

COYIN

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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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25p

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gweltaz Durand

ENGLAND — THE WAY AHEAD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. Rhyd Humphreys

FISH AND FRIENDSHIP

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

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

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

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

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

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

(continued p.22)

CELTIC SPIRITUALITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alan J. Raude

ALBA

LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD

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

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

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

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

Prevention of Terrorism Bill

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

The National Council for Civil Liberties has published

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAN I SCOTLAND ALBA

The Alba a' sibhal gu mall a dh'ionnsaidh fèin-riaghaltais. Neo am bheil? Gu pearsanta th'cuirbas na dhà agamsa. 'S dòcha gu bheil 'Scotland' a dh'ionnsaidh fèin-riaghaltais, ach chan i 'Scotland' 'Alba' 's e dùthchannan ro eadar-dhealaichte a th'annta. Cho eadar-dhealaichte ri 'Wales' is 'Cyrmu' neo 'Ireland' is 'Eire'.

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

Cha lughdaichinn na tha an Scottish National Party air deanamh. 'S e astar mor a tha sinn air i tighinn 's na deich bliadhna seo chaidh. Ach feumaidh sinn feòrachadh de is ciall dhoibh an nàiseantachd. Ma's toigh leatha neo nach toigh se cor-bheòilant an soisgeal a tha iad a'searmonachadh. Feumaidh sinn roghnachadh 'their iad' eadar a bhli nar 'Breatainnach' bochda neo Albannach beairtich'. Uill, a'bruidhinn air mo shon fhin, thaghainn gu h-aoibhneach a bhli nam Albannach bochd an aite Breatainnach beairtich ma fhuair mi fèin-riaghaltais le mo bhochdainn. 'Se seo a chionn gu bheil ùidh nas motha agam ann an cultur na cor-bheòilant.

Chan eil mi ag radh gu bheil an SNP gu buileach fìisil-seach, ach nam bharaid-sa tha iad ro thrang a'croabh-sgoil-sadh lomhough luchd-pòlitig cruaidh-bhruidhichte de linn na h'òda. 'S e seo nàdurra ann an seach. Tha sinn bed ann an sgoil ag teachd 's tha feum mor ag luchd-pòlitig air oridion-sachd.

Ach se seo a'cheist — A' bheil sinn a'faicinn fèin-riaghaltais gu simplidh nar mheadhon chon aigrid nas motha? Tha mi'n docha nach eil. Air cinnte tha sinn airson fèin-riaghaltais se cheud aite chum ar n-ionannachd nàiseanta a shaoaradh. Chan thiù parlamaid mòran ma tha sinn fhathast am bogadh suas gu ar sùilean ann an cultùr Anglo-Amairicaganach. Feumaidh sinn ath-mhìneachadh sinn fèin mar chionn-sachd, agus airson seo a dheanadh gu riarachichte feumaidh sinn athbhuinn ann an canan.

Ged a tha an Parthaid Nàiseanta comh-mhòthachail a thaobh Gàidhlig, chan eil ann an Alba idir a' chomh-ionannachd eadar ar gluasad poilitigeach agus ar gluasad cànanach a th'aca mar eisempair sa Chumrigh. 'S mòr an truaigh e. Gun teagamh tha a'chuid as motha de na nàiseantach Albannach fhathast a'faicinn na Gàidhlig mar chianain nan Gàidhlig mhaln 's chan ann mar an Albais a th'ionte — canain na h'Alba gu ìir. Aig an son ùm tha ìomadh Gallann a tha ìonndadh chon na Gàidhlig airson a nàiseantachd a chur an cèill ann an dolch chultùrach — mi thin ram meag. Ach tha sinn fhathast toarc.

Uime sin, ged a tha an cath poilitigeach faig air buaidh, chan eil an cath cànanach fhathast bliath. Sgrìobh Billy Wolfe leabhar ainmichte 'Scotland Lives'. Tha 'Scotland' beo gu deasrth, ach tha 'Alba' a'fàntainn beagan nas motha na a' sionn. Cò-dhù, cha bhli sinn gu d'òchdas. Cha robh ann am Parlamaid Albannach ach a' sionn a' chionn còig bliadhna dheug.

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

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

CURSA GAIDHLIG AIR CLAIR (Records)

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

NATIONAL LANGUAGE

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

BOOKS IN SCOTTISH GAELIC

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

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

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

• Fred MacAulry (BBC Glasgow) announced a new BBC radio service based on Inverness to start in 1978 with an initial 15 hours/week in Gaelic.

• A proposal was adopted at the Merriman Winter School, in Co. Clare (1-2-76) to start an annual Summer School, beginning in 1976, to teach Irish and Scottish Gaelic how to communication in their common language. This should have the full support of the Celtic League members. It should of course apply to the Manx too. Radio broadcasts could contribute to this renewal of communication.

BREIZH

SMALL FARMERS' CONFRONT FRENCH GOVERNMENT

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

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

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

Aid Committees

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

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

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

BEGINNERS' AND ADVANCED COURSES IN BRETON

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

The new group has a wider scope. It insists on Breton as the only language of internal affairs and it aims to create the conditions of a Breton language popular culture. It hopes to achieve this by creating cultural centres throughout Brittany which will be sustained and organised by the local community. As a first stage, intensive sessions of language learning are necessary to provide suitable future progress unless the language can be made part and parcel of the everyday lives of the people it denounces the folly of continuing to write Breton songs for singers and listeners who do not live even a part of their lives through that language.

Although the group is new it has already successfully organised holidays and language camps. Ten such sessions are on schedule for 1975. The first two were held in 1972. There were four in 1973 and seven in 1974. There are four levels of study — two of them bilingual (formative sessions in the practice of the language). The bilingual sessions will be held this year as follows: One before Easter, two in the 2nd week of July, a beginners course in the 3rd week of August and another regular one in the fourth week of the same month. Each course lasts six days and proceeds in a direct manner that makes it possible to continue on to a direct method course (using Breton only). The inclusive cost of a course is about £13 a week. Most venues of instruction are in the province of LEON (Northwest by Roscoff) or then in Menez Kamin through no choice of ours but due to the fact that the majority of our teachers come from that province.

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

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

For further information contact: An A.O. Ollivier, Glazvezenn, Al Luidig, 29238 Brignogan, Breiz(-), M.M.

NEWS OF SKOL AN EMSAV

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

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

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

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

A meeting was held in Karaez on January 19th between Al Leur Nevez, Ar Falz, Evid ar Brezhoneg and Skol an Emsav with the aim of creating a common front which will welcome all the progressist organisations operating through the medium of Breton. Practical decisions were taken to co-ordinate the cultural manifestations of the Breton people's struggle. T.L.

BRETON ALIVE

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

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

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

There are already two if not three correspondence schools for learning Breton (supplemented by records and mini-cassettes): Skol OBER (28 rue des Freres Le Goff, 22000 St-Briauc) and Ar Skol dre lizher, each with seven or eight hundred students, both practically free of fees. Since 1973, another course is given by the Centre de Télé-Enseignement, Université de Haute-Bretagne, 6 Av. G. Berger, 35 Rennes, with 3 levels. They are under the responsibility of Per Devez, lecturer in the "Section de Celtiques". There are more people trying to learn Breton than can be attended to. To satisfy the demand, some voluntary untrained teachers have to give 3 or 4 classes outside their normal working hours.

Skol ar Mercher. On Wednesday 22-1-75 the Breton "Federation des Oeuvres Laïques" (Lay teachers' association) had invited primary school children to a first weekly class in Breton (Wednesday is a day-off). 18 people were in charge of enrolling; they were nearly swamped by the number of applicants. An hour after starting, parents were still patiently waiting their turn to enrol their children. It was meant to be an experiment; it was a mastery success! The course will use an audio-visual method worked out by teachers of "Celtic" at the Breton University.

The negative side

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

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

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

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

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

Eleven people aged 21 to 36 were arrested at the end of December in 4 towns of W. Brittany, following bomb attacks in the Kastellin area in protest against the spread of French Army installations in the Krozon peninsula and the Porzhe area. They included a young woman and belong to various professions.

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

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

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

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

The arrest of the other 10 persons brought protests not only from Breton organisations but also from trade unions branches in Finistère (CFDT, Comité Départemental des Jeunes Agriculteurs, Fédération Départementale des Sociétés d'Exploitants Agricoles, Paysans-Travailleurs, MRJC), and local branches of French parties (Socialist Party, Parti Socialiste Unifié, etc.). A movement of solidarity with K. Pùllandre is also gathering momentum. He was still in jail — with 2 other "suspects" on February 5. A new attack in the night on 3rd to 4th January was directed at a garage in the main car park of the French War Navy in Brest: one bus was totally destroyed, 8 others were damaged. The action was later claimed by the FLB-ARB.

NEBEUTOCH - NEBEUTAN A IWERZHONEG ER SKINWEL

Breutast a v'oe kudenn an Iwerzhoneg er skinwel: en ur vodadenn aus Kuzul Broadel ar Gouezeleg, d'er 6 C'hwevrer. An holl aozadurioù a gemer perzh e stourm ar yezh a zo kevret er C'Huzul. Diskuilhet e v'oe taer an dilez a v'oe graet anezhi gwashoc'h-gwazh gant Radio Telévis Eiraenn: ret e oa anezhi ouz an doare ma 'z eo izelaet dere ar yezh er roll-programmoù ha ma vez lamet tamn-ha-tamn abaoe un nebeut bloavezhioù an afernec'h a sevenadur Iwerzhonat a ziskouezet. Kallvariet e v'oe programmoù Iwerzhonek ar sizhunvezh kentañ a viz C'hwevrer 1975 gant re an hevelep mare selah vloaz: neuze e v'oe skingaset 6 eurvezhiad ha kard a programmoù en Iwerzhon ar sizhun, bremañ n'eus mui nemet div eurvezhiad koulz lavaret.

Selzh vloaz zo a v'oe diskouezet bennoc'h programmoù gant un andalc'had sevenadur Iwerhonat, estreget ar C'Heleier. Bremañ ne vez anezho nemet div wech ar sizhun. Hevlene n'eus nemet ur skingasadenn ar sizhun en Iwerzhoneg etre 7 eur ha 10.30 eur, ar mare ma vez ar muñañ a dud o sellout. E 1968 e v'oe 14 skingasadenn ar sizhun etre an eurloù-se. Anet eo livet ar c'hiall pa seller ouzh karnidige RTE. Selzh vloazzo a v'oe embannet goder fajnennad en Iwerzhoneg ennañ. Bremañ, ma lakaer a-gostez programmoù Radio ar Gouezeleg, n'eus mui nemet un hanter pajennad.

Goude e-leizh a vrutadegoù, kounskridoù ha dileadurioù e-pad selzh vloaz, o trespelgañ da RTE atizoù ha kinnigoù niverus evit reizhañ an traoù, setu ar par m'embann degouezhet: n'eus heulad programmoù sonerezh Iwerzhonat ebet ar skinwel. Doust ma'z aus ur morad a dud, re yaouank dreist-holl, dedennet gant ar sonerezh-se; n'eus koulz lavaret programmoù ebet evit ar vugale hag a ve aozet er vro-mañ (n'eus hini en Iwerzhoneg); n'eus programmoù arbennik (dibar) ebet ar yezh-holl ebet rummadoù bras aus ar bob; n'eus netra evit tud ar Gouezeleg; ne rear netra a bouez war dachenn an diduamant n'eur ket deus s-benn da gendec'hañ koment ha pevar fadh-c'hoal en Iwerzhoneg en ur bloaz, doust ma v'oe diskouezet n'eus ket pell a oa dedennet ur bern tud gant unan hag a oa bet skingaset. Hag all...

Bremañ ez eo bet lakaet ar pemp-munudad a geseier Iwerzhoneg da 6 eur, ur mare ma n'o devez ket kalz tud anzer pe tu da sellout ouz ar skramm. Diagent e vezent da 7.50, ha goude ma oa s'lek a-welch ar programmoù, ne vez e-leizh a dud d'ra c'hleout. Setu e gwirionez usan aus ar gwashañ taolioù, evel m'hen diskouez un enklask, ar C'Heleier eo a rok tro d'an river besañ da glevout Iwerzhoneg: evit meur a hini an tu nemetañ zoken. A.H.

KONDAONNI

Ar pennad-blein en Niverenn-mañ (Editorial) zo anezhañ respont un Iwerzhonat da vignoned aus Kemba ha Kerneveur hag a v'oe nechet an abeg da darzhadaoñoù c'hoarvezet e Bro-Saoz an distak-amzer, dreist-holl usan e Birmingham a lazhas kalz tud. Ar vignoned-se, a gontomp warno evit diorn ar C'Hevra Keltiek, kavout izil, gwerzh ar CARN, o devez d'ober ouz tud furlout ouz Iwerzhonik ha distigius a-kelvar kement kaez a gongred pe a gosaoberrezh etrekeltiek. Ha n'eo ket ar C'Hevra un aozadur-bruderezh de Arme Republikan Iwerzhon? Pe ma n'eo ket, perk se "gondaonomp" ket an ARI evel ma 'z an dud a-leon? Pe darzhas ur vombezenn e C'annewydd (Gwent) — talet gent pl'vez? — a v'oe abeg doump da vevañ nechet a gwirionez. C'hlozout d'ar C'Hevadefourien (Provisionals) a ment gous bras d'an emglev etrekeltiek. Kement-se doust ma tamelle Iwerzhonik Bêl Fañse da soudardur ur rejimant "ambrant" bezañ ken gwazh ha re all o hañkian an dud en Anderton-towen, ha n'eo ket un Aeroquist Red gwirist gant a-uz d'eo c'hazarn a vire outo. Goprouarded... ha petra 'dal bannetioù hiziv en dou? —

Ahendall, setu ar puzh a respontomp ar C'Hevra Keltiek to distalc'hoù kement aozadur/kemzhadur all, ha ne leomp din ebet da stourm gent armoù, doust ma ne omp livet ez eo evelle ha deus gouezet meur a bobl ha frankik keloù a roump avat aus ar stourm e Nanz Iwerzhon, ha deat a v'oe komz muo'h anezhañ zoken (a s'annem?)? Nisk un deveder a-bouez e buhez ar vro ez eo.

CYMRU YSGOL BASG

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg — YSGOL BASG, Mawrth (March) 26-30th Y Bala, Gogledd Cymru/North Wales. Sgyrsiau a thrafodaethau ar frwydr yr iaith — adloniant — dawnsio.

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

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

BROADCASTING IN WALES

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

Crawford and Television:

'The Fourth Channel in Wales should be allotted to a separate service with priority given to Welsh-language programmes.' So declares the Crawford Report on Broadcasting. The new service it says should be operated jointly by the BBC and HTV (local commercial television) and should be introduced as soon as the Fourth Channel becomes available. Welsh-language programmes at present broadcast on the other channels should be transferred to the new service and the weekly output in Welsh doubled to 26 hours. The initial cost is reckoned to be between £6m and £7m with an operating cost of about £2m a year. These, briefly are the two main proposals of Crawford.

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

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

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

Radio Wales and Radio Cymru:

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

Rh. M.

THE WELSH FOLK SCENE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Neville R. Jones

CYMEITHAS YR IAITH

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

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

Manifesto

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

Y DYFODOL

Yn sicr mae rhyw ysbryd newydd ar gerdded yng Nghymru heddiw. Nid yn unig yn wleidyddol ond hefyd yn lethyddol. Mae rhywun yn cael yr awgrym weithiau fod Cymru a'i phobl yn rhyw ddefnydd ar of blynyddoedd hir o ddrwyddwag, ac nid ddrwyddwag nad ydym yn byw mewn amser mor gyffrous ac amser Glynwyr ac oer sur sin llynyddiaeth rha blynyddoedd yn ddiweddarach. Ydyw, mae pobl Cymru wedi sylweddoli fod ein gwlad ag ein iaith yn werth ei hachub; yn werth gwaithio trosti ac yn werth treulio amser yng nghartrefi Llwyg trosti hefyd.

Nid yn unig mae llyfrau newydd yn ymddangos yn wythnosol (ac ar bron pob pwn o wyddonwriaeth i farddoniaeth) mae comics i blant a recordiau pop yn hysgu poblledig nwy arnoed. Ac mae rhyw o bobl ifanc yn mynychu ysgolion nos i ddygwyl Cymraeg yn arddorol Saingwlad ein gwlad nac a'u arnoed.

Ac nid yn unig yng Nghymru. Mae'r iaith Gymraeg ar welyfau miloedd yn Lloer mewn Capel a chywll ac ar fees rygbi. Hyd yn oed yn Mthastonia to saeswr Cymraeg gan y dryddad ar bedwaredd genedlaeth. Pob na hysgu yng Nghymru arnoed.

Bu blynydd hir i gael disc trwm dwyieudog ar gwl ar awyddion dwyieudog ar hysgu, ac ar mas' Saingwyl ydy uchaf (ac y pryd) mae'n arwyddoedd fod hunan barth yn annil y dydd.

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

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

J Rhyd Humphreys

ADNODDAU IWERDDON

Ymgyrch sy'n cynyddu'n fawr iawn yn ddiweddar yw'r Ymgyrch i Amdiffyn yr Adnoddau (Resources Protection Campaign neu R.P.C.). Seilwyd yr ymgyrch yma ar yr ymchwil fanwl a wnaethpwyd gan nifer o fyfyrwyr ac a gyhoeddwyd mewn dau banniffl yn 1970 a 1971. Dangosodd yr ymchwil yma fod y rhan fwyaf o'r miliynau o bumedd, oedd yn cael eu cynhyrchu gan fwyngloddion Iwerddon, yn cael eu cadw gan y cwmnïau mwyngloddio — y rhan fwyaf ohonynt o Canada — yn lle mynd i fewn i economi'r wlad. Cafodd yr ymchwil yma dipyn o sylw yn y papurau, ar radio ac ar deledu ar y pryd, ond nid oedd llawer o weithredu ynilyn â'r peth cyn rhyw ddwyfnydd yn ôl pan sefydlwyd yr R.P.C. Ymgyrch heb ddim cyssylliad ag unrhyw blaidd gwledyddol ydynt. Eu gofyniad yw cadw cyfoethi adnoddau Iwerddon yn Iwerddon, i'w defnyddio er lles pobl Iwerddon. Mae'r flaith bod ymchwilwadau ar wasilod y môr o gwmpas arfordir Iwerddon yn rhoi lle i greu fod yno gryd dipyn o olew a rwy hefyd yn gwneud y gofyniad yma yn bwysicach byth.

Mewn gwirionedd, rhoddodd ddeddfwriaeth 1940 y gallu i lywodraeth Delyn wneud yr hyn a fynnai a holl gyfoeth y wlad i gyd. Ers hynny nid yw'r lywodraeth wedi defnyddio'r ddeddfwriaeth yma. Yn lle hynny gwnaeth drafodaeth ag Internatsional Mogul yn 1955, trafodaeth oedd yn rhoi'r hawf i 51% o'r eidd i Mogul, ac o hyn allan dyna'r math o drafodaeth y mae pob cwmni enall wedi'i disgwyl — ac wedi'i chael. Nid yw hyn yn newid flaith fod y ddeddf yno o hyd, ond i'r bobol golyng i'r lywodraeth i'w defnyddio, a dyna olynid R.P.C. Mae nifer seilogaeth yr ymgyrch yn tyfu o ddydd i ddydd; eisiau llawer mwy ohonynt ac eisiau arian sydd amynnt hefyd. Yn y diwedd bydd rhaid i'r lywodraeth gymryd sylw. Mae pobl trwy'r wlad i gyd yn dechrau mynd yn fwy gwybodus ar y pwnc, diolch i waith caled yr R.P.C.

Manteis y 26 sir deol o Iwerddon ar y gwledydd Celtaidd eraill i gyd yw'r flaith fod ganddynt lywodraeth iddynt eu hunain, lywodraeth y gellir pwysio arni, er ei bod yn un ddiwygiol i raddau helaeth. Da caiff hi lywodraeth, well iddi ddilyn esiampl Norwy, ac nid Dilyn ynghyd â sut i ddefnyddio'r adnoddau. Gobethio hefyd nad yw hi'n rhy hysyr i lywodraeth Delyn wneud iawn am ei chymgymeriad.

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

CENEDELAETHOLDEB FFUG

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

Yn nyddiau cynharach yr Ynysoedd Celtaidd yr oedd pedwar nath mawr, Eingl-Saesona a Daniad y gwledydd a ddaeth yn Loegr, a Cheltaid "Cymru", "Iwerddon" a'r Alban". Er fod yr Eingl-Saesona yn fwy niferus na'r Celtaid, nad oedd un cenedl yn fygythiad mawr i'r llall, am nad oedd syniad, fel ein syniad ni, o wledydd unedig fel Cymru neu Loegr.

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

Yr oedd Lloegr yn rhanedig, nid am fod tsyrmasoedd gweahanol ynddi yn unig, ond am fod dwy bobl ynddi hefyd, Daniad ac Eingl-Saesona. Sut bynnag, gyda'r Goresgyniad Normanadaid a chanoïd graddol nerth, Lloegr gyda'r bronin yn Llundain, ni ddaeth hi'n amlwg y byddai Lloegr yn brif wlad Brydain.

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

Heddiw, y mae'r diwylliant Seisnig yn gryf, ond y diwyllianau Celtaidd yn wan. Dyna pam y mae angen gwisgoedd cenedlaethol yng Ngheltaid, ond nid oedd fath angen yn Lloegr.

Sgertl Albanwy'r, hetiau uchel, brithwe — arwyddion cenedlaetholdeb?

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

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

Am hynny, mor ynyd ydyw fod rha Cymry yn caisio "adfywio" sgert Gymreig! Nad oedd un byth. Y path agosaf i sgert a wisgodd y Cymry oedd y crysbais hir yn y Canoloesoedd, hyd yn oed yn nyddiau'r Ymerodraeth Rhufeinig, llofrau oedd gwisg y Celtaid.

Y mae McClintock yn credu y dyfelylliant y sgert gan y penneith Ian Mac Donell — a Sais o'r enw Thomas Rawlinson! Y mae rhyweth tebyg wedi digwydd yng Nghymru. Nid oedd tystiolaeth fod y batgwn, y pat a'r het uchel yn wisg genedlaethol ar unrhyw adeg cyn y 1830au, ond, diolch i'r Saesona rhantantus yr Arglwyddes Llanora a'u lliniau o werin Dde Cymru, mae rhyweth arall gennydd yn gwehianethu o'r Saesona!

Heb gael ein maeddu gan yr hen elyn, galwn ymfroestio am Gymro rhantantus, Edward Williams (1747-1826), yn enwocach i lawer fel Iolo Morganwg. Camwpaith ddwyfnydd a rhantantusth oedd ei Orsedd y Beirdd.

Heddiw, y mae'r Orsedd yn rhan bwysig a llwgar yn ein Gwyl Genedlaethol ond mor newydd ydyw ac mor anghymharol gyda moddion gwylt y derwyddion pŵganadaid!

Nid ydyw'r dweud fod yr Orsedd yn ddiwerth. Beth ydyw'r safon? Gwraeg heddiw os nad oedd un? Ond rhaid inni wahaniaethu rhwng ein heffedlaeth dirweddol a'r effedlaeth ffug.

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

Y mae cennin mwyafr Gwyl Ddewi ar gottiau Cymry di-Gymraeg, a'r sgert yn fwy boblogaidd â'r rha Albanwy'r nid ydynt yn siarad Albaneg. "Pobl yr ymylon" ydyw'r rheini, yn byw yng nghanol dau ddiwylliant hollt wahanol — gweddillion truenus pobl a rheolodd Gorllewin Ewrop a chredodd diwylliant a chellddydd a ddanosai ym mywyd cenedlaethol y cyfandir trwy'r canffoedd dilynol.

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

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

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

INTER CELTIC EXCHANGES

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

Skosiz ha Kembreiz zo o vountañ a-gostez ar skoilhoù war hent o yezhoù. Breizh zo a soñl e ront berzh evelae peogwir n'eo ket ar Saesona ken sheurtet hag ar C'hallaoued war dachenn ar skingomz hag ar skinwal. Koulskoude, ma c'helle holl ar re a c'houlenn e ve greset a-zevit gant ar brezhoneg en daou servij-se unanñ o strivedoù e-lec'h pouezañ dalc'hat war o diforc'hoù, e laktent bech war an digerzerien c'hall. Pa zispieger da Iwerzhonia ha Kembreiz peseurt puilhder a strolladoù, kevredigezhioù, emglevioù, kuzulioù ha peolgerioù hon eus o "atomum" evit Breizh hag ar brezhoneg, ec'h anevont dioubzha ez omp hep mar ar re Geltaekañ eus ar Geltaid!

EIRE

THE COALITION'S 'POSITIVE' LANGUAGE POLICY!

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

IN COURT FOR REFUSAL TO PAY TELEVISION LICENSE

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

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

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

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

UNEMPLOYMENT

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

In the 1960's the unemployment of the time gave rise in Dublin to the Dublin Unemployed Association and monster marches on the Dail (Parliament). An employed candidate was even elected a member of the Dail. Now however, unemployment benefits are much higher and are pay related (for 6 months only) so similar happenings do not look like occurring in the near future. During the 50's though, there was the escape valve of emigration which is now closed. So if the recession and unemployment continue we may yet see a repeat performance in Dublin and other cities and towns. The Government's only action has been to introduce a deficit budget with Social Welfare and tax increases below the year's rate of inflation even. No capital programme to generate employment, no mention of mineral, oil or gas resources.

THE NORTH CEASEFIRE

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

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

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

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

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

GROUND RENT IN IRELAND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IRISH NATURAL RESOURCES:

State control or minor share?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE CORNISH LANGUAGE AND ITS LITERATURE

By P. Berrisford Ellis

(Routledge and Kegan Paul 1974)

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

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

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

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

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

AN MUUVYANS KERNEWLEK KERNEWEK YN 1975

Ryb tenevan an sowynnyans bras a gafas Alban ha Kembra y'n vledhen us passyges, a ylynn-ny Kernowyon myras adro gans nep sort a lowender? Ny wruk sur agan whylor orth Parliament Westminster gwynnyia namur a lelow, Bytsegens yma nebes tokmys may hyllynny aspya gwella vledhen ow tos. Dres ken, yma deu dra a brys wharfedhys, nyns yu nep tell, aberth yn Mebyon Kernow.

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

Ancombryns mur a sewyas pryntnyans fotograf ha lytherow a Vyghal Gaughan y'n 'Genethel Kernewek' an paper offysyel a MK. Mr Gaughan a wruk merwel yn pryson sawnek wosa maga dre nerth. Bresel vras a sordyas yn mysk an paperow 'bro-west' hag ynweth yn mysk nebes sodhogyon ughel MK hag a vynnans remuiva Dr Whetter avel dyllor an paper. Woteweth of a wra tryga, mes ganso peswar cusallyador rag gwyttha dysquedhnyansow an paper herwyth cowys an party.

Yma an 'govynnadow Ywerdhonek' puppys penfenten a ancombryns genen-ny. Pup kelt a dal crys y'n unyans yma Ywerdhonek, mes ny ylynn-ny bysqueh na scodhya na hevely scodhya nell ha denlath avel toul an dhatel wlasok. Gwell yu dhyr sur hoia an sowynnyans usy gans an partyow a vu dewysys gans an bobel.

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

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

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

MANNIN

BLOW TO MANX AUTONOMY — OR BLOW TO TAX DODGERS?

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

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

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

Brian Mac Stoyll

DEATH OF NED MADRELL

Ned Madrell, the last native speaker of Manx, died in Nobla's Hospital, Douglas, on 27th December aged 87 years. Ned came from Glenchass, near Cregneish in the south of Manx. Cregneish was the last village where Manx was the everyday language. At the age of seven, Ned went to live with an aunt who knew no English, thus getting a unique opportunity to learn the native language.

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

Brian Mac Stoyll

CEAU NY PADDIES MAGH

(traditional spelling)

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

Haik yn Slattys noi Atchimy's (Shallidagh) ayns lema ayns Sostyn Jehaimy, 29 Mae Houney. Hug y slattys shoh er Arm Pobblaghtagh ny hEirin y va ny heahaght anleighelegh as hug eh kied da ny poleenyn sleih fo ourys chummal as 'sahshtey rish shlaight laa. Hish fod Mr Jenkins, Scrudayr Hoshtyn, ceau magh ass y cheer pelagh arbes t'eh coontay y va ny 'er-atchimys — gyn boifey mychione cooyrtyn as nyn theid. Lurg ny bleastynyn ayns Birmingham, va'n chooid smoo dy 'leih ayns Sostyn arrytagh dy cheau arsoo'l nyn seyrnsyn ooilay dy noddagh ad gaddyn greme er ny fir-vlaestyan. Agh veih'n toshlaght, va M.P. ny ghea leer voifit mychione yn Aght shoh, ny mest-oc Stan Thomas as Leo Abas. Hug ad taase dy beugh Yemee ceout magh son cooishyn polleicaggh, cha nee son yn atchimys — as t'eh shahshtyn dy val shoh er daghyt hannah. Myr sampley, va Albert O Rawe currit er ash gys Beal Fairshtey veish Sostyn ga dy daag ah yn IRA eddyr 1943 as 1947. Er dy gerid, cha row eh agh chlymragh argid son ny pryssoonee pobblaghtagh. Agh v'eh goit, cummit ayns boayi foillit, as ceout magh ass y cheer; daag shen o ven as ny aley paichyn sochey ayns Lunnin. As tm raim, O Rawe Beal Fairshtey, h'ing ny poleenyn da ghoit seyd. Rad mila shen, agh t'eh sollaghtey magh nagh row y dooiny shoh ny 'er-atchimys eddyr.

B. Mac Stoyll 3-1-76.

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

CELTIC LEAGUE A.G.M.

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

MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS: RENEWAL OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

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

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

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

CELTIC LEAGUE BROADSHEET (continued from p.4)

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

FISH AND FRIENDSHIP (cont. from p.7)

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

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

N. O Gadhra

ORTF LTD. (to French)

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

MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

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

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- Cymru:** F.R.O.: Rhodri Morgan, 4 Ael-y-Bryn, Radyr, Caerdydd; Administration Secretary: Anton ab Obsorn, 92 Northumberland St., Wallsend, Tyne and Wear, England. Applications and subscriptions to be sent to this address
Assistant secretary: Meic Pattison, Neuadd John Morris Jones, Ffordd y Coleg, Bangor, Gwynedd.
- Breizh:** J. Derouet, 9 Avenue de Toledé, 44100 Nantes-en-Bretagne.
- Kernow:** I. J. Evons, 3a Lemon Villas, Lemon Street, Truro, Cornwall.
- Eire:** C. O Luain, 37 Dun an Oir, Tamhlacht, Co. Atha Cliath.
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