to find answers this summer and I cannot pretend to have found any. I do believe however, that people helped me to become a lot more sensitive to what I saw and have given me directions to start looking more carefully. I have much yet to read, and much more talking to do before I can start to understand Brittany.

I have talked a lot about "problems" but I do not want to give the impression that my experiences this summer left me a pessimist. I found some sadness and despair, but mostly a joyfulness in Breton life. The amount of interest devoted to the creation of a "modern", living, and Breton culture is very strong in Brittany and leaves me optimistic about a Breton future. To visible display a Breton identity is very stylish right now, but to actually "be Breton" is not a fad and is not something that will pass with a little time.

I am not sure I expressed exactly what I wanted to. My ideas are not completely sorted out yet. Although I will always have the perspective of an outsider, I cannot remain "objective" about Brittany. I cannot pretend not to care what happens there.

the problem of choosing one's own cultural destiny is not unique to Brittany. It is something I must understand especially if I intend eventually to be an anthropologist or ethnomusicologist who will try to convey an understanding of human behavior to others.

I apologise for the length and disorganisation of this letter. I hope at least it has given an idea of my thoughts. I appreciate all the help and interest you have shown in my work and I think now I appreciate better all the work you have done for Brittany."

Kenavo.

L. K. (U.S. Student).

*Ed. Rennes in indeed a centre of Francisation, but see "Opinion Surveys".

Plijout a ray d'hol lennerien vreizhat lenn ar pezh a sonj ur studiourz amerikan diwar-benn hor bro, hor sonerezh, hol luskad breizhon, an dael etre sonerezh arnevez ha sonerezh hengounel, an diforc'h etre ar re a oar brezhoneg hag ar re a rank ober gant ar galleg. Dic'hoanag he deus givélet e Breizh, met Kalz levezne ivez.

LETTER

In "CARN No. 10" (Aug. 1975) I read two articles concerning the Cornish language classes. One p. 14 in Kernewek, the other p. 16 on Broadcasting in Kernow. I wish to correct an omission. Both articles' contributors did not include in their lists the existence of a Cornish class in London. The class has existed at least 20 years and the present class has met in Ruislip for 6 years regularly. The present Kernewek class in London has, of course, already commenced studying for the Cornish examinations in 1976. The London Cornish Association's members' handbook publishes my name for enquiries from exiles who wish to learn Kernewek.

Furthermore the London Kernewek class had students taking the various language examinations of the Kesva's Tavas Kernewek, (Cornish Language Board) every year since 1967 (except 1974). Five of our successful candidates have returned to Kernow, four continued their studies in Kernow, and one of them (i.e. Pendenhar-Bardhes Kernow) is teaching Kernewek in Paignton. You may also be interested to know that some of the London Kernewek students who have returned to Kernow contribute to a Kernewek Language 'Newsletter' distributed amongst themselves, to enable them all to remain in contact with each other.

The existence of our class in London has helped with the enquiries from interested journalists etc., and contributed in a small way to an article by Johnathan Sale in the "Punch" magazine of Feb. 19th 1975.

Paul T. Holmes, Gwereser Studhyoryon
Kernewek dhe Loundres,
350A West End Road,
Ruislip, Middlesex,
Pow Saws.

LATE NEWS.

-oOo-

The National Executive of Mebyon Kernow have approved the following statements proposed by the Chairman, Mr. R.G. Jenkin. Essentially: "Mebyon Kernow wholeheartedly supports the establishment of assemblies for Scotland and Wales with power to legislate for those countries and claims an assembly for Cornwall with legislative control of the internal affairs of Cornwall." As an initial reaction to a study, instigated by the Cornwall Council consorting with Devon County Council, "Towards 2001 - The future of the PLYMOUTH SUB-REGION" Mebyon Kernow called on the Cornish Council "to withdraw from co-operating with Devon County Council and the South-West Economic Planning Committee in Bristol in any matter concerning the so-called Plymouth sub-region". M.K. also called for an extension of the fishing limit to 50 miles, with an inner limit forbidden to all but local crab, long-line and on-shore sein fishermen. In the remaining area only boats working out of and landing fish at local ports should be permitted. An eventual limit up to 200 miles should be controlled and conserved.

-oOo-

CELTIC LEAGUE.

*North America: Recent lack of communication from the branch Secretary is causing us concern.

*Cymru: Rhodri Morgan had to give up the post of assistant secretary as personal matters required all his attention after his release from jail. A successor will be appointed after due consultations. We are not getting enough material for the Welsh section of CARN.

*Kernow: Note Secretary's change of address on back cover.

-oOo-

*RENEWAL OF MEMBERSHIP/SUBSCRIPTIONS.

CARN No. 12 is the last issue due for the majority of current subscriptions (1975). WE APPEAL URGENTLY TO ALL, especially to those who want to ensure that we remain afloat in spite of the economic crisis, to renew for 1976 without delay, so as to spare us the time-wasting and costly need to send reminders. We are keeping the price of CARN at 25p, but we need the basic/ordinary mail rate of £2-- per annum in order to function as an organisation. We are trying hard to keep solvent. DO NOT LET US DOWN. SEE BACK PAGE FOR PRESENT RATES.

* Your Subscription is now due for renewal if you find here a mark 'X'.

* We have maintained a good degree of regularity in publishing CARN. If you should fail to get your copy after a reasonable delay, do not omit to let us know.

-oOo-

T. V. Flash.

An undertaking not to pay their television licenses until the Breton language is given a significantly better place in T.V. broadcasts is being signed by a growing number of people. The first 16 include the singers A. Stivell and Gw. an Fur. Three of them are C.L. Members. They saw that appeals to justice and rights defined by international conventions could not prevail against France's policy of eradication a language spoken daily by hundreds of thousands.

-oOo-

Postou-Henchañ.

Muloc'h-mui e vez torret al lezenn gant ar Stad iwerzhonat o lakaat postou-henchañ a saozneg pe gant stummoù saoznekaet. Prosez a vo graet evit herzel ouzh an argerzh-se. Ar gouan-amant a glask kemman al lezenn avat evit reizhekaat ar pezh a vez graet.

Skolaj Sabhal Mor Ostaig en Enez Sciathanach/Skye zo anezhañ ur greizenn dalvoudus evit buhez sevenadurel gouezeleg-erien Alba. Skol-hañv a vez graet eno d'ar re a zesk ar yezh.

-oOo-

Breton Prisoner.

There is still no sign of a trial after four months. They could be detained indefinitely unless you help. You can do so by asking your elected representatives to call on the French Government to release them if they dare not bring them to trial.

-oOo-

GOARNIG Family.

The six younger members of the Goarnig Family whose Breton names the French authorities refused to recognise during the past 8 - 16 years have at last been granted official existence.

-oOo-

DO NOT FORGET TO RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TO CARN.



MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

All who agree with the aims and constitution of the CELTIC LEAGUE are invited to join. Nothing extra need be paid for membership in addition to the subscription, the latter being open to all. The basic rate of subscription was £1.50 per annum for the past two years (in Ireland and Britain). The following rates will apply from now on:- Ireland and Britain - £2; other European countries - 20F or equivalent; non-European countries (airmailing) - \$6.50 (U.S.) For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the secretaries (note some changes):-

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Éire: Cathal Ó Luain, 37 Dun an Óir, Tamhlacht, Co. Átha Cliath.
Kernow: Ian J. Williams, Crowshensy, Clifton Road, Park Bottom, nr. Illogan.
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IF REQUESTING INFORMATION, SEND STAMPED ENVELOPES OR INTERNATIONAL COUPONS-REPONSES.

Application for Membership

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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