

# coypn

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## A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



### In THIS ISSUE

- ★ Editorial: Regional or National. .
- ★ Alba: How The Referendum Was Won.
- ★ Breizh: Crisis in the Fishing Industry.
- ★ Cymru: Welsh Attitudes to Irish Issues.
- ★ Éire: National Resources and Employment.
- ★ Kernow: Plymouth Greed.
- ★ Mannin; The Manx Economy - How Manx?
- ★ Broadcasting in the Celtic Countries.

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## EDITORIAL: REGIONAL OR NATIONAL

The following statement is in answer to questions addressed to the Celtic League by the World Federalist Youth.

Our aim is to contribute, as an inter-Celtic organisation, to the struggle of these nations to secure or to win their political, cultural, social and economic freedom. Our efforts are complementary to those of the organisations which are working, within each of the Celtic countries, towards these aims. We take into account that each of the countries concerned has a different degree of national consciousness. We recognise that no freedom is absolute. Freedom to us means the ability to develop according to our traditions and our temperament, without having to submit to unjustifiable external constraints. We want to achieve national status because nations have inalienable rights which regions, as parts of nations, do not claim.

**FRAMEWORK:** Some of our national parties, while seeking self-government, leave unqualified the relationship they would want between the power structure they are struggling to achieve in their respective country and the State to which this country belongs at present. We believe that our aim cannot be achieved in the framework of the political structure of the existing States. Whatever the short term solutions, our Celtic countries need to constitute a confederation based on their cultural affinity. We advocate therefore a formal association of the Celtic nations, to take place as soon as two or more of them achieve self-government.

a) **New sovereign and independent States.** We recognise that independence depends on internal and external factors - on the will and material strength of our peoples, on the power and ambition of the systems to which they are at present subject.

We believe that a national will is closely related to cultural values. Our cultural values have been undermined by the policies of alienation. To strengthen them we require the greatest possible control of our own destinies. We would say that we seek a degree of independence similar to that enjoyed by countries of similar size and population. We aim at a new equilibrium between our desire to be free from external constraints and a recognition of power relationships as well as of the interdependence of nations.

We seek a measure of independence commensurate with our means (population, material wealth, national will, collective identity) so as to be able to administer our communities according to their own interest, economic, social, cultural.

As we have a task of nation-rebuilding, we need sovereignty - the right to decide at any time which policies accord with or run counter to our vital interests, the right for our governments to say no to certain decisions taken by international bodies. If, on balance, their effects are seen to be too harmful to us. This would apply to the policies which might be required to prevent the acquisition of an undue proportion of our land and natural resources by non-nationals, to secure employment for our workers at home, to maintain a healthy balance between national and international influences in the cultural field.

States of our own are indispensable for the cohesion of our communities.

b) **Federation.** Whereas the national parties of the Celtic countries which are not yet self-governing leave open the possibility of federation within the existing States, at least as a first stage towards political freedom, we hold that such a solution would leave our nations subject to further alienation and domination without the power and the means to take counter-measures. The policies required to restore our weakened economies and cultures to a healthy condition would need a new understanding of which the existing States show little or no evidence. Indeed there is little or no sign that they have abandoned their assimilation policies in some of our countries.

Before entering into any association with non-Celtic countries we need to secure formal recognition of our own States or of equivalent structures designed to guarantee our freedom. We would prefer any such association to be a confederative rather than a federative one, and to have direct representation on the confederal bodies, without the intermediary of the present States. But whatever bonds may be estab-

lished with non-Celtic countries, we advocate a confederation of the Celtic countries as a means to develop solidarity between them.

c) **Within our countries, freedom will involve a revolution towards the State, subject to certain national objectives.** Regional and local councils should be empowered to deal with matters not affecting directly the national welfare. Encouragement should be given, if necessary, by means of pilot-schemes, to the exercise of self-management in our enterprises. The distribution of power would be defined by our constitutions.

1. We recognise the need to devolve certain powers to a higher authority than that of our States, in recognition of our obligations towards other peoples, but also insofar only as such an authority will guarantee the freedom which we deem essential to our survival as communities. Insofar as we shall have a community of ideals with other peoples, it will be right to have a common defence policy. In any case our environmental problems will also require international co-ordination. There are however, dangers in removing the centres of decision so far away from the people that they no longer can exercise control over them. One of the dangers of gigantism is the development of tyrannical systems, and of tensions leading to world war.

2. Consonant with the evolution of power towards the State and the recognition of man's need of roots, we would favour special status for areas within our countries which are marked by special characteristics. The areas where the Celtic languages are spoken as vernaculars require special institutions, even though we hold that these languages must be accorded full official status throughout our respective countries, if only to avoid discrimination. Certain parts of our populations with traditions of their own - such as in certain northern Irish areas - should also have provision for institutions of their own.

3. Our conception goes beyond the constitutional dimension. It is not enough to change institutions or establish new ones in order to achieve the rule of freedom we want for our nations. We visualise indeed a revolution in outlooks leading to a profound change in social, economic and political structures. We see everywhere the contradiction between the philosophy underlying the present system and our aspirations. Our languages have no chance of improving their position in this system. The unbridled competition in the economic sphere condemns as to remain the "parents pauvres" among the other Europeans. The system allows the eradication of the weaker elements by the stronger, without consideration of value other than the barely material ones. It lacks the controls which are necessary to curb abuse of power by the wealthy, social disintegration, ecological disaster.

4. Our countries have suffered from neglect and exploitation, they are handicapped by higher rates of unemployment and lower standards of living than other European regions. They are areas of small-farmer agriculture, debilitated industry, low wage rates, too-heavy reliance on tourism. The effects are harmful rates of emigration, aging populations, social ills, cultural alienation, linguistic decline. We are proletarian nations, harbouring resentment and a sense of frustration. Our emigrants take a long time to become assimilated and risk disrupting the peace of their host countries. It is not in the latter's interest to have a multitude of our countrymen flocking to their overcrowded cities.

If the necessity of higher political units is recognised, it should not be assumed that they can command loyalty among our peoples unless they are enabled by them to find employment in their own countries. It must be a key policy to strive to achieve a healthier distribution of population between rural and urban areas than recent trends are leading to. We believe that it is only in relatively small communities that people develop a sense of belonging, and that the disregard for the law (i.e. for communal interests) will increase with the spread of amorphous conurbations.

5. The EEC has proven a disappointment for the Celtic countries. In their desire to see a reduction in the sovereignty of the existing States, to find some relief from their claim to rule overly all aspects of our lives, many of us had hoped that the EEC would give our countries aspirations a greater chance of fulfilment; that if some of the powers held by the existing States were transferred to supranational institutions, the demand for a compensatory shift towards the "regions" would increase and compel

acceptance; that it would even be in the interest of the EEC institutions to encourage the regional claims to a greater say in regional affairs. But the EEC has proven itself unconcerned or unable to side with those in a bad position to compete, with the economically and the culturally weak groups. It has sanctioned a policy designed to remove the small farmers from the land without ensuring that they could find alternative employment in their home areas; it guaranteed the frontiers of the existing States regardless of ethnic affinities; its regional policy is paralysed by big power rivalries (the money is needed for a nationally-important purpose); our industries are being dismantled or taken over by foreign interests one after the other. A different structure is necessary. The principle of inter-regional solidarity must be accepted and find expression in: - wage parity between workers in peripheral and those in central areas; - a persecution of transport tariffs enabling the products from peripheral areas to compete with those of central ones; - credit allocations must be on a regional basis, the regional authorities being free to decide how best to use them.

These must be a democratic control over the supranational institutions - this does not exist at present; direct elections by universal suffrage to a Confederal Assembly is necessary, but to safeguard the interests of the component regions, there should be a Confederal Senate representing them, endowed with a right of veto.

6. **Means/Strategy**

a) Our present means of action are the dissemination of a Celtic viewpoint by means of a periodical and meetings as well as correspondence.

b) we are willing to co-operate with other groups in multiple directions; by defining the aims we have in common with other Celtic - or nationally-minded organisations; or in common with groups concerned with the protection of the environment; in common with those opposed to gigantism because of the resultant world tension and undemocratic concentration of power.

We advocate a "Europe of the peoples" (Europe des Peuples) instead of a "Europe of the States".

## ALBA

THE E.E.C. - HOW THE VOTE WAS WON

With the referendum over this is a good time to take a calmer look at the subject which is going to be with us for a long time.

In April fishing limits were in the news. Mr. Peart (Minister for Agriculture) promised that the 12 mile limit would be reviewed after the Law of the Sea Conference at Geneva. After 1983 theoretically all limits are to be abolished.

The prime minister announced that ministers would have freedom to advocate a different point of view from the Government - except in Parliament and on official business. The referendum count was to be done centrally (at Paris' Court) and this created an uproar, particularly in Scotland where the S.N.P. decidedly wanted a separate count. After London realised that the opposition to this was strong and widespread the matter was debated and an overwhelming majority in the commons gained the right for a count on regional and county bases. The parties began to split and resign and form strange partnerships - except of course, the S.N.P.

It became clear that the biggest gains were on the "PRO" side - most of the Government, most Members of Parliament, the media, business and commercial interests, bankers, farmers, etc. Early on, the fear campaign started and the threat of job losses should we leave the Market. As Jim Sillars, a Labour M.P., said "the people are to be terrorised into casting a 'YES' vote".

In Scotland the "ANTI" were the S.N.P., the Trade Unions and some Labour M.P.'s mostly the maxi-devolutionists. The main difference between the propaganda to get us "in" and this campaign to get us to stay was that there were no more glowing pictures of a glorious future "in" but instead almost Churchillian promises of hell, tears and sweat "in" or "out" but in a cooler environment "in". This of course was very wise as the former promises were certainly not kept - our food prices had soared, unemployment was rising and with the added oil crisis, one of Scotland's speciality industries, the

glasshouse one, was at that moment being refused the aid it required and a food producing industry whose loss could only lead to more imports from the Common Market was being allowed to run down.

George Thomson former Labour M.P. for Dundee in his new capacity as an E.E.C. Commissioner was over here telling us on the one hand that "Britain would reap disaster if she left" and on the other hand giving us details of the handouts that could be the biggest in the world - for most modern and most influential, giving DOMINANCE of the new ocean industry. Many members of parliament had objected to the referendum in the first place and showed that they had a very low opinion of the electors' ability to decide. Certainly they did nothing to help and at the beginning of May it was reported "it is highly unlikely that parliament will accept a negative vote". Willie Ross, the Secretary of State for Scotland came out against the Market and though he kept a low profile he is worth quoting - "The basic Treaty of Rome remains unaltered - the principles of C.M.P. remain unchanged while the E.E.C. Commission, Europe's Minister for security, retains powers to challenge changes in industrial development, regional aid and fishing policy in Britain and further these powers will be extended to steel and energy." Some facts were beginning to emerge from newspaper articles - oil apart, 99% of Britain's trade deficit was with the Common Market. In the 3 years of Membership, Britain has reached a debt level of £800m with West Germany and £600m of this is for goods that the British economy is well able to produce.

A Gallup Survey on 18th May showed 60% for and 39% against with 1% not committed (on 11. K. basis). One section of the business world rebuked those who were coercing their employees with notes inside their pay-packets to vote "YES" lest their livelihood be in jeopardy. The public statements of some of the Cabinet were ironic (bearing in mind that they pass as Socialists): Shirley Williams - "Our role in the world will be threatened if we leave"; Roy Jenkins - "The priority given in social security and health care was generally far higher in the Community than in Britain"; Eidon Griffiths - "A 'NO' vote will mean a decline in the car industry".

Mr. Edward Heath of "without full-hearted consent" fame paid us a visit in Scotland to let us know that many firms were holding back capital at the moment until we had voted "YES". He listed some of them, Seargams, Hoover, B.P., etc. and should we vote "NO", the investment would go elsewhere. Speaking in Paisley he gave a 10-point charter of the benefits we will get on staying in and these should be listed and checked regularly.

In an article in the Scotsman on 22 May, we read of Europe and the Scottish dimension - "The provisions of the Treaty of Rome) and the Acts of the Community pursuant to the Treaty clearly specify the sovereign rights of the member states over economic activities on the continental shelf and in particular over the exploitation of all resources - it follows that these natural resources belong entirely to the member states which may therefore derive full economic advantage from them, e.g., dues, taxative and balance of payment benefits". Vazsis, the writer of the article, assures that Scotland's benefits will be many and lists "hubs for retreating after redundancy". He goes on "the attraction for American investment SEEMS greater inside the E.E.C. than out". The "seems" must be a great consolation to workers in Dundee being paid off at this very moment, made "redundant" by American Branch Firms.

The C.B.I. (Confederation of British Industry) advised their main aim "was to reach a consensus on industrial policy so that companies would not be continually disrupted by violent changes under successive governments". The Steel fraternity wanted nothing less than a special treaty to keep them in if the vote was "out".

And so it went on - a campaign of threats and bribes from the Press.

On the whole, it was easier to gain facts from those who were anti for they used figures based on the time while we had been in the Market, e.g., that investment from Britain in the Market had increased greatly by their entry which masks Tony Benn's claim of a huge job loss quite logical. All claims by

Scottish spokesmen of all parties that staying in would slow the devolution timetable were categorically denied.

The Church of Scotland have their Annual General Assembly at the end of May and there Lord Macleod of Fuinar (well known in connection with the E.C. Community and as one of the leading figures in the C.N.D. movement in Scotland) made an impassioned plea for staying out but received little support. The Assembly "voted heavily in favour of the deliverance on Britain and the E.C.C." which after an emotive preamble merely stated that divisions existed and that they ought to "prepare themselves by prayer".

Also by the end of May, the plight of the regions of local government having no direct links with Brussels was being discussed. The possible delays of a system whereby they would have first to convince Westminster of the validity of their submissions increased the desirability of direct links and the fact the English authorities have been sending delegations to Brussels was noted - they, of course, were formed last year but the Scottish ones only weeks before the Referendum. However, they have very quickly formed a Convention chaired at the moment by the man who spearheaded the fight of the County of Fife to remain a region and not be split up. He has been very critical of the formation of the new organisations and wondered if Whately and the others had any idea that an Assembly was on the way. However, they are going to have many more and more immediate problems - for most local authorities, the main implication of the E.E.C. are concerned with some of the more technical directives - e.g. the requirement to advertise tenders on an ALL EUROPE basis before a building contract may be awarded.

By 31 May the O.B.C. poll was saying "Scots still slightly towards Merit". YES 47% NO 49% 12% still undecided. In Britain as a whole 2-1 to remain in was recorded faithfully during campaign. The Tories remained resolutely for, except for a few dissidents. Liberals consistently for, and in Scotland the official E.N.P. policy was against, so the "swing" was in the Labour ranks where 50% fewer than last year thought we should get out, i.e., Harold Wilson's negotiation farce had been very successful for him. "AS AN ISSUE BRITISH MEMBERSHIP OF THE E.E.C. HOLDS LOW PRIORITY WITH SCOTTISH VOTERS" is one quote from the same poll.

Colindale! On 31 May, the Commission announced that they had approved of Government aid for British Leyland. The anti claimed that this was propaganda as it obvious was, and the fact that they could wield this authority surely was the important factor not that in this case it was the "right" decision. Other offers of aid came in during the pre-referendum weeks. Elbow Vale, N.C.B., a whisky bottling plant in Scotland, etc. Fred Pratt, the Agricultural Minister explained that last year's coupon scheme to aid old age pensioners was one of "several measures agreed to last year to help strengthen the beef market by stimulating consumption... to continue it now might upset the balance... pensioners have generally increased and it is principle it must be better to enable pensioners to have a reasonable standard of living without THE NEED FOR HAND-OUTS". Which is the correct interpretation?

June 2nd. Willie Ross was telling us "Scotland has a new resource in oil, yet there are people calling it a European resource rather than a British one". Mr. Heath's new threat was that a weakened Europe (without us) would be in danger militarily and "might" be deserted by her allies. Willie Hamilton has in his Fife constituency the new town of Glenrothes. He knew 9 firms who would lose 245 jobs if we come out and his reasoning was simply itself - multiply that by the other firms in Glenrothes - then spread that across Scotland. The resulting job loss would be ours should we leave the Market. (Mr. Hamilton should spend less time going at the English Royal Family and find out more about the divergent aspects of Scottish constituencies). The Pros continued with their barrage of bribes and mesmerising group support was also thought to be a very strong argument: the Confederation of British Industry is against coming out, the Chambers of Commerce, The Steel Board, The Coal Board - a Tory M.P. speaking in Dundee said "in Scotland trade, industry, banking, steel, insurance, farming, the Church are all in favour of the E.E.C.", only the S.N.P. are against. Can all of these be wrong and the S.N.P. right? No - the S.N.P. are only interested in nationalisation, the others in - patriotism. The same M.P.: "A 'NO' vote will mean the eventual closing of schools and hospitals, the stopping of

roads, railways and mines... the Arabs and Nigerians who are underpinning our economy will withdraw their money". 28 June. Roy Jenkins - "If we vote to leave the Market, investment and export plans will be disrupted, the outlook for employment and inflation will be worsened and we will have to face a large and rapid cut in our standard of living". The results are known to us now - the Western Isles and Shetland voted against - significantly as they are the most remote from the present centralist government. Scotland registered a "YES" vote but on a turnout substantially less than the rest of Britain, 61.4% (almost 40% of the voters regarded it as rather irrelevant) - none of the four component parts of the U.K. produced an absolute majority in favour. Donald Stewart said that the "NO" vote in the W.I. showed that the people there understood the threat to fishing and crofting from the E.E.C.

Scotland:	YES - 1,353,186	66.4%
	NO - 948,039	41.6%
	61% of the electorate voted - 39% did not vote.	

POSTSCRIPT - July. F. E. C. attack on British oil obsession. The Vice President of the European Commission indicated that they are going to take a tough line with Britain over North Sea Oil now that the referendum is out of the way... though it is a report to the European parliament members highly promising potential oil deposits notably off the coast of Brittany, the report sees North Sea oil reserves as forming the bulk of the community's hydrocarbon resources. The F. E. C. report has the general support of the Conservative group of M.P.'s at Strasbourg. One of them on this committee, is reported as saying that the idea that North Sea oil "could be isolated and exclusively reserved for Britain was nonsense."

Mrs. Wendie Irving has been chosen by the S.N.P. to be their representative at Strasbourg - she will be appearing just in time to make Scotland's voice heard. It is to be hoped that we could find out how some of the campaigns against staying in were conducted and get some explanations of the Scottish vote in the different areas. Are Roy Jenkins' last words true of the Scottish voters - "they took the advice of the leaders they are used to following"?

### BROADCASTING.

The submission of the Broadcasting Council of Scotland to the Annan Committee on the future of Broadcasting was headlined in most papers with the words "home rule" somewhere, and certainly the call was pleasantly clear and far-reaching - immediate action to abolish B.B.C. London's control over Scotland; Scotland must have the final say in how its annual budget (12.5M) is spent; another 1.5M is required; the service to remote communities paying the same fees as others must be improved; Radio Scotland to be the main channel on medium wave and V.H.F., with only short visits to Radio 4, the main channel for Scotland at present, most of the contents of which are no particular interest, though some - the bacolic rural "Archers" - are a source of great irritation.

The Council criticise the B.B.C.'s own "hope" expressed to the Annan Committee, that Edinburgh should be developed as a major base. They say this hope is an essential... "Scotland must have by one means or another direct control over a greater proportion of expenditure in relation to broadcasting within or from Scotland... ESPECIALLY IN THE LIGHT OF POLITICAL DEVOLUTION."

The Broadcasting Council of Scotland is responsible for the policy and content of B.B.C. Scotland radio and T.V. channels 1 and 2. Advisory committees provide specialist guidance on specific areas such as religion, agriculture, music, Gaelic, schools, etc. At the moment it is chaired by Lady Arosside, a former Tory candidate and includes trade union leaders and people from other public bodies. The pressure they are putting on the Government for this is what it amounts to in the final analysis for the most that may be obtained in a British context is a reflection of their awareness of the deep dissatisfaction of a great many people in Scotland and that other pressures exist whose ultimate aim for the media is elsewhere is a complete independence and this, they would consider undesirable.

Members of the Annan Committee were in Edinburgh at the beginning of July taking verbal evidence. Colin Spencer, the Field Officer of AN COMRUB GADHIRALACH, interviewed at

that time said more than 80% of local authorities in the Highlands had endorsed their written demands (submitted at the end of last year) for more Gaelic air time and a special radio station for Gaelic Speakers. He had been told that there had been "a great number of other submissions supporting Gaelic apart from the local authorities". (Among them one from the Scottish Branch of the League.)

GAEILIC. The beginning of May saw the first signs of militancy on the part of Gaelic speakers themselves. 100 of them demonstrated outside the B.B.C. studios in Glasgow and when asked to leave staged a lightning "sit-down". They were demanding a new V.H.F. station for their areas and more Gaelic schools-broadcasts. Later a B.B.C. spokesman expressed disappointment at their ingratitude. However Mr. David Pat Walker, head of programmes, Scotland, made this statement: "The interest taken by B.B.C. Scotland continues and there is reason to believe that we are on the threshold of a major breakthrough in Gaelic Broadcasting."

M.D.

### ERICH-A-MACH 1820.

In 1820, the Scottish Radicals, fighting for Scottish freedom and democratic rights under the slogan: "Scotland Free or a Desert", carried out an armed insurrection in central Scotland.

Unfortunately, the organisation had been thoroughly infiltrated by Government spies and informers and, although the revolt had widespread support, it was doomed to failure. Many of the ringleaders were arrested almost before the insurrection had begun, and a Radical force was defeated at the Battle of Bonnamair with some loss of life.

Apart from those who were killed in action, three Radicals were later executed and a great many more imprisoned and transported.

The revolt was accompanied by strikes and civil disorder, giving the Government an excuse to carry out a campaign of repression, and a large number of citizens were killed or injured by English troops.

Although the 1820 Insurrection is one of the more important events in recent Scottish history, very few people are aware of it. This is due to the fact that, almost without exception, Scottish "historians" have ignored the event as if it had never taken place! However, a full account is available in *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820*, by P. Berrestford Ellis and Seamus Mac a Bhoichain (Gollancz).

Each year, a commemorative rally is held at the Martyrs' Monument in Sighthill Cemetery, Glasgow. This year, the event takes place at 2.30 p.m. on Sunday, September 14th. A large attendance is hoped for and anyone interested in further details should contact John Murphy, Secretary, 1820 Commemoration Committee, 1 Envia Terrace, Paisley PA11 7J.

A.B.

Constitution for Free Scots - What a Scottish Parliament can do. Scots Secretariat, Jess Cottage, Carlisle by Penicuik, EH26 0NF, SCOTLAND. Price 20 pence.

This is a 48 page document prepared for a meeting of a Provisional Shadow Parliament and contains a great deal of propaganda material. It provides for a simplified Single Tax system under which all taxation would be collected by Parish Councils. Many would only be remitted to the Central ("clearing house") Government after local needs had been met.

As well as the 71 members of Parliament elected by constituencies, there would be direct representatives from trade unions, and from a Council of Professional men and women. A "Fourth Estate" consisting of 3 delegates from "religious and rationalist" bodies is suggested subject to approval by the Scottish Parliament.

Complete Scottish Neutrality as regards external military activity is envisaged.

### THE HIGHLAND-LOWLAND MYTH.

For generations the Scots have been encouraged to believe that their country could be, and always has been, divided into two regions - Highlands and Lowlands - and that the populations of these regions were distinct in race, language, culture

and customs. The modern concept of Scotland is firmly based on this belief and, considering the influence of historical analysis on national cultural outlook, it is hardly surprising that there is no united national cultural outlook or that most Scots have no sense of Celtic identity.

An objective study of Scottish history tends to refute the original Scottish language. The Highland-Lowland Myth is probably the greatest obstacle to a revival of the Scottish language and, for this reason alone, is worthy of examination.

Geographically, the Highland-Lowland distinction is absurd. There are several distinct areas but essentially Scotland is a highland country, there being few extensive areas of flat or low lying land except in the Midland Valley and, in the North, round the Moray Firth and in Caithness. The most rugged terrain lies North and West of the Highland Boundary Fault which crosses the country from Helensburgh to Stonehaven. However, the imaginary Highland line "which divides Highlands and Lowlands", far from conforming to it, actually cuts across the Highland Boundary Fault. For instance, Aberdeen is part of the geographical "Highland" area but is usually classed as "Lowland", presumably because, for centuries, it has been mainly English speaking. By degrees, "Highland" has come to have more significance in a linguistic and cultural than in a geographical context.

The idea that, for identification purposes, Scotland has always been roughly divided into Highlands and Lowlands is utterly refuted by the fact that medieval writers did not make this distinction. Originally, "highland" was applied to any area of hilly country rather than to one particular area, but by the 16th century it had become normal practice to refer to the more rugged Northern country as "the high-land countries" or "the highlands". Even so, the term covered a far larger area than it does today. A Statute of 1594 which was aimed at "the clans and societies inhabiting the Highlands and Isles", mentions the shires of Bute, Dumfriesshire, Stirling, Perth, Angus, Aberdeenshire, Banff, Moray and Naier.

Decline of Gaelic. Until the 17th century, Gaelic was the everyday language of all classes and was spoken throughout Scotland. Its decline was the inevitable result of the Anglo-Norman Penetration carried out with the authority of the self-crowning King, David I. The forcible introduction of feudalism led to the destruction of the Celtic social organisation in much of Southern and Eastern Scotland, and resulted in the establishment of English as the language of social dominance. However, even in the districts most affected by these changes, Gaelic continued to be spoken. In many areas it remained the language of the ordinary people for centuries afterwards. Rentswasters, Agrarians and Gallows were mainly Gaelic speaking until the 18th century and possibly the 19th. In Gallaway there were still Gaelic speaking communities during the latter 18th century.

There are a large number of references to the language's survival in other parts of what is now known as "Lowland" Scotland and, very significantly, Gaelic was still described as "Scottish" - the Scottish language - during the 16th century.

By the 17th century Gaelic was confined to peripheral areas in the South while the North was still mainly Gaelic speaking, so that contemporary writers began to distinguish between the "Highland" men and their counterparts who were described as "Lowland" men. The Highland-Lowland distinction arose from that period and, as time went on and the social divisions - linguistic, social and economic - became more clearly defined, certain aspects of culture and custom came to be thought of as "Highland" rather than Scottish. The final touch of mythology was added by Sir Walter Scott, whose romantic novels had an undeniable effect on Scottish consciousness in that they did to exaggerate the differences and ignore the links between the linguistic groups.

The result is that most Scots do not recognise Gaelic as the native language and, nationally, the greatest crisis in one of identity and survival - rather than mere political independence. No nation which rejects its own language and culture can hope to survive, and hence for a Scottish Revival, will be equally dismal unless steps are taken to break down the long standing fallacies which constitute the Highland-Lowland Myth.

A.B.

AN-ERKEH NA GRENDE.

Chroed na sennas Gwenghael, ha s' ar sibiris, po roth di...
Chroed na sennas Gwenghael, ha s' ar sibiris, po roth di...

Bi a' Bheuria chinn air cruthachd lein na Bannochinn chinn...
Bi a' Bheuria chinn air cruthachd lein na Bannochinn chinn...

Hin iomadh Gall oideberg a chinn a' Bheuria Ghidh...
Hin iomadh Gall oideberg a chinn a' Bheuria Ghidh...

Fearghas Mac Fhionnlagh.

BREIZH.

CRISIS IN THE FISHING INDUSTRY.

The Breton fishermen and shipowners were faced in recent...
The Breton fishermen and shipowners were faced in recent...

The fishermen needed assistance to support prices and limit...
The fishermen needed assistance to support prices and limit...

The fishermen and the shipowners were united in these...
The fishermen and the shipowners were united in these...

There are two types of fishing in Brittany: industrial, high...
There are two types of fishing in Brittany: industrial, high...

The two have common problems: organizing markets, getting...
The two have common problems: organizing markets, getting...

Earnings: from a sale worth £12,000, a Konk fisherman will...
Earnings: from a sale worth £12,000, a Konk fisherman will...

A Konk unit was engaged in the family type of fishing worked...
A Konk unit was engaged in the family type of fishing worked...

Importance of the fishing industry. In relation to French...
Importance of the fishing industry. In relation to French...

Table with 3 columns: Harbour, Amounts brought in, Value (Year 1974). Rows include Brest, Lorient, Concarneau, and Breton harbours.

In spite of the Breton lead in this field, and the urgent need...
In spite of the Breton lead in this field, and the urgent need...

As unrest developed, the fishermen included claims for...
As unrest developed, the fishermen included claims for...

As for Konk-Kersee, the fishermen included claims for...
As for Konk-Kersee, the fishermen included claims for...

WAR DE DU, PENN A-RAOK?

Digout ar c'haer digout. N'eo ket evit gwerz d'ar unan...
Digout ar c'haer digout. N'eo ket evit gwerz d'ar unan...

Abeged e vez so harz roet gant an UDB en diledadeg...
Abeged e vez so harz roet gant an UDB en diledadeg...

Met n'eo ket ezhomm mervat da enebid ouz labourerien...
Met n'eo ket ezhomm mervat da enebid ouz labourerien...

Met neuse, da betra 'lavez mont unan-uhag-unan da stourm...
Met neuse, da betra 'lavez mont unan-uhag-unan da stourm...

Ar pezh a gaver digout digout digout digout digout digout...
Ar pezh a gaver digout digout digout digout digout digout...

a-berzh-ada evit ma leure ar gwerzh, an arzh hag ar...
a-berzh-ada evit ma leure ar gwerzh, an arzh hag ar...

Penn a-raok evit an dizeur ma kendalc'h ar Vretoned...
Penn a-raok evit an dizeur ma kendalc'h ar Vretoned...

Neuse a kendalc'h ar dizeur ma kendalc'h ar Vretoned...
Neuse a kendalc'h ar dizeur ma kendalc'h ar Vretoned...

Met evit petra e striv ar bol strollad hag an dizeur...
Met evit petra e striv ar bol strollad hag an dizeur...

A. H.

BRETON NATIONAL COUNCIL.

We have received a proclamation in French issued in July...
We have received a proclamation in French issued in July...

are patriots of all political, social and denominational...
are patriots of all political, social and denominational...

They claim to represent, in view of the diversity of our...
They claim to represent, in view of the diversity of our...

They state that the Breton people cannot be validly...
They state that the Breton people cannot be validly...

That they system are not legitimized to speak on behalf of...
That they system are not legitimized to speak on behalf of...

only to those who want it to survive, to prosper, to...
only to those who want it to survive, to prosper, to...

Since the decision to set up a Council National de Bretagne...
Since the decision to set up a Council National de Bretagne...

One role is not so much to get the central Paris government...
One role is not so much to get the central Paris government...

The proclamation of the inalienable right of the Breton...
The proclamation of the inalienable right of the Breton...

The Council rejects all external domination, be it political...
The Council rejects all external domination, be it political...

The first question that will be asked is how representative...
The first question that will be asked is how representative...

While welcoming this attempt to give expression to the...
While welcoming this attempt to give expression to the...

It may be said that, on account of the complexity of the...
It may be said that, on account of the complexity of the...

It is too far to say that the Breton National Council...
It is too far to say that the Breton National Council...

It is too far to say that the Breton National Council...
It is too far to say that the Breton National Council...

It is too far to say that the Breton National Council...
It is too far to say that the Breton National Council...

A. H.

GOEL AR BRIZHONED.

GOEL AR BRIZHONED, held for the first time last year in...
GOEL AR BRIZHONED, held for the first time last year in...

about 400 people each time, a film by R. Laouenan...
about 400 people each time, a film by R. Laouenan...

We have heard of this demand for the past few years...
We have heard of this demand for the past few years...



we are wrong to do so as the majority of people in the Six Counties do not want it. Whatever the reason for this, real fears or blind prejudice, the psychological and psycho-analytical battle there will not be won in our time. Human nature forbids it.

#### CYMRU AND EEC.

The EEC referendum finally resulted in an overwhelming "Yes" vote, and despite the widespread predictions that the result in Wales would be at least a close-run thing, Wales was almost as enthusiastic as England in its support for Common Market membership. Whilst 65% of the votes in England were for continued membership, the corresponding figure for Wales was 84%, which, although less, was still very decisive.

There is no need to stress the degree to which this result confounded the prophets. Indeed it was the widespread fear (and belief) that Wales would vote "No" which caused the government originally to favour a centralised count so that Wales' verdict, along with that of the other UK Celtic nations, would be submerged. The decision to reverse this plan and to opt for counting on a county basis was probably due more to a fatalistic recognition that to hide Wales' verdict so deliberately would cause more problems than it solved, than to any great confidence that the will of the Welsh people was swinging so strongly in favour of the EEC.

In the event the result was remarkably uniform, with all Welsh counties voting Yes by a clear margin. Significantly, areas like Gwynedd, which is the part of Wales most remote from Brussels, and Dyfed were more strongly pro-EEC than the industrial areas of Mid and West Glamorgan and Owen which are relatively close to the centres of Common Market power. Indeed this fact gives us the key to understanding the reason why the result was as it was.

The failure of the "No" campaign can, with the benefit of hindsight, be laid at the door of the leaders of the campaign in London, and in particular blame must attach to Mr. Tony Benn and his followers for throwing away the chance of a really broadly-based anti-EEC campaign throughout the UK.

The decisive argument against Common Market membership is that it is another step in the process of making power more remote from the peoples of these islands. We in Wales would naturally seek to relate this to the remoteness of government within the United Kingdom and the need for power to move from London to Cardiff and not from London to Brussels. The English would couch the arguments in terms of "sovereignty", the need to preserve the control of the English people over the English parliament. Yet these would be superficial differences and the basic feeling that the centralising tendency of the EEC is wrong and contrary to the needs of the age would be common, not only to the peoples of the different nations but to supporters of different political philosophies within the national communities. In other words an approach based on this rejection of the remoteness of Brussels could have been the basis for a common and effective "No" campaign.

In reality the leaders of the "No" campaign concentrated in the early stages on peripheral questions which failed to grip the imagination of a wary public and only in the very late stages of the campaign did they begin to address the central issue. Even then, they tended to use the issue in a manner which caused division rather than unity in their own ranks, left-wing spokesmen stressing the importance of preserving the right of the Westminster government to take full-blooded socialist measures, hardly an argument likely to appeal to Conservative voters.

In Wales there was a broader-based "No" campaign in which Plaid Cymru, the Trade Unions, the Communist Party and anti-EEC elements of the Labour Party were in theory co-operating as equals. However, the Welsh campaign was of course very much overshadowed by the London-based campaign with its incomparably greater media coverage. Even so, many nationalists must have felt that the Wales Get-Britain-Out Committee paid scant regard to its ostensibly all-party make-up when deciding who was to speak at important rallies. Only Labour Party and Trade Union spokesmen were called upon to share in the limelight.

The inevitable result of this campaign was to limit support for the "No" campaign to a narrow political spectrum in England and use which was largely widely in Wales.

In the light of the result, Plaid Cymru has begun to re-assess its position in the context in which Wales rather unexpectedly finds itself. This is inevitable and indeed desirable.

The sooner the party assesses the nature of the best line of attack, taking advantage of the natural features of this new and strange battlefield, the better it will be. The great job is that if a Welsh government wished to negotiate with the EEC for terms of membership or association it would not have the moral strength of a resounding "No" vote behind it.

Keith Bush.

## FIRE:

### THE SIX COUNTIES TODAY

The North of Ireland at the moment presents a picture of splendid political democracy. The British, not knowing what to replace the Sunningdale Agreement with, made a pseudo-democratic flourish and set up the Convention which is to advise on the constitutional future of the Six Counties. Within it the main political groupings have reaffirmed their incompatible views which they clearly outlined before the Convention elections.

The majority unionist-loyalist coalition has consistently rejected the idea of power-sharing and on Irish dimensions and the SDLP has apparently insisted on none. Yet it would be wrong to think that there has been no movement in Northern Irish politics since the Convention was established because these public pronouncements. Undoubtedly, however, most of the movement has been inconspicuous and on the nationalist side which quite pleases the British.

There is nothing new or surprising in this, for it will be remembered that, prior to the fall of the Provisionals and in a last minute attempt to save it, the SDLP gave in on the post-employment of the Council of Ireland. Since then they have been toying down ever further on this aspect of their party programme. Certainly, no explicit rejection has been made of it, but its tendency assumes more and more the character of a bargaining counter in relation to power-sharing, rather than a centre-piece of policy. One has only to note the number of times it is not referred to or at least is all-but-omitted or couched in vague and obscure language.

The remaining behind this, usually supplied by journalists, is that one must not provide the loyalists, and that it was the Irish dimension which led to the fall of the Executive and stands in the way of a new democratic Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom.

This type of interpretation suggests that today, as ever, with all the emphasis on education and communications, if one really wants to believe something, it is quite possible to do so regardless of the facts. Surely, the most salient fact of the last few months has been the refusal of the loyalist-unionist coalition to consider power-sharing under any circumstances. Unionists are supposed to be noted for directness. Whether that is a true proposition in general or not is for now "Ulster-men to judge, but it definitely rings true of the attitude of loyalist leaders to government in the North.

They have made it perfectly plain for all, but the blind to see that the struggle in North East Ulster is about naked power, as it always has been. Yet the national press and would-be intellectuals are floundering around in sociological swamps talking about conflicting cultural apparatuses and differing identities.

Not that these matters are irrelevant, mind you. But instead of perceiving them as a secondary outgrowth and camouflage, our pundits and commentators have taken them as the fundamentals of the situation. They have inverted the relationship between the two sets of factors and not surprisingly therefore totally fail to comprehend the current situation.

Whatever the ideological approach to justify it, however, the point is: will the ploy of the SDLP in backtracking on the path to a united Ireland (to use more traditional terminology), extract any concessions from the Convention majority? To the extent of some system of parliamentary committee with minority participation, yes. Perhaps those who have been consistent followers of the North's bipartisan politics will recall that, in substance, this is what Brian Faulkner offered the SDLP in his Green Paper when he was the last Prime Minister of Northern Ireland.

The next question is will the SDLP eventually give in to this and accept neither an Irish dimension nor power-sharing? One of the pressures constantly being applied in this direction is the talk of civil war as the only alternative to their acceptance. It is a powerful persuasion. Of course, the SDLP cannot forget, even if the public does at times, that the acquiescence of yet

another group is essential for any new solution if a stable peace is to be achieved and that is the Provisional IRA. There lies another tale.

These reflections on the present state of affairs in the North underlines yet again that until the wrong card is played there can be no breakthrough to peace and democracy. The campaign must be told that they have to leave the United Kingdom and they had better start talking about their place in the new Ireland. Until then, full democratic rights should be enforced in the North. If need be with an element of power-sharing. Events will continue to bring us back to the necessity for this course until it is recognised, despite all the cavillations and new interpretations. Facts are stubborn things and cannot be ignored forever.

Diána Ó Ceallaigh

### IRISH NATURAL RESOURCES AND EMPLOYMENT

Ireland, long considered a poor country because of a lack of natural resources has now proven mineral wealth unsurpassed in Europe and could already be self-sufficient in oil and natural gas. These resources are the property of the State but the present government has basically not changed the policy of the previous Fianna Fail Government in giving over control to private companies which, inevitably, as the value of the mines are proven, are taken over by larger multinational companies. The Resources Protection Campaign came into existence to prevent the sell-out of Ireland's largest mine at Navan, Co. Meath to Trans Mines Ltd., a company now controlled by one South-African and two Canadian multinationals.

When this mine comes into production in 1977, Ireland will be exporting, in raw ore form, about 300,000 tons of zinc per year while, in our factories, we use only 5,000 tons, all of it imported metal as we do not have a smelter. It is in this enormous shortfall in the use of a basic natural resource that industrial employment could be created here instead of in Belgium, Germany, France, Spain and Britain, to whose smelters the Navan ore is contracted. The incredible stupidity of the politicians who can only see the short-term benefit of providing a few hundred mining jobs is being realised more and more. The State mining lease for Navan allows an extraction rate of 2.4 million tons per year which will give a life-time of the mine of less than 20 years and probably prevent the establishment of a viable metallurgical industry here. The H. P. C. is campaigning now to nationalise the Navan mine and slow down the extraction rate so that the mine will last fifty years, allowing heavy industry to develop here using the zinc and lead (60% of Europe's total) that is there.

The need to develop a long-term plan to utilise natural resources to their maximum benefit in Ireland has never been more urgent. Unemployment is running in excess of 10% with, for example, in the Dublin area, 95% of the population under the age of 15. Ireland has the highest percentage of young people coming onto the labour market over the next ten years of any country in Europe.

The abysmal failure of the politicians to deal with chronic unemployment has always been a feature of Irish life. Formerly we exported our surplus humans. This time they will know they have a right to a job here and social unrest is widely forecast as unemployment figures of up to 15% are forecast in the next few years.

Recently, exclusive oil licences for that part of our continental shelf not under licence to Marathon Oil, an American company, were again given to foreign companies. No effort has been made to establish a State Oil company and it seems that as with our zinc, lead, mercury, copper and barytes, our oil and gas will be exported as raw material to Europe with the Irish people only sharing in the least profitable, the extractive stage. The State will buy a 50% participation in any successful field, which is a minimal international norm now, and again, no long term natural resource utilisation plan has emerged. The Government propaganda machine has managed to convince many people of a utopia ahead based on oil finds. This is exactly what the oil companies want, of course, allowing them a free hand to get exploring and extract the oil as fast as possible. Ireland needs only one moderate oil field producing 100,000 barrels of oil per day to make us self-sufficient and under the area licensed (for £5000) in 1959 to Marathon we almost certainly have such a field. A gas field off Kinsale is scheduled to come into production in 1979, but the government has just agreed to buy back that gas

from the Americans for about 1500 million over twenty years which is not a bad return for their shareholders for an initial investment of £500 and costs of only £15 million over 10 years - this without any oil as yet!

The price to be paid by the two State companies, E. S. B. (Electricity) and N. T. (Gas) is believed to be one dollar per thousand cubic feet or nearly double the American domestic price. That is, we as a country which owned the gas, are now buying it back from an American oil company for almost twice the price (51 cents) of what they would be allowed charge as gas consumer in the U.S. In other words, we may as well be buying from a foreign country, as Marathon's profits, as with every non-oil-national, are repatriated.

The H. P. C. believe that great dissemination of facts such as these to the Irish people that the ultimate outcome must be nationalisation and the formation of State companies to utilise these resources in Ireland to provide industrial jobs here. In recent months the H. P. C. has concentrated on national organisation. A full-time professional organiser with experience of anti-Vietnam war organisation in the U.S. is now working for the H. P. C. with an office in the Union of Students in Ireland (they failed the last general election but not the next). I would appeal to any of you readers to help in the valuable work of the H. P. C. either through subscription or by forming a local branch in Ireland or the growing rank-and-file trade union support group. This is now recognised officially within the Trade Union movement and may yet be a potent force in the campaign to provide industrial jobs here.

The needs of the multinationals and the needs of the Irish people could not be more divergent. The companies want rapid development to maximise profits. Ireland needs only a very small amount of oil and gas to make it self-sufficient in energy. After that any oil or gas produced must be used to provide industrial jobs through processing and manufacturing the products such as synthetic fibres, feed-stuffs, medicines, plastics, fertilisers and the myriad products available from processing hydrocarbons.

Western Europe needs 36% of the world's oil and yet only has less than 1%. The importance of Ireland as a supplier to Western Europe is therefore obvious, as we, along with Britain and Norway have most continental shelf oil-bearing areas.

The H. P. C. believe that unless we take national control ourselves, as well as exporting oil, we will enter a new era of exporting our population to the industrial areas of Europe.

The battle for control of our natural resources is a vital one for the future of the Irish people. So far the record of this government has been just as bad as our other highly conservative governments - any change in policy such as minority State participation have been made in the context of a totally changed world where nation after nation is taking national control and kicking out the tiering multi-nationals or allowing them to work under service contracts only. I believe that given an extensive public education the enormity of the mistakes being made will be obvious in time.

Dave Neligan, Chairman, Resources Protection Campaign.

### CLÓDHANNA TEORANTA.

Clódhanna Teoranta is a publishing house owned and controlled by Conrath an Geallge. Its main function is to assist in the development of literature in Irish by encouraging and providing a means of publication for writers. It traces its existence as a separate entity back as far as 1908. In its early years it continued the phenomenal output of literature and reading matter begun by Conrath an Geallge at the turn of the century. Eventually this output tapered off partly because of financial troubles, partly because of the war situation of the period 1916-'23 but also because of the belief that the new Free State would sponsor publishing in Irish. This last hope was not entirely foolish. A state body called An Clóm published a large volume of material, notably in the twenties and thirties. An Clóm has been criticised, not unfairly, for its excessive bureaucracy. Its literary horizons cosmopolitan and the (relative) length of time it takes in producing the published work. It is said, not entirely in jest, that an author having entrusted a manuscript to An Clóm is not likely to see it in print during his lifetime. Rose, January 1977, reports a case of a book accepted for publication in 1943 which has still not seen the light of day. The author - a former professor of Romance



yn aporoyanow Kesva an Tavaz Kernevek? Pup bledhen moy ha moy abahan a-wra studhya agan yeth hag yn Kyryaf a-dhe classys a-vyth aynas yn Saltash, Lanercon, St. Ives, Llankear, Bodmin, St. Austell, Truro, Penryn, Camborne ha Penzance. Yaweth yna classys ha bez yow y Scolow Stat yn Helston ha San Austell ha studhyon yn an Scol Cambrian y-honen a-wrak govyn bos class aynas yn aga scoll. Dhe-vrry agan yeth a-weh yn jeth hedhyo!

Pur dha yv hemma, mes what ynys-ye-ri lowr. Pup prys-oll ny dhe haptys dhe Gentry ow hulan a-wra omwone yn an vyas orth an yn skriffs bras ryb an forth: CROSO YN CYMRU, mes, ow-tesheles dhe'm bro ny-welad saw CORNWALL war an Pons Tamor hag arak Dunheved.

Whitehall a-nagh yn-ypen t'yvans bos Kernow ketelid hag 'y'a-ber dhe ynna nyn yow saw coneth aral a Bow Saw. Y-wthr y-wrhuany-ny kelly agan byr, ha Whitehall ny vya y dhascor dhy'n. Y-tygth dhy'n-y dhascor agan-bonen dre agan sprys, agan crypans ynnon-ny, agan crypans ynnon-ny, agan nyman-erof.

Syn a-ves ketelid yn byrith, ha devar yu a bu den oep a-yn ondredey y was gwalesk yn nyvys dhy'y dret y-honen, dhy'y dret dhy'y dret ha dhy'y flechs, dhe pewel adro dheddy ha bu estren hag orto e-a-wra metya, may outye an bys an Sprys Kernow dhe vevs whath, ha na-vyth-ef nefra merwel, Kernow bys nyen!

GWAS KENETHLOW Birth an Oraseth Kernow.

#### OUR CORNISH LANGUAGE.

'A man without a language has lost his land'. Thus runs the old proverb and it is true indeed. Most people believe that the Cornish tongue died with Dolly Fentraeth in the 16th Century and that since then it has been forgotten by every one.

If this were true, how is it that this year, nearly two hundred years after her death nearly 70 Cornish folk passed the examinations held by the Cornish Language Board?

The outward spirit of a nation is its language, and it is the burden duty of every one who wants to be considered a nationalist to learn the language himself, teach it to his wife and to his children, and to talk about it to every stranger he may meet so that the world may know that the Cornish spirit lives still and will never die.

Cornwall for ever!

#### MANNIN.

##### MANX ECONOMY DOOMS - BUT HOW CELTIC CAN MANN REMAIN?

Recently there has been a spate of articles and features in English newspapers and on television dealing with the current boom in the Manx economy. Typical articles are headed 'TOM's booming economy puts Britain in shade' and 'TOM is just the job for employment'. Such publicity, while giving a reasonably accurate picture of the Manx economy, tends to add to the present mood of sluggishness in Mann. The chairman of the Finance Board, John Bolton - the Manx 'Exchequer' - reported a surplus of £2.6M for last year and an estimated surplus of £1.2M for the current financial year. The total budget was about £31M.

Unemployment is running at about one or two per cent, the number of employed persons being 27,288 out of a population of about 60,000. With the aid of their new, prestigious computer, Mr. Bolton's officials predict that Mann will have a population of 'more than 74,000' by 1980. It is predicted that the biggest growth rate (4.9%) will be in the 0-14 year age group. The predictions for the 15-54 year group and the 55 plus group are 3.4% and 2.5% respectively.

In his budget speech, Mr. Bolton pointed out that the growth sectors in the Manx economy remained 'the financial sector, manufacturing industry and new residents'.

Obviously, nearly all Manx people welcome improved employment prospects. The fact that last year Mann earned as much money from manufacturing industry as from tourism was significant. But many Manx people remain apprehensive about 'new residents' and the growth of the 'financial sector'. The real danger to the Celtic character of Mann is probably not from those remnants of empire who have settled there, but from the relatively large numbers of young families who are 'seep-

ing' to Mann from England. These are not arrogant, rich people intent on colonisation, but if the immigration continues and escalates, Mann can be written off as a Celtic country in any real sense. Some of the newcomers are not merely fleeing from England: they care deeply about the rebuilding of the erstwhile native culture and about the survival of the Manx nation. But, probably, most immigrants share the views of the 'native' government: the sooner all traces of Mannness have disappeared and we can get down to money-making, the better.

Brian Mac Sioyl.

#### SCOILL VRETNISH AYSN GAIE.

The very success of Cardiff's Welsh school seems to have made its future uncertain.

Shey bideany as leved er dy henney, va scoull Vretnish currit er bun ayns Ceredyrd lesh hochi palchyn jelig ayns da lamyr. T'ha scoull shoh er ve speidlagh crysye towpe, as er y tra 'lawn li 460 yase-dee aynje. Agh er y fa dy vel se speidlagh, li fir-olk y lught-ynse gra dy vel roayr dy phaitchyn ny scoull as dy l'haagh y scoull gull er garraghey gra bouyl enagh elley. Agh ore'o bouyl? Cha sel'fya er peisagh erise choa'y shoh.

Er y foshlagh jeth Jerrey Scoree, cha l'bigagh moiraghyn da barroosvra taagall y scoull. Ta ny moiraghyn feer vaitrit mychione sauchys nyn baitechyn er y fa dy vel traaght (traffic) tromer er raad faggys da'n scoull Vretnish. Lurg y talshobys shoh, dooyr fir-olk dy beign da'n scoull ve doost, da haghyn rotah y jerrey jeth li 'mbagh-scoull. Agh ny-erch shoh, t'haime y scoull foshit.

Ta drogh dooyr se Bretee doole nagh vel y lught-ynse a-lane ayns 'fawr' job masaghy frood Bretnish. Ta an fir-olk shellyny ve Dilaske as myr shen cha nod Bretee doote ve shieky dy vod nyn baitechys anaghey frood Bretnish ny-honar-can ayns ard-vailley ny Thelloo Bretnish.

Dooyr Mr Fred Adams, y st'urayr-ynse, dy bee y scoull Vretnish currit ayns da l'ie - tra enagh. Foddee dy bee y scoull scarril ayns klare rheyryn ayns thelyn scarril. Cha h'nyvys nagh vel ny hayraghyn as ny moiraghyn jenn nagh lesh shoh. Dooyr y fer-talshob oavyn nagh row ad arry l'ugh dy l'ughey da'n lught-ynse y scoull Vretnish y souphye soon as naal. Raah dy row er ny Bretee doote.

Brian Mac Sioyl.

#### CELTIA.

##### THE FUTURE OF BROADCASTING IN THE CELTIC COUNTRIES.

Preamble. These proposals are made on behalf of the Celtic League, an international organisation which has among its aims the achievement of cultural freedom for the six Celtic nations, ALBA (Scotland), BREIZH (Britanny), CYMRU (Wales), EIRE, KERNEW (Cornwall) and MANNIN to the Aman Committee on the future of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom. Proposals in this document are therefore limited to those Celtic countries under the jurisdiction of that state.

**Broadcasting in the Celtic Cultural Context.** The broadcasting media are now widely acknowledged as one of the most influential elements in the everyday life of Our Peoples. The Pilkington Report on Broadcasting (1963) states:- "The presumption must be that television is and will be a main factor in influencing the values and moral standards of our society... This effect need not be subtle or spectacular... rather it was to be compared to that of water dripping on a stone: persistent, apparently imperceptible, but in the end prevailing."

When seen in the cultural context of the Celtic countries, this statement takes on serious implications and places a tremendous responsibility on those concerned with the broadcasting services in these countries. In each country there exists a distinct and ancient language, culture and civilisation which, as a result of economic exploitation and mismanagement of the country concerned and continuous external pressure to impose linguistic and cultural conformity, have regrettably declined and are now in a minority position and, despite diligent efforts to restore them, are still in danger of complete obliteration. However these native Celtic cultures have, to varying degrees, withstood this imposed process of cultural assimilation and are now exerting themselves as a positive force in the everyday life of Our Peoples - and are therefore, in so way, an insignificant minority

interest. Consequently it is necessary that the broadcasting authorities in our countries take note of this cultural situation and make arrangements for providing services which will strengthen and enrich our national life. The separate cultural and political identities of Scotland and Wales have already been acknowledged to a certain degree for broadcasting purposes by the establishment of the National Broadcasting Councils of the B.B.C. which were established with the functions of controlling the policy and content of radio and television programmes which shall be provided to that country WITH FULL REGARD TO THE CONSTRUCTIVE CULTURE, LANGUAGE, INTERESTS, AND TASTES OF OUR PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY FOR WHICH THE COUNCIL IS ESTABLISHED. (B.B.C. Charter, Section 10(4)). In the case of the I.B.A., the contracting companies are required by law to ensure THAT THE PROGRAMMES BROADCAST FROM ANY STATION OR STATIONS CONTAIN A SUITABLE PROPORTION OF MATTER CALCULATED TO APPEAL SPECIALLY TO THE TASTES AND OUTLOOK OF PERSONS SERVED BY THE STATION OR STATIONS, AND WHERE ANOTHER LANGUAGE AS WELL AS ENGLISH IS IN COMMON USE AMONG THOSE SO SERVED, A SUITABLE PROPORTION IN THAT LANGUAGE. (1964 Televison Act, Section 2(4)). It is the view of the Celtic League that, although in the case of Scotland and Wales the existence of distinct cultures is acknowledged, these obligations, inadequate as they are, have consistently been neglected and by no means offered Our Peoples a full Celtic service.

It is also clear that our native languages are not the only distinctive features neglected by the broadcasting authorities in our countries, but merely the most obvious one. It is also a matter of great concern that there are no special provisions for broadcasting in Cornwall and in the six counties of Northern Ireland. We hold therefore that the present broadcasting services in the Celtic countries are not only inadequate but indeed harmful to the social and cultural fabric of our nations, in that as a form of cultural imperialism, radio and television at present only serve as a means of imposing an alien civilisation on Our Peoples. The result of this is that they are being dispossessed of their own national cultural heritages by an alien anglo-american cosmopolitanism. This tendency is perhaps at its worst in the effect on children and young people, who are being deprived of their rightful cultural inheritance because this has little or no place in the popular media which play so great a role in forming the values and standards as well as the cultural fabric of our society. It is of the utmost importance that to any movement towards righting this unjust imbalance, great emphasis should be laid on attracting young people and children and cultivating their awareness of their own cultural background. In general terms, the Celtic League calls for independent broadcasting services for each of the Celtic countries, charged with the functions of maintaining and strengthening our national cultures. They should reflect the spirit, civilisation, tradition and life of the nation. They should make full use of the national language for this is the main vehicle of the national culture. They should ensure that program material be of interest and concern to the people of the nation and should be the product of the nation, presented from a viewpoint reflecting the political tradition and social tendencies of that nation. The Celtic League notes that there has been considerable dissatisfaction with the existing broadcasting system and agitation for improvement and extension of the national broadcasting services in the Celtic countries - one thinks particularly of Wales where popular protest at times included illegal direct action against property of the broadcasting authorities.

The Celtic League cannot ignore the inadequate and negative tendencies of existing broadcasting policies in our countries and in the interests of maintaining and improving the quality of human life in our countries, we call upon the Aman Committees to recommend to Her Majesty's Government that the existing broadcasting system be replaced with one which will serve and enrich the life of Our Peoples in these countries.

**Future Developments in Broadcasting in the Celtic Countries.** We now move on to specific proposals for each country.

#### In Scotland.

1) We call for the establishment of an independent Scottish National Broadcasting Authority to assume the powers currently held by the B.B.C. and the I.B.A. in Scotland, initially being responsible to the Secretary of State for Scotland, with such time

as this responsibility can be transferred to a National Scottish Parliament.

2) We call for the immediate establishment of a local Gaelic radio station situated in the Gaelic-speaking areas, having full regard to the distinct culture, interests and tastes of Our People in these areas, initially being broadcast from the Muthalg, Penlith and Scrieg Transmitters.

3) We call for a substantial increase in the Gaelic hours on the television.

4) We call for a comprehensive English language television service for Scotland, having full regard to the distinct culture, interests and tastes of the people of Scotland.

5) We call for a comprehensive English language radio service for Scotland, having full regard to the distinct culture, interests and tastes of the people of Scotland.

6) We call for a substantial increase in the educational programmes through the medium of both Gaelic and English for the schools and colleges of Scotland. Special emphasis should be laid on educational programmes for the teaching of Gaelic as a second language throughout Scotland to adults as well as children.

#### In Wales.

1) We call for the establishment of an independent Welsh National Broadcasting Authority to assume the powers currently held by the B.B.C. and the I.B.A. in Wales, initially responsible to the Secretary of State for Wales until such time as this responsibility can be transferred to a National Welsh Parliament.

2) We welcome the developments proposed in the report of the Crawford Committee and reinforce its call for the establishment of a Welsh language television channel and radio station. However we wish to stress the intention to establish the separate radio services on separate wavelengths (M.W. and V.H.F.). It is the view of the Celtic League that to ensure maximum availability of the new services, both Radio Cymru and Radio Wales should be broadcast on both M.W. and V.H.F.

3) We demand that the establishment of a Welsh language television channel should in no way mean the complete extinction of that language from the other channels and that at least the daily Welsh news programmes (Y Dydd and Heddiw) be retained on the existing channels. Furthermore we demand that the practice of rebroadcasting certain Welsh language programmes from transmitters in England be retained.

4) We call for a comprehensive English language television service for Wales, having full regard to the distinct culture, interests and tastes of the people of Wales.

5) We reinforce the call of the Crawford Committee for the establishment of an English language radio service for Wales and we demand that such a service have full regard to the distinct culture, interests and tastes of the people of Wales.

6) We call for a substantial increase in the range of educational programmes through the medium of both Welsh and English for the schools and colleges of Wales. Special emphasis should be laid on educational programmes for teaching of Welsh as a second language throughout Wales to adults as well as children. We also call for courses of Welsh content and interest for the Open University in Wales, organised in co-operation with Ffrwyg Cymru (the University of Wales).

#### In Cornwall.

1) As Cornwall is not acknowledged by the broadcasting authorities at present, we call for the establishment of a Broadcasting Council for the Duchy for the purpose of advising the broadcasting authorities on the policy and content of programmes broadcast in the Duchy of Cornwall.

2) We call for the establishment of a local Cornish radio station, charged with production of programmes having full regard to the distinct culture, language, interests and tastes of the people of Cornwall.

3) We call for a substantial increase in the television hours originating from and of particular interest to the Duchy of Cornwall, having full regard to the distinct language, culture and tastes of the people of Cornwall.

4) We call for educational programmes for the schools of Cornwall, having full regard to the distinct culture, language, interests and traditions of the people of Cornwall. Special provision should be made to assist the study of the Cornish language and promote Cornish culture.



Attached is a separate notice from I.S. Evans, secretary of the Cornish branch of the Celtic League:

#### The Future of Broadcasting in Kernow.

Kernow, a Celtic nation, has no separate television or radio service. The present services cover either the area known as the South West of England, or Plymouth, which takes in parts of Kernow and the English county of Devon. On account of this only an infinitesimal proportion of radio and television time can be given over to Cornish culture. Even though Kernow is now given more space than previously, an impressionable young generation of Cornish people have every culture but their own imposed on them, and when it comes to the broadcasting media, the people of Kernow have no choice in the matter.

One sensible and logical view on why Kernow should have its own broadcasting service is that since the formation of the Cornish Language Board in 1967, with responsibility for all aspects of the study and revival of the language, interest in the language has grown considerably. In 1970, although still regarded as a hobby only by sceptics of its feasibility in a modern society, it was introduced into the sixth form curriculum in one Cornish school and has been taken up by several pupils. Also there are now eleven evening classes in Kernow, two outside in Bristol and Brighton compared with three or four a few years ago. Apart from these, many people are trying to learn the language from teach yourself books at home. Cornish language broadcasts, including slow-speed dictation exercises, repetition of short phrases etc. would help the morale of fluent Cornish speakers and help learners. It would also bring the vernacular to the ordinary people of Kernow, many of whom would love to speak their own language of which they are justly proud. The language is only one reason why Kernow should have its own service. A part of our whole culture is being eroded day by day and the people of Kernow must be offered the choice of moving into the future in their own Cornish way and not with the only view now shown to them by Anglo-American television and radio.

#### In the Six Counties of Northern Ireland.

- 1) We demand that any broadcasting system in the six counties should have full regard to the distinct culture, language, interests and tastes of the people in this area.
- 2) We call for the introduction of Irish language programmes on television and radio services currently administered by the B.B.C. and the I.B.A. in the area.
- 3) We call for special educational programmes for the teaching of Irish as a second language to adults as well as children.

Attached is a translation from Irish of a separate notice from Ruairi Mac Gráinne of Cumann Chlainn Ard, Béal Feirste: "Problems of Broadcasting in the Six Counties."

As in Scotland and Wales there is a linguistic minority in the North of Ireland which is being deprived of its rights. These Irish speakers are the descendants of the old Gaelic nation which has lived in Ulster for thousands of years. It is estimated that there are now 40,000 fluent speakers of Irish in the province and in addition to them 100,000 who understand the language. (These estimated figures are obtained from the Irish Language Movement in Ulster. The last time a census question was put about Irish was in 1911. Since then there has been more than 50 years of sectarian government. But the Irish is the second most taught language in the province and more than 5,000 children from the six counties attend Irish colleges in County Donegal every year.)

One would expect that this important section of the one and a half million population of the six counties would be allocated some time to the broadcasting service. But the B.B.C. (both radio and television) as well as the I.B.A. have consistently refused to broadcast anything in Irish. Basically this is because the two authorities associate Irish with the twenty six counties in general, and with the I.R.A. in particular. Of course this was denied by Waldo Maguire, director of the B.B.C. in Northern Ireland when the Cumann Gaeilch of the Training Colleges picked the B.B.C. in Béal Feirste in 1969. He was also asked why there had been only one item in Irish on the B.B.C. between 1959 and 1969 (this was an interview with Cumann Chlainn Ard on the occasion of the anniversary of the 1916 Uprising in 1966). As trainee teachers, these young

people called for at least a programme for the teaching of Irish as a second language, such as the 'Buntús Gaeilge' series broadcast on Radio Telefís Éireann. This was flatly refused by Mr. Maguire, his reason being that as the B.B.C. had only a few hours for local broadcasting any programme in Irish would be to the prejudice of the English speakers. A similar reply was received from the I.T.V. Since 1969 there have only been a few items in Irish on the B.B.C. and nothing on the I.T.V. - a Ballycathie man was interviewed in a programme on Irish history and the popular singer, Albert Fry, sang two songs in Irish on the network programme 'Songs of Praise', but as he was not allowed to announce the songs in Irish, he remained silent between them.

The Irish speakers in the six counties of Ulster wish to associate themselves fully with their fellow-Celts in Britain to demand full rights for their language on radio and television.

#### Summary.

These are the specific proposals which the Celtic League view as essential to the maintenance and furthering of the national cultural life of our countries. They emanate from general principles contained in the following policy statement issued by Alan Houslay, General Secretary of the Celtic League in October 1974:

##### "Outline of Celtic League Policy on Broadcasting.

The Celtic League upholds the right of the peoples of the six Celtic countries to develop their national identities and a way of life rooted in their own traditions. In all countries there is a need to counterbalance the depersonalising influences of the industrial, technological society, a need which expresses itself in a concern for 'roots', for a strengthening of identity both at an individual and at a collective level. In the particular case which concerns us - the identity of our numerically small Celtic nations - the threat has come not only from the general force of cosmopolitanism, but more directly from State policies designed to achieve the assimilation of the Celtic peoples by the destruction of our languages.

The Celtic peoples are showing in various ways that they value their identity and do not wish to become assimilated. When we speak of our national cultures we mean those characteristics which distinguish us as peoples: our history, language, traditions, interests, music, tastes and certain aspects of our way of life. However, the natural development of these cultures has been severely impeded in the last few centuries by policies of the British and French States. The resulting alienation of our peoples has been amply documented. Despite this, in recent years, the resistance to assimilation and the will to overcome alienation has spread from a small number of 'conscious nationalists' to wider and wider sections of our communities. The Celtic peoples are asserting their nationality again, despite powerful pressures to conform.

This process can be assisted or impeded by the mass media. We claim it as a right that they should assist the process. We believe that the best conditions for this will only be achieved under self-government, but as long as laws enacted in London or Paris in the case of Brittany directly affect our everyday life, and we continue to contribute to the exchequers of the London and Paris governments, we consider that it is the duty of those governments to provide for our national needs.

In the field of broadcasting we demand that it be used to safeguard our national cultures and restore our languages to a viable position throughout our communities. We claim for our communities the right and duty to determine their own cultural destinies, endorsed by the decision of the international symposium on the flow of television programmes, organised through UNESCO at the University of Tampere in Finland in 1973. Hence the proposals:

- 1) That television and radio be provided as a national service for each Celtic nation, financed out of public funds and independent of commercial interests.
- 2) That a complete spectrum of programmes, reflecting all aspects of our national life and international life from the viewpoint of our nation, be available through the medium of our native Celtic language in each of our countries. This should include news, current affairs, light entertainment, sport, music, drama, religion, adult education, children's programmes and local broadcasts.
- 3) That in view of the fact that a large proportion of our

peoples have been deprived of the national language, that a full broadcasting service in that language be augmented by a comparable service in the English or French language, having full regard to the history, traditions, interests and tastes of our people. This service should be supplemented with programmes for the teaching of the national language as a second language, such as the Buntús Gaeilge series on Radio Telefís Éireann.

Conclusion. The Celtic League therefore concludes that the present broadcasting services in the Celtic countries are inadequate, that they further linguistic, cultural and social inequality and injustice and that, far from serving the best interests of our Peoples, are in fact contributing to the effacement of our native Celtic cultures, which have for so long been an inalienable part of the life of the Peoples of these islands. We therefore call upon the Annex Committee to recommend the establishment of truly national services which will fully serve our Peoples in these countries.

Note. In drafting this document, I have drawn upon material already published in the Celtic countries on the subject of the Future of Broadcasting. The most important are listed below:

ALBA (Scotland). The Future of Celtic Broadcasting by Dr. Gordon Barr - in CARN 5.

CYMRU (Wales). Darlledu yng Nghymru - cyfathrebu neu ddinistrio ein bywyd cenedlaethol? (Manifesto Cynadethas yr Iaith Gymraeg.)

KERNOW (Cornwall). Radin Cornwall - Radio Kernow published by W.E. Chapman, 9 Trevelan Rise, PALMOUTH.

ON BROADCASTING GENERALLY. An Ailteirniú by Maolbheachlainn

Open Broadcasting - An Ailteirniú by Maolbheachlainn

O'Callaghan (Cornish as Gaelic. 6 Strand Phearschair, BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH 2, KÍRE.

Wales - Ireland, a T.V. contrast by Harri Fritchard Jones, (Cornish as Gaelic also).

I have also drawn freely upon correspondence received by me on this subject.

Maic Párlain, Assistant Secretary Welsh Branch, Celtic League.

#### THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IN POLITICAL SUPPRESSION.

Coimbra, Portugal, 14-20 September 1975.

TEJO is organising this seminar under the auspices of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Coimbra and in collaboration with Portuguese students. In the long colonialist history of Portuguese society, we find many elements illuminating the role of language and culture in a colonialist system.

Military, political, and economic interventions are always accompanied by intrusion of the language and culture of the colonialists or imperialists. The goal of this intrusion is clear - the establishment and strengthening of the favored position of the colonialists. Linguistic and cultural suppression are only two aspects besides military, political, and economic) of colonialist reality.

In liberated countries the ex-colonialists always try to preserve their privileged economic and political position by means of their language and culture, which they mean to retain in the neocolonialist country. Peoples fighting for their liberation are becoming aware of this phenomenon, and besides military, economic, and political liberation they are struggling for their linguistic and cultural identity.

Practical details: Costs (Board and lodging): 150 French francs. Languages: Portuguese, French, English and Esperanto, with simultaneous interpretation.

Travel costs: Repayment of travel costs will depend on the final financial situation of the seminar.

Information and inscription: TEJO - External Relations Committee, Kerkelienstraat 211, Amsterdam 1011, The Netherlands.

Postal giro-account no. 1497557, Hichling Taalproblemen, Amsterdam.

#### LITREACHA.

Gaelic in Nova Scotia.

Firstly Rosemary Hutchison's programme 'Mac Talla an Eilain' is still going strong (Island Radio) on the C.B.C. local network station C.B.I. Sydney. It is a three-quarter of an hour show which runs every Saturday morning from 8.15 until the 9 o'clock news. With always the accent on the Gaelic she says and she's right. I was listening to it the other day and there was precious little English at all which is excellent. She was interviewing a Scots chap, in Gaelic, who had taken a job over here in C.B. and who has done a good deal of work, academic work of some sort, on Harris. The oddest thing was that when he spoke a bit of English he had what I consider to be a fairly broad London accent!

(Latest National Geographic contains an article and pictures of N.S. Good within the obvious limitations of such a product as far as level of content and stance are concerned.) The author says he heard an unlearned by him language on the tongue of a youth in Sydney and when he asked was told it was Gaelic. He mentions that the youth reacted as if challenged but didn't go on to delve into the possible and obvious reason for such a response, with bristle. The chap also makes an idiot of himself when dealing with Acadia in the article.

That brings me to Jean-Marie Nadeau of the Parti Acadien to whom I am sending a couple of back issues I have... Before I forget... the storm over Gaelic broadcasting in ended as far as I know. Island Radio is firmly entrenched by the sound of things. It is well advertised by the CBI (who incidentally have just no long ago given up commercials... a fine move indeed considering the public was subsidizing it in any case).

Now to the teachers. I've just got a little more dope on them and only hope that it's not too late to be useful. There is definitely Gaelic being taught in Nova Scotia in the public school system (as the term is interpreted this side of the pond). I wrote a bit about it in the local paper when it was being considered, two to three years ago, but then they were setting red tape.

There are two teachers from the Hebrides who are presently in their second year of teaching Gaelic in the schools in Inverness on Cape Breton. One is Effie MacQuinn and the other is Mairiann Stewart. Jordsahl training applies to Effie I'm told.

Then there is a local woman, a Mrs. MacKenzie, who teaches the language, also in Inverness Co. C.B. in Mabou. That makes three altogether, in the public school system. The Scots girls have been here for two years, this being their second, and they are going to be here next year at any rate and probably on after that. I don't know how long Mrs. MacKenzie (nee Rankin), the local person has been teaching it.

As far as I know there have to be so many parents who wish their offspring to be taught Gaelic, something like 10, for the School board to respond with qualified service. Gaelic is taught on a daily basis in the school in Inverness, a very Highland village on the N.W. coast of the island, a depressed area where once coal was mined but is no more. 40% unemployed. There is one teacher, Scots, looking after that. Grades 1 to 6 (i.e. all of the elementary years), every morning. The other Scots teacher does the rounds of the schools in Inverness Co. but I don't know precisely which ones will be involved. I'd guess Marjorie, Judith and Pats Hood at least but don't quote, unless you want to.

Mrs. MacKenzie definitely teaches in Mabou, which is a very Highland little town plumb full of heddies, step dancing and Gaelic ga leor. There are also many many Rankins there of whom she is probably one.

Gaelic is also taught at the Gaelic College at St. Ann's every summer but that is out with the school system. It is

a nice old lady who teaches it but probably she doesn't make too much headway for it if really for those with just enthusiasm about their ancestry and not much else. Mind you the pipe band is sometimes not too bad all things considered. They get a bit of weaving, dancing, formal stuff and not sleeping as far as I know, piping Gaelic and in general a pleasant whiff of the Highlands. People send their kids from the Carolinas and from all over.

The language is also taught at St. Francis Xavier University by Major C.I. MacLeod who is a native speaker, but I think it's been a while since he came across a fluent speaker."

Iain Og

A Syrra Ger

In his reply to Mr. Iain Hutchings, Winter 1974/5 No. 8, Mr. L. Truman states that Meibon Kerrow is seeking to occupy the radical middle ground once claimed among the electorate by the Liberals. Socialism ground will not be claimed because "Socialism has small support in Kerrow". Tourism is English colonialism. The purpose is self-government.

It is clear that Mr. Truman does not refer to Socialism, the democratic society arising from possession of the means of production by the working strata and allied parts of the masses, but to right-wing Labour Party demagoguery which appears to be Socialism in die-hard shareholders in what ought to be Cornish mines (for example).

Since the reason for not supporting "Socialism" could well be that Liberals still achieve this mass deception better in Cornwall but are ripe to lose this electoral support to those who appeal to the advancing national consciousness, we have to conclude that the end justifies the means, i.e. self-government may be achieved by obtaining the vote of a body of opinion to which one adopts one's programme.

So, we have one of the classic forms of nationalism as an alternative to other capitalist parties when they show signs of losing their grip. Till the middle sixties Meibon Kerrow was held within an iron ring of ridicule but I broke this and I think Mr. Truman has written somewhere that the media show a kind of respect. It is not so much that we should beware the Greeks bringing gifts (of course, we should beware) as that we should wonder what has made it worthwhile for the gifts to be brought.

The reason is made clearer by the fact that members of the CNP splinter could return to Meibon Kerrow because they are "happy with the political content of our programme". Individually they held various, even conflicting opinions, but collectively CNP was sharply right-opportunist. In order to adapt to them, Meibon Kerrow must have shifted to the right without perceptibly declaring this to the radical voters Mr. Truman desires. It is no true, therefore, that "our philosophy is in an early stage of development" - the hour is not 5 a.m. but 10 a.m. and comparisons with SNP and Plaid ignore the fact that these have had, still have, many genuine Socialists.

Nationalism has the choice of being either a further deception of the masses (such self-government leaves them still firmly saddled with the battle to possess production) or of giving the masses a national form of government in Cornwall embodying socialist ownership by the working strata. We may have to put up with the arrival of the farmer as a transition in which we struggle for the latter but it is worth while struggling to avoid even the transition. The condition of the masses requires Socialism and thereby makes them always educable towards it.

Mr. Truman, not willing in an official capacity for Meibon Kerrow, suggests that Meibon Kerrow's function is to use their "radicalism" (inclusive of outright class-consciousness) to lead them further away from reality (knowledge of the needs of their condition).

We cannot expect Meibon Kerrow to be a Socialist Society. However, it would be quite feasible for it to define aims of material benefit to the masses for present struggle as proof of the reliance of the claim for self-government (another classic alternative).

Dheuch - why in green, Royston Wray.

#### THE ONLY WESTMINSTER MP'S TO VOTE FOR DEMOCRACY AND AGAINST REPRESSION ON 19 MAY 1975.

**EUROPE:** Gerry Fitz ALBA Harry Selby CYMRU: Gwynfor Evans ENGLAND: Andrew Bennett, Sydney Hillcoat, Jim Callaghan (Middlesbrough), Martin Flannery, Eddie Lydden, Jo Richardson, Ron Thomas, Joan Maynard, Stan Thomas. Ar 19 Bealaine 1975 shearrag Teach na dTeachtaí Westminster trídóid 161 in aghaidh 12 an Preasaithe de Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1974 a thairg go ceann Iontachána eile.

#### DANGERS IN ARGUING FOR THE CELTIC CAUSES.

It is to those of you who believe in Celtic Civilisation that this article is addressed. It is a long article, and not the easiest to follow if your English is tough, but read it all. It is very important. It amounts to a warning, and the more active you have been or intend to be in restoring Celtic culture, the more it concerns you: we are concerned with influencing people for good, yet we know very little about it.

Immediately there is the greatest of dangers in presumption. Because we believe in our causes, we would like to ignore the fact that others still believe in the things we have rejected. Be careful therefore of what is called "Reverse Psychology". Most people react most of the time on an emotional level - a gut response - say "I am right" and they will want to say "You are not", so that they will be on the wrong side of the argument at once, looking for faults in your logic and often inventing them. Never presume glibly that you are correct.

Remember: we can never impose our ideas - no one can - the policy of statutory Irish in Ireland was doomed from the day it was decided because to quote Dale Carnegie's "How to Win Friends and Influence People" - a book every man, woman and child should read: "There is only one way under high Heaven to get anybody to do anything. Do you ever stop to think of that? Yes, just one way. And that is by making the other person want to do it... there is no other way." And that is precisely what the Irish Revivalists failed to do. They still argue line in the face "we are right", and at best need Irish people still ignore them. We must make them want to learn Irish, or to become Celtic again. - People actually want to learn Welsh and that is why they do, not because they "know it's right" but because they want it.

This leads us to ask why do they want it? What makes people want anything? We must look at human nature in general: all people want certain things: long life, love, food, fulfilment and so on; most of these desires can be summarized as amounting to a longing for recognition or fame. It is very deep, and we cannot base our hopes for success on such a radical improvement in human nature as Christianising this desire would involve - in many ways that would put the cart before the horse, for if human nature were so easy to alter, our problems would have ceased long ago, and possible never have existed.

This desire leads people to want things which satisfy it, and these in turn lead them to want other things, and so forth, till an entire 'philosophy of life' builds up. And so, we can appeal our belief to a person's philosophy by showing that it satisfies one or more of his own wants. So, we go to them and use their desires to argue from their point of view to ours. We should always start with what *we* want, they have no reason to be interested, because they don't want it yet. If they did, they'd already be one of us. So remember that.

In Ireland, for example, the people don't want Irish, but they do want to be Irish. The issue is a great deal more complicated than this, of course. This fact is merely extracted from the many to illustrate the case. If we can convince them in either logical or emotive terms that they are not really Irish as they speak only English, then, assuming their desire to be Irish is strong enough, they will want to learn Irish.

It is like balancing on a bough of a tree. If it is strong enough, it will take our weight and we can become appended to the tree. If it is too weak, it can be strengthened, by reverse psychology, for example, and we can make them want to be Irish all the more. e.g. "D'errinne go bhfuil na hainmhíle díne níos daolfa ná na doine as tí seo." (I tell ye, wild animals are more Irish than the people in this country), to which they will all react, like a pantheistic audience, "O no they're not!" - and they now want to prove themselves Irish - or, "If the Irish people believe themselves in any way at all to be Irish, the problem is not a lack of

National identity, but a superstition, for they are really nothing of the kind." And once again they will want to prove themselves Irish.

We could argue that "if we want to contribute something unique to world culture and civilisation or for the greater glory of God" or "if we want to face Europe with confidence and stand up for our economic and political rights as an independent people" or "if we in Ireland are ever to undo the immeasurable evil that our recent history has done in increasing sickening violence and terrorism the world over", or "if we are to keep our way of life free from the monotony and fatality of the modern society", or "if we are to give the individual a sense of identity, of security in a world where it is all too often one man alone, facing the world", or "we had better see every means at our disposal, and we would be better disposed to do so, if we preserved and extended our national identities." So long as we ever we choose to aim ultimately to enhance a person's sense of self-esteem, we are on the right track.

And if we receive a positive reaction, encourage it, especially if they "agree in theory, but". After all, if they can be convinced, so can others, and all it needs is the publicity and the spirit of a popular movement to get things going. If people say the language is backward, point out that all languages were relatively speaking backward 150 years ago, and that any language used to-day will quickly evolve a vocabulary and strength in deal with modern society, but if it isn't used it never will. Above all, be honest in your encouragement; tell the truth; if you don't, pretty soon no-one will listen to you.

I have tried, mainly of languages because they are the stumbling blocks, the big effort I'd like a whole of an effort to change from being monoglot to bilingual or polyglot, and because, in music and dance, something of a revival has been achieved. Take heart then, that if of late our music has been revived, we're but a stone's throw from success - don't let carelessness make us falter now. Please read this article again, and again. Use it.

Micheál Seánach na Seafda.

#### CELTIC CONGRESS.

The 1975 International Celtic Congress was held in St. Austell, Cornwall, during Easter Week.

The theme of this year's Congress was "Tourism and its effect on our National Life". Discussion was lively and sometimes rather heated. A statement passed by the great majority of those attending said: "We accept that tourism is by now part of the economy of every Celtic country, but any further expansion of tourism may be considered as a direct threat to our future. Tourism is the latest example of exploitation of the Celtic countries by interests largely from outside. It is the inhabitants of these countries who suffer as a consequence. We therefore make the following objections to the further expansion of tourism."

1. There is a great danger of tourism becoming the main industry of our countries, and of their being turned into playgrounds just for the tourist.
2. Good agricultural land is being taken out of use for tourism, which also causes pollution, especially along the coasts.
3. Tourism creates an unstable society and economy, because it is a seasonal industry.
4. An excessive influx of outsiders has a harmful effect on the local culture and all aspects of life.
5. Tourism places an excessive burden on public services and the taxpayer.
6. A major portion of the profit from tourism goes directly into the hands of individuals and companies from outside rather than benefit the local economy.
7. Many of those attending felt frustrated at constant efforts of the platform to exclude any thing of a political content from the deliberations. Delegates who pointed out the nativity of this approach were told, "Go to the Celtic League; this is the Celtic Congress." Another source of conflict was that many students and young people who stayed in a camp in the area felt they were being treated as "second-class" participants and were being left out of the picture somewhat.

The progress made by the Cornish language since the last Congress in Cornwall in 1969 was the subject of much comment by all the visitors. In particular it was noticed that Cornish was being spoken fluently by quite a number of young people throughout the week.

The next international meeting of the Celtic Congress will be held in the Isle of Man at Easter 1976.

Beti Huxa.

#### THE CONDITION OF FIDDLEING IN CAPE BRETON.

While one could be hard-pressed to find any Highlander in Nova Scotia who could sing Chantrelure or who should have an intimate knowledge of Pibroch it would be equally difficult to find one such person on Cape Breton who didn't have a highly developed interest in the appreciation of Scottish-style Fiddleing in Nova Scotia. Whether the quality be from excellent or poor, Cape Breton Fiddleing owes its own attachment to, and confidence in, and love of its music, it is particularly vibrant thing and of great importance to the Celt in the New World.

Scottish-style fiddleing is to be heard and enjoyed in other parts of Canada as well. In Prince Edward Island and in Ontario especially there are Fiddlers whose style and musical expression and consciousness is very similar to that found in Cape Breton. Also in and around Boston there is some very good Scottish Violin music owing its existence to emigration of Maritime Highlanders in earlier times of this century. Of all these areas though, Cape Breton is the centre, something of which it is justly and characteristically proud and something which it jealously guards.

On Cape Breton Island the violin is the predominant traditional musical instrument challenged only by the modern Mandolin-oboe variations of electronic noise. Such is the state of things that Scottish style Strathspoons, Reels and Jigs etc. are just as popular among the Acadian population and with the Miramichi Indians, both of which groups have produced players of note.

Cape Breton fiddleing carries a style of fiddle playing, with natural alterations, which was extant in Scotland in the first two quarters of the 19th century. This was a time when traditional fiddleing and fiddle music were at their height. Robert MacKintosh, William Marshall and Noel and Nathaniel Gow are among the major luminaries whose compositions are still much played. It was a time of tremendous musical fertility and of great imagination and confidence. The emigrations to Nova Scotia brought the efflorescence of Scots Fiddleing of the 1780's, 1790's and on into the 19th century to the New World. This ebullient style continues to the present and with one significant later addition, to wit James Scott Skinner of Desande (who lived late this century) whose impact on Scottish-style fiddleing was and is remarkable.

So it is that Cape Breton fiddleing (different from the more popular Scottish fiddleing) is a unique, trained Violin playing of today. Cape Breton fiddleing is unique. While fiddleing has declined by and large in Scotland, it has remained the central musical form in Highland C.B. The main reason for this maintenance is that the violin in C.B. accompanies the dance, a state of conjunction which no longer persists in Scotland at a popular level. The music played comes from all of the well-known collections such as the "Reels" and "Pipers and Claymores" the "Elgin" and from other sources both written and unwritten. In Cape Breton "traditional" music is music that is carried in the head only. A few people are reputed to "have" old, old tunes that no-one else knows and that they are listened to with great alacrity at any time they play. New tunes are highly valued.

The music played is characterised by its numerous "cuttings" reminiscent of the pipes, bagpipes, harp and other pipe notes of the Great Pipes. As dance music it is fantastic; the lilt is commanding as no other. In C.B. also the form of dance, to fiddleing, is a form now largely unknown in the Motherland, namely step-dancing, often suggested as of directly Irish origin but which was also a popular form in the Highlands of Scotland during the last century.

Fiddleing is learned by ear and is passed down from generation to generation. Maair is though somewhat to run its gamut and in a way it does.

In any case the old skill is generally handed on by example rather than by scales and the usual means of semi-dress and doled quavers. Even a recently started school of Scottish Fiddleing (run by a M. LeBlanc) is just all outgrowth of the old way.

As to technique, the manner of holding the instrument

varies from under the chin to the chest and the style of bowing is peculiar to the area. The band on the finger board is placed in such a fashion that advanced 'position' playing would necessitate more movement than should be needed, but then this is Scottish fiddling with all its intricacies and aims, and not classical violining. The result when good is great and even when of lesser quality has its own uniqueness of feel and the drive to make you want to dance.

The fiddle nowadays is accompanied by the piano (less virtuosity at the keyboard and to say) and takes some amplification from the modern world. It used to be that the amount of notes needed was achieved simply by multiplying the number of fiddlers. Still the present-day weekly dances in the various parish halls still are the main attraction all over the island.

The music is live and the stepping lively. An attempt was made to get the fiddlers to record in the mid 30's and with some success but there is stopped. At the moment with the proliferation of tape decks almost everyone with a love of fiddling has one or many tapes of his or her favourite local fiddler. Fiddlers are generous in allowing their music to be so recorded and such tapes are the radio stations' source of local music. This however is changing and it seems likely that the better C. B. Fiddlers will soon be recording once again.

The fiddle occasionally makes an appearance at a wedding and last year one well-known step-dancer and Cape Breton character had the fiddle played at his funeral. It was said you could hear his bones rattling in time! The older anti-violin prejudices, not that they were very great ever, or widespread, are going. Riley's funeral was an astonishing affair as you'll ever find on a cold winter's day at Creighton.

Not only are there literally hundreds of fiddlers on Cape Breton but there are among them few who compose an indication that the form is thriving. It is true however to say that only thirty years ago the conditions were considerably better than it was a little while ago, but more of that shortly. Dan R. MacDonald of Malton in Inverness, Co., and Don Bugie MacEachern are the two best known writers of fiddle music although there are others who write and who dabble. Dan R. claims hundreds of tunes. These and all of the better fiddlers can read the music and rely on the various collections primarily for their music. Dan R. is known for the fact that he composes for a particular fiddler when he writes a tune, bearing in mind that person's particular strength and inclination. So it is that certain people are sustained and nurtured specifically from within Cape Breton's own consciousness of itself musically.

Returning to how things are... Just as step-dancing used to have a more steady, traditional formal structure of Maighstarzan Dances which preserved correctness and may dance forms which are now gone (such as being the Dances man Seachd Guinness) so the fiddle used to have more composers and a firmer base within the society in the days before radio and television and popular noise.

A few years ago the C. B. C. sensing perhaps that the (traditional) fiddling was becoming more and more a pastime and a love of older people (like Gaelic) created and showed a programme entitled 'The Vanishing Fiddler'. This had exactly the desired effect and the whole thing revived. Children want to play the fiddle (and the clarinet) and fortunately the knowledge is still there, all over the place, and quite the reverse of shame surrounds the form. The violin is not a hidden thing, although it has its mystique. The young can learn as they always did without the need for formal teachers and texts and other trappings which tend to petrify rather than to stimulate. The process seems to have picked up where it may have been threatening to leave off. The future looks well.

Last year the Glendale Festival of Scottish Fiddling was a major success with players coming from all over the island, and from farther afield, to attend. The local radio stations play their share of locally-inspired and played music and television occasionally handles a Cape Breton Celticist. Children are found starting in at the windows of dance halls copying the older ones inside step-dancing. Both the fiddle and the dance live! It is just for previous spontaneity.

(See George Emmerson's 'Rain's' Reed and Trembling String and A Social History of Scottish Dance.)

I. Olsson.

#### GRAY'S "THE BARD", A RE-READING.

Upon re-reading a poem by Thomas Gray (1713-71) entitled *The Bard* (1757), it seemed to me that the poem might have had a greater overall import than critics ascribe to it. Herein is related the genocidal order of the English conquest of Wales, Edward I (1272 - 1307), that commanded the liquidation of every captured bard. Gray tells us "why" in rhyming couplets:

"Behn nor harberk's twisted mail,  
Nor even the virtues, tyrant, wilt avail  
To save thy secret soul from nightly fears,  
From Cambria's curse, from Cambria's tears!"

The Cambrian bard appeals to one of the *Cyfeirdd*, actually the most prestigious of the earliest Celtic Bards, Taliesin, and then after his lament on the bitterness of the times in almost Drydenian sentiments of "Pale Grief and pining Pain":

He spoke, and leading from the mountain's height  
Deep in the roaring tide he plunged to endless night.

It might well have been that the Cambridge don and amateur Cellist, Gray, was not only inspired by ancient Cambrian myths but also deeply moved by events that had taken an historical turn hardly more than a decade earlier than the poem's printing on *Colinod Moor*. There in 1746, eleven years before the poem, the claims of the Stuarts were permanently snatched into the heather. As a result of this crushing defeat Jacobite Scotland perished. As Gaelic bards, Gaelic language and Gaelic culture went into nearly perpendicular decline. The Gaels were confronted and persecuted by an enemy more consistent and enduring than was Gray's Edward I.

Mightn't Gray have realized the injustice of this and have wanted to express a more effective protest against Stoenach's genocide in the Highlands by removing the events to another analogous era and country for the sake of a sharper perspective? *Chechdaidn an t-anacochru eibhinn*.

L. Mac Ewan.

#### THE CONTRIBUTION OF CELTIC COUNTRIES TO CIVILIZATION.

We have the answer to many problems of today and I think it would be interesting to formulate our most important contribution towards solving many dangers that threaten the world at present. In order to do this we need to analyze and define our mentality more closely, then apply our way to life to the needs of other countries.

One of our most remarkable characteristics is that of stability derived from our attachment to people and places. Nowadays, when in so many lands there is increasing instability owing to the formation of a civilized society without strong attachment either to people or places, only intent on the quest for money and economic structure without sound human foundation. Already in the romantic period of literature it became clear that it was in Celtic countries that the attractiveness of nature was manifested through Celtic trends of investing places with a homely atmosphere derived from occasions of family, legend and history, woven together through the help of our bards and singers as well as the arduous toil of our crofters and local industries. Instead of the restless yearning of Vikings for launching out to foreign parts and settle elsewhere, our Celtic tendency is more towards cherishing of what we have already got and know. If for economic reasons Celts were forced to emigrate, they never lost touch with their homeland and returned once their difficulties were settled whenever this was possible. Interest in places is doubled through associating them with local history and legend, not only for the sake of the tourist but for our own sake. Without this attractiveness it is difficult to take roots anywhere and lead a stable life with normal human relations, not just choosing our place of residence where more money is to be earned and where frivolous amusement is available. It is necessary to be well acquainted with local conditions to set up a local industry and not put the cart before the horse by thinking only of production and not, too, to improve our relations with society. A family atmosphere cannot be improv-

ed or be of upstart growth, but needs to mature gradually and improve like wine.

Celtic concept of time.

This is where our concept of time comes in. Nowadays we risk losing ourselves in a relativistic marsh, in a chaotic quicksand where absolute truths are swept away. Novels, films even the state and the churches vie with each other to preach change, and this crazy quest for novelty sets up in a sort of "chronology" of worthiness of time that destroys appreciation of intrinsic values, only giving worth to what is loaded on time. In reality time is completely neutral and neither makes a thing better or worse, but because we restlessness and impatient of change we like to imagine that every innovation means improvement whereas it is really only experimental. What happens is that we physically tend to think ourselves superior in those that went before us and despise the older generation, efface all idea of respect or gratitude and rob out generations of experience. If change really meant improvement and the quest for perfection when it would certainly be desirable, but what are the fruits of changes in civilization during the last century? Does it consist in advantages? We have greater speed, greater economic efficiency, more comfort and more amusements, but are these advantages worth while if we have to pay for it with contamination of air, pollution of water, sickness of towns and countryside, dress uniformity in customs and dress, inflation, strikes and all sorts of social unrest? Increase in mechanization may be responsible for the great problem of overpopulation and the ensuing lack of food and lodging in many parts of the world. We are bringing into existence millions of human beings that may be doomed to die either of hunger, the victims of hot air, hot water and cut off from nature in an unhealthily artificial life.

In Celtic countries the mad quest for change and relativistic attitude towards many problems is not so acute as elsewhere. We do not regard as false what we practiced yesterday or propose the opposite for tomorrow of what we believe today. Even Celts who are not Bible readers and practicing Christians have a sense of absolute values. Even those who are vague about supernatural merit and spiritual values, are at least true to nature which is but the reverse side of the medal. We observe the rhythm of the seasons, and our love of nature teaches us many lessons concerning growth by gradual stages not crazy dashes by fits and starts, if indeed such methods produce any advance at all. If we observe the law of growth we are bound to be more stable and with a healthy criteria of values. It makes us seek perfection rather than change just for the sake of change. Instead of viewing progress as a sort of inevitable evolution towards material gain, we would do better to consider that improvement is by no means inevitable either as individuals nor collectively and needs continual effort to get better both morally, physically and economically. We are doing ourselves no good by not loving what our fathers loved and turning our backs to the experience of previous generations. As long as we are intent on striving towards perfection then we have a sound concept of time, not measured in months and years but in strengthening our will regarding human improvement. When Einstein worked out his theory of relativity he doubtless applied it only to the physical world, but if we were to apply it to everything, such as ethics, social realization, etc. they the result would be anarchy. It would result in every man saying he is a law to himself and dispense the laws of society or the idea that we have obligations to God.

Aesthetic values.

Celtic contribution towards aesthetic values is closely connected with the aforementioned attitudes towards time. Steady growth instead of violent change gives harmony, and gradual growth gives beauty. It softens hard lines and preserves us from curve symmetry. If we were to think of nature as something to be conquered and mechanized instead of living in harmony with it and allowing a place for wild life, we would make nature our friend not our enemy. Just as we do not gain friendship by imposing ourselves on others, in the same way we do not beautify our surroundings by putting the quest for money, speed and comfort first. Unfortunately the tourist often wants to have it both ways. He likes to see a place quaint, old-fashioned and unspoilt, but at the same time demands comfort and many advantages from modern inventions. Beauty needs discipline and restraint and it is not possible to have beauty in our surroundings without sacrifice and hard work. We need fragility for beauty. If we want everything conveniently in packets, if we want to save the trouble of cleaning by just using disinfectants, week-killers and artificial means of giving labour,

we are not contributing to the beauty of the countryside. If we want picturesque we need to do without many things. But this need not be a Puritan austere life. One of the beautiful effects of mechanization is to increase our needs artificially so that the more we have the more we want, and we are burdened with a host of things that are not really necessary for our existence. What is needed is to dispense with all the unnecessary things that society and fashion impose on us and concentrate only on what is necessary to sustain life and leave a margin for cultural activity, otherwise we would sink into bourgeois materialism.

Decentralization.

This is another answer we have to many problems. If we are dependent on local industry and local products we save ourselves many headaches due to problems of transport, strikes and the artificiality of specialization. We become more intent on attention to detail and even though our gains may not be so spectacular, or risk of loss is proportionately reduced. We thus reduce the danger of inflation and stimulate saving through having to provide for our own local needs. We gain a great increase in liberty through local responsibilities and do not need to refer to capital for every detail of our lives. We thus promote a more balanced aspect of society, not involving the tendency towards distorting the world in two big rival camps at war with each other with the mass hysteria that this entails. We would then have something in common with Eastern philosophies that seek to reduce our desires not stimulate them artificially.

Simplicity of Life.

This is characteristic of Celtic nations, but needs to be further stimulated. When speaking about Eastern philosophies we see some resemblances in the fragility of life they preach. By this is meant dispensing with superfluities and all those unnecessary things that are only the product of fashion and snobbery, "Keeping up with the Joneses." What brought about decadence in the past was more often the excess of material goods rather than the lack of them. In Scotland where there are not many outlets for employment and scarcity of products it is also a matter of making virtue out of necessity. When there are five ways of providing for one's needs, either earning or not spending, we have only the alternative, to save. However, this should be a matter of principle not just of a cruel need for it is not the abundance of goods that give happiness but sobriety in selecting only what is needed for our physical and spiritual sustenance. Everything over and above this can do us only harm. Simplicity of life however, is not so simple to understand as it may sound. It needs a doctrine behind it to make it both attractive and understandable. We see a big difference between healthy fragility and poverty. The latter makes us think of money even more than before and monopolizes our thought and energies to an exaggerated extent.

We need to have sufficient cultural life as well. This would not be possible unless we have a good educational and family background that shows us how to dispose of our leisure. If we are able to organize our spare time in an intelligent and useful way with hobbies or activities of a semi-charitable nature then we are acting according to a right interpretation of simplicity of life for this does not just mean providing for the needs of the body. The more our material needs are reduced, the more we can appreciate human relations and the attractiveness of a good personality. Simplicity means appreciating personality for what it is rather than what it possesses. True simplicity does not mean that we hold ourselves aloof from intellectual problems, for what concerns humanity as a whole concerns us personally and the problems referred to earlier such as overpopulation, inflation, contamination and ambition for territory or other causes of war, can be obviated by each country retaining its characteristics and identity.

But without the ambition of dominating over others. Gandhi's version of simplicity of life as admired by some sections of the boycott type is only one aspect. We have also the Christian aspect that not only reduces our attachments to material things like the Oriental religions, but enriches the personality, having as model the perfect personality of Christ. It is not a nihilist dispensing with the personality and plunging ourselves into the Nirvana of attraction of desire that is going to save us, but rather the perfection of the personality in everything, the best way of making it attractive.





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