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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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ALBA

THA FAIDHEAN A DHITH OIRNN

Gun teagamh nuair a bhios iomadh duine a' leughadh a' Bhiobuill tha iad toilichte gu leòir leis na faidhean mar Isaiah, Ieremiah, Eoin Baistidh, Pol & c. Ach chan urrain daibh faidh aithneachadh nuair a thigeadh faidh 'nam measg, agus fuathaichidh iad am faidh oir bithidh am faidh a' foillsicheadh na firinne a tha gu math domhain 'nar cridheachan agus fuathaichidh daoine mar sin am faidh cho uamhasach dona gum bhiodh na daoine seo 'ga mharbhadh nam biodh sin comasach.

Ghearr iad dherh ceann Eoin Bhaistidh agus mharbh iad iomadh faidhean eile. Oir dh'fhoillsich na faidhean cus a bha ro fhior. Cha robh faclan nam faidhean comhfhurtail idir, agus bha na naimhdean aca a' tuigsinn gun robh na daoine cumanta a' smaoineachadh smuaintean cunnartaich.

Cha do mharbh iad Wendy Wood agus chaochail ise 'na leabaidh aois ceithir fichead 's a h-ochd air 30 de'n Og-mhios 1981. Ach bhiodh iomadh daoine Philistinich brònach nach robh i marbh o chionn fada oir bha ise comasach air an t-sluagh a bhrosnachadh.

Ged a bha ise a' brosnachadh Saorsa agus Féin-riaghladh na h-Albainn anns gach clachan, baile is sràid feadh na h-Albainn fad trì fichead bliadhna, dhuil an S.N.P. dhith bruidhinn ris an t-sluagh air Latha Bannockburn 1981 agus mar a thuirt ise ruinn bha am Ball-Parlamaid a bha a' bruidhinn 'na h-àite "mar dhuine uasail Sasunnach grunn suaire." Thuirt is mar an ceudna gur robh SIOL NAN GAIDHEAL an aon fheadha in a sheall spiorad sam bith! Agus abair nach eil na Philistinich toilichte le SIOL NAN GAIDHEAL idir!!

Mar a tha fios aig a h-uile duine tha na h-Albannaich sgapte feadh an t-saoghail — mar eisimpleir bha a' mhór chuid de Clann a' Phearsain aig Cruinneachadh Chloinn a' Phearsain a' bhliadhna seo, ann am Baideanach ann an Albainn bho thall thairis!

Mata, rugadh Wendy ann an Sasunn ach bha an teaghlach aice Albannach. Rugadh ar Tighearna Iosa Crìosd ann an staball ach cha robh 'na each! Ach dh'fhàs ise cho ainmeil feadh an t-saoghail mas do chaochail i, gun robh na paipearan a ràdh gun robh ise 'na ban-Sasunnach!

Ach bho'n a bha i a' brosnachadh nan Albannaich bha iad comasach spàirn a dheanamh agus ccannairc a dheanamh air son Saorsa bho na Sasunnaich fad corr is trì fichead bliadhna. Cha dhi-chuimhnich muinntir na h-Albainn an t-ainm aice agus an eisimpleir aice gu Latha Luain.

Bha ise daonnan cho modhail agus cho coibhneil. Bha ise 'na dealbh-dair ainmeil — ag ionnsachadh a' peantaidh fo Sickert agus a' taisbean nan dealbhan aice anns an R.S.A. (Royal Scottish Academy) fad a beatha fhada. Aig an aon àm bha ise 'na ùghdar ainmeil a' sgrìobhadh fad a beatha, (leugh "Mac's Croft" agus "Yours sincerely for Scotland" a sgrìobh i; tha iad ri fhaighinn 'sna buthan-leabhraichean no 'sna leabharlainn); agus aig an aon àm bha i a' craobh-sgaoileadh air Radio agus T.V.

Ach abair gun robh ise 'na bean-labhairt! Bha an oraideachd aice cho cumhachdach. Bha e mar gum biodh na speuran a' fosgladh agus gun robh am Fiann agus Ullas agus Brus agus am Prionnsa Tearlach 'nar measg 'gar brosnachadh air adhart gu Saorsa agus Féin-riaghladh na h-Albain.

Aig ceithir fichead bliadhna dh'aois choisinn a buaidh bu glòrmhoire 'na beatha!

Anns an Dubhlachd 1972 dhuil an Riaghaltas Sasunn 'na Heath an geall aige, a thaobh cur air bonn Parlamaid (no Assembly) Albannach. Mata, chaidh ise air acras gu bàs agus bho'n a bha na h-Albannaich cho eagalach a thaobh a' bhàis aice, an deidh sia laithean gheall Rùnaire na Stàite, Paipean Uaine chun "Assembly" Albannach!

Mar a tha fios aig a h-uile duine choisinn an h-Albannaich an "Referendum" Albannach ann an 1972 agus fhuair sinn an t-Achd Albannach leis a sin agus gus an do mharbh an t-Uilebheist Thatcher an t-Achd seo — ach a dh'aindeoin sin — tha Taigh Assembly againn anns an t-Seann Ard-Sgoil Dun Eideann. Ged a tha an Taigh falamh fhathast bho'n a mharbh an t-Achd seo. Ach bithidh e 'nar Taigh Parlamaid fhathast agus fuadaichidh a' Ghàidhlig a' Bheurla Shasunnach nam biodh sinn cho treun agus fìleanta ri Wendy Wood.

Aon uair chuir neach air choireiginn cairt-phostail gus an G.P.O. gun ainm idir. Cha robh mar shealladh oirre ach "Do'n aon neach ann an Alba nach eil eagalach roimh na Sasunnaich." Ruig a' chairt-phostail Wendy Wood gun dàil sam bith!

Gilleasbuig Mac Mhuirich.

(This is an appreciation of the greatest Scottish patriot of this century — Wendy Wood).

STOP PRESS: Supplement 1981 now available to *Leabhraichean Gàidhlig* which gives details of all available in print in the Scottish language, 70p from Gairm Publications, 29 Waterloo Street, Glasgow, Alba. Ask them now for fabulous English-Scottish (Gaelic) Dictionary which Gairm is publishing in Autumn.

GAELIC AND THE CENSUS

Gaelic speakers are being confronted with the unpleasant fact that Margaret Thatcher, and her accomplices in the rape of Scottish resources, economy and culture, Michael Foot and David Steel (a Scot); (recently joined by their S.D.P. friends) do not give an iota for their culture and language.

Margaret & Co. can afford to treat Scots and especially Gaelic speakers like dirt because they have no political clout, or so they think. But they thought that the unemployed youth of English inner-city areas had no clout; until recently.

It is time that Gaelic speakers made their case much more forcefully. Mrs Thatcher does not see the most worrying time of her office as the occasion when she denied almost 90,000 people their basic human and civil rights; rather she is on record as saying that the most worrying time was when a number of young people (some of them under 12) decided to cause trouble. While a large number was involved in those riots I cannot believe that they numbered over 90,000.

The long and short of the comparison is this: Mrs. Thatcher can be forced by a crowd of rioting young people to spend hundreds of millions of pounds on employment schemes but not one penny will she pay to give 90,000 law-abiding, tax-paying citizens their just rights.

Over the past years very many Asians and Africans and others to live in Britain. They have come knowing their rights and insisting on them. Gaels had a rich language and culture when Mrs. Thatcher's ancestors were barbaric Teutonic tribesmen.

Gaels have been either illtreated or ignored by the likes of Margaret. Of course immigrants are entitled to their rights but are not Gaels even more deserving. An Italian can answer his census form in his own language but a Gael whose ancestors have lived in Scotland since prehistory can't: is that justice? Militancy is all that Maggie can understand and if we have a message we will have to speak her language.

Iain Scott.

ON THE GAELIC FRONT

Le Frang MacThomais

In the last issue of CARN, I raised some questions regarding the activity of An Comunn during the Gaelic Miscellaneous Provisions Bill earlier this year. An Comunn have now published a text indicating their actual involvement, as follows.

An assessment of the Gael Miscellaneous Provisions Bill by An Comunn's Directorate

Now that the dust is settling over the fray following the loss of Donald Stewart's Gaelic Bill, the time is ripe to set the record straight on the facts surrounding the Bill's origin and its short period of life.

Persistent denial of Gaelic rights is an emotive subject and the emotions aroused in this case are clouding and distorting the facts, including those relating to the part played by An Comunn.

At its most absurd there is the assumption that the Bill was a Comunn Bill drafted by a Comunn hand and this is made the excuse for laying at our door the responsibility for the failure of the Bill to get a second reading. We can afford to ignore this kind of treatment at the hands of critics whose judgments carry no great weight. But notice must be taken of criticism founded on gross error when it comes from more responsible sources.

The account of the facts that follow can be verified from Comunn records at headquarters. It tells of the extent to which we were privileged to contribute to the contents of the Bill and our part in drumming up support. We did not have a hand in the drafting of the Bill, any more than we had a hand in drafting the very comprehensive party policy for Gaelic adopted by the Scottish National Party and published prior to the last General Election.

When Donald Stewart drew second place in the ballot for Private Members' Bills, he chose a Gaelic theme and he has not received the credit he deserves for his choice. We sent him a note containing several suggestions which, after consultation with him, were eventually thinned down to the following:

- 1— As a first priority, a definition of the expression "Gaelic-speaking areas" as used in the Education (Scotland) Act, 1980, being specific areas in which local authorities would be placed under a positive duty to provide Gaelic education. We suggested that the definition should comprehend all the traditional Gaelic areas as these existed when the expression was first introduced in the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918.
- 2— As the next priority, a statutory Gael Broadcasting Committee, representative of the BBC and IBA, for co-ordinating and developing Gaelic output on radio and television. There was a precedent for such a committee. It was the kind of committee the Government had offered to provide for Wales in lieu of use of the fourth television channel. The Welsh had refused to accept and access to the fourth channel was conceded.
- 3— A simple provision confirming the legal status of Gaelic. This was intended as a gesture of recognition of the language and a small beginning towards the kind of legal status enjoyed by the Welsh language. We felt that a demand for a more substantial right to use Gaelic in legal proceedings would provide an easy target for hostile critics.

When we got copies of the Bill following publication we concentrated on securing a favourable Parliamentary reception for it. We were far from starting from scratch. For the previous three years we had been directing attention of Scottish MPs to the plight of Gaelic and to the contribution towards restoration that was required from central government in the fields of education, broadcasting and access to public funds. We had briefed MP's extensively on these Gaelic needs and on the manner in which the comparable needs of the Welsh language were being satisfied by successive Governments. We now prepared an explanatory memorandum on the Bill and canvassed support for it among Scottish and Welsh MPs. We addressed a special plea to Scottish Office Ministers. We solicited the support of An Comunn members through branches and affiliated societies. We asked a number of selected Gaelic personalities to take a hand in the campaign.

The true significance of the Bill has been lost on many of the critics. To greet its loss as a major disaster is nonsense. The loss of such a Bill appearing by chance out of the blue cannot rationally be regarded as destroying the advances made in recent years. A Private Member's Bill has small chance of reaching the Statute Book at the best of times. Against Government opposition it has none.

If the Bill had succeeded, its success would certainly have been a major event, but its value would have been more symbolic than practical. It would have signified that the barrier of Government indifference to the fate of our language had been breached and the way would have been open to the kind of consideration and treatment accorded to the sister language, Welsh. Such a success was denied by two factors, one a filibuster aimed at stopping another Private Member's Bill dealing with the compulsory use of seat-belts for children and the other the Scottish Office decision to oppose. Either of these was sufficient to deny the Bill a second reading.

The filibuster was a masterpiece, ably launched by the Member for Perth and East Perthshire, who

demonstrated how talking at great length on peripheral points can be used to blot out entirely the substance of the matter under consideration. Notwithstanding denial by Donald Stewart early in the debate that he intended to impose the teaching of subjects through the medium of Gaelic on all and sundry, an explanation accepted by the Scottish Office Minister, the error was trailed by several speakers through the debate at great length. There are circumstances in which Gaelic could sensibly be the medium of teaching (e.g. in the Western Isles), but An Comunn have never sought to impose it where it would not make sense.

What incensed all who have any feeling for Gaelic was the cavalier treatment accorded to the language by the filibusters who rated Gaelic claims on Government attention as no higher than the claims of languages like Urdu and Hindi. This could be accepted as a display of ignorance and arrogance on the part of non-Scottish members who owe no native allegiance to Gaelic. When Scottish members followed that lead it was seen as ignoble and poor-spirited conduct.

It is idle to lament the absence of a quorum of 100 MPs when it came to a vote because the Government decision to oppose meant that whatever the amount of support available it would have been outvoted. Why did the Government choose to oppose? The sponsors of the Bill were satisfied that the usual Government practice for dealing with this kind of Bill would have ensured an easy passage to the next stage of examination in committee and they did not think it necessary to rally massive support among friendly MPs. The explanation may well be that Scottish Office Ministers preferred to avoid the close examination of their Gaelic record to which they would have been exposed in committee.

Nevertheless, there were indications in the speech delivered by Mr. Fletcher, Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, that could be construed as a softening of the rigidly negative Scottish Office attitude toward Gaelic claims. The signs were two:

- 1— An open invitation to local authorities in Scotland to ask the Secretary of State to make a statutory regulation that would put the Scottish legislation for financial support for the Gaelic language on a par with the position in Wales. We have been pressing for this kind of support by specific grants for over two years and this is the first sign of a favourable response. Incidentally, the campaign to prevail on the Secretary of State to make such a regulation is of far greater and more immediate practical importance to the future of Gaelic than was the Bill. Yet those who cannot get over the loss of the Bill have taken little or no interest in our campaign.
- 2— Mr. Fletcher expressed the hope that the broadcasting authorities will bear in mind the fact that there is concern about scheduling of Gaelic radio and television broadcasts. He invited the BBC and the IBA to consider whether they can improve their arrangements in this respect, perhaps by setting up a joint committee or in other ways. The Home Office, who are responsible for broadcasting, have directed our attention to these remarks. It is now for the two authorities to take action.

Are these two signs indeed signs of a change of heart? We shall soon know.

Some of our critics have complained that An Comunn are doing nothing following the loss of the Bill. That is far from being true. Following a setback like this An Comunn cannot afford an emotional outburst, condemning all and sundry, friend and foe alike. We have to pick up the pieces and continue wrestling with the Gaelic question, seeking an advance here and there, making friends instead of enemies. Well before the Gaelic Bill failed we had suggested to Donald Stewart that he might, as second string to his bow, get an amendment put down to the Education (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill to provide a definition of "Gaelic-speaking areas". This was the obvious next step when the Gaelic Bill was denied a second reading. The amendment was, in fact, put down by Mr. O'Neill, MP, and two of his colleagues. It was later debated and rejected but it may have a further airing when the Education Bill reaches the House of Lords.

We also took part in a discussion organised by the Gaelic Society of London. The Society, with its splendid record for promoting the language, was quick to bring together a number of MPs closely involved in the Second Reading debate. They were headed by Donald Stewart himself, Chief of the Society, and included Russell Johnston, Hamish Gray, John Robertson and David Wigley (Caernarvon).

A society committee has been reviewing ways and means of furthering the Gaelic cause in a practical way, including the strengthening of inter-association liaison and maintaining close contact with MPs.

What of the future? Comunn members should not be unduly discouraged by the fate of the Bill. The campaign in which we are engaged to get a fair hearing for the Gaelic case at central government level has, we are sure, been materially advanced by the Parliamentary debates on the Gaelic Bill and the Education Bill. In addition to those MPs who are proven friends of the Gaelic cause we have discovered others whose words and actions leave no doubt as to their concern about the future of Gaelic and who are ready to help.

But it must be remembered that Comunn effort is not confined to what requires to be done at central government level. Equally important, or more important, is the work to be done at local authority level and in the community. For this our membership badly required strengthening. We need new members, whether Gaelic speakers or not, who wish the Comunn to advance along the democratic path to our objectives. We do not want to impose Gaelic on anyone who is opposed to it. We do want everyone who so wishes to be able to use Gaelic as an everyday language in the community and to secure a future for such use by succeeding generations.

Of our critics we would ask only that if they are unwilling to come within our organisation and work according to our rules (and we would welcome them) they should join or form another organisation more to their taste. Some of them have already done so and we wish them well. There is plenty of room and a vast amount of useful work to be done which An Comunn because of limited resources is unable to tackle.

In the climate of today there is a tendency for those

who get involved in causes that provoke strong feelings to turn towards action that ignores the rules of law. It is a tendency which we who have experienced the frustrations attendant on the promotion of Gaelic can well understand. We trust the authorities also, both central and local, can understand it and take timeous action to remove the causes of legitimate complaint.

**An Comunn Gaidhealach,
Abertarff House, Inverness.**

One can readily sympathise with An Comunn's dilemma in trying to maintain a stance, based on reason. Maybe my previous criticism could be aimed at the SNP for not pulling out its not insignificant publicity machine to give blanket coverage to the Gaelic Bill.

For my own part, I still maintain that a devil's advocate should have been employed by the SNP to exercise those parts of the Bill which inevitably created such ammunition for the Bill's opposition. Surely the simple requirement of legal recognition in principle of Gaelic might have won through, appealing to reason and fair play. That would have been the first objective to my mind. The implications, financial and otherwise, could have come later 'within a reasonable time'. There is, in the very end, no excuse for the incompetence which allowed Donald Stewart's Bill to take the form it did.

Which raises another question: What is the true stance of the SNP towards Gaelic?

S.N.P. CONFERENCE

The S.N.P. conference. Despite the usual accompaniment of media predictions of splits etc., the conference showed a party more mature and self-confident and coming out of the post 1979 doldrums in a fighting spirit. It is a pity that the time of the conference (the last weekend in May) always means just missing the summer issue of *Carn* but for readers in the other 5 nations a few details.

In his address Donald Stewart gave a resume of the Tory broken promises, the failure of Labour to deliver anything for Scotland when it was in their power and the naivety of the Church of Scotland believing in the Tories. (Sir Alec Home — "wait and will give you something much better".) Now with 280,000 unemployed, 125,000 sub-standard houses, a continuing story of closures and takeovers the S.N.P. would have to accept responsibility for showing Scots the way out of it all. In doing so he called on the '79 Group not to alienate the "middle of the roaders". This will be a matter of policy to be decided but one S.N.P. comment on just such a position taken by the S.D.P. was that they were a "cats' eye coalition". Since making that excellent speech however Mr. Donald Stewart has shown himself in the middle of a very strange road. As leader of the parliamentary S.N.P. group he accepted an invitation to the recent Royal junketing and poured scorn on those who criticised this.

Mr. Gordon Wilson the party chairman showed a new breadth of view in his speech with much more acknowledgement of the cultural content of a nation's being. However he was a bit hard on the

Scots when he said they had signed away their nationhood in 1707. The franchise then was denied to all but a few, the fact that it was so gives support to the demand for a democratic decision on the matter now. He deplored the projected bids to take over the Royal Bank (of Scotland), the whole recent business of the English Football Association and their attitude to Scottish fans. He called for the reaffirmation of rejection of the idea of a tactical nuclear war in Europe — removal of bases from Scotland and unilateral disarmament but retention of Nato membership.

In short after surveying the economic chaos that Scotland is becoming — there is no future for the Tories in Scotland and no future for Scotland under the Tories. We are expendable and since there is no sign that the English voters are ready for a change a second spell of Thatcherism could be the final blow for Scotland.

The office bearers for the coming year are as follows:— President, Mr. William Wolfe; Vice-Presidents, Margaret Bain, Winnie Ewing and Tom McAlpine. The Chairman, Mr. Goerdon Wilson (unopposed), Sen. Vice-Chairman James Fairlie, Executive Vice Chairmen — for Organisation Andrew Currie, for Policy Jim Sillars, for Publicity Isobel Lindsay; National Sec. Niel MacCallum, Treasurer Michael Murgatroyd. 30 members were elected to the National Council plus Donald Stewart and at a N.C. meeting on June 13th 10 were elected to the National Executive Committee including 3 from the '79 Group.

CHURCH NUCLEAR ATTITUDE

In May was also held the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and it is worth referring back to it because prior to the meeting there was an expectation that they would come out in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament, the banning of all weapons of mass destruction and the transference of funds from military purposes to end world poverty. This raised considerable hopes that support for the "deterrent" policy so long pursued by the Church was to be changed. However in the event the Church and National committee which proposed this was defeated and despite the fact that many see clearly that the "deterrent" theory is no longer valid when limited tactical nuclear wars are put forward as a possibility. The idea that such a war could be anything but indiscriminate is becoming more and more obvious and the more we get into "civil defence" propaganda the more the horror and hypocrisy of the whole question becomes evident. So although the vote was 481 to retain "our nuclear defence" and 285 for unilateral nuclear disarmament the matter was debated and will return to be debated again.

It seems that many things including that one familiar to all conference-goers the rushed pre-lunch vote went against it. It is clear that many in the church are becoming concerned at the complete immorality of the matter though it may be a catch 22 situation for them. As their support of the country dwindles they may lack the confidence to give a lead on this and as they fail to give a lead on this etc.

However unlike the Assembly of the Free Church they dealt in quite a Christian manner with the forthcoming visit of the Pope to Britain. An insight into the minds of the leaders of the Free Church might be gained from a statement made more recently — when

Gaelic and its' survival was the subject — their comment was to the effect that a church with a mission to "evangelise the world" could not allow itself "to become trapped in minority language". This is particularly sad from an organisation inheriting a laudable record from the events of last century.

THE ROYAL BANK OF SCOTLAND BUSINESS

In March of this year it was publicised that Standard Chartered Bank was making a bid of £350m for the Royal Bank of Scotland. The board of the Royal advised their shareholders to accept this wonderful offer but almost immediately an offer of £500m was made by the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank. Since then the matter has remained in the news — not surprisingly as a matter of great contention. The Standard Chartered Bank raised its bid level with the other and the matter was referred to the Monopolies Commission who asked for submissions on the subject to be made by the end of June. It was to be expected that all bodies concerned with economic and financial matters in Scotland would have accepted this invitation but according to one newspaper report there will be some strange abstentions. The Bank of England are supporting the bid of the Standard Chartered — obviously they are against the possibility of a bank from outside the U.K. forming a bridgehead for further takeovers; but on the purely financial gain count and widening opportunities for the Royal Bank abroad the Hong Kong and Shanghai offer would be the best option. This was stated in the evidence given to the commission by the Fraser of Allander Institute which also quite unequivocally stated that neither bid would be desirable and that the loss of the Royal would be contrary to the interests of the public and in the long run to that of the shareholders.

The functioning of the board of the Royal over the past decade left a lot to be desired (culminating in their acceptance of the first bid) but the loss to Scotland could be irreparable. Obviously with all the implications involved the decision on this matter requires to a political one and the result of the Monopolies Commission deliberations will not be known till near the end of this year. The mass of information that was made public in letters and articles during this debate was quite fascinating. It seems that Edinburgh is the 2nd most important financial centre in the E.E.C. with funds of more than £10,000 million under management or ownership. Quite an ironic fact to balance against Lothian Region's fight against the implementation of government cuts even although in the light of Labour's devolution performance those cuts could be looked on as unnecessary and self-inflicted wounds.

EDUCATION

Through the U.G.C. (University Grants Committee) the government are going to control university spending — with large cuts proposed up till the mid eighties. For a party whose official philosophy has supposedly something to do with free enterprise the details that are coming forward to "save money" are incredible. Now in Scotland the universities were very articulate in their opposition to devolution and there is a great deal of poetic justice in their present position but it is to be hoped that the present signs of cooperation against the threatened destruction will

continue and that they will not again put their individual empire building against the good of education in Scotland. The whole situation highlights again the impossibility of a rational system in Scotland with control of the universities south of the border. The malaise started much further back when the Scottish universities allowed themselves to be anglicized and take part in the great post war boom especially of Harold Wilson's technocracy. All for what? So that a few English working class likely lads could make it to the top from where they are no longer looking back in anger but composing "Black Books of Education" for their superiors. Power is back with the privileged set who in England always looked on the universities as their domain and they are hiding behind the Treasury who will decide the cuts they hope to put an end to all this egalitarian nonsense about higher education for all. The Education (Scotland No. 2 Bill) went through parliament in early June. The closing of the Training Colleges as already reported in CARN was legalised with a very few and very minimal provisos. The Tories defeated two S.N.P. amendments, one on apprenticeships and post-school training and the other one on Gaelic.

STRI

The 2nd week of July was spent by a group of members from STRI touring Wales from South to North to find out at first hand what the language situation was in different areas, pre-school — primary — secondary etc. The first two days were spent in Cardiff and logically looking at the foundation of the structure. In the office of Mudiad Ysgollin Meithrin — The National Association of Welsh Medium Nursery Schools and Play groups, we were told of the small beginnings of a movement which is now a most impressive and well organised one and well deservedly as one brochure says "recognised by Brussels as one of the foremost Associations of its kind in Europe". After a visit to one of the nursery schools and seeing the movement in action it was very obvious that one very important factor in the success was the enthusiasm and dedication of the staff. One other factor was not quite so obvious but stressed by those in the office and the teachers themselves — the enthusiasm and dedication on the part of the parents especially the mothers. Once it was shown that nurseries run through the medium of Welsh were a success socially and educationally the parents themselves were the ones who pressurised the authorities. The methods would be familiar to all nursery teachers — sand, water and dough or clay play, games and singing, all done through the medium of Welsh. (It was stressed here and elsewhere that when children were new to school English might be used — if any child was in distress.) A primary school was visited and lessons in reading and physical education through the medium of Welsh were seen.

In the secondary school though it was coming near the end of term and the usual routine was not in force we saw parts of lessons in French, Latin and Science. One thing was apparent immediately in all those schools and the ones seen later was the happiness of the children and the informal relationship between the children and teachers without any lack of respect or consideration on either side. It came as no surprise to be told that the bi-lingual schools were the only booming area of education in Wales. Despite old

buildings and other handicaps this dedication to the cause of using Welsh in schools has been so successful that English speaking parents are wanting to send their children to what are recognised as the "Best" schools all round. Also in Cardiff we went to an evening class and saw in practice the intense structured method that is used for adults who want to get to the speaking stage quickly. Very exhausting for the teacher but as we were told very effective. The language unit at Pontypridd Polytechnic was visited and as everywhere the staff gave of their time and again enthusiasm to explain about the kind of material they prepared for schools. Here one of the points emphasised was that short daily lessons are much, much more valuable than lessons at longer intervals no matter for how long.

Mid week at Aberystwyth, we visited a nursery school and a primary school and saw in a different more rural, more naturally Welsh (than urban Cardiff) setting the same enthusiasm and dedication from different teachers and the same happiness from different children. *(To be finished in next issue of Carn.)*



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INTERCELTIC SOLIDARITY

Several Celtic League members wrote to the French ambassadors in Rome, Bonn, Dublin, expressing their concern over the decision to spend money from the Breton Cultural Charter fund on an open air museum instead of devoting it, as sorely needed, to the teaching of Breton. (A further misuse of the fund is the allocation against the advice of the Breton Cultural Council, of 100,000 Fr to a Mrs. Enckell, Paris for making some inane film in which Breton musicians would be given a minor role, as a sop to the Charter condition that the fund should help creative work by Breton artists in Brittany).

The secretary general of the Celtic League received also copies of letters sent by I.M., Y.J., Y.S.K., Y.L., E.R., E.C., G. Le R., J.Y.M., Y.M.M., P. le B., Ch. L. to the British consul in Nantes, expressing their dismay at the refusal of the London government to grant the H-Block hunger strikers their five demands. Even though some disagree with the use of violence, all consider that the prisoners cannot be treated simply as criminals. They refer to the strong feelings of solidarity uniting Brittany and Ireland. The French president was asked by the Breton branch not to attend Prince Charles' wedding on account of the situation in Northern Ireland.

Lois Kuter's address should have been included in our article about the U.S.A. branch of the International Committee for the Defense of the Breton language in Carn 34. It is: 312 West Dodds St., Bloomington, IN 47401, USA. The branch has now 105 members (of which 27 are in California and 5 are Irish, Welsh or other language organisations). It has just published the first issue of an excellent newsletter. The membership fee (\$1) is not sufficient to cover all the expenses. Additional contributions will be greatly welcome.

Comhuontu

I subscribe to Carn and wrote the secretaries in all the six Celtic countries this idea. I thought a good idea to increase the Celtic languages would be to not only to publish articles in the languages, but also to include each time a small lesson in each language to help facilitate the knowledge and usage of each.

I am taking an Irish language course in the area with Mr. Kevin Devany and have found it helpful in frequently understanding words in Scottish Gaelic and Manx without actually taking courses in those languages.

I think that it would help matters a great deal if this idea were to be used.

**Is mise, le meas,
Morgan Hoover Jr.**

BREIZH

Enlouc'hadoù diwar dro ur skol-hanv.

Ar wech kentan eo bet din mont d'ur skol-hanv gembraek. Degouezhout a rae mat ma ehan-labour evit tremen ur sizhunvezh e Skolaj Harlech. Rannet oa ar berzhidi e tri rummad: unan o studian al lennegezh, unan all, Cwrs y Bont, evit ar re a oa barrek — mat da zivizout e kembraeg, hag an trede rummad, hini an deskarded, rannet d'o zro etre tri c'hlas hervez o live. Frankiz oa da bep hini da zibab e rummad. D'am meno e vije bet gwelloc'h m'o dije gouestlet ar gelennerien ur penn-devezh d'hon arnodin er yezh komzet, gallet o dije neuze hon alian da zibab. Un darn vat eus an diskleriadurioù roet ganto e-pad ar c'hentelioù, ha koulz lavaret pep tra er-maez eus ar c'hentelioù, a oa e kembraeg. Tenn oa din kompren pep tra.

En holl e oa eno etre 100 ha 150 den. Em c'hlas e oamp unnek. Ar c'helenner, ur skolaer yaouank anezhan ha kembraeger a-vihanik eveljust, ne oa ket troet da zezrannan an traoù ha pa veze kaoz eus traoù teknikel a-walc'h ne chome ket da glask grediñnoù resis: ar pep pouezusan oa deskin komz kembraeg ordinal.

Ar "studicrien" oa anezho Kembreiz eus ar C'Hreistez, Saozon deut da vevan e Kembre (peogwir ez eo sioul aman hag ez eo deut-mat gant ar bobl gouzout un tammig o yezh), ha re all n'oufen ket lavarout peseurt kerentiezh a oa etrezo ha Kembreiz. Darn yaouank, darn o vont war an oad, sioul, seven, diaes toullan kaoz ganto. Un alberz am boe eus o doareoù-bevan, hag eus o menozioù, pa voe goulennet ouzhimp displegan gant petra e renemp hon amzer vak. Netra estlammus. Unan, un douaroniour, en doa beajet e pevar c'hevandir. Unan all a oa bet e Gevred Europa hag e Rusia, ur Saoz anezhan, o kelenn rusianeg ha galleg e Manchester; gantan un arouez war e chupenn o tisklerian e oa a-enep an armadurioù nukleel ha ne felle ket dezhan mervel evit Thatcher. Ne oa ket evit gouzanv ardoù ar Saoz all, ez-ofisour, breman kannad mirour Enez Von. Heman ne vanke kammed d'ober fougeoù gant ar c'henderc'hadoù breizhveuriat. Eveljust, e garrtan oa unan saoz, graet gant Leyland. "Ma hini zo unan japanat", eme hor c'helenner, "unan mat-tre!" Ar c'hannad en doa tro da gejan alies gant an Itron Thatcher e Ti ar Gumun: "ur vaouez hegarat!" Un itron guilh o stad enni peogwir he doa kejet ur wech gant ar brinsez Margaret (brudet he c'homz distaget e Chicago "Iwerzhoniz zo moc'h!"). Deiz eured Charlez ha Diana e felle da lod eus ar studierien e paouezfe ar c'hentelioù evit sellout ouzh ar skinwel. Ne voe ket taolet evezh aouto. "Bebet ar Republik!", a lavare paotr Manchester. Evit broudan ar Vreizhveuriz-se e tisplegis 'ta e tremenen an darn vrasan eus ma amzer vak gant ar C'Hevre Keltiek ha CARN... Moarvat ne voe ket komprenet gwall vat ma zamm kembraeg gant an holl. An douaroniour en doa c'hoant da c'houzont pegement a dud a gomze brezhoneg, hag ar c'hannad diwar-benn e oa ar pennadoù e CARN. Un tammig goapaer e-kenver hennenezh e kadarnaas hor c'helenner e klaskemp neuze an dieubidigezh vroadel evit ar

c'hwec'h bro geltiek. Ar re all, m'o doa ur sonj bennak, n'en diskuilhjont ket. Deut e oant da Harlech en abeg d'ar c'hembraeg ha netra ken, mechans. Tro am boe koulskoude da gomz gant tud eus ar c'hlasoù all hag a oa dedennet a-walc'h gant stourmoù politikel koulz ha sevenadurel ar pobloù keltiek.

En abardaevezh kentan ha ni o terrin hor sec'hed en ostaleri vras e-tal ar Skolaj e teuas unan eus ar gelennerien, ur plac'h he doa studiet hor yezh un tammig e Bangor, da gemenn din e vije tu breman d'ober un aotressgezh e brezhoneg e Roazhon. Goulennet e voe ouzhin pegen talvoudus e vije an dra-se. Ne oan ket tre ken entanet hag an aterserien, rak n'oan ket evit mirout a sonjal en doareoù ma c'hell ar velestradurezh c'hall dinerzhan al lezennoù ha divizoù ar vinistred.

An div Iwerzhonadez a zo deut a-gevret ganeomp aman a vez bemdez o selaou Radio Eireann evit kaout keloù a-zivout Kevin Lynch ha Keran Doherty, o-daou war o zremenvan. Ne lavar den netra a-zivout darvoudoù Iwerzhon. Un abardaevezh a oa gouestlet d'an dansoù-pobl. Ur "jig". "Setu un ton iwerzhonat", emeve. Sonerezh buhezek. "Iwerzhoniz zo tud vehezek", a voe respontet din. "Gant na vefent ket troet kement da dabutal".

Harlech, war a glevan, zo hanter saoznekaet. Evel e meur a griadenn all er "Vro Gembraek" ez eus kalz eus an embregerezhioù brasan e dalc'h Saozon.

Goulennet em eus e kembraeg div hantergwerennad bier en ostaleri. Setu paotr ar bar o vont d'ar varilh gant div werenn vras. Nann, emezon, "dau hanner"! Ne gompren ket. "The English don't understand Welsh", eme un den em c'hichen. — "Some have learned it. An holl hiziv an deiz a zesk un eil yezh bennak". — "Welsh is too difficult", eme egile. — N'eo ket diaesoc'h eget ar yezhoù all, a lavaran. "How do you know? I know Welsh!" Ha pa ran meneg eus an iwerzhoneg, e tistaol, faeüs: "Irish is not a language!" Moarvat m'en deus kejet gant Iwerzhoniz e oa saoznerien distagellet anezho. M'em bije lavaret "Gaelic" e vefe bet sklaeroc'h dezhan marteze. Pe c'hoazh "Erse", evel ma lavar darn aman. (En Iwerzhon avat ne ra den nemet enebourien ar yezh gant ar ger-man.)

E burev ar post, deiz an eured roueel, em eus goulennet pevar zimbr e kembraeg. Ar vestrez ne gompren ket. "A 'i fedra siarad Cymraeg?" Setu unan evidoc'h, emezi d'he skoazellerez oc'h ober sin dezhi d'ober war ma zro. Gant ar vestrez eman ar c'holocnnad timbroù hag ec'h astenn evelkent pevar zimbr brav gant skeudenn Charlez ha Diana warno. "N'em eus ket ezhomm eus ar re-se", emezon. "Ha n'hoc'h eus ket re all?" Graet he deus un dremm. Ar plac'h yaouank a wign laouen avat.

En nozvezh-se hag ar gelennerien en ostaleri, o deus kanet e kembraeg evel boas. Evit echuin, Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau. "N'hoc'h eus ket kanet ma c'han broadel", a glemm un itron. "Pennoù fall," a c'hrozmol daou all, "gallet o dije ober plijadur dezhi!"

Dirak Harlech, eus tu ar mor, ez eus un dachennad c'heot gant takadoù glazenn flour. Treuzet ganin an hent houarn, hag o vont gant ur wenodenn eeun e tremenan dirak un ti enskrivet warnan "St David's Royal Golf Club". C'hoant a zeu din troc'han berr

war-du an dunienn. N'eus ger ebet o tiskouez ez eo difennet, na kael na tra, nemet an takadoùigoù touz. Ne ray ket droug d'ar geot hir. 150 metr war ma zu dehou ez eus un toullad c'hoarierien. Unan a ziskrag, a ra sin din da vont war ma c'hiz. Diouzh tu an ti, ur gour postek o tont diwar brez da droc'han din hent an distro. "You are trespassing!", a damall din reut hag un tamall grevus eo e riez c'hinidik ar berc'henniezh prevez. "Deoc'h eo chom war an hent foran!" Aner vije din breutaat e oa aman gwechall hep mar un dachennad douar boutin lakaet o c'hrabanou warni gant rouellourien a seurt gantan. Anat eo, ec'h adlavar, ne vezan ket o c'hoari golf. (Salokras!) Deut on en-dro dibistig war an hent eeun. Ur vro gaer meurbet zo tro-war-dro Harlech. Gwall aloubet eo, siwazh.

A. Heusaff.

(A few impressions from a week in Coleg Harlech, learning Welsh from dedicated teachers. Some of the students were curious about the position of the other Celtic languages, others were rather British-minded. Outside the college, one is frequently made aware of a Wales being invaded by people who have little affinity with her traditions.)

FROM ELECTION PROMISES TO THE REALITY OF POWER

The victory of the French Socialist Party was welcomed by wide sections of the Breton movement, as it promises to open the way to considerable improvements, not only in the political and social fields, but also in the position of the Breton language. People who otherwise dislike socialism had to admit that no progress towards Breton freedom was possible under the rule of the French Right. For some years past the Socialist Party had officially departed from the centralist stand which it shared with the other major parties and adopted a good deal of what the Breton Democratic Union is campaigning for. So much so, that the latter, which was never overtly nationalist, felt it necessary to assert its own identity.

The increase in the leftist vote which occurred in Brittany at a rate of about 4% in each general election since the late sixties resulted this time in the Socialists holding a majority of the Breton seats. In the process the Communists, as elsewhere, suffered heavy losses, but the UDB which fielded 15 candidates could console itself with having got practically the same percentage of the vote — 2.5% on average — as in 1978: an indication that their supporters did not lose their heads in the euphoria of Mitterand's victory. However, having urged them to vote for the PS in the second round, they, like other groups in the Front Cultural Progressiste Breton, claim to have contributed to the socialists' triumph while reminding the new rulers of their pre-election promises.

Prior to the presidential election, the three largest Breton cultural associations Kendalc'h, Kuzul ar Brezhoneg and Amzer Nevez had asked the candidates to state their position concerning the demands of these organisations. In his reply Mitterand on the contrary acknowledged its shortcomings, admitted that while a strong central power

had been required in the past to join France together, cultural diversity must be guaranteed today in order to avoid her falling apart. He backed the bill tabled by the Socialist Party relative to the place of the languages and cultures of the peoples of France. And since no cultural and economic revival was possible without the effective participation of the citizens, he had actively cooperated in preparing a decentralisation project which would give "a new definition of the national identity".

The bill, which is the 25th on the minority languages to be tabled in the French Assembly since 1959, envisages measures to be taken in the fields of education, broadcasting and public administration. It was prepared by the Breton, L. Le Pensec and the Occitan, Ch. Laurisergues, signed by all the Socialist and allied MRG deputies, presented in December 1980 and published last April — that is before the elections. Many of its 45 pages are devoted to a review of past state policy; the present covert hostility towards those languages is denounced, while confirming a commitment to UNESCO and other international conventions on the protection of minorities. Bilingualism would become official in the regions concerned, and the measures proposed would go a long way in meeting the demands of the cultural associations of the seven ethnic groups — Basques, Bretons, Catalans, Corsicans, Occitans, Alsacians-Lorrains and Flemings. But let us see first if the bill becomes law. . . . It risks not coming before the French Assembly until next spring. The opposition will be up in arms, accusing the socialists of wanting to destroy French unity. And how many of the latter have really abjured the old State dogmas?

The Breton associations are expressing disquiet at some of the proposals in the bill, such as changing the present Cultural Council into a mere section of the Social and Economic Council: this would make it more difficult to get agreement on suggestions or plans put before the "Regional Council" since the majority of the SEC members are unlikely to be much concerned about cultural matters. And although the integration of the DIWAN nursery schools into the public education system would suit their promoters (fund-raising activities absorb too much of their energy and time needed for problems of pedagogy and helping parents to become sufficiently proficient in Breton to make it the home language), accepting those schools on an experimental basis, as the bill envisages, could result in setting limits to their growth in number.

Celtic League members should join with members of Breton associations and write to Louis Le Pensec, Député pour la Circonscription de Quimperlé, Brittany, congratulating him but expressing concern about those two points; urging him to insist that the Cultural Council be maintained as a separate body and that its advice be given greater weight and authority than in the past few years.

It is important that the bill should come up for debate in the French Assembly without delay or the momentum for substantial change will be lost. This is no time for relaxing efforts, rather the contrary. In France power has traditionally rested as much with the higher civil servants as with the legislators. At the moment the latter hold the initiative but the former

are ready to neutralise any new law which may depart from the long-established principles of State centralism. The need to press on with our claims is recognised by SKOL An EMSAV which offers to coordinate all the Breton forces, not only for a breakthrough in the language struggle, but also for the unification of the Nantes area with the rest of Brittany and for control of our own affairs. 'We shall only be given what our strength will exact'.

A.H.

ART IN BRITTANY: TWO NEW BOOKS

The Breton artistic heritage is both deeply rooted in history and dependent on the geographical features of the country. It expresses the contrast between Arvor and Argoad (respectively the sea-board and the inland), West and East, the Breton- and the French-speaking areas. A good example of this external duality, reflecting the unity of culture and history, is the presence of the ancient military strongholds on the Eastern border, allowing the growth of a religious architecture (chapels, sanctuaries, etc.) in the safer Western part of the country.

Although numerous publications have been produced on the subject, two real master-pieces published in 1979 deserve particular attention. The first, "Arts et Cultures en Bretagne, un millenium" is a scientific piece of work. Its author, André Mussat, is a professor at the Rennes University. The book is divided in three parts: Creation — An Architectural Landscape — The Shocks of the Modern World. Instead of the usual clichés about Brittany, we find here a serious analysis of all the artefacts mentioned in the book.

The second, Victor-henry Debidous's "L'Art de Bretagne", is perhaps truer to the Breton soul. It stresses the importance of all the folk productions (calvaries, furniture, objects . . .) rather than that of the well-known megaliths, castles and cathedrals.

At a time when our whole heritage is threatened by ignorance, neglect and theft, these books challenge the Bretons and their attitude towards the future.

In an interview given to the monthly "BREIZH", Mussat said that, although not a Breton, he always had a passion for Brittany and its history. "Having seen the almost complete ignorance of the subject by most students, I thought that a good way of teaching them the history of this country and to a certain extent, of this nation, was to let them learn the history of its monuments." He included the Nantes area because it is historically part of Brittany and it shares deeply in its life today. Asked how the population could be better informed on this subject, he blamed the mass-media for doing too little and for contributing to the destruction of languages and cultures. A Breton canton (with an area of 80 square miles) possesses hundreds of valuable works of sculpture whereas in a region such as Poitou, only about half a dozen would be found in a similar area. "I wrote this book to make the Breton people more aware of the richness of their heritage."

K.

In an official communication made in April 1981, concerning 4/5 of Brittany, an average of 261 works of lay art and 203 objects used in liturgy were reported stolen yearly during the period 1969-1980. This is part of a general world phenomenon: the reaction to increasing uniformity in styles is a growing demand for "antiques" . . . 12-15% of all thefts committed in Brittany, apart from car thefts, are of works of art. Moreover, rural people who inherited old wardrobes, dressers, tables, often don't realise their value and are lured into selling them for next to nothing. In the four départements, about 8,000 art objects are recorded for protection. In fact, if the Nantes area is also included, there are more than 100,000 which should be recorded in Brittany. This heritage is increasingly endangered. Let us hope that international bodies such as the Council of Europe will soon be able to devise measures, and get them implemented, to avoid such dilapidation.

AN OUTSIDER'S VIEW OF OUR CHANCES

Last April, the monthly "Le Monde Diplomatique", a supplement of the French daily "Le Monde" devoted to international problems, published an article by Jean Chesneaux about the "ethnical" movements in Europe. (Available from Le Monde, 5 rue des Italiens, 75425 Paris Cedex 09. 8 Fr.).

Thirty years ago, he said, the general trend was for the regional minorities of Western Europe to be eliminated and for the nation-State to remain in sole control of their populations. That tendency was suddenly reversed in the 60s or early seventies in the wake of generalised decolonisation in the Third World. In the new political climate evolving in the developed countries, minorities and differences came to be valued and uniformity was deprecated. Growth, the consumer society, the advances in high technology, no longer excited admiration. Ecological considerations putting stress on the need to maintain natural balances led to a rehabilitation of the cultures of Western minorities which had been driven into mountains, land's ends and islands by a process no longer felt "unavoidable".

Alas, following the leap forward of the ethnical movements 10-15 years ago, a crisis can be observed everywhere today: in Britain, it was the failure of "devolution"; in Galicia, only 15% of the voters expressed themselves on the question of autonomy (whereas 99% had done so in 1936!); even "the warmth of communal feeling which marked the Breton *frestoùnoz* is now marred by excessive drinking".

What happened? First, counter moves have been made to recover the lost ground: "the established order has shown itself capable of rearranging its framework at institutional level, since the claims for regional freedom were unconnected with any radical criticism of the social system." Even Brittany was allowed to have her little plaything: the cultural charter. However insignificant, *this institutional management contributed to break the momentum acquired by the ethnic groups.*

Chesneaux sees also as a factor contributing to the present stagnation the pernicious influence of "the discredit in which the socialist model is falling in the Eastern countries": It may have eroded the

enthusiasm of many party workers. Above all, the smaller European communities are suffering most from the economic crisis: "Economic insecurity, both individual and collective, discourages the minority regions from wanting to manage their own affairs". And he points out the contradictions of European integration. On one hand "a European Community must necessarily lead to a relaxation of the pressure from the centralistic states on the minority regions, culturally as well as politically". But on the other hand "a United Europe will be founded on economic phenomena which will subject these regions to an even more ruthless levelling than the present States are doing: concentration of profitable activities; desertification of entire regions; transfer of manpower; standardisation of the models of consumption, of living conditions and of leisure activities".

The ethnic movements certainly need a new impetus but already they have contributed a great deal to European life. "The surge of the 60s and 70s has brought new and decisive questions, it has widened the action of those movements to the whole social field, it has asserted the vitality of peoples which were considered as "condemned by History". It is an irreversible achievement which they are bound to consolidate, even if they are going today through a difficult and ambiguous phase".

In the last century and at the beginning of the present one, a first movement brought liberation to the small nations of Central and Eastern Europe. In the middle of the 20th century, decolonisation occurred in Africa and in Asia. Will there be a third wave of independence for the small Western European countries at the end of this century? Chesneaux would say that the present surge of regional dissidence in Western Europe has another aim than the setting-up of a "third generation" of nation-States. "Confusely, as if groping, these movements are formulating new demands. Their is primarily a struggle for collective rights."

He thinks that the need for transformation is particularly obvious in the case of the French State which is the most backward in Europe in the matter of minority politics."

Jorj Gwegen.

A WELL ORGANISED CELTIC CONGRESS

The Celtic Congress held in Lannuon (July 18-23) was a success thanks to its organising committee. Those who tend to believe that inter-Celtic gatherings are dominated by individualistic fantasy were once again proved wrong.

It is fair to say that the organisers got every help from the town council. Large banners bearing the words *Kendalc'h Keltiek* stretched overhead across the streets and the flags of the six Celtic countries flew at the top of high poles in various places around town. This prompted a Cornishman to say that he had never seen so many Cornish flags in his own country. All the town buses carried large posters in

Breton and French advertising the Congress. Minibuses stationed at certain times in the yard of the Institute facilitated the movements of participants who had no car.

The Congress was warmly welcomed to Lannuon by its mayor, Mr Jagoret (who is also a socialist member of the French *Chambre des Députés*). Wine from the Nantes area vineyards was served on this occasion to stress the fact that that area is part of Brittany. In his address, Mr Jagoret referred to the importance of developing the relations between the Celtic countries and to press vigorously ahead with the struggle for the Breton language. No empty words on his part: Lannuon is showing the way in bringing our language back into public use. All the town buses carry bilingual signs: *Ville de Lannion — Kêr Lannuon*; bilingual street signs are being gradually introduced; beside the door of the J. Savidan Cultural Centre there are also plates explaining what the Centre is about. This is still far from what is needed but when one knows how stiffly and coldly the rule of *French-only* was applied until quite recently, the new attitude of a town council like that of Lannuon towards our language will be appreciated.

Among the participants there were as well as Bretons plenty of Welsh and Cornish people. Also a sizeable group from Ireland, but few Scots and nobody from Mannin as far as I was aware. If all who took part, be it for the whole 6 days or for as little as half a day were counted, they numbered about a thousand. I was surprised however that there were so few young people from Wales. Usually they are numerous at inter-Celtic gatherings, and noted for their strength and enthusiasm. Were they held in Wales by more important meetings?

As usual, attitudes towards the questions being debated differed widely among the participants. For instance, a Cornishman voiced strong opposition to the daubing of road-signs in order to have them replaced by others bearing the place names in their correct Celtic forms. "Such methods are too violent," he said. A Welshman sharply retorted that there would never have been Welsh-language road signs had they not used many tinfuls of paint throughout Wales. You can then imagine that he events in Northern Ireland were not viewed by all present through the same glasses. . . .*

The situation of the Celtic languages was the theme of the Congress this year. There were five working groups: Radio and Television — Periodical — Newspapers — Schools — Neologisms. In the absence of a simultaneous translation system at the Institute, the exchange of ideas was cumbersome at times owing to the use of several languages. There is not enough space here to report the discussions in detail. An account will shortly be published by the Celtic Congress secretariate. What emerged once more was that Wales is leading in our language struggles, a shining example for the other Celts.

Entertainment as in all Celtic Congresses, held a place of honour. Occasionally there was a choice between two offerings. What attracted me most was the play in Breton staged on the Sunday afternoon, in the fully-packed hall of the old *Roc'h Yagu* Castle, by the excellent "*Strollad ar Vro Bagan*". The

spectators who did not understand Breton joined in the laughter which punctuated their performance. To this the singer J. F. Kemener brought a quietening note with his rendering of old Breton givreizoù (ballads).

Jorj Gwegen.

*I understand that when a Breton group sang a song in honour of Bobby Sands, half the members of a Welsh choir walked out. **A.H.**



Yoyenn Kraff speaking at the annual Easter Commemoration in Skrignag, of the death of the Breton patriot priest Yann Vari Perrot who was shot, on order from the French in London, in 1943.

- The memory of all those who died for the freedom of Brittany was also honoured at the end of July at St Aubin-du-Cormier, near Fougères, where 6,000 Breton soldiers died in 1488 defending our independence.

Signs of a new outlook

The "Place du Palais" in Rennes on the north side of which stands the prestigious building which housed the Breton Parliament (Supreme Court of Justice) during the period of autonomy has been renamed bilingually Place du Parlement de Bretagne/Leurenn Breujoù Breizh. Not all the city councillors were in favour of adding the Breton form.

For many years our friend Alan Louarn provided a voluntary service of information about the multiple aspects of Breton life at Nr 30, Place des Lices, Rennes. This service is now receiving official support from the Rennes city council which has put Laorans Motrot in charges of this "Centre Régional d'Information Bretonne" on a full time basis.

A University Degree in Breton

For years the Celtic Department at the University of Rennes has been pressing for authorisation to deliver a degree in Breton but in spite of the fact that about 500 students were taking this subject (in the first year, as afterwards it was pointless?), the Ministry of Education always refused.

The demand was renewed as soon as the socialists came to power in Paris.

Contrary to expectations, the new minister said NO again! A campaign of protests was immediately initiated and the Breton socialist MPs were mobilised. Result: on July 21 came the announcement that henceforth Rennes will be habilitated to deliver the degree. This is seen in Breton circles as an important victory. It will make it possible to create posts of teachers of Breton in the secondary schools on a regular basis and encourage pupils to study the language.

What about the Brest and Nantes universities? The Pensac bill acknowledges that the latter should be involved, and Brest has a Breton-speaking hinterland. Its Celtic section was less demanding than the one in Rennes. Lack of spirit? Its staff denies it. They thought it a better tactic to associate Breton with the study of . . . English.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

The National Question in Cornwall, a historical review by Royston Green, 28 pages. 80p + postage. Available from the author, Polmarth, Carmenellis, Redruth, Cornwall TR16 6NT. A history emphasizing social and linguistic-cultural aspects.

Energy and World Development, a Scottish perspective, by Andrew MacKillop, 12 pp. 50p + postage, published by "Scottish Education and Action for Development", 29 Nicolson Sq., Edinburgh EH8 9BX.

THE IRISH-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE:

A Guide to the Literature

Seamus P. Metress, Ph.D.

University Press of America

Washington, D.C. 1981

A comprehensive bibliographical survey of the literature related to the study of the Irish-American Experience. The work includes over 2,000 citations to books, periodicals and unpublished thesis and dissertations. It is categorized by topic and region and the citations are not annotated. It should be a useful research tool for scholars in Anthropology, History, Sociology, Historical Geography, and Ethnic Studies.

CYMRU

DADL Y DDIOD FEDDWOL

Eisteddfod dawel iawn fu hi eleni ar gyrion Machynlleth. Ni fu unrhyw helynt o bwys a'r unig brotest ar y maes oedd honno y tu allan i babell y Brifysgol. Mae'n rhaid fod mwynder Maldwyn wedi dylanwadu ar bob eisteddfodwr fel ei gilydd.

Y ddadl ffyrnicaf a glywyd yn ystod yr wythnos oedd honno ym Mhabell y Cymdeithasau, "Cymry a'r Cwrw". Fe'i trefnwyd gan y Cyngor Cymreig dros Alcoholiaeth a Chyffuriau eraill.

Daeth yn amlwg ynfuan iawn nad trafodaeth gyffredinol ar alcoholiaeth oedd hon, ond yn hytrach drafodaeth ar y ffaith fod 'Twrw Tanllyd' (pabell yr ieuenctid ar fin nos, filltir o faes yr Eisteddfod) wedi cael caniatad i werthu diodydd meddwol.

Yn ôl un o'r Trefnwyr, Dyfrig Berry, roedd £1,000 wedi ei wario ar gyflogi stiwardiaid i gadw trefn ac yr oedd hyn wedi gweithio'n rhagorol. Mewn gwirionedd, meddai, roedd llai o fedd-dod ac yfed dan oed nag yn y blynyddoedd blaenorol, pan nad oedd bar ar gael yn Twrw Tanllyd. Ond dywedodd y Parch T. J. Davies iddo ymweld â'r babell y noson cynt a'i fod yn gwbl anfonlon gyda'r trefniadau. Dywedodd hefyd fod ganddo brawf fod cyffuriau'n cael eu pedlera yno.

Cafwyd un o areithiau mwyaf grymus y cyfarfod gan Ffred Ffrancis, un o Stiwardiaid Twrw Tanllyd sydd hefyd yn ddirwestwr ers rhai blynyddoedd bellach. Mynegodd ef deimladau llawer o bobl ifanc pan ddywedodd mai annheg oedd dewis Twrw Tanllyd fel targed yr ymgyrch yn erbyn alcohol, pan ellid gweld pethau llawer yn nhafarnau'r cych, lle nad oedd unrhyw arolygaeth o fath yn y byd.

Rhagrith ac anonestrwydd oedd ymosod ar bobl ifanc, meddai, heb ar yr un pryd gondemnio'r yfed oedd yn mynd ymlaen ymhlith eisteddfodwyr 'parchus' hefyd. Bu bar ar gael yn nramau'r eisteddfod ers blynyddoedd ond nid oedd neb wedi codi llais yn erbyn hynny. Dylid ymosod ar bob ffrynt, meddai. Roedd Twrw Tanllyd o leiaf wedi gwneud ymdrech deg i gadw pethau uan reolaeth ac wedi gwario swm sylweddol ar hynny, heb gael gair o glod gan neb.

Mae'n amlwg fod yna deimladau cryfion ar bob ochr ynglŷn â'r pwnc yma. Ar un ochr mae'r dirwestwyr rhonc ac ar yr ochr arall mae llawer o botiwrs sy'n poeni dim am gynnydd alcoholiaeth. Mae'n ymddangos fod y ddau begwn yn ymbellhau oddi wrth ei gilydd. Onid yw'n bryd i rywun ddechrau chwilio am y llwybr canol a phregethu cymedroldeb? (The most controversial issue at this year's National Eisteddfod was the bar licence that was granted to organizers of Twrw Tanllyd, the rock concert marquee a mile from the eisteddfod field. Teetotallers were up in arms but the organizers insisted that they had everything under control and the police were well satisfied with the arrangements).

PRISON FOR CYMDEITHAS CHAIRMAN

The Chairman of Cymdeithas yr Iaith, Wayne Williams, is now serving a six month prison sentence for his part in the Channel 4 campaign — ironically, after the campaign has been won. He and two other Cymdeithas members faced a conspiracy charge at Bristol Crown Court in June. This is the fifth time that such a controversial charge has been used against the society. The three faced various other charges following damage done to transmitters in East Harptree and Goosemoor, Somerset, in July and August, 1980.

Euros Owen, a 20 year old student at Aberystwyth University College was sent to Borstal for an unspecified period. The minimum is usually nine months; it's up to the prison authorities when he should be released. The other defendant, Arwyn Sambrook, also a student at Aberystwyth, was sentenced to six months imprisonment, suspended for two years. On the first day of the trial, Plaid Cymru President Gwynfor Evans was allowed to speak to the judge personally. He presented several letters demanding that the charges be dropped in view of the governments U-turn on the issue of Welsh television. But his plea was rejected.

Wayne Williams is a teacher at Llanidloes High School. He is married and has a five month old baby daughter.

It seems likely that he will lose his job when he comes out of prison two days before Christmas. A meeting of the school governors has been called in September to discuss his position. The meeting will be presented with a petition pointing out that he has already been punished by the courts and that he should not be made to suffer a second time.

SIANEL PEDWAR PREPARES

Meanwhile, preparation for the launch of Sianel 4 Cymru (S4C) in November 1982 are going ahead at a brisk pace. The most important announcement recently has been that the service will receive £20 million up to April 1983, almost exactly what the S4C Authority asked for. This money will pay for administration as well as for 12 hours a week from HTV and other independent producers. The other 10 hours will be contributed free of charge by the BBC, financed out of the licence fee.

At an eisteddfod meeting, S4C chief, former BBC Wales Controller Owen Edwards, described the "incredible" developments since the last National Eisteddfod 12 months previously. At that time it seemed that the campaign had been lost. But within a few weeks the government had made its famous U-turn and by now the key posts had been filled, a new headquarters had been found at Cathedral Road, Cardiff, and programmes for the new channel had already been commissioned. The situation had been completely transformed.

One problem which has not yet been solved is how to keep the actor's union, Equity, happy. In a recent statement they gave the impression that only Equity members should appear on the new channel. Owen Edwards described this attitude as "selfish" in the National Eisteddfod meeting, but Equity's Welsh Chairman, Gareth Lewis, stated that what he wanted

was to safeguard his member's interests. Amateurs and professionals should not appear on the same programmes, he said.

At the end of July the long awaited Welsh Select Committee report on broadcasting appeared — too late to make any real impact on the situation.

The committee had made a big fuss over alleged "political imbalance" on Welsh television programmes. Two members who were disillusioned with this line of questioning published a minority report. This report called for a steady increase in the Welsh language output, year by year. It also rejected the three year experimental period laid down by the Home Office. Once established, the channel should be here to stay, they said.

BOUNDARIES SHAKE UP

The political map of Wales will face a big shake up if the proposals of the Boundary Commission are accepted. Plaid Cymru MP Dafydd Elis Thomas will have to find another constituency since his Meirionnydd seat will be amalgamated with Conwy and Denbigh, both held by Tories at present. The Montgomery seat will also disappear, to form a new North Powys seat, taking in Radnorshire and North Brecon, making it almost impossible for the Liberals to regain the seat from the Tories.

Clwyd will receive an extra seat in the Wrexham area. In Gwent the Pontypool constituency will be divided three ways. The Commission have recommended changes in all seats in Wales except two.

The Commission allowed a month for objections to be registered and it seems likely that public enquiries will have to be held in virtually every corner of Wales.

Critics from all the political spectrum have bitterly attacked the Commission for interpreting its brief far too mechanistically according to population statistics. It is felt that the Commission has trampled on sensitive community, historical and geographical considerations.

EISTEDDFOD BREAKS EVEN

The National Eisteddfod at Machynlleth proved to be extremely successful this year, with over 100,000 people attending.

The Eisteddfod cost £690,000 to stage but organizers are confident that they will break even.

For the first time ever the organizers made special arrangements for young people on the eisteddfod field, setting up a tent where folk and rock groups could perform every afternoon. Such an event will probably be arranged at every eisteddfod from now on. Dafydd Elis Thomas, MP, suggested that Welsh rock groups should be given prominence on the main eisteddfod stage, alongside the traditional 'cerdd dant' singers. Next year's eisteddfod at Swansea will be different in many respects. It will be held at the University campus and a marquee will be used instead of the pavilion, saving an estimated £85,000. The pavilion will now be moved to Ynys Môn (Anglesey), ready for the 1983 eisteddfod.

FOR LORRY DRIVERS ONLY

On my last visit to Wales, I had the redoubtable opportunity to watch the English attitude toward their neighbors in action. The British Conservative government's capitulation in September 1980 on its campaign promise of an all-Welsh television channel

was still a recent blwo and the press frequently offered articles on the absurdity of both the Welsh language and the prospects of the channel, claiming that it would serve only a small minority of zealots. As a learner of Welsh, I counted myself among that supposed minority, among thousands of children and adults eager to hear the language not only in the classroom but in daily use and as a medium for artistic expression.

While making a tour of Castell Coch, I was confronted by an arrogance about which I had only read and heard. As I was reading the bilingual history of the construction of the castle, a small group of English tourists entered the room. Only a few moments passed before I heard a man in the group say, "Only lorry drivers speak *this* language," in a tone which was unmistakably meant as an insult. The remark was greeted by appreciative laughter from the others in his group.

Though already aware of the animosity of some English toward the language of Wales, I was stunned to hear such a blatant display of hatred expressed by a visitor. Although my companion, whose first language is Welsh, graced the offender with a look of disapproval, the tourist was not moved to amend or cease his comments. Throughout the remainder of the tour, we were frequently in close proximity to the group and continually subjected to similar attacks on the language, culture and people of Wales, now directed toward the children in the group who had shown interest in the meanings of signs. The man appeared to be deriving great pleasure from his fatuousness.

I took the offensive in return by using as much as I could of Welsh, if only to tell my companion the obvious fact that we were in a large room. Since the English tourist had no way of knowing what I said, I understood his discomfort when the children asked him what was written on a placard. "I'm not even going to attempt that one," he responded. Understand, yes, but sympathize, I could not. He was a stranger in a land he felt he possessed; his defense was to ridicule what he could not comprehend.

"What is the matter with those people?" I asked my friend when we left the castle, though I very well know the answer. "They are just ignorant," was the reply. I would have used a stronger adjective to describe their behaviour. I was angry, but my companion had mastered the habitual tolerance for the ignorant that is the mark of frustration. My urge was to confront the offender, my friend's was to show disapproval, accept and forget.

This was not a singular response. Each person to whom I later told the incident, all of whom are Welsh-speaking nationalists, either shrugged with a knowing smile or explained they had long since learned to ignore such events.

Here, in America, I think about those English tourists, equally frustrated because my editor suggested I would destroy Welsh-English marriages by this account, though he purports strong sympathy for the efforts of his kinsmen. He remains silent for fear of losing subscriptions among Welsh-Americans. My Welsh-speaking friend remains silent from habit. And, in truth, I remained, at that crucial moment, silent for fear I had not the right argument to present the tourists with their wrong. Together, we have established the perfect environment for the perpetuation of oppression and indignity.

Leigh Verrill.

EIRE

SCOIL SAMHRAIDH HARLECH

Ba dhoiligh suíomh níos áilne ná mar atá ag Coleg Harlech a shamhlú, é suite ar shleas an chnoic go hard os cionn na fairrge, trá ghainimhe míle ar fhad taobh thiar de na dumhacha os a chomhair amach, radharc siar ó thuaidh ar leathinis Lley, ciorcal sléibhte agus Y Wyddfa sa lár maguaird, agus an sean chaisleán maorga ar ard eile ag ceann an bhaile. Sean fhoirgneamh cloiche, ar nós tithe an bhaile, atá sa Cholaiste féin, ach tá dhá bhloc nua tógtha taobh leis, an bloc cónaithe ina rabhamar, na scoláirí, ag fanacht, agus amharclann bhreá le seomraí feistis is cleachtaidh de bhrí go bhfuil scoil dramaíochta bunaithe anseo agus é faoi riar ag an gcoláiste. Coleg Addysg Bellach .i. Coláiste Breis Oideachais nó coláiste oideachais do dhaoine fásta, atá i Harlech. Níl fhios agam go baileach céard iad na cúrsaí uilig a bhíonn ann i rith na bliana; bíonn ar a laghad cúrsa amháin Breatnaise a mhaireann dhá mhí sa bhFómhar.

Cúrsa seachtaine amháin a bhíonn sa scoil samhraidh. Timpeall céad duine a bhí ag frestal air i mbliana, le dornán beag scoláirí lae ina measc. Trí chúrsa eagsúil a bhíonn ann: 1. cúrsa d'fhothlaimeoirí na teangan roinnte ar trí leibheal, le beirt teagascóir i mbun gach leibhéil (rud a d'fhág teagascóir in aghaidh gach dáréag scoláire); 2. Cwrs y bont (cúrsa an droichid) cúrsa léamh agus scríbhneoireachta dóibh siúd a bhfuil greim maith acu ar an teanga; 3. cúrsa ard-léinn ina dtugtar léachtaí ar litríocht, ar cheol, stair is rl., ní mór an Bhreatnaise a bheith ar do thoil agat le frestal ar an gcúrsa seo — an taon chúrsa ar a raibh. Breatnaiseoirí ó dhúchas. Thart ar ceithre go leith uair a chloig sa ló a tugadh do na ranganna foirmeáilte, agus cúpla uair a chloig san iarnóin le haghaidh grúpaí neamh-fhoirmeáilte ina raibh deis dul ar siúlóidí nó turasanna timpeall an cheantair; ach ag druidim le deireadh na seachtaine bhí an iarnóin ar fad beagnach tugtha suas do na cleachtaí fa choinne an mhion Eisteddfod, ócáid mhór na seachtaine a tionóltar ar an oíche dheiridh den chúrsa. Cineál ábhar magaidh ar an ócáid mhór náisiúnta a bhíonn sa mhion-eisteddfod ina leagtar béim ar an gciotúnacht agus an spraoi, le chuile chineál comórtais, ó bhanna feadaile go dtí litir grá, ó aithris dáin droim ar ais go dtí teileagram ó Branwen — comórtas a bhain beirt Éireannach, is maith liom a rá. Idir an Eisteddfod agus na himeachtaí eile oíche ar nós amhránaíocht, rinncí, grúpaí ceoil, is beag am saor a bhí ag éinne, múinteoirí nó scoláirí, le linn na seachtaine.

Maidir leis an lucht freastail, lasmuigh den chúrsa ard-léinn, is beag Breatnach ó dhúchas a bhí ar an scoil samhraidh. Daoine de bhunadh Breatnach a rugadh agus a tógadh lasmuigh den tír, go hiondúil i Sasana, ab ea cuid mhaith acu. Bhí beirt Meiriceánach ansin (duine acu de bhunadh Éireannach) agus cúigear Éireannach, ach ba Sasanaigh ar a laghad leath den lucht foghlamtha. De réir mar d'fhéadfainn déanamh amach bhí tri

chineál Sasanach ann: ar dtús iad siúd atá tagtha chun cónaí go buan i dtuaisceart na Breataine Bige agus fonn orthu, ar chúis amháin nó ar chúis eile, eolas a chur ar an teanga. Ní haon dispeagadh a rá go bhfuil cúis is cúis ann mar bhí bean amháin nár cheil gur chuir na “náisiúnaithe Breatnacha” faitíos uirthi agus mheas sí go mba cosaint dí an ‘cúpla focal’ Breatnaise a bheith aici. Ansin tá na Sasanaigh a bhfuil cónaí orthu i Sasana agus a chuireann suim sa Bhreatnaise mar a chuiridís in aon teanga iasachtach; is gnáthach leo saoire a chaitheamh i Gymru — seans go bhfuil tithe samhraidh ag cuid acu sa tír — ach san iomlán is daoine iad atá báuil leis an mBreatnaise is le muintir Cymru. Dream measctha atá sa tríú grúpa; cuid acu is Sasanaigh iad atá pósta ar Bhreatnaigh cuid eile a mheasann go bhfuil gaol Breatnach acu in aineoin sloinnte agus dúchas Sasanach a bheith acu. Is cinnte go bhfuil nua choilíneacht Sasanach bunaithe i dtuaisceart Cymru anois mar is léir ón oireadh siopaí, ostain agus gnólachtaí eile atá i seilbh sasanach, agus dar ndóigh níl siad seo uilig ar iarraidh Breatnaise a fhoghlaim ná an dúchas Sasanach a thréigint. Ar oíche an phósta ríoga nuair a bhí na múinteoirí Breatnaise agus dream eile on gcoláiste ag slua-amhránaíocht i mBreatnaise sa teach ósta galánta suas an bóthar, chuireadar clabhsúr ar an oíche le Hen Wlad fyn Hadau (amhrán náisiúnta Cymru) tháinig an unéir, bean Sasanach, chucu ag gearán nár chanadar a hamhrán náisiúnta sise; go fiú nach dtáinig beirt Éireannach (lucht saoire is dócha, ní rabhadar ar an gcúrsa) a rá leo go mba páistiúil an mhaise dóibh gan ‘God save the queen’ a chasadh ar an ócáid speisialta seo. Nach fánach an áit a bhfaighteá gliomach. Tá obair le deanamh ag an gConradh Ceilteach go fóill.

Brid Heussaff.

(An account of a week long intensive Welsh course held in Harlech, North Wales. A surprising number of English people, for one reason or another were participants.)

ÁBHAR DÓCHAIS

Sna nuachtáin agus irisí Gaeilge is sármhínic a bhíonn trácht ar mheath na Gaeilge, bás na Gaeilge, cúngú na nGaeltachtaí agus mar sin de. Tá cuid mhaith den fhirinne sa mhéid sin, fairior. Ach, ar an taobh eile de, tá comharthaí dóchais ann chomh maith agus ba cheart dúinn iad sin a thabhairt faoi deara agus gan a bheith ag clamhsán de shíor toisc go bhfuil cúrsaí faoi mar atá siad. Bhí meath ag teacht ar labhairt na Gaeilge gan amhras ó Chath Chionn tSáile anuas agus b'fhéidir roimhe sin ó theacht na Normannach.

Ach, is cóir ár n-aird a dhíriú ar na hiarrachtaí atá ar siúl in áiteanna éagsúla ar fud na tíre chun an Ghaeilge a chur chun cinn i láthair na huaire.

Ar an gcéad dul síos, táim ag smaoineamh ach go háirithe ar Radio na Gaeltachta. Ar shli amháin is iontach mar atá ag éirí leis. Don chéad uair leis na cianta tá muintir na ndúichí éagsúla ag éirí cleachta lena gcanúintí difriúla agus diaidh ar ndiaidh tá galar cinniúnach na gCeilteach — an scaipeacht — á chur ar ceal. Tá rud eile fiorthábhachtach á dhéanamh ag Radio na Gaeltachta. Is é sin an nuacht áitiúil.

Tamaillin ó shin bhíos ag caint le bean ó Chonamara atá ag obair i Luimneach. Dúirt sí liom go n-éistean si leis an nuacht áitiúil gach oíche gan teip agus nuair a théann sí abhaile gach coicis bíonn an chabaireacht go léir aici faoi mar a bheadh agus gan an áit a fhágáil aici riamh. Gan aon agó is mór an bua é an rud sin 'a bheith ar siúl agus trácht ar rudaí a bhaineann go dlúth le saol na háite — sochraidí, cruinnithe, imeachtaí éagsúla agus mar sin de.

Chomh maith le sin, caithim tagairt a dhéanamh d'obair Ghlór na nGael in áiteanna cosúil le Cill Airne, Trá Lí agus Iarthar Luimní ach go háirithe. Is iontach an obair atá déanta acu in Áth Leacach, mar shampla. Paróiste beag tuaithe is ea é gan buntáiste ar bith maidir le heagras ná foirgnimh agus is feirmeoirí iad go léir beagnach.

Ach, i measc na ndaoine seo anois tá beagán Gaeilge le cloisteáil i gcuid de na tithe agus níos mó ná san i dtithe eile agus seo in áit nach raibh focal Gaeilge le cloisteáil deich mbliana ó shin. Sin dul ar aghaidh agus comhartha dóchais. Níim á rá gur Gaeilge chruinn bheacht ghalánta atá ar siúl acu — nil aon De Bhaldraithe ina measc agus b'fhéidir nach mbeidh go deo ach tuigeann Glór na nGael go ri-mhaith go gcaithfidimid tosú in áit éigin is cuma chomh lag agus a bheidh an tosú sin. Cuir i gcás gur tharla míorúilt agus gur chas gnáthmhuintir na hÉireann ar labhairt na Gaeilge arís an í Gaeilge an Chaighdeán a bheadh a labhairt acu?

Ní dóigh liom é. Gaeilge bhriste streachlanach a bheadh i gceist a chuirfeadh deistin ar na sean Ghaeilgeoirí. Tá an Caighdeán i bhfad ró-chasta don ghnáthdhuine nach bhfuil in ann na blianta a chaitheamh ag déanamh staidéir air. Gan simpliú fairsing ar an gCaighdeán Oifigiúil fanfaidh an Ghaeilge lena scoláirí go deo na ndeoir. Ach, is fearr lena lán daoine corpan gleoite ná beo gioblach.

Ar aon chuma, tá an dul ar aghaidh céanna le sonrú in áiteanna eile i gCo. Luimní — áiteanna cosúil leis an gCaisleán Thiar, Teampall an Ghleanntáin, Dúiche Íde. Bíonn leathanach Gaeilge acu gach seachtain sa "Limerick Leader" agus anchuid imeachtaí áitiúla ar siúl. I ndeireadh na dála, braitheann todhchaí na Gaeilge ar sprid na ndaoine agus ar cheannairí diograiseacha. I m' thuairimse, tá na grúpaí beaga seo ag déanamh níos mó ar son na teanga ná cuid mhaith de na heagrais Stáit lena gcairn airgid, foirgnimh mhóra agus caint mhór (as Bearla gan amhras) gan toradh.

Is cosúil go bhfuil iarrachtaí mar seo ar siúl in áiteanna eile ar fud na tíre. Tá súil agam go bhfuil. Agus ba cheart do na daoine a bhfuil eolas acu orthu iad a chur os ár gcomhair in ionad a bheith ag siorghearán agus ag brú an adóchais orainn.

Maidir le léitheoirí "Carn" féin nach bhfuil sé in am dóibh tabhairt faoi theanga Cheilteach éigin agus méid an Bhéarla a laghdú san iris? Gan amhras, tá an Mhanannais (Manx) an-simpli agus dhéanfadh si an gnó mar theanga idir-Cheilteach. **Seán Ó Duinn.**

(In spite of the gloomy scene on the language side in general, there are some positive developments such as the effect of Radio Gaeltachta in combatting the dispersion of the Gaeltachtaí and the progress made in some areas in promoting Irish in the community as a result of the Glór na nGael Competition.)

H-BLOCK HUNGER STRIKE

Duplicity and Intransigence have characterised the British approach to the H-Block crisis since the prisoners decided, in pursuit of their five demands (the right not to wear prison clothes, the right of association with other prisoners, the right to educational and recreational facilities and to one visit, one parcel and one letter per week and the restoration of full remission of sentences) to go on hunger strike. It should be remembered that when the first hunger strike took place at the end of last year it was called off and the prisoners conformed to the prison rules to give the authorities a chance to fulfill promises made then. Those promises came to nothing and when the decision was made to reactivate the hunger strike those partaking in it were obviously determined men. Despite the election of the leading hunger striker Bobby Sands as an M.P. in the Fermanagh-South Tyrone by-election and pressure on the British to resolve the issue from many quarters, Thatcher had decided apparently to make an example of the mere Irish and so Bobby Sands died to be followed by Francis Hughes and soon after by Raymond McCreesh nad Patsy O'Hara.

In mid-June following the success of the H-Block candidates in the General Election in the South (two being elected, one, Kieran Doherty, being on hunger strike) attempts were made again to get a solution. They were initiated this time by the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace (of the Catholic Church) who held a series of lengthy meetings with the British Minister of State in the North, Michael Alison and the prisoners. For a period in early July reports indicated that a solution involving implementation of prison reforms which was satisfactory to the prisoners and the British had emerged. And so it had in the discussions but only to be repudiated apparently by the Big White Chief in London — that being the only realistic explanation of a last minute about face by British who were later accused of duplicity by the Commission for Justice and Peace. In the meantime two further hunger strikers had died, Joe McDonnell and Martin Hurson (after only 41 days).

After his election as Taoiseach, Dr. Garret FitzGerald had stated that it was a priority for his Government to try and have the H-Block crisis resolved. We were informed at various times of the strong representations made by the Dublin Government to London — all to no more avail than his predecessors "special relationship". Thatcher seemed impervious to Dublin's growing concern about the "destabilization" the crisis was having on Irish politics — perhaps she was finally now really engaged in solving the problems which gave rise to her own riot-torn cities! As Kevin Lynch and Kieran Doherty, elected Dáil T.D. for the Cavan-Monaghan border constituency neared death protests mounted and passions in the South finally broke at a massive H-Block march to the British Embassy held in Dublin on July 18th. The crowd of about 15,000 found the route to the Embassy cordoned off by hundreds of helmeted police with riot shields. A section of the crowd stoned the cordon for almost 15 minutes and attempted to break through. The police then baton charged the crowd in the total and thereafter ran

amok. The fact that the police suffered some injuries during the stoning was hardly sufficient excuse for what followed — the deliberate beating of unconscious people lying on the ground, the breaking of limbs deliberately, the batoning of men and women and the later pursuit and batoning of the dispersed crowd on its return to the city centre. We were told that the occurrences were the worst street disturbances since the foundation of the State and it was estimated to be the worst excess of police power since the baton charges during the Labour troubles in Dublin in 1913. A march of almost similar size a week later passed off peacefully.

Further attempts near the end of the month to solve the crisis foundered when the British introduced a new condition, objecting to the presence of the protesting prisoners' leader at talks. On August 3rd, Kieran Doherty T.D., died after 73 days on hunger strike a few days after his fellow hunger striker, Kevin Lynch had died. About this time there were various efforts made by Catholic clergymen and relatives of some of the strikers which would have involved a calling off of the hunger strike for a trial period with a monitoring of "reforms". This was rejected by the prisoners. A "Help the prisoners" committee was set up consisting of relatives mainly, whose aims were later stated to be similar to those of the National H-Block Armagh Committee. On August 8th a further hunger striker Tom McElwee died bringing to nine the total who died. At the time of writing another striker Micky Devine is approaching the point of no return. As each hunger striker died his place was taken by another prisoner.

Throughout the British intransigence and desire for complete victory has remained. With nine deaths one would think that Thatcher would be scared but it might appear that she will have to be removed herself from office before any honourable settlement is possible.

SUPPRESSION OF IRISH LANGUAGE IN H-BLOCKS: AN URGENT APPEAL

In a statement issued in August Conradh na Gaeilge called on the Taoiseach, Dr. Garret FitzGerald and the Acting Foreign Minister, John Kelly, to condemn the British Government's ruthless suppression of the Irish language in its prisons. The statement continued: "Prisoners are deprived of their right to use their native language. Irish may not be spoken during visits; indeed, visits have been rudely cut short and terminated because Irish was being spoken. Everything written in Irish is deleted from prisoner's letters, both incoming and outgoing. Prisoners on protest in Long Kesh and Armagh Jail, deprived as they have been of educational facilities for the last five years, have had to conduct lessons in the Irish language by scratching words on their cell walls and by shouting through one cell door into the next.

Despite these most vindictive efforts of the British Government to deny the prisoners the use of Irish, many of them have successfully learned and improved their knowledge of Irish since their imprisonment. Many of the unofficial letters smuggled out of the prison are written in Irish.

A number of those imprisoned were fluent speakers of Irish before their imprisonment and have been very active in promoting the use and knowledge of Irish among their comrades. Indeed, some of those who recently died on hunger strike were fluent speakers of Irish.

The prisoners themselves see the Irish language as an integral part of their Irish identity. The British Government hold a similar view of Irish and this has led to their policy of suppressing the language. This, in turn, is indicative of the British Government's utter disregard for the most basic civil rights of these prisoners. Britain does not deny other prisoners access to their native language.

This suppression by the British Government of knowledge and culture has few parallels in modern history. The British pride themselves on their supposedly enlightened and civilised institutions. Their Government takes great pains to show the world the value and merit of both the English language and its literature. How then can they find justification for the suppression, within their prison system, of one of Europe's oldest languages and one of the world's richest literatures? One can, without difficulty, imagine the utter disbelief of English people and the outcry which their Government would raise were English people, imprisoned by a foreign power, denied the use of the English language.

We call on the nations of the world to condemn this barbaric attitude of the British Government to the Irish language. Conradh na Gaeilge has written to all Ambassadors accredited to Ireland urging their Governments to make vigorous representations on this question to the British Government. We are also contacting our Celtic colleagues in this regard.

We urge Dr. FitzGerald and his Government to act immediately and with determination to ensure that the basic civil right to use their native language is no longer denied to Irish prisoners in jail in the Six Counties or in Britain."

COALITION BACK WITH AUSTERITY

The weeks between the General Election result in the Republic and the sitting of the new Dáil (Parliament) on June 30th were, as expected, rife with speculation as to whether Mr. Haughey and his Fianna Fáil Party with 78 seats might gain the support of enough of the 5 Independents to retain power in a Dáil with only 164 effective seats. Two H-Block candidates, Kieran Doherty and Paddy Agnew, had won seats, Sin Féinn—The Workers' Party had won one and Fine Gael (65) and Labour (15) between them had 80 seats. The combined strength of Fine Gael and Labour obviously made their task easier. Forgotten immediately were all the election campaign statements made about programmes being "non-negotiable" as the two parties entered into discussions on Coalition. The Labour Party having first chosen a new leader, Michael O'Leary, gave the go ahead for Coalition after a special party delegate conference. The Fine Gael leader Dr. Garret FitzGerald and Mr. O'Leary agreed on a Coalition programme and as the various Independents made their views on Mr. Haughey and his policies known his chances of retaining power were visibly receding.

On the day however Fianna Fáil were still claiming that they could possibly have Mr. Haughey elected as Taoiseach. However once the Ceann Comhairle (Chairman) was proposed and elected that was that. To the surprise of many it was Dr. John O'Connell, once of the Labour Party, now Independent, an extremely opportunist politician and thought to be one of those who might have supported Haughey in the vote for Taoiseach. (He is incidentally violently anti-Irish language and is the first incumbent of the Ceann Comhairle's Chair unable to speak the language — which says something about the Dáil and its attitude toward Irish). When Haughey was proposed as Taoiseach he lost the vote by 83 to 79 and subsequently FitzGerald was elected with 81 to 78. That voting is not predictable however was illustrated a week later when the Coalition Government lost the vote to have its nominee elected as Leas Cheann Comhairle (Vice Chairman) and the Fianna Fáil man succeeded. This was partially due to the absence of one Government T.D. but also to two Independents voting with Fianna Fáil an indication that on some issues at least the Government will have to count heads carefully.

Once the new Government was installed dire predictions commenced to flow as to the disastrous state of the economy and the forecasted Budget deficit. It was claimed that the gap between income and spending could be well over £900 million and that immediate remedial measures would have to be taken. On July 22nd the Government introduced a tough supplementary Budget bringing in a wide range of price and other increases.

The ten per cent VAT rate on most goods and services will increase to 15% from Sept. 1st. In addition immediate increases were announced on the price of the glass of spirits, pint of beer, cigarettes, petrol and wines. Coupled with the VAT increase and increases already announced these will bring the price of a glass of spirits up by 13p, the price of beer up by 10p to about 85p a pint, Cigarettes up by 16p to about 94p for 20 and table wines up by 10p a bottle. Motorists saw the price of a gallon of petrol head for a total of £2.20 with a gloomy forecast that due to the weakness of the pound against the dollar it could be £2.50 before the end of the year. Less than a year ago it was under £1.50 a gallon. Road tax which had been abolished was reintroduced — this will mean about £70 p.a. on an average size car. Excise duty on cars was increased by 10% which with the increased VAT rate will mean that a car that previously cost £5,000 will cost £5,700 in September.

In addition there will be a one per cent levy on all incomes which will go toward financing youth employment. Postal charges will increase by 20%, Electricity rates by 12% with a further surcharge and Bus and Rail fares will go up 25%. The only concession to offset all these price rises was an increase of 5% in old age pensions from October and an increase of 3% on all other welfare benefits from the same time. The introduction of the £9.60 a week tax credit for non-working wives promised in the Fine Gael manifesto will have to wait until next April as presumably will the reduction in the Standard tax rate to 25% also promised.

The Budget was attacked by the Trade Union

movement and the opinion expressed that compensatory cost or living pay rises should be looked for. This was felt particularly as despite provision in the last National (Wage) Understanding for discussions again if the Consumer Price Index rose over 10% no headway had been made by the Unions in obtaining the additional 2.7% by which the Index had exceeded that figure. Concern was also expressed over the announcement that the Government will request public sector employers to invoke the inability to pay clause of the National Understanding in the case of pay claims not already under consideration and that with certain exceptions, numbers employed in the public sector would not be allowed to exceed the numbers currently in employment. Relations between the Government and the trade union movement worsened following the setting up of an economic commission by the Government in mid-August. The commission of three leading economists was set up to decide on the appropriate rate of domestic cost increases, including wages and prices. The Commission was welcomed by the employers but denounced by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) as a "pseudo-scientific charade" which had no credibility or purpose other than as a device to hold down wages. The Commission has been asked to report by mid-September and a special delegate conference of Congress has been arranged for the end of that month to decide whether negotiations on a new national agreement should be entered into. It is likely that the contents of that report and the outcome of discussions to be held in the meantime on the establishment of a youth employment agency and a national development corporation will have a large bearing on the decisions taken at that special conference.

A statement issued by the ICTU when the commission was set up said that the setting-up of the commission could only be regarded as an attempt to impose wage restraint under the pretence of establishing price control.

"This retrograde act, which has its origins in a party election manifesto, has no contribution to make to just and practical solutions to the problems confronting us in the area of incomes and prices," the statement declared.

"The Government might as aptly set up a committee to determine the level of interest rates the economy can afford, or a committee to establish the level of price increases that workers and their families can afford."

Congress would not accept that wage levels which had been freely negotiated with employers, including the Government, should now be made the scapegoat for any lack of export competitiveness. It pointed out that labour costs in Ireland were by far the lowest of any of the EMS countries or Britain.

"The setting-up of this committee would seem to contradict the Government's expressed wish that 'free central wage-bargaining' should be the foundation of money-income determination.

ROAD SIGNS AGAIN

For a number of years now the law in the Republic in relation to road signs has been that those in Gaeltacht areas should be in Irish only while elsewhere they should be bi-lingual. The County

Councils of course have responsibility for erection of such signs and have shown themselves on many occasions and in many places to be unconcerned with observance of the law in this regard.

One of the worst offenders has been Donegal Co. Council particularly in their failure to provide Irish only signs in the Gaeltacht areas in Donegal. Cearta Gael, a group of language activists based in the Donegal Gaeltacht, have at various times removed these unlawful signs. That their campaign was having an effect was shown when the matter was discussed at a meeting of the Council in mid-summer. Some of the comments passed by councillors illustrated only too well the English language "supremist" attitude enforced over the years towards Gaeltacht areas by Donegal and other Co. Councils and highlighted once again the need for the transfer of existing powers over these areas to Udarás na Gaeltachta (Gaeltacht Authority).

One councillor stated that the children of the returned emigrants did not know Irish and couldn't read the road signs! It is not known whether these same returned emigrants were insulted at the inference that their off-springs intelligence would be severely taxed by having to assimilate the Irish language name for a village or town instead of the anglicised version — but they certainly should be. One wonders how such councillors think the poor Irish manage abroad when having to "read" the road signs in all those other languages. Other councillors afford similiar gems of wisdom although a few suggested a meeting with Ceanta Gael to find out what they wanted — (nothing less presumeably than the implementation of the law). However the majority decided that if they did not agree with the law it should be changed and it was agreed that the Council should write to the Minister of the Environment asking him to change the relevant law. Did it ever occur to the Council that what should be changed are the road maps etc in common use and not the law?

This episode should at least give some explanation to our readers in the other Celtic lands as to why things in general are so poor in relation to the language in the 26 county State.

MORE ON PEARSE

The latest addition to the Pearse bibliography spearheaded by the centenary has been Donnchadh Ó Súilleabháin's *An Piarsach Agus Couradh na Gaeilge* (Clódhanna, Dublin, £3) which in its careful narrative and copious (bilingual) quotation is a very important addition to the serious study of P.H.P.

Ó CADHAIN IN ENGLISH

Readers of Irish have long been aware of the pre-eminence of the late Máirtín Ó Cadhain as a short-story wright and as a novelist.

Eoghan Ó Tuairisc poet, novelist and playwright in both Irish and English has recently translated ten of Ó Cadhain's short-stories and Poolbeg Press, Dublin have published them at the quirky price of IR£1.92½ under the title *The Road to Bright City*. Readers of it who have heretofore been unfamiliar with his work will now understand why a nomination of him for the Nobel Prize for Literature would have been most likely had he lived.

KERNOW

YWERDHON GLETH — AN GWYRYONETH MAR PLEK!

Yth eson-ny ow clewes prest dres an radyo po dres an pellwolok a'n cudynnow us yn Ywerdhon Gleth — cudynnow na dalvya y wharfos y'n kensa le. Mes nyns yu yn kever dalleth an ponvotter yn Ywerdhon a vynnaf scryfa nebes geryow mes yn kever an deryvadow rakvrysus yu res dhe'n bobel a'n wharfedhyansow usy ow tarfos y'n dethyow-ma ha re dharfe dres an bledhennow us tremenys. Yth aswonyr yn-ta bones an pellwolok an gwella mayn-oll dhe dhynya tybyans poblek, pypynak a vo. Ha nyns yu Ywerdhon Gleth torva rewl. Y leveryr dhe'n bobel Vretennek an pyth yu da ragtha yn deulagas Terneth Loundres, hag yth hevel dhym hemma bones yn brassa ran pell dyworth an gwryyoneth.

Nyns yu nep pell yth esa dysquedhys dres an pellwolok gwary ystorek adro capten muscok y'n Lu Bretennek nep a gollenwys hakteryow an gwetha erbyn Gwydhalas wergh, denyon ha benenes kekefrys. Pan ve diskys gans ysyly certan y'n Terneth y fya dysquedhys an gwary-ma y fe leverys, "Ny yllyn-ny ry cumyas a hemma, y fyn ry hanow pur dhrok dhe Vreten." Fatla mar quruk? Mars ova an gwryyoneth, bedhens gothvedhys. Hag yndelma gans Ywerdhon Gleth y'n jeth hedhyu. Res porres dhe'n gwryyoneth bones leverys, mar qura pystyga po na wra. Ny vynnyn-ny clewes deryvadow rakprusus namoy abarth ympalareth Sawsnek mes an gwryyoneth rak prow an bobel Ywerdhonek. T.

CORNWALL COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Results for the national movement in the Cornwall elections were mixed. There were 9 MK candidates, all but one to the west of Truro, and 5 from the less radical CNP, all in the St. Austell area. 65 seats were uncontested by the national movement. In 1977 there were 7 MK candidates and one CNP candidate.

Direct comparisons are difficult as MK only contested 2 of the seats fought in 1977. In both their vote was halved mainly due to the more overt presence of the English party machines, a marked feature of this election in Cornwall.

Despite this the average vote polled by MK, 16.6%, compared favourably with that of 1977 — 17.1%. Votes ranged from 6.4% (against all 3 English parties) to 33.4% (against a Tory and an Independent). Press exposure over the last year, involving flamboyant resignations and allegations of "Trotskyist infiltration" of MK, as well as the bombing of St. Austell courthouse, would appear to have had no electoral impact.

The CNP gained an average 10.9%, compared with its sole candidates 11.0% in 1977. Their vote went from a low of 1.1% when up against all the English parties to 36.9% in a straight fight with a Tory.

These elections show that there is a long hard road in front of the national movement before it makes its electoral breakthrough in Cornwall.

IMPERIALISM

The Cornwall Structure Plan document, produced by Cornwall Council in 1976, pointed out that housing provided by the private sector served "external economic and social forces". The houses built are too expensive for local buyers and merely encourage the movement of people from high house price areas such as the South-East of England.

With mass unemployment and an even greater difference now between Cornish and English wage levels the new private housing market is even more irrelevant to the needs of local people, in particular first time buyers, who would have difficulty raising the money to buy property over £15,000, unless in a professional job.

At present large English building firms are still exploiting the demand of the middle class to move to Cornwall. Thus Wiggins (Southwest) Ltd., of Exeter, have houses on offer from West Cornwall to the far North. The cheapest is a snip at £23,000 and most run from £26,000 upwards.

A sane locally controlled housing system would never allow Cornish agricultural land to be wasted merely for the profits of outside companies catering mainly for an external market.

CORNWALL GIVES A LEAD

Visitors to Lower Menadue Farm near Luxulyan in mid-Cornwall, will have noticed a Cornish flag flying from a CEGB drilling rig stuck in a gateway. This rig, which intended to make a test drill in preparation to foist a nuclear power station on Cornwall, was halted by the determined opposition of local anti-nuclear activists who took peaceful direct action to stop it with the tacit support of the local farmer.

Activists have now been in occupation of the intended drilling site round the clock since early May. The CEGB, hamstrung by their own bureaucratic centralism, have failed to get an injunction ordering the police to remove the demonstrators. This victory will give Cornwall anti-nuclear activists confidence for when a site is named next year. Cornwall will then be firmly in the front line of the battle against the Nuclear State.

Meanwhile a different form of action was taken at another proposed site — the former germ warfare plant at Nancekuke. There £10,000 worth of damage was claimed by the hitherto unknown "Cornish Republican Movement".

DEMOGRAPHIC WARFARE

Preliminary results from the 1981 census show that the population of Cornwall is increasing rapidly . . . by 12.8% in the past 10 years to 430,506. This compares with a mere 0.4% rise in England and a 2.2% increase in Wales. The increase is not a result of prolific breeding by the Cornish but is the consequence of population movement.

With the continuing exodus of Cornish people in search of work and the influx of settlers, many with little sympathy for or knowledge of Cornish conditions, such figures — unaccompanied by economic prosperity — must give rise for concern over the long term prospects for Cornwall and its people as a Celtic nation.

Further comment will have to await a detailed breakdown of population shifts. At the moment it

appears that the biggest rises have occurred in the extreme east around Saltash/Torpoint, mainly urban spread from English Plymouth, and in the rural district of North Cornwall.

It also appears that immigration has not only been confined to the elderly, but has also been marked in the 20-30 age group. (How many of these were Cornish people returning home?). Given these statistics, it appears imperative that we must *demand jobs in our land* and, if unemployed, must refuse to be forced out.

CORNISH — IT'S OFFICIAL!

Threats by the authorities to prosecute those who dared to use their own language in their own country and fill in the relevant sections of the 1981 Census form in Cornish have backfired.

The Cornwall branch of the CL claimed on local radio that the lack of action against those 50-100 who spontaneously used Cornish in the Census meant that the language had been accepted as an official language. In response to this a Census spokesperson stated that the use of Cornish was not really the issue and that action would only be taken if the form was "illegible" (!) or uncompleted. This is the first time that the Cornish language has been tacitly accepted on a wide scale on Government forms.

"**THE CORNISH BANNER**", Cornish Nationalist Party's Magazine. From: Trelispen, Gorran, Nr. St. Austell, 50p. Subscription £2.50 (Overseas airmail £4.00).

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

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

A NEW TYPE OF WORKSHOP

New, but based on old practice: as late as 1746 the poets of Irish assembled in east Limerick to compare, discuss and prepare their work.

When Tyrone Guthrie died in 1971 he left his house Annaghmakerrig as a retreat where artists could work in peaceful surroundings. The will was complicated but his wishes are now in operation as the renovated house has opened to receive its first few artists.

Administered by the two Arts Councils in Ireland, Annaghinakerrig near Newbliss in Co. Monaghan is about as far from Dublin as from Belfast.

At the beginning of September the first group occupancy in its short history will see about 10 poets in Irish come together in a loosely structured "Cearta Eigse Eanách Mhic Dheirg" to read, write, discuss, compare and so forth. Headed by the accepted príomh-éigse Eireann Máirtín Ó Direáin, the participants in this pioneering gathering hope that it will become an annual event. If it does, it has already been established that Gaelic poets from Alba and Man, if they should so wish, would be welcome participants.

MANNIN

JED SOSTYN ER LOSTEY?

The riots in English cities have deeply worried the U.K. Government. First signs are that little has been learned from events in north-eastern Ireland.

Ny smoo na jeih bleaney er dy henney, tra ghow ny "trubbylyn" toshiaght reesht ayns Twoaie Doo ny hErin, va soshalee Sostnagh (as fir elley) currit da'n smooiinaght dy jinnagh reiltys Hostyn ymmyd jeh Nerin twoaie myr sorch dy ghrunt-prowal, gaarlaghey son boirey ayns Sostyn hene. Dy jarroo, dooyrt offishear ny ghaa ayns armee Hostyn y lheid dy foshlit. Dy beagh caggey-straidey cheet ayns Sostyn hene (ny ayns Nalbin ny Bretin), veagh yn armee aarloos ny chour.

Jeih bleaney er dy henney, cha jinnagh ram sleih Sostnagh credjal y lheid. Va'n armee oc (ny ram jeh) ayns Nerin dy chur shee da ny Yerne keoi. Cha jinnagh peiagh erbee (agh sleih va geddyn airh veih Moscow) gra dy row Sostyn jannoo ymmyd jeh ny Shey Counteeyn myr grunt-prowal er aggle dy beagh boirey er yn "mainland".

Agh nish, foddee ta'n laa er jeet. Ta rouanyn er daghyrt ayns ymmodee baljyn fud ny cherrey. Genney kiartaghyn, genney thieyn, genney cairys as genney treisht, shen y bun jeh'n voirey. Son shickyrys, va'm kynneeaghys (racialism) yn bim jeh rouan ny ghaa. Agh son y chooid smoo, va boirey goaill toshiaght trooid ferg dowin noi lught-reill erbee, as lurg shen va sleih spooillee shappyn myr sorch dy spooyrt.

Dy jeeragh va paart dy phabyryn-naight ayns Sostyn gra dy row yn boirey goll er stiurey ec deiney follit ennagh! Cre'n boghtynid. Ta fys dy liooar ayns er y voayl ayns Lerpoo raad va (as ta) boirey mooar. Ta sleih politickagh ayns shen as t'ad feer trimshagh nagh row ad abyl greeasaghey ny rouanyn. Ayns Lerpoo, va rouanyn ayn er y fa dy vel ny meoiryn-shee kinjagh soie er sleih doo nagh vel er nyannoo veg. As ta ny meoiryn-shee cheddin soie er y kynney jeh Lerpoo, ta bunnys dy chooilley pheiaigh cur feoh da ny meoiryn-shee. Ayns Merseyside, ta dy chooilley pheiaigh gearey tra ta politickeyryn Lunnin loayrt mysh "restoring good relations" eddyr ny meoiryn-shee as pobbles Lerpoo. Cha row y lheid rieu ayn.

Ga dy row ram boirey ayns Brixton as buill elley, sheilmy dy vel reiltys Hostyn ny smoo boirit mysh Lerpoo. Haghyr caggey kiart syn ard-valley shen ren cur aggle vooar er Lunnin. Myr dooyrt peiagh ennagh rhym, "Dy beagh leideilee kiart er ve ec ny guillyn shen er yn wheigoo laa jeh Jerrey Souree, veagh ad er goaill yn slane balley". Shen spotch, er y fa nagh row orraghey politickagh ec ny rouanee. Agh t'eh dooghyssagh dy row boirey ayns Lerpoo, balley nagh vel coontit y ve Sostnagh mastey ny Sostnee hene. Ta'n boayl ro Cheltiagh dy ghliooney sheese roish Lunnin son dy bragh. Cha nee drogh-haghyrt dy ren ny meoiryn-shee ymmyd jeh gas-CS son y chied cheavrt avns Sostyn ayns Lerpoo. S'leav dy

vel ny meoiryn-shee Sostnagh gaarlaghey da boirey mooar sy traa ry heet. Myr sampleyr, t'ad jannoo ram cliaghtey lesh gunnyn nagh vel ad loayrt mychione monney.

Myr yinnagh oo smooiinaghtyn, cha nel lught-reill Hostyn er nynsaghey monney veih'n chaggey ayns Nerin. Boirey ayns Sostyn, as ta meoiryn-shee Sostnagh goll gys yn Ellan Bannit dy nysaghey speideilys veih'n RUC. Reddyn speideilagh goll rish gas — CS as gunnyn-ushtey as bulladyn-rubber (neu-feeu, ooilley jeu, coardail rish yn RUC as armee Hostyn). Agh, bwooise da Jee, ta foast bulladyn plastagh ec lught leigh-as-oardagh Vnr Thooder.

Brian Mac Stoyll.

POLITICAL PROTEST OVER BRETONS

A peaceful protest was staged on July 11th by League members at Port-St-Mary when the French naval vessel 'Narvik' paid a courtesy visit to Mann.

A bi-lingual (French-English) newsheet was distributed calling attention to Political harassment and imprisonment in Brittany. Four Celtic League (Mann) members were involved and they also carried posters (French-English) calling for Amnesty for political prisoners.

The 'Narvik's' visit was connected with ceremonial duties at the inauguration of a memorial to shipwrecked mariners, as crewmen left, for the ceremony they were offered the newsheets — few refused. Several crew members indicated that they were in fact themselves from Brittany.

The demonstration was an amicable affair and several conversations were conducted, with some language difficulties, between those demonstrating and crew members.

There was only one unsavoury incident — which perhaps illustrates the Official French intimidatory attitude — when attempts were made to photograph the protesters from the ship's bridge.

Newsheets were also distributed to members of the public visiting the 'Narvik' and only one was returned.

The Celtic League (Mann) had previously informed the French Embassies in Ireland and the United Kingdom that because of political repression in Brittany we would use any opportunity to publicise the matter — Saturday July 11th was the start of this campaign.



UNEMPLOYMENT

The request by the Manks Government for offers of ideas for employment schemes and suggestions to ease the unemployment situation is being marketed by the Manks press.

Leaders in some of the Manks papers have portrayed the Government as trying to involve everyone in averting a "national tragedy".

Let us be quite clear on one point first — the tragedy this Island faces is a lack of sound government. The Manks Government does not have a clue how to alleviate, let alone solve, the problem and thereby lies the reason for this resort to community involvement.

The Celtic League (Mann) is well aware that the situation we face i.e. crippling unemployment and its consequent social and domestic hardship, is also faced by most countries in Western Europe. The Manks Government cannot be blamed for world recession, however it can be blamed for failing to respond to the danger signals sounded from the U.K. economy over the last 18 months.

Attempts to attract industry have been well publicised over the past 15-20 years. Nationalists who suggested that any future severe world recession would involve such industry were scoffed at. It gives us little pleasure now to see our prophecies proved all too true at the expense of Manks working people.

Past Manks Government were also warned that the building industry they were creating had capacity which far exceeded Manks requirements. The building "boom" is a bubble that has finally burst and many of today's unemployed are from this sector.

The problem of converting 'hod- carriers and plasterers' into clerical workers for the latest government sponsored miracle — the finance industry — is likely to tax even the most erudite members of the Manks administration.

It really is time some members of the legislature came down out of the clouds and attempted to solve the problems we face. Short term relief for the building industry can be ensured by *speedy* action in making available increased grants and low interest loans to Manks residents for improvement of private property. Such assistance as is now available is completely out of step with the inflationary times we live in.

The building industry can also be aided by finance being made available for town centre housing redevelopment e.g. conversion (private & public) of out-dated tourist property to provide decent housing (something a lot of our people still lack).

Large government funded developments are *not* desirable invariably, as in the case of the breakwater and reservoir schemes, they are contracted out to U.K. firms who immediately import large numbers (despite denials) of the work force.

The problem of school-leavers finding work, particularly acute at the moment, could be aided by making some financial provision for those who continue their education.

Finance for these, short term, schemes could be provided by strict control on government expenditure in all but the areas named and the levying of a higher rate of income tax on upper income groups.

MANX MUSIC — IMITATION OR ASSIMILATION

Colin Jerry

Traditional Music Off the Peg

The article "Manx Music Today" in Carn 32 by Shorys y Creayrie points out very clearly the pitfalls which open before musicians attempting to revive a moribund tradition. Although we in Mann have been particularly vulnerable because of lack of musical skill, poor understanding of traditional forces, absence of traditional musicians, few recorded examples and many other factors, we are not alone in our vulnerability. The effect of recordings made by a relatively small number of Irish super-groups has been massive not just in Mann, nor yet the Celtic nations only, but world-wide. Nobody doubts their integrity, musical brilliance, nor their extensive familiarity with tunes and styles. It is the effect of their mass exposure, something outside of their original intentions and ambitions, that deserves attention.

Folk music as a whole has only a minority appeal on radio, T.V. and records. Recently Manx Radio closed two excellent programmes for the duration of the tourist season and there are grave doubts whether they will return in the Autumn. However, periodically a musical style will enjoy a brief vogue and enjoy (or suffer) a term of mass popularity. At times in the past I remember Paraguayan Harp music, Trad. Jazz, and Flamenco which had their brief spell in the limelight. The interests which control radio, T.V. and the record industry are always on the look-out for a new trend and when one arises they exploit it for all that it is worth. The material can be excellent but the public appetite will be blunted eventually by excess.

Usually the original groups will benefit, some inferior groups will arise to cash in on the popularity, more rarely some of the older traditional musicians will enjoy mass-popularity. I consider that Irish music has passed through all these phases. It is what effects that this period of popularity is having and will have that interests me now.

First of all there has been a sifting of the tunes made popular by the super groups. Somebody learning an instrument will be attracted to easy to play tunes. (e.g. Tabhair dom do lamh, Si Bheag Si Mhór, Planxty Irwin). Next they will look for something a bit more lively (Dennis Murphy's Polka, Harvest Home). As skill improves they will attempt some of the easier reels (Rolling in the Rye Grass, Wind that Shakes the Barley) then probably a slip jig (Kid on the Mountain). Having got so far they will tend to become more diverse and the soloist syndrome will emerge. All of the above steps are likely to happen before any contact is made with a really good traditional musician. In other words, they are making sincere but approximate imitations of recorded examples. The overall effect is aimed at without complete mastery of detail.

Now I know that this has happened in Mann because it has happened to me and I have seen it happening to others. To what extent is it happening elsewhere? I think I also have detected the emergence of a "standard Irish repertoire". During the last two years, when musicians from two or three countries

attempt a session (this includes English musicians) the same thirty or so tunes get played. I have even seen such a session silence an excellent Irish group that probably had a repertoire of two hundred tunes or more. However, their tunes were obscure to the main body of those present, and thus inconvenient to their notions of a session.

There is another aspect to this matter which I know has caused Irish musicians concern. The super-groups have moved the music out of the small room into the big concert hall. They have the skill and understanding of presentation necessary to accomplish this, but it has led to less experienced groups working up a concert repertoire of a very inflexible form. They don't develop the adaptability of the real traditional musician. The large concert is a damper on spontaneity.

Shorrys also points out that the main influence on Manx music as played has been from Ireland and principally from just one area. In our case this has led to a restriction in the type of tunes played, not all respond to this treatment. I think it would be true to say that there has also been a levelling out in style and restriction in tunes chosen by the younger Irish musicians too. They seem to be short-circuiting the learning process by going straight to the super-group's records. So even where advice from experienced musicians is readily available it is not being sought. I know of young musicians who are unable to humble themselves sufficiently to go back to basics with an expert and learn their first principles. They are making stylistic mistakes also of which they are totally unaware. They imitate the tunes and the superficial features of the records and assume that this is the end of the story.

I think that I am beginning to understand that there is much more to being a traditional musician (Irish or any other) than just playing the tunes or reproducing somebody else's versions of those tunes. There is no easy road to the acquisition of the sheer skill, creativity, and experience of the older generation musician. There is also no substitute for the personal contact with them. Having done for so long in Mann without these contacts we must make better use of such opportunities as we have, now and in the future. We lack musical maturity.

In Mann we must also overcome our inferiority complex over our own songs and tunes. They are not a whit less good than anybody else's tunes, they are just different. One day if we keep working at it we will find better ways to treat them. There is this notion current that if a tune is not fast and Irish there is something wrong with it. That knocks out a lot of good Irish tunes let alone Manx ones. It also ignores all the Scottish, Cornish, Welsh and Breton tunes.

It is interesting to speculate whether these super-groups I have mentioned so often would have had the impact that they did if they had been as limited in their approach as are their imitators. I would argue that it was just because they were so willing to innovate, to use new instrumentation, to exploit harmony, to develop material inside and outside their own tradition, to accept and absorb other influences, that they made such an impact. It was not solely because a large proportion of the tunes were Irish. There is an inherent quality in music (any music) that is revealed by interpretation. The interpreter is all-important.

THE CELTIC LEAGUE — TWENTY YEARS A-GROWING

A personal view by Peter Berresford Ellis

In August, 1961, at Rhos, near Llangollen, in North Wales, a group of people dedicated to the cause of political, economic and cultural independence for the Celtic peoples met and decided to form a league which would unite the national movements of the Celtic nations. They were Alan Heussaff from Brittany; Pádraig Ó Conchúir, a Conradh na Gaeilge activist; J. E. Jones and Elwyn Roberts of Plaid Cymru and Seumas Philbin and Alan McCartney from Scotland.

Within a year of that meeting the League of Celtic Nations (later shortened to the Celtic League) had branches flourishing in the larger Celtic countries and a few years more saw branches in Mann and Cornwall. Initially, Alistair Graham's publication *The Celtic Voice* presented a pan-Celtic forum for the League but by late 1962 the League had launched its own *Celtic News*. Alan Heussaff had been elected as General Secretary, a post which he has held with unflagging enthusiasm ever since.

The early days of the League were tough for those trying to preach pan-Celticism; time and again the founding fathers were faced with apathy or people were too involved in the problems of their own national struggles to be concerned with a wider aspect. Yet the League slowly made headway. In June, 1963, the League made its debut in the world political arena by giving evidence to the European Commission on Human Rights concerning the French persecution of the Breton language and was active in bringing the attention of the world press to the Breton problem. In June, 1965, the League issued its first major publication; a book arguing the case for self-government for the Celtic countries which was used as the basis of a 62-page memorandum presented by the League to the United Nations Organisation in November.

From 1963 the League had funds to issue an annual volume, in addition to *Celtic News*, containing papers and articles on aspects of the Celtic struggle and developments within the six nations. The annual ceased in 1973 and *Carn*, a professional quarterly, commenced publication.

I became active in the League early in 1966 joining the London Branch of which Pádraig Ó Conchúir was chairman. I now have a nostalgic memory cold, wet London evenings, huddled in the basement of the London headquarters of Conradh na Gaeilge near Victoria. But the meetings were poorly attended in those days. Sometimes there were scarcely more than five or six of us gathered together. Recently I was invited by the London Branch to talk on the need to publicise the Celtic struggles and express my opinion as to how this could be done. I was delighted that the attendance stood near the twenty mark — an unbelievable figure in those early days.

Once we asked the Israeli ambassador to give the branch a talk on the Hebrew Language Revival to see what lessons we could learn. The attendance was embarrassing. However, our then secretary Mihangel ap Sior, a Hebrew-speaking Welshman, impressed the ambassador, especially with a rendition of the Israeli national anthem at the end of the meeting. Many years later, after the ambassador had retired and written his obligatory memoirs, I read with amused nostalgia an entire page which he had devoted to a description of that meeting.

As the 1960s drew to a close there were many in the League who felt a new direction should be taken, a more aggressive and radical approach made to publicise the Celtic problems. At the time Gwynfor Evans, then a Member of Parliament and president Plaid Cymru, was president of the League and many felt that the League was but a pale reflection of Mr. Evans' own political and philosophical beliefs. Without denigrating the enormous contribution made by Mr. Evans to the Celtic movement, many felt that politically he was in an invidious position for stances taken by Plaid Cymru, and suitable in a Welsh context, were not always acceptable in other parts of the Celtic world. It was difficult to tread a positive and progressive middle path. It was a tribute to Alan Heussaff that the League survived as he struggled to make it a non-sectarian body in the political sense yet, at the same time, a body which would encompass the aspirations of all Celtic peoples — a movement which had teeth. But he could do only so much given the prevailing situation. Let it be stressed that no one had cause to quarrel with the magnificent job Alan was doing.

There were many 'Young Turks' (I among them) who wanted the League to achieve a new sense of purpose. I wanted to see the Celtic League as a huge propaganda (in the correct sense of the word) organisation, coordinating and propagating news and information to the world press as well as serving as an inter-Celtic information bureau. I wrote in the 1969 Annual Volume of the League: 'For some time there has been a tendency to preach Celticism to the converted but it is the unconverted that must be informed'.

Earlier, I had authored a booklet 'The Creed of the Celtic Revolution' (Medusa Press, London, 1969) which suggested a new direction for the League. Then, as now, I have never made any attempt to conceal the fact that I write as a socialist. My 'credo' was summarised as: 1. The re-Celticisation of Celtica (the six Celtic nations), the restoration and preservation of the Celtic languages in the face of their erosion by English and French cultural imperialism. 2. The political and economic freedom of Celtica from English and French domination and the establishment of socialist democratic republics in the six Celtic countries. 3. The unity of the six Celtic countries into Celtica, the countries forming cultural, economic and political links on the same bases as

Scandinavia. (I was interested and delighted to see this third point in the 'credo' being revived and advocated by Tomás Ó Ciara in *Carn* No. 31, Autumn, 1980, and, of course, it has long been a policy advocated by Seumas Philbin.) 4. Co-operation and a strengthening of ties between Welsh-speaking Patagoni and Scottish (Gàidhlig)-speaking Nova Scotia. In the 40 page booklet I attempted to make practical suggestions as to what the League ought to be doing, especially in terms of using its existing organisation to become a publicity machine.

Looking back now, I see the Celtic League Conference of September, 1969, held in Dublin, as a watershed in the history of the League. We 'Young Turks' were there with the proverbial 'fire in our bellies'. One of the things we wanted to do was open up League membership to all national movements. We felt that the big national parties, with their particularist political philosophies, should not direct the political actions of the League and that the League should be independent.

The Bretons, for example, were somewhat disenchanted with the League. During the mid and late 1960s they had suffered a severe repression and during 1969 over 60 Bretons had languished in French jails, held for up to nine months without trial, for alleged FLB (Front for the Liberation of Brittany) activities. Public opinion had secured the release of most of them by June, 1969. Their delegation listened in astonishment as the president of the Celtic League told them, in all seriousness, that French persecution was only a reaction to the Breton use of violence. While one cannot help but admire Gwynfor Evans' staunch pacifism, his statement seemed to be made in ignorance of official French policy that 'for the sake of French unity the Breton language must disappear' — a policy which came into operation at least a century before the first act of Breton nationalist violence.

The Irish also saw the League as of little consequence. I remember Bernadette Devlin (then mid-Ulster MP), who made a brief attendance at the '69 Conference, asking: 'But does it have any relevance?' I recall, also, Caitlin Maude's fiery denunciation as Irish delegates had to listen to Gwynfor Evans dismissing the Six Counties situation as merely a religious war. Although he chose his words carefully, he allowed this interpretation of his remarks to be underlined by an emphasis on sectarian considerations.

(Leantur de)

All who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership fee (entitling to CARN) and the subscription rates are £3.00 STL for Britain; £3 IR for Ireland; 35 FF for Brittany (this includes the Breton/French supplement "Kannadig Keltiek"); £3.25 STL for Continental Europe in general; £3.50 STL (or equivalent for non European Countries (this includes airmailing). For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the following.

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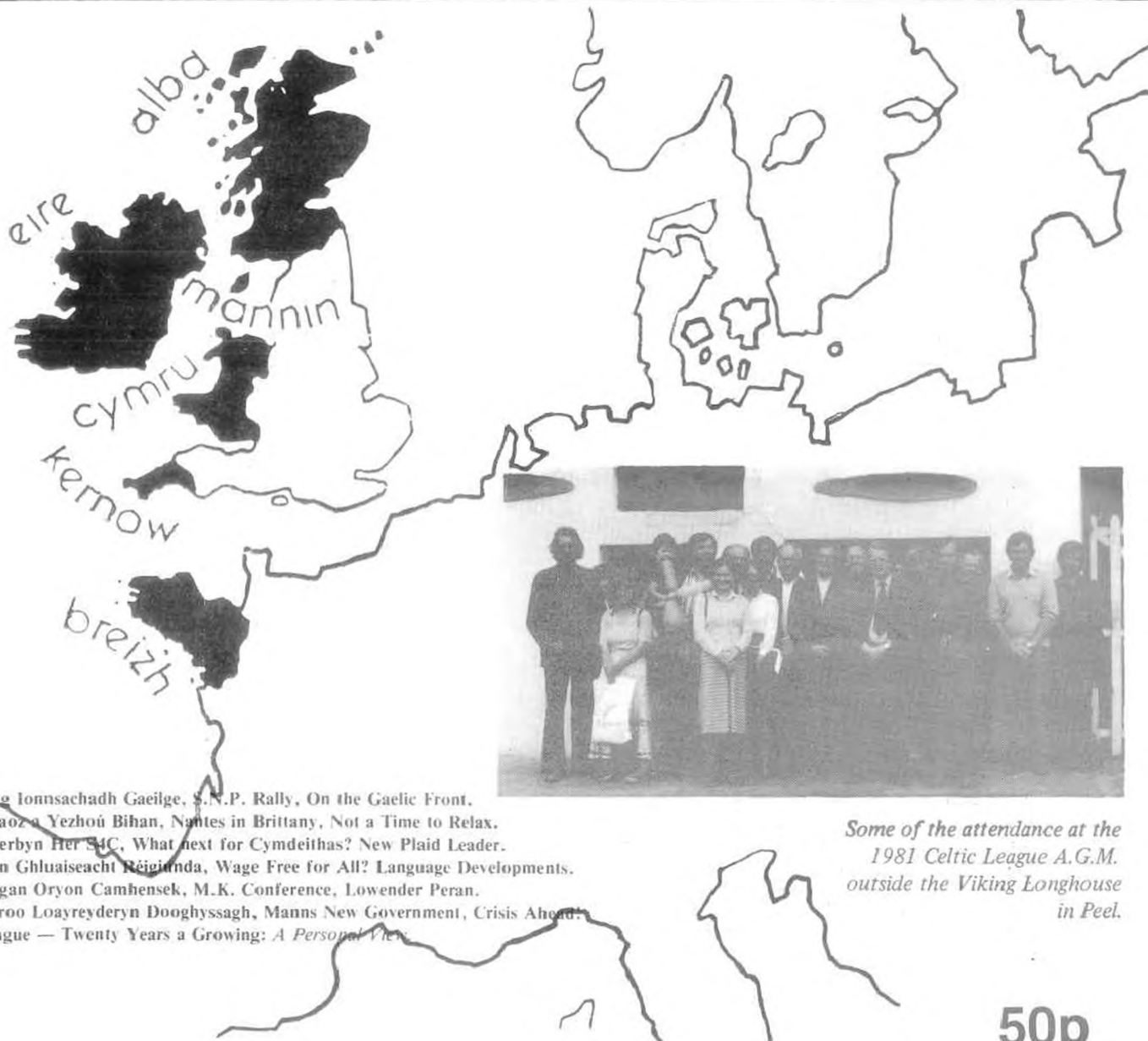
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cafn

WINTER
1981
No. 36

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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

50p

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

Editorial

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

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

Renewal of Subscriptions or Membership fees.

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

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

In support of the Arfe Resolution

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

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

ALBA

Ag Ionnsachadh Gaeilge

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Seòlaidhean:

An Siopa Leabhar	An Siopa Gaelach
6 Sràid Fhearchair	86 Sràid Gardnar Ìoch.
Baile Àtha Cliath 2	Baile Àtha Cliath 1

Amàrach	Inniu
Indreabhán	29 Sràid Uì Chonaill Ìocht.
Co. na Gaillimhe	Baile Àtha Cliath 1

—D. King

On the Gaelic Front

le Frang MacThomais

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Scottish National Party

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

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

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

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

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

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

Homage to a Poet

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

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

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

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

Against Militarism

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

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

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

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

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

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

AnCO Victimisation

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

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

NEWSFLASH

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

BREIZH

Kaoz ar yezhoù bihan e Parlamant Europa

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

Dezrevellañ a ran an arroudoù heverkan eus ar prezegennoù, kement ha diskouez peseurt troioù-spered a zo d'ar mare-mañ e-touez politikerien Europa. Vihan e-keñver yezhoù ar pobloù diemren. Ne zisoñjomp ket eveljust an diforc'h a vez etre ag gomz hag an ober. Ni ne vimp ket souezhet o welout pegen nebeut a "frankofoned" a zigoras o genoù (nemet da zisleviñ gen marteze?) e-kerzh ar vrecutadeg. Ne gomzan ket eus Walloniz. E pep strollad gall e chom sur tud hag a fell dezho gwelout an henvelekaat-yezh,² ar gallekaat kaset da benn met n'eus ket ezhomm d'en embann: an amzer a beurechuo al labour, gant ma ne vo graet netra efedus evit ar yezhoù "etnikel". Ma ne votas ket ar C'haollisted a-enep ar mennad eo abalamour ma 'z int kevredet e Strassburg gant kannaded Fianna Fáil hag ar re-mañ, eme Ó Riagáin, a c'hounezas warno chom neptu da vihanañ. Nemet unan anezho, an Ao. Israel, na voe ket evit mirout a zisklerian e nec'hamant. Diouzh an tu all, o komz e galleg ivez, e lavaras un It. Pery, sokialourez, e oa ret evit gwareziñ ar yezhoù bihan reiñ tu d'ar re yaouank da vevañ en o bro; ezhomm oa 'ta da gaout harp digant ar C'Heñ Rannvroel³ evit seveniñ ar mennad. Aze e oa an dalc'h! An Itron vat-se a reas meneg pergen eus an euskareg, pezh a ro da soñjal ez eo un Euskaradez. Merkan a ran c'hoazh ne oa e-touez ar 80 hag a vouezhias a-du nemet unan pe zaou dezho un anv gallek. E-touez an eneberien e oa ur Combe (mab bihan e dad-kozh ?) hag ur "Calvez": frankizourien!

An Ao. Arfê a gavas mat diogelaat ne oa er pezh a ginnige nemet traoù kerreizh awenet gant ar poell ha skiant ar gwirvoud. Ne oa ket da zoujan e tenne da zisrannañ ar gumuniezh. Un Ao. Richard, Kembread, a gomzas en anv Komision ar Gumuniezh. (Kembreiz a vez er penn-araok er Gomision pa vez anv eus ar gwirioù-yezh. Er gendael⁴ aozet e Dulenn e miz Gwengolo gant Gael Linn e oa

daou anezho o teurel un notenn "wirvoudek"⁶ en divizoù — ma komzin sklaer: o c'houzav⁷ e oa arabat gortoz ur bern arc'hant digant ar C'heñ Rannvroel ha pa vefe aprouet ar mennad gant ar Gomision Europat koulz ha gant ar Parlamant. Karout a rajent, emezo, gwelout ar gannaded iwerzhonat o kemer ur perzh-blein en emgann-se). Meulet e voe an Ao. Richard evit an abegoù sklaer roet gantañ a-du gant ar mennad. N'en doa ket kalz a basianted, emezañ, gant ar re na felle dezho ober eus ar Gumuniezh netra nemet ur c'henurzhiaour⁸ kenwerzhel. Ne savje, diouti nemet Europiz strizhsperedet. Ret oa harpañ ar re a oa bet gwanaet o hevelepted sevenadurel⁹ gant nerzhioù ar marc'had hag ar c'hemm kalvezoniel¹⁰. Menegin a reas ar pezh a vez graet endeo gant stadoù ar Gumuniezh er c'henver-se. Ger ebet aze a-zivout Bro-C'Hall. An armerzh, ar sevenadur hag ar vuhez kevredigezhel a dlee bout diorroet war un dro, en un doare kevanekaet.¹¹ Setu un arguzenn bouezus evit ar Parlamant: rak darn eus ar gannaded, re z-Danmark dreist-holl, a soñj evit doare na dlefe ket ar GAE emellout eus traoù estreget ar re armerzhel. Met Richard a zisklerias e oa prest ar Gomision da "imboure'hin hentoù" da reiñ harp arc'hant da obererezh sevenadurel ar "rannvroioù".

N'on ket gouest da lenn italianeg mat a-walc'h evit lavarout hag eñ a oa un dra bennak dibar er pezh a voe disklêriet er anv ar c'hevredad kristen-demokratel: 20 eus an 21 ezel anezhañ a daolas o mouezh a-du gant ar mennad. An 39 ezel, war-bouez daou, eus ar c'hevredad sokialour a reas evel-se ivez. O komz en o anv, e lavaras an Alaman Schwenke e oa kevreet-start hevelepted sevenadurel ha demokratiezh en Europa. Arabat e vefe daleañ da seveniñ erbedoù fetis mennad Arfê. Evit kaout perzh ervat er vuhez politikel e ranke pep hini ober gant yezh e vro, ne vern pegen mat e komze ur yezh estren. Gwirioù ar pobloù diemren a dlee bout degemeret e-touez ar gwirioù keodedel¹² gwarantet gant ar GAE. Alamagn-Gornog ha Danmark o deus diskouezet dre o emglevioù a-zivout Su- ha Norzh-Slesvig e c'hall ar gwirioù-se bout diwallet mat-tre hep degas tabut etre an div Stad, er c'hontrol. (Kement-se ivez moarvat peogwir ne glask hini ebet anezho henvelekaat ar genel¹³ en he dalc'h).

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

An Iwerzhonad S. Flanagan a zileurias evit an Demokrated — Araogourien (Fianna Fáil, an It. Ewing-SNP ha ... Gaollisted). Ur brezegenn entanet met dister a-walc'h. Aes e vez da Iwerzhoniz¹⁵ zo, pa vezont en estrenvro, reiñ da gredin emaint a-zevri gant o yezh. N'em eus ket klevet ar c'hannad-mañ o c'houlenn muioc'h eget 4 pe 5% eus anizer-bellskignañ ar Skinwel evit an iwerzhoneg!

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

Ar Su-Tirolad Dalsass a lavaras ne oa ket gwashoc'h digevatalder¹⁵ eget pa vez reoliet traoù dishenvel diouzh an hevelep lezennoù, evel ma vez graet er Stad C'hall. Ur wech kollet ganti he yezh e paouez ur bobl, ur genel, da *hanvout*.¹⁶ Diskuilhan a reas strivad ar Gaollist Israel da zidalvoudekaat ar mennad o kinnig "gwellaennoù". Heman a gave e oa arvarus-tre ar c'heal a wirioù "etnikel". En un demokratiezh, gouez dezhan, ne oa ket ezhom m da "ensavadurelaat ar minorelezhioù".¹⁷ Lakaat a rafe harzoù d'ar gwirioù denel. Arguzennoù heñvel a voe digant daou Italian oc'h enebin ouzh ar reizhadur graet da gudenn Su-Tirol. An Unanour-Lealour J. Taylor ne vankas ket da ziskargañ e gorfad binim war Iwerzhon dieub hag an iwerzhoneg "bountet dre heg er c'horzailhennoù". Ne oa ket a-enep ar yezhoù bihan, met ret oa lezel pep hini d'ober ganto mar kare. Arabat lezennin Setu kaderezh¹⁸ klufan ar mare-man. Darn eus ar Virourien saoz a chom ken otus ha biskoazh. Evit an Ao. Forth, "language is basically a divisive factor" (pas ar saozneg, evelato . . .) — "se a c'helled gwirian e kement lec'h ma vev tud a-gevret" (hag e-lec'h ma vez an den o c'hrozmolat outañ e-unan?). Bevet en doa hennezh e Kembre met nac'het en doa lakaat e vugale da zeskñ kembraeg, ur yezh war ziskar, daoust da gement tra a veze graet eviti. Mirourien all a zisklêrias o hetoù mat evit ar yezhoù bihan, met awalc'h oa gant ar seizh yezh kefridiel.

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

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

A. HEUSAFF

Not a Time to Relax

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nantes in Brittany

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

K.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CYMRU

Gwleidyddiaeth Y Werin

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ian Parry.

★ ★ ★

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

Derbyn Her S4C

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What Next for Cymdeithas yr Iaith?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JUSTICE v. POWYS EDUCATION COMMITTEE

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

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

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

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

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



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

THE WORK GOES ON

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

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

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

Celtic League Summer School 1981

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

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

THE CELTIC LEAGUE IRISH SUMMER SCHOOL (1982)

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

ÉIRE

An Ghluaiseacht Reigiúnda is Polasáithe Cónasctha san Eoraip

Ba shuimiúil mar a tharla ag ArdFheis Shinn Féin anseo i mBaile Átha Cliath ar na mallabhbh, sé sin gurb é an dream óg radacach a tháinig amach i gcoinne pholasaithe cónasctha an pháirtí sin. De réir na dtuairiscí ar na nuachtáin tugadh le fios go mba polasáí seanchaite é, i gcomhthéacs Éireann Aontuithe de cibé ar bith, gan ann ach sop do na Dilseoirí. An sean dream coimeadach sa pháirtí a bhí a chosaint de réir na dtuairiscí céanna. Aisteach go leor si a mhalairt de thuairim atá ag teacht chun tosaigh imeasc lucht polaitíochta ar mhór-roinn na hEorpa. Féach mar shompla caidé tá ag tarlú sna náisiúin stáit ba láidre san Eoraip sa chéad seo, siad sin an Spáinn is an Fhrainc. Cheana féin sa Spáinn tá Comhthionóil Reigiúnda bunaithe i bhfurmhór na réigiúin stairiúla nó eitneacha — Tír na mBascach, an Ghailis, Asturias an Chatalóin agus rí. B'fhéidir nach bhfuil aon chumhacht ró leathan a thabhairt do na comhthionóil aitiúla seo, ach is tús aitheantais do phobail ar leith, agus i gcásanna áirithe, do chultúir ar leith iad. Cé gur fada ó chomhthionóil réigiúnda mionlaigh na Fraince, go fóill cibé ar bith is cinnte gurb é an dilarú cumhachta ceann de na polasaithe is tábhachtaí ag rialtas sóisialach Mitterand. Is polasáí é dar ndóigh nach bhfuil ag teacht go réidh don rialtas nua de bhárr doichill lucht riaracháin mar si an státseirbhís an fíor chumhacht coimeadach sa bhFrainc. Tá an córas cónasctha i bhfeidhm cheana i dtíortha eile san Eoraip, go háirithe san IarGhéarmáin is san Éilbhéis.

Cé nach bhfuil aon ionadaíocht per se ag teachtai réigiúnda i bParlaimint na hEorpa, is léir gurb iad ceisteanna réigiúnda is mó a thuilleann tacaíochta ó chuid mhaith acu, go háirithe ó na Pléimeannaigh agus ó na Breatnaigh. A bhuíochas don obair a rinne na teachtai seo gur glacadh le tuarascáil Arfe agus leis an mBille do Lucht Labhartha Mionteangacha an Chomhphobail i bParlaimint na hEorpa an mhi seo caite. Muna dtugann an bille seo aon chearta reachtúla do na mionteangacha is cinnte gur féidir feidhm a bhaint as le brú a chur ar na rialtais Stáit seasamh níos dearfa a ghlacadh i leith na dteangacha sin. Agus cén dream a rinne iarracht an bille a leagadh? Cé eile ach na Gallaigh (Gaullistes) agus na Coimeádaigh (Turaithe). Ní fiú níos mó spáis a thabhairt don cheist anseo ó tharla go bhfuil rún ag Oifig Eolais an Chomhphobail i mBaile Átha Cliath an díospóireacht iomlán, máille leis an tuarascáil féin, a fhoilsiú i nGaeilge.

Cad is cúis leis na spéis uilig sa ghluaiseacht mionlaigh is dilarú cumhachta le blianta beaga anuas? Gan amhras tá níos mó na cúis amháin leis. Is féidir cuid de a chur síos do thionchar an leabhair "Small is Beautiful" le Fritz Schumacher a foilsíodh

sa mbliain 1973. Cé go raibh an fheallsúnacht chéanna a bheag nó a mhór a nochtadh i bhfad roimhe sin ag Leopold Kohr sa leabhar leis "The Breakdown of Nations" a tháinig amach i 1957, is beag aird a tugadh air ag an am. Níorbh é an tráth cui chuige. Le linn na seascáid bhí an fás eacnamaíochta faoi lantseól san Eoraip, gan duine ar bith ag cur suas de seachas dream beag "hippies" agus cancráin an mhalairt teicneolaíochta. Bhí athrú mór tagtha i lár na seachtóidí; ba léir nach raibh fas gan teorainn in ann d'aon tír; bhí an bochtanas domhanda níos measa ná ariamh is na hollchumhachtaí ag imirt cluichi polaitíochta leis na tíortha neamhfhorbartha. Anois ag tús na nochtóidí is in oleas atá cúrsaí eacnamaíochta ag dul san Eoraip is sa domhan fré chéile; tá bagairt na nollchumhachtaí ag dul i dtreise agus cítear do na mionphobail nach bhfuil lámh ná focal acu i rialú a saol féin.

Anois más ea atá gluaiseacht na mionlaigh ag bailiú nirt agus bhí an neart a chur in iúl don domhan mór i mbliana nuair a tháinig an chéad Comhthionól den Cheathrú Domhain le chéile i Londain. (Seasann an ceathrú domhan do na náisiúin bheaga, na mionphobail is don spiorad daonna, mar adeir na billeóga bolscaireachta). Sé an bunsmaoineamh taobh thiar den ghluaiseacht go bhfuil gá le córas nua ina mbeidh laghdú ar na forais ollmhóra míléata, tioncharíocht is riaracháin atá ag bagairt cogaidh is leiriú éiceolaíochta ar an domhan go hiomlán. Deir sé gur baol don tsíocháin is don tsaoirse aon chineal chumhacht polaitíochta nó eacnamaíochta nach bhfuil faoi smacht ag na daoine atá faoin a tionchar. Ba dhoiligh d'éinne a shamhlú gurb ionann an ídeolaíocht agus na cuspóirí atá ag mionlaigh uile an domhain, ach tá iarracht ar chuid acu a thabhairt le chéile i gcumainn le cuspóirí sách leathan mar atá ag an gConradh Ceilteach i leith na dtíortha Ceilteacha. Níor mhiste dúinn sa gConradh breathnú ar cheann nó dhó de na cumainn seo féach an bhfuil tada le foghlaim againn uatha nó ar bhliú dúinn ccangal leo mar atá a iarraidh ag an "Association Internationale pour la defense des langues et cultures menacées". Sé Yvo Peeters, Pléimeannach, stiúrthóir an chumainn seo. D'éisigh an cumann Cairt Cearta ar son phobail eitneacha agus mionlaigh teangan a bhí mar ábhar pléite ag Comhthionól an Ceathrú Domhain. Tri airteagail déag atá sa Chairt, is go hathechomair thiúrfadh sé smacht ar chúrsaí oideachais, sláinte, cultúir, creidimh is ar na meáin chumarsáide don mhionlach. Bheadh cúrsaí riaracháin is reachtaíochta i dteanga an mhionlaigh nó dhátheangach, má tá an dara teanga a labhairt go forleathan sa cheantar. Bheadh ionadaíocht chionmhar ag an mionlach sa Pharlaimint tola laistigh den stáit, agus in aon chomhthionól idirnáisiúnta. Bheadh sé de dhualgas ar an stáit obair a chur ar fáil don phobal mionlaigh ina ndúiche féin, agus níor mhór an pobal sin a chosaint ar fhorbairt turasoíreachta nó eile trí srian a chur ar dhíol talún. Bheadh sé de cheart ag an mionlach scaradh ón stáit agus féinrialtas a bhaint amach trí córas cuí daonlathach. B'fhéidir go mba céim chun tosaigh i do chuid de na tíortha ceilteacha dá mbeadh a bhfuil sa Chairt seo ar fáil dóibh. San am céanna cítear domhsa go bhfuil contúirt bhunúsach i gcoincheap seo an mhionlaigh, go speisialta i gceist na dteangacha. Ní maith an rud é go mbeadh pobail na dtíortha gCeilteacha ag smaoineamh orthu féin mar mhionlaigh, nó ar a

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

BRÍD HEUSSAFF

Summary

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

The Constitution Debate

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pádraig Ó Snodaigh

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

Wage Free for All?

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

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

who saw the rate of inflation now exceeding 20%.

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

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

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

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

Hunger Strikes: The End of a Phase

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

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

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

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

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

Padraig Ó Snodaigh

Irish on T.V. — Supreme Court Case

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

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

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

Towards new Irish-speaking Communities

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

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

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

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

POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS

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

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

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

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

Foreign Language Status for Irish?

Background

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

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

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

Clear Obligation

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

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

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

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

Judgement Reserved

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

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

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

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

Legal Fund

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

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

KERNOW

Agan Oryon Camhensek

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

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

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

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

G.A.

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

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

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

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

M.K. Conference

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lowender Peran

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

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

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

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

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

T.

1982 Celtic Congress

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

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

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

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

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

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

For more information contact:

JOHN DUDDING,
1 Wellington Tce.,
Falmouth.

MANNIN

Croo Loayreyderyn Dooghyssagh

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

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

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

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

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

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

Brian Mac Stoyll

Manns New Government — Crisis Ahead!

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. B. MOFFAT

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



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

Annual General Meeting 1981

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

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

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

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

ROLE AND IMPACT OF THE CELTIC LEAGUE

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

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

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

PRICE OF CARN AND RATES OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

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

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

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

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

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

RESOLUTIONS

The following were adopted:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*New developments have occurred since.

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

European Parliament Backs Lesser-Spoken Languages

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Celtic League — Twenty Years a Growing

A Personal View by Peter Beresford Ellis.

(Continued from CARN 35).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In view of the 1969 conference, it was a surprise

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Peter Berresford Ellis.

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

Membership and Subscriptions

All who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership fee (entitling to *CARN*) and the subscription rates are IR£4 (Ireland), Stl£4 (Britain), 40 FF (Continental Europe) and \$9 (US) (non-European countries — air mail). For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscription, write to any of the following C.L. (honorary) Secretaries:

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