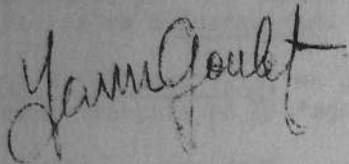


COMITE NATIONAL DE LA BRETAGNE LIBRE (CBL).

Le FLB, organisation membre du Comité National de la Bretagne Libre, nous prie de vous transmettre le communiqué suivant, communiqué authentifié par le seul fait qu'il est diffusé par le CBL.

Pour le CBL, Comité National de la Bretagne Libre.



Yann Goulet, Secrétaire Général  
"Koatkeo" Herbert Road,  
BRAY, (Co. Wicklow) Eire.

Communiqué du FLB-ARB. (22 Janvier 1974 )

Les actions menées par nos commandos, tant dans les dernières semaines de 1973 qu'au cours des périodes précédentes, ont montré au pouvoir impérialiste français que nos avertissements et mises en garde n'étaient pas de vaines menaces.

Le FLB-ARB s'est toujours refusé à lancer d'inutiles bien que flamboyantes invectives et à inonder la presse de ces verbeuses déclarations qui demeurent sans valeur alors qu'elles ne sont jamais suivies d'actes révolutionnaires positifs. Il sait que le peuple breton ne sera pas trompé par ceux qui prétendent découvrir et dénoncer des injustices et des scandales déjà connus de tous mais qui, en vérité, n'ont jamais rien risqué pour les combattre.

Le FLB-ARB est la seule arme de défense et la seule force de frappe au service de tous les Bretons et de la Bretagne et il l'a prouvé.

Le 6 Janvier 1974, à Port - la - Forêt, près de Fouesnant, alors qu'un comité avait été formé localement pour s'élever contre un projet de transformation du port et contre un projet de construction d'un ensemble immobilier, un commando du FLB-ARB a supporté les revendications locales en détruisant totalement par une explosion suivie d'incendie le bureau d'études et les maquettes des réalisations en cours. Le FLB-ARB a ainsi démontré sa volonté de s'opposer à tous les spéculateurs et promoteurs sans scrupules de même qu'en Mai 1973, il démontrait sa volonté de s'opposer à tous les profiteurs en incendiant à Riec sur Belon, la riche villa de l'ancien directeur des abattoirs de Quimperle dont les entreprises frauduleuses avaient mis sur la paille nombre de paysans du Sud Finistère et du Morbihan.

Cette action confirmait le soutien que le FLB-ARB désirait apporter aux petits exploitants, soutien qu'il avait déjà exprimé à Paris en attaquant par bombe le Cabinet du géomètre Danger et en proclamant dans le tract laissé sur l'emplacement de l'explosion : La terre aux paysans bretons."

Désireux de défendre les intérêts de tous les travailleurs, il se devait de soutenir les cheminots et tous ceux dont l'existence même dépendait de la sauvegarde du système ferroviaire. En conséquence, le FLB-ARB avait démontré son opposition au démantèlement du réseau ferré breton par une explosion à la Gare de Rennes. C'est dans le même esprit qu'il avait exprimé sa solidarité avec les pêcheurs et les travailleurs des usines de conserve en attaquant par explosifs à Aubervilliers les entrepôts d'un importateur de conserves en provenance d'Amérique, du Japon et du Portugal.

En attaquant les Batiments des douanes à St-Malo, les perceptions de St-Brieuc, Vitre, Laval, Le FLB-ARB avait dans un récent passé montré sa volonté de combattre le système centralisateur de la France; en attaquant les locaux de l'Inspection académique des Côtes du Nord, il avait apporté son soutien aux défenseurs de la langue bretonne et de notre culture nationale, mais en Juillet 1973, par une attaque symbolique contre la nouvelle gendarmerie de Fouesnant, il voulut attirer l'attention des pouvoirs publics sur le danger que représentaient le démembrement de la Bretagne et l'exclusion de la Loire Atlantique du territoire national breton. Il est regrettable que cette mise en garde, qui annonçait l'escalade de la violence, n'ait pas reçu

l'attention qu'elle méritait. En voici les conséquences:

Le 4 Octobre 1973, en un geste d'opposition à l'envahissement de la Bretagne par les forces armées françaises, destruction d'un pylône militaire à Coetquidan.

Le 11 Octobre 1973, en un geste d'opposition à la présence du Chef du Gouvernement français en Bretagne, destruction de la stèle du Général de Gaulle à Quimper.

Le 27 Novembre 1973, en un geste d'opposition à la répression policière, destruction de la nouvelle gendarmerie à Quimper.

Le 6 Décembre 1973, en un geste d'opposition au système fiscal qui écrase les petits commerçants et ruine l'économie bretonne, explosion à l'Hotel des Finances à Guingamp.

La même nuit et pour les mêmes raisons, explosion au Centre des Impôts de St.-Brieuc.

Le 1er Janvier, en un geste d'opposition à certains centres de vacances notoirement indésirables, explosion à Tréveneuc dans les Côtes du Nord.

Le 6 Janvier 1974, Explosion et incendie à Port-La-Forêt.

Ces actions ont, par leur importance, percé le mur du silence que le pouvoir colonialiste s'efforce d'ériger contre les légitimes revendications du peuple breton à la recherche de sa liberté politique et de l'intégralité de ses droits économiques, sociaux et culturels.

En ce début de l'année 1974, nous réitérons, au nom de tous nos volontaires, notre détermination de mener à bon terme le combat de libération que nous avons entrepris et de mettre fin, par tous les moyens, à l'asservissement de la Bretagne et du peuple breton

Pour le FLB-ARB et par ordre.

Le Chef de l'Etat-Major de l'ARB.

P. Le Goff.



Coiste Tacafóichta na bPríosúnach mBriotánach.  
Pwyllgor Cyfnogi 'r Carcharorion Llydewig.  
Breton Prisoners' Solidarity Committee.

## WHERE DOES THE RESPONSIBILITY LIE FOR VIOLENCE IN BRITTANY?

At the end of June and at the beginning of July 22 Bretons were arrested and charged with participation in numerous attacks on French State offices, television aeriels, army installations, police stations, etc., during the past 3 or 4 years. They were transferred to jails in the Paris area and are to be tried eventually by the State Security Court. The arrests occurred immediately after the partial destruction of the south wing of the Versailles Palace which housed paintings dealing with the Napoleonic period. It was also unexpectedly decided to stage the trial of 14 other Bretons arrested last February and accused of membership of a branch of the Republican/Revolutionary Breton Army (FLB-ARB): 8 of them were, after a harsh indictment (1) given sentences ranging from two to eight years of penal servitude (2).

In the past 3 years, 177 persons belonging to various legal Breton organisations have been subjected to temporary detention extending in certain cases to several days. House searches, interrogations and other acts of harassment have been used by the police to gather information about people against whom no illegal activities could be proved. By creating a climate of intimidation the French authorities seek to discourage opposition to their anti-Breton policy. The severity of the sentences passed in July is not the only pointer to a hardening of the Paris government's attitude towards the Breton aspirations (3).

This committee does not advocate the use of violence in solving any problems. It must be recognised however that the Breton situation continues to deteriorate because all the peaceful, legal, democratic attempts to obtain the satisfaction of the most reasonable Breton demands continue to be frustrated by the French government. We cannot remain indifferent to the fate of young people and of men with wives and children condemned to spend years in jail because they would not resign themselves to the destruction of their Breton nationality.

We refer to the statement of L. Le Pensec, M. P., for the French Socialist Party, and to the communiques of the Breton National Party, Strollad ar Vro, and of the Breton section of the P. S. U. issued shortly after the recent arrests: although condemning the use of violence they said that responsibility for it rested primarily with the French government.

We go further. If responsibility rests with the French government, these prisoners should not be judged in a French court, outside or inside Brittany. We urge all those concerned with the freedom of all nations and with creating the basis for good international relations to **CAMPAIGN FOR THEIR RELEASE**. We urge them to organise petitions to their governments that these might convey to the French government their reprobation for denying the Breton people the means to safeguard their language and culture. While this denial persists, the French State Security Court is no more than an instrument of oppression.

Why were so many men, belonging to so many different walks of life, driven to risk their freedom and their life? It was not for the sake of adventure nor out of recklessness (they took great care to avoid casualties). Was it not because they realised how gravely the future of Brittany, as a people with distinct characteristics, is threatened by almost all the agencies of the French State? Because they saw how contemptuously the long-standing democratically-expressed wishes of the Bretons are treated by the French government? Because there is no reason to believe that a change of policy will take place in the foreseeable future?

We should like to refer to those who wish to see this situation in perspective to the article reviewing the struggle of the past 20 years which was published in **CARN** Nr. 21 (4).

The eight jail sentences and the five suspended ones given in July were for actions carried out prior to the granting of a Breton Cultural Charter by the French government. Many people who sympathise with the Breton aspirations may have wondered if it represented a reversal of the assimilation policy. Some may have been led to believe that it meets reasonable demands and that it provides means to preserve if not to develop the Breton language and culture. Indeed, so often and so long have petitions, resolutions and drafts for bills of law been ignored or summarily ruled out of order in Paris that the Breton cultural organisations eagerly accepted Giscard d'Estaing's offer in February 1977 and cooperated with the Social and Economic Council of Region Brittany in formulating draft proposals for the Charter. These were severely pruned in their passage through a Regional Council constituted so as to ensure docility towards the government. It was in Paris however that they underwent drastic amputations; the final version, returned for adoption by the Regional Council belied the preamble which presented the charter as "a recognition of the cultural personality (personalité culturelle) of Brittany and an undertaking to guarantee its free development" (5).

Free? The Bretons will not be allowed to control the application of the Charter; the credits for this will be annually 4.5 million francs: this represents 0.56% of the total cultural subsidies distributed in France in 1977 (even if one adds the ordinary, not specifically Breton, cultural credits, the percentage is only 1.7%, whereas the Bretons represent 7% of the population of the State): there will be some improvements in the field of education: instead of a total of 120 hours a week as hitherto for all the secondary-level schools of the four départements of the Rennes Academy area, there is a promised total of 470 hours a week, but that falls far-short of the 2000 hours needed as a minimum to satisfy the estimated demand and to fulfil the letter of the charter itself; there is no provision for seriously training teachers to teach Breton, no mention of a degree in Celtic studies that would encourage voluntary teachers; the request for help to the Breton language nursery schools is ignored; instead of the fortnightly ration of 23 minutes of Breton on television, there will be 24 minutes a week (6); the Loire-Atlantique département, whose Council voted unanimously for full participation in the application of the charter will be treated separately (7). Many points which the draft proposals had put with precision leave room for evasion. All the Breton language organisations have expressed disappointment with this document which many see as having been inspired by electoral opportunism.

In every other West European country, national minorities and even regions are to-day being allowed a large measure of freedom to manage their own affairs. Federalism was imposed on Germany in order to keep her in check but it has proved a better way than the centralism practised in France to ensure the well balanced development of the parts without for that matter reducing the real power and cohesion of the whole. If the French had been broad-minded enough to allow the Bretons, Corsicans, Alsations and others to live in dignity and develop their own culture, there would be no need for Security Courts to deal with them. For France, however, security requires the elimination of the minority groups.

The restrictions of the charter allow only the conclusion that it was "granted" for no other purpose than to defuse resistance to the assimilation policy. There are many in Brittany who hope that a Left government in Paris would follow a different line but that is very doubtful. The adoption by the French Socialist Party of some of the U.D.B. and Skol an Emsav proposals testifies to the support they enjoy in the main Breton federation of trade unions, but it could just be dictated by electoral calculations. Promises made to minority groups by opposition parties are easily forgotten when they achieve power. When will there be a socialist government in Paris? If it has to depend on French Communist Party support, the cultural needs of the Bretons will be of secondary importance: the P.C.F. is notorious for its denial of the existence of a specifically Breton problem and of a Breton people.

In theory France is a democratic state but it is so constituted as to prevent the realisation of the democratically expressed wishes of the minority ethnical groups within its borders. Their right of self-determination is denied by the 1938 law which makes it treasonable to advocate the removal of any part of the State from its jurisdiction. Leftist literature identifies the French ruling class with the capitalist bourgeoisie. What is obvious is that power in France remains in the hands of nationalists and centralists seeking to extend her influence and culture to the farthest limits possible with little regard for other peoples. They have developed a State doctrine with religious undertones, as unyielding as any totalitarian ideology and they put it into practice by means of an ubiquitous control of public life (8). The 1938 law (decree) is unconstitutional and contravenes the U.N.O. Charter.

It ill becomes the French State's spokesmen and the French nationalist press to accuse Bretons of resorting to non-democratic methods when all other approaches are blocked by their near-dictatorial system.

The Union Democratique Bretonne (U.D.B.) condemns the activities of the F.L.B. They say that these are not understood by the population on whose support access to self-government must depend. They reprove attacks on firms which are building for the French army because they threaten workers' livelihood. They fear they will facilitate a policy of repression of the whole Breton movement.

It is not for us to say how a clandestine organisation can publicise its aim, explain its actions and draw from them the intended political effect. Nor can anyone be certain that, however carefully the targets are selected and the operations are carried out, the result will be a stronger determination among the Breton people to win real recognition. Clearly, political considerations must be determinant and while it is short-sighted to think only in terms of the next few elections, a course of action which could be exploited to create widespread hostility or distrust towards the most worthwhile aspects of the Breton movement must also be avoided.

Yet it is the best course when one is being robbed just to stand there explaining that one's cash was hard-earned and one needs it badly? In a situation when the future of the Bretons as a people is so threatened, is the choice of means of defence to be dependent exclusively on a majority whose sense of the danger and will to resist has been numbed by the State monopoly of education and information? Is this not tantamount to accepting final defeat? Those who refuse that will think of the example of several other countries where liberation started with guerilla movements which also lacked popular support.

In a letter from an F.L.B. sympathiser the argument is put forward that the outcome of a struggle for Brittany by legal means alone is made most problematic by the very nature of the French State; that those who prefer to restrict themselves to the conditions laid down by French law should not be falling over backwards in their condemnations of F.L.B. violence; that the violence practised under cover of law by the French state is a thousand times worse (8); that the work of the language publications and organisations, however valuable in the present circumstances, will continue to be practically neutralised by the State control of all public life and can therefore reach only a small minority.



Referring to the outcry in the French nationalist press and to the fury of the State's spokesmen which followed the Versailles attack, the letter points out that those who carry out and acquiesce in the destruction of the language of a million, nay of three million, Bretons, a language created by countless generations, a language which is more than a work of art, which is for the Bretons essential, whose eradication will be well-nigh irreparable, those people are not entitled to speak of cultural vandalism. They do not care for other peoples' cultural values. The Versailles Palace is not simply an expression of French art, it is for those people the highest symbol of the French cultural imperialism, a temple of the State religion in whose name cultural genocide is carried out in Brittany, Alsace, Corsica, "French" Catalonia, the "French" Basque Country, Occitania. It was built by the tyrant Louis XIV who mercilessly oppressed his and other peoples to satisfy his lust for power and glory; the paintings which were damaged were second rate works devoted to the glorification of Napoleon's imperial campaigns. Versailles is used for the promotion of France's cultural designs in Europe (9).

Undoubtedly the French State will claim a stiff tribute for the "sacrilege" when the 22 men arrested this summer are brought before the Security Court. The eight sentenced to penal servitude in July are also bearing their share in the expiation. All sorts of epithets reflecting the contempt and the arrogance shown towards the Bretons since the French Revolution abolished their self-government, are being thrown at them in a press that names them as guilty before they have been tried. Having labelled them as "left-wing extremists" or as "Nazis", there is no need to look deeper and enquire whether there is not something wrong and to some at least intolerable going on in Brittany. A free press does not rely only on police statements.

If these men are to be judged, it should not be left to a Security Court that is itself part of the machinery of oppression against which they rebelled. The treaty which bound Brittany to France guaranteed that Bretons could only be judged by Bretons for acts committed in Brittany; that treaty was not replaced by any other but was unilaterally broken by France in 1789. Considering that responsibility for the use of violence rests primarily with the French State, a trial in the Security Court will contravene the basic principle that in justice you cannot be judge and party at the same time. It will be an exercise of arbitrary power, like the trial of the Egyptian sheikh represented on one of the damaged Versailles paintings.

The thirty Bretons now in jail responded to the continual provocation of arbitrary power. They acted in self-defence in as much as the Breton cultural heritage is part and parcel of the personality of every Breton, including those who, because of the French system, were deprived of the opportunity to learn Breton (10).

We call on all people concerned with human and minority rights to ask for the immediate release of those men; to help in organising campaigns in all countries where respect for these rights exist to bring the scandalous treatment of the Bretons and other ethnic groups within the French State territory to widespread international notice; to form solidarity committees, for the purpose of collecting money for the prisoners' dependents, writing to the press, making known to the French embassies the conviction that responsibility for FLB violence rests with the French State authorities and government. Money collected should be forwarded to the association SKOAZELL VREIZH, which exists specially for the purpose of aiding Breton prisoners' families (c/o Pierre Roy, 29 rue J. Turmel, 35000 Rennes, current postal account CCP 244. 83 Rennes). We strongly recommend that copies of letters of protest be sent to us to be forwarded to other appropriate addresses at the time of the trial which may take place as early as October.

on behalf of AN COISTE TACAÍÓCHTA,  
Padraig Ó Cléirigh,  
f/c 127 Br. na Trá, Dumhach Trá,  
Áth Cliath 4, Éire.

## NOTES

- (1) The State prosecutor accused them of digging France's grave. He alluded to the death penalty and to life imprisonment and called for sentences ranging from 9 to 20 years against "these retarded urchins" who hankered after the past and must be locked up for many years - that would open their eyes to reality.
- (2) Since 1967 almost 200 attacks on French State buildings as well as on symbols of the French domination in Brittany have been claimed by the F.L.B. The only casualty was a member of one of its commandoes. Three waves of arrests prior to this year resulted in the detention of about 80 persons for periods of 4 to 10 months; the first group was amnestied, the others were acquitted when tried.
- (3) During his trip to Corsica in June, Giscard d'Estaing expressed his opposition to any genuine form of regionalism and affirmed his government's adherence to rigid centralism.
- (4) Available from the Celtic League, 9 Br. Cnoc Sion, Áth Cliath 9, Éire, for £0.40p.
- (5) For a detailed analysis of the Cultural Charter, see issue Nr. 23 of AR FALZ (new series), Straed Kan-ar-Gwez, 29210 Plourin-Montroules, Brittany, price 10 Fr. The original draft proposals of the Social and Economic Council are published side by side with the final text of the Charter.

- (6) As an indication of how serious the charter's guarantee of a free development of the Breton personality will be we refer to an interview (published in *Le Peuple Breton*, Aout 1978, B. P. 304, 29273 Brest-Cedex), with members of the staff of the France-Régions 3 radio and television station in Rennes. They testified that this station is not allowed to function as a Centre of TV production because of the presence of an autonomist movement which could misuse it; since 1974 the production of radio programmes which might enable their listeners to "perceive the cultural and socio-economic unity of Brittany" is ruled out; no freedom is left for creation, the regional direction is subject to orders from Paris, it is he who decides which means are to be used and which programmes are to be broadcast; the Cultural Charter has brought a very minor increase in the time allowed to Breton programmes but not a penny has been added to finance them.
- (7) This departement, which belongs historically to Brittany, has been separated administratively from the other 4 departements as part of the policy of destruction of the Breton nationality.
- (8) A plan for the development of Brittany, worked out in great detail and after thorough consultations with the Breton professional and cultural organisations was approved in 1962 by 1090 commune councils (elected by universal suffrage) representing 80% of the population of Region-Brittany: its adoption by the French National Assembly was vetoed by De Gaulle.
- Numerous bills of law for the official recognition of Breton and other "regional" languages were prepared with majority support from members of parliament in the "regions" concerned but came to nothing since their progress through the French Assembly depended on French majorities firmly attached to the principle of ONE state ONE language. One bill which appeared to be winning sufficient support was declared unconstitutional.
- Among the petitions for the effective teaching of Breton, one organised around 1967 got 150,000 signatures; like all others, it was ignored by the government.
- (9) Examples of institutionalised violence: the building of military installations around the Brest nuclear submarine base: the building of a nuclear reactor at Le Pellerin against the wishes of the population, under police protection; the lack of precautions that resulted in the destruction of the North coast of Brittany by the Amoco-Cadiz oil spill; the dismantling of the Breton industries which forces workers to emigrate in spite of their demonstrated wish to live in their home country; etc.
- (10) The Alliance Française organises regular visits by Alsatian children to the Versailles palace. From these pilgrimages, they return dazzled, more ready than before to discard their own culture (report in *Rot un Wiss*, Nr. 132), and to accept Pompidou's dictum that "there is no room for regional languages in a France which is destined to mark Europe with its seal".
- (11) In order to cast doubt on the motives of the two men who are accused of having carried out the attack on the Versailles palace and who stated it was in retaliation against the eradication of the Breton language, some French papers said they did not know Breton. It is an example of inverted logics. The 12 men arrested in North Finistere all speak Breton but that fact was not underlined in the same papers.

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We/I, the undersigned, support the demand for the immediate release of the 8 Bretons sentenced to imprisonment by the French State Security Court, in July 1978, and of the 22 arrested in June and July for alleged FLB-ARB actions.

Enclosed a £ \_\_\_\_\_ cheque/money order as a contribution to the Skoazell Vreizh fund.