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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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25p

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

EDITORIAL

Those in the Celtic countries who believe that national freedom can be regained peacefully will say that all bomb attacks, all shootings, be they in Ireland or in England, are equally execrable, particularly if they result in killing and maiming people. We are not involved in nor do we advocate violence, but questions crop up: Would we prefer our nations to remain subject to others, if freedom could not be obtained by peaceful means? b) have other small nations in the orbit of European powers recovered the freedom they had lost centuries before just by peaceful means? What are the conditions of success by peaceful means? If the legitimacy of using force is recognised, which are the circumstances or considerations for this use? How often has a minority without mandate from the people resorted to force and been justified by success? Are we Celts to advocate a moral code of international behaviour whereby we desist from means which the present ruling powers amorally reserve to themselves? These are fundamental and dangerous questions, undoubtedly.

Perhaps, the guideline on which there may be agreement is: whatever your right, use only the methods which are likely to bring the results you want nearer, if not about. It calls for a lot of perspicacity; for a fair assessment of the forces against you and on your side, not so much at present as after a period during which whatever methods were used have been put to the test. Very few people can see through the maze of factors so far into the future that a prudent approach will be generally preferred to the gambling "let us try and see what comes out of it". This is the case where from past experience it is seen that progress can be made, even if slow. It is where nothing ever budge, as two countries we know that the alternative assumes greater urgency and exasperation can often not be controlled.

Some of us are of gentle disposition, even though courageous and determined in their stand for what we value most, our language and national identities — (political freedom can be recovered while these last) — others incline to toughness, believing this is a tough world and one must harden or go down, that one must be prepared to accept a transitional suffering for the sake of the freedom of future generations. Everyone will decide according to his own light which of them is right.

From our particular point of view, which is the development of closer ties between the Celtic peoples, the war in Northern Ireland is particularly distressing. We would like those who live in Belfast, Derry, Ballycastle, and feel they are of the same people as those of Dublin, Galway and Cork, to be united within the one State and then feel safer. We understand that others in Northern Ireland have cause to distrust certain forces in the "South", but we believe that much in their refusal to join in an all-Ireland Republic is based on an ignorance of the ties which existed between their ancestors and the Irish Gael. P. O. Snodagh's "Hidden Ulster" would, if widely read, show them such ties. Another booklet "Some Ulster Surnames", which Padraigh recently presented to Samuel Smith of the Ulster Defence Association (Loyalist) goes even further in showing how many of the names which appear English are deformations or plain translations of Irish Gaelic names. What was it Samuel Smith said: Irish is not the prerogative of Catholics?

There must be a great deal in common in the cultural background of the two sides of the Northern divide, apart from the fact of their having the same accent in speaking! The link between Ireland and Scotland comes to mind.

We wonder what is going to happen now that another election has shown how little five years of turmoil have done to change minds up North. There have been four months of truce between the Provisional IRA and the English Army, but sectarian and political assassination has claimed a higher proportion of victims during that period. It can only cause revulsion among all those who were not directly involved. We fear that the feud between the Official Republicans and the breakaway IRSP, which claimed in particular the life of Liam Mac Maoláin, was the cause of the Republican Clubs getting no more than 2.2% of the vote in the Convention Elections. Where does it lead to?

Some of the members of the C.L. in the countries of Britain feel apprehensive about the renewal of the Provisional IRA bombings, lest they are directed at Welsh or Scottish cities. They feel it is already difficult for them to voice their sympathy for the cause of Irish reunification without evoking hostility. Nobody claimed the responsibility for the bomb in Newport last November. It could have been a provocation. If it should happen however that an Irish organisation carried out its attacks in Wales or Scotland, it would play straight into the hands of those interested in preventing the inter-Celtic link from growing strong in years to come. We hope therefore that those who take the responsibility of such actions in the name of Irish freedom will have the sense not only to avoid carrying them out in other Celtic countries but will disclaim responsibility if they were attributed to them. It does not help to say "A Royal Welsh Fusiliers" regiment has been used in harassing people in Belfast. Even though they may have a Welsh flag on their barracks (flags are very commercialised nowadays and mean little by themselves), even though they may have used Welsh in their radio messages on Street patrols so as to battle the IRA,* they are not the army of a free Welsh nation, they are like a mercenary troop in the service of the London government, and Welsh nation representatives have in the past asked that no Welsh units be used in Northern Ireland. It behoves those with the better sense of Celtic freedom to act with foresight.

* When brought back to Hampshire, they are told "Paid a siarad Cymraeg" — no more of that, speak so that your officers can understand! (London Welshman, Easter 1975 p.3).

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2nd Annual Pan-Celtic Conference

We have just received the programme of the 2nd Pan-Celtic Conference, due to be held in New York from May 2 to 4. It is sponsored by the Hunter Celtic Club in conjunction with the American Branch of the Celtic League. The programme is impressive: an introduction by our secretary, 3 film sessions (on May 4: Isle of Mann, Ulster, Armed Insurrection in Northern Ireland, Long Kash); photographic exhibitions, bagpipe demonstration, video tapes (Irish); lectures (Keltic Religion, Keltic Archeology), Welsh Language, forums on "Current Celtic politics" (with Plaid Cymru, SNP, Irish-Republican Club, National Association for Irish freedom members), Keltic-American Experience (speakers representing Ireland, Mannin, Cornwall), Pan-Keltic Approach (with Mickey Burke representing the CL), concert and coll. Looking forward to a report in next issue of CARNI. Congratulations to the organisers! Go n-éire libh! Pob hwy!l

Members in North America, keep in touch with our secretary in New York!

Where Would We Be Without The EEC . . .

There are eight good reasons why Irish voters in the Six Counties and in Britain should vote to GET OUT of the Common Market in the referendum:

1) Being in the Common Market is against the interests of the ordinary people. It puts the future of wages, employment and prices in the hands of a Brussels bureaucracy, who nobody elects and whose names we do not even know. It stands for merciless competition and for driving smaller, weaker firms to the wall, with loss of jobs. It aims to run down the farm population, in the guise of "farm modernisation", and concentrate farm production in a few giant industrialised farms or "agro-businesses."

It does not aim at a Europe of free self-governing nations, regulating their mutual intercourse on the basis of equality. It aims rather at a single multinational State, governed by a faceless bureaucracy in the interests of the multinational firms, where people do not matter and where ordinary folk cannot influence or control those who take the real decisions.

But it is more than an economic conspiracy of the owners of wealth against those who work for a living. It is a political conspiracy against the poor countries of the developing world, who are faced by a joint front of the former colonial powers. It supplies the NATO alliance — with its war bases, giant armies and huge military spending — with its political grip.

2) The Common Market and Internment and repression in Northern Ireland are all part of the same Heath-Wilson Tory policy of putting the ordinary people of both Ireland and Britain under a Brussels dictatorship which is elected by nobody, in the interests of Big Business and the Multinational firms.

Merlyn Rees, Roy Jenkins and Roy Hattersley are the principal pro-Market men in the British Cabinet. Together with Wilson, they have sided with the Tories to keep Britain in the EEC, just as they support "bipartisanship" with the Tories on internment, the Six Counties and the maintenance of Partition. A vote against the EEC is a vote against the policies of Rees and Jenkins and the British Army Generals in Northern Ireland.

3) Getting out of the Common Market will drastically weaken the position of all those in Britain who wish to keep Ireland dependent and divided. That is why the Tories and the Rees-Jenkins wing of the Labour Party leadership are desperately anxious to keep Ireland and Britain in the Market. In England it is the Trade Union Movement and in Scotland and Wales it is the Nationalist Parties who are most strongly opposed to membership of the EEC. If Britain pulls out these forces will be in a stronger position than they ever have been before. They are more likely to be favourable to Irish national aspirations than any previous British Government.

4) By joining the Common Market EEC Member States give formal recognition to the validity of one another's frontiers. In the Common Market Partition is thus recognised for evermore. In the Twenty Six Counties referendum in 1972 the people were told the country stood a better chance of being reunited in the EEC. There are no signs of this. Indeed a Dublin Government Minister recently promised a new Irish Constitution which would have the effect of recognising Partition as permanent. The same Minister plans to broadcast BBC 1 throughout the whole of Ireland. This is part of the attack on national roots, loyalty and identity which is deemed necessary in order to get people to give their allegiance in future to the EEC.

5) Lord Gardiner, whose Report recommended the continuation of internment, admitted in that Report that Britain's policy of military repression and denial of civil rights in Northern Ireland was based on obligations to NATO and the EEC. By keeping both Ireland and Britain in the EEC the top politicians and Generals and civil servants see a chance of ending the military neutrality of Dublin and making all the peoples of "these islands" subject to a Brussels-based "defence alliance" which would add further to international tension and the danger of war.

6) The Irish Congress of Trade Unions, republicans and labour people, strongly campaigned against EEC membership for Ireland in 1972 and their warnings have been fulfilled in the Twenty Six Counties exactly as they foretold, whereas the promises of the pro-Market people has been shown to be wholly false.

(a) Since the Twenty Six Counties joined the EEC unemployment has increased by nearly half and is at the highest level now since 1942. One worker in every ten is without a job and fierce competition from the Common Market is largely responsible; (b) The Twenty Six Counties inflation rate is the highest in history. Food prices have risen by 90% in three years — in contrast to a Government forecast of a rise of one penny in the £ each year for a five year period if Ireland joined the EEC; (c) Agricultural production has fallen, not increased. Half Ireland's beef output is put into the EEC's "beef mountain" to keep it off the market and keep up prices for consumers. Farm incomes are down by one third in the past year and farm grants and aids are being concentrated on big farmers and denied to smaller ones in order to achieve Dr. Mansholt's aim of cutting the size of the farm population by two thirds; (d) The EEC Regional Fund, which was supposed to counterbalance the effect of the EEC on areas remote from the big city centres, has proved a total damp squib. It amounts to less than one-third of one per cent of Ireland's national income — perhaps enough to build ten miles of motorway west of Dublin. Yet people were promised a bonanza from this fund if they voted for the EEC in the Irish referendum; (e) The EEC is threatening Ireland's rich natural resources. Fishing is to be open to all comers in seven years' time and Ireland's minerals and potential oil and gas wealth cannot be developed in such a way as to put Ireland first, for this is against the rules of the EEC; (f) The radical measures needed to develop Ireland and provide decent jobs at home for every Irishman are further off than ever because of the way they would conflict with Brussels regulations, which stream out in their thousands every year and which are binding with the force of law on Irish people even though they are never debated or voted on in the Irish Dáil; (g) Since Ireland joined the EEC and actually experienced what the Common Market was all about, there has been a dramatic swing in public opinion against. Over half the people one asks are now against the Market, which is a big change from the position three years ago.

7) If Britain decides to withdraw from the EEC and the plans of Wilson and the Tories are thus defeated, it will be a big step in the direction of smashing the whole Common Market to pieces. It can never remain together as if Britain had never joined, irrespective of what the Irish and Danish Governments might like to do. There would be enormous potential for real political progress in Western Europe and for the growth of good relations between all the free self-governing nations of Europe, no longer threatened by the attempt to establish an EEC Superstate. That is why the

German Government especially, and the top brass of the NATO General Staffs, are so desperately anxious to keep Britain and Ireland in the Market.

8) Norway, where the people voted to STAY OUT of the EEC, is thriving today as it has never done before. Unemployment is lower in Norway than in any of the Common Market countries — in Denmark it has increased four-fold since they joined the EEC. Price rises in Norway have been the lowest in Europe. They are developing their oil and fishing resources in their own interests and have snapped their fingers at the Germans and the French, who eye them greedily. The Norwegians trade with the Common Market on very favourable terms even though they are not in the EEC, and also trade freely with the rest of the wide world, being entirely free to decide what trade arrangements suit them, whereas Brussels would have decided if they had joined the EEC. Support for the pro-Market line has now almost completely vanished in Norway and everyone recognises that the anti-Market line was right. There are hundreds of thousands of people in Ireland these days who are sorry they did not say NO to the Common Market like the Norwegians did, when they were given the chance.

ANTHONY COUGHLAN

Galway-Lorient Twinning

"I have been profoundly distressed to read in the last issue of 'Carn' N. O. Gadhra's comments on the recent twinning of Galway and Lorient.

I find it strange that the writer should show such an appalling ignorance of events which took place only a few months ago in his own town, and that a magazine devoted to interceltic awareness and cooperation should attack the first practical steps taken by any Irish city to promote those very ideals.

May I, as a Breton/Irish citizen living in Galway for almost 30 years, in forced exile, a direct result of my total commitment to Breton Nationalism, answer some of the points raised by this article.

I will not deal with the old clichés of British or French imperialism — black oppression in the States — or imperial influence in the North of Ireland — as this has nothing to do with our subject.

The powers of London or Paris had no part whatever to play in our twinning.

The idea emanated from Lorient, already twinned with cities in Germany, England and Russia and was motivated by a desire to promote interceltic relations with Ireland and Galway in particular.

The idea being completely new in Ireland fell on the deaf ears of the local authorities. I was then approached by an old friend of mine — the President of 'Bodadeg ar Sonerion' and the founder of 'SPN' the Interceltic Aid Association which brings every summer hundreds of Belfast and Derry children to Brittany for a holiday, to try to bring those efforts to fruition.

Neither of us belong to "the most assimilated section of the local power structures entirely ignorant of their national heritage," but on the contrary have been, both, all our lives, actively engaged in the Revival Movement.

Lorient — far from being "a bastion of French speaking influence exercising a negative linguistic attitude on the surrounding hinterland" — is on the contrary a centre of cultural revival in Brittany. Last month — under the auspices of the Lorient Festival Committee — took place the "Kan ar Bobl" contest to select the Breton representatives to the

"Pan Celtic Celtaison Contest in Kilarney — 500 Breton speaking singers and musicians competed for 2 days before an estimated audience of over 5,000 people. So much for French culture!

N. O. Gadhra casts doubts on the linguistic ability of the Lorient official delegation. It is a gratuitous insult as — apart from the Mayor who is of French origin — they are all Breton speakers.

It is untrue to suggest that they did not emphasise this common heritage at the twinning ceremonies. This very point was underlined again and again and extensively reported in the Connacht Tribune and Galway Advertiser.

And we come now to the "red herring" the question of fishing interests.

God knows how neglected this industry was in the past while the fishing grounds on Ireland's doorstep were being intensely exploited by every nation in Europe except Ireland. The reason is that it has never been raised from a small in-shore fishing level. The Irish have no boats to bring them to the rich fishing grounds, practically no processing or marketing infrastructure. This is where, above all, expertise and skills are needed to compete on equitable terms with the foreigners — in this "most natural" Irish industry. Lorient undisputed leadership in this field could have made Galway one of the biggest fishing harbours of Europe. The fishermen have decided otherwise and prefer to wait. It is their right — may they not have cause to regret it.

Be that as it may, this factor, had no bearing on the twinning ceremonies which — in spite of N. O. Gadhra's misgivings — were extremely warm and friendly.

As P. O. Conchúir said in "Celtic Nations" in 1963, "the Irish are the least receptive to the idea of Celtic cooperation . . ."

May all those who work for interceltic cooperation have a second look at the idea of "twinning". It may be the best way to forge those strong links between Celts which "Carn" advocates". Yann Gwismarch

Looking For Work In Ireland

A young Irish-American, (23 years, BA in Political Science from a US University, studied in 1971 at an Irish University), would like to find work in Ireland. He has experience of working in a bank. Credentials available. He is keenly interested in taking part in his spare time in the promotion of the aims of the Celtic League or related Irish organisations. Anyone in a position to help please write to David Dooley, 1908 S. Dianne Ave., Evansville, Indiana 47715, USA.

We would like to help people who subscribe to C.L. aims to find work in the Celtic countries, but we must point out that we are not in a position to do much in this respect in view of the high unemployment situation (Ireland, Brittany . . .) nor have we the time nor the connections in high places required for this work. We are willing to advertise the demands at reasonable rates.

HOLIDAYING IN IRELAND? Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge, 86 Sráid Gardar, Ath Cliath 1, publishes a calendar of events (Eggs, Fleama Ceoil, etc.) of Irish cultural interest.

IF GOING TO BRITTANY, you can enquire at 30 Place des Lices, Rennes about similar Breton events, or read about forthcoming festoù-noz and festivals in the monthly Breiz. (ed. P. Roy, 29 rue J. Turmel, Rennes). Stay at Menet Kamm, Spézet.

ALBA

1975 Year of Decision

DEVOLUTION. Just before the much heralded debate on devolution in the House of Commons on 3-4 February, Mr. Harry Ewing, M.P., Under Secretary of the Scottish Office assured a disbelieving public that the timetable for devolution set by the Labour Government, was 'bang on target'. A day or two later Mr. Edward Short, M.P., cabinet minister in charge of devolution, started the debate by asking for advice on the powers and format of proposed Scottish and Welsh Assemblies showing his plans in great disarray (he did confirm that the Scottish Assembly would sit in Edinburgh). The commons debate showed English M.P.s to be fighting the battles of yesteryear and the SNP and Plaid Cymru far in advance demanding detailed powers for the assemblies while the ruck booted about the old emotional ambers about separatism and launching an 'English backlash'.

Mr. Wilson, the Prime Minister, met Scottish Trade Union Council leaders on 27th and 28th February at a hotel outside Glasgow (not braving the rats and rubbish that the dustcart drivers strike had left lying around). This meeting had been promised after the October Election and was supposed to show how concerned London was about Scotland. The result was lots of publicity but little comfort to the Trade Union Council to ally fears of steel closures in an industry so vital to Scotland's expanding economy.

In late March Mr. Wilson was again in Scotland, at Aberdeen, for the Scottish Council of the Labour Party's Annual Conference. They, like the STUC were almost unanimously opposed to Mr. Wilson's present panacea, the Common Market. The SCLP made their own headlines however. They don't lack consistency — 'Labour still split on Assembly role' (Glasgow Herald) and 'Shook vote on Assembly — give-it-teeth bid fails' (Daily Record).

The minimalists had narrowly defeated the maximalists i.e. those who wanted a puppet talking shop had embarrassed their London bosses who knew much more of the SNP success. The 'mini' leader Tom Dalyell M.P. was jubilant. He said 'the decision was obviously a victory for ordinary rank and file Labour Party membership against the trade unions — and I am most pleased about that'. Jim Sillars M.P., leader of the 'Maxis' who wanted tax-raising powers and control over development vested in the Assembly was 'profoundly disappointed'.

So the decision which the London establishment has to make is about how to balance giving too much power to the proposed Assembly and leading to an escalation in a few years to self government on one hand and giving only a little and risking the same road being taken as quickly by other means on the other hand.

ARMY OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The arrests of eleven men between February and April of this year in connection with a bank robbery and possession of explosives, said to be in pursuance of the aims of the 'Army of the Provisional Government' to which it is alleged they belonged, was preceded by police searches of the houses of many prominent nationalists in Scotland. The exposures about a 'Tartan Army' etc. have always been treated by the SNP as organisations which could only slow up the road to self-government by democratic means. But

one always wonders in view of the suspicious circumstances of the exposures if timely service has again been rendered to the London Establishment by the work of an agent provocateur (spreigear-dauise as the SNP is being so successful in its democratic process. So far one man, Michael Farlie, has been sentenced to 12 years and two others to 9 years, having pleaded guilty to the charges.

CALGACUS. That the pen is mightier than the sword is the contention of Ray Burnett the editor of this new bilingual monthly magazine from the West Highland Publishing Co. stable. With editorial advisers Hamish Henderson, Sorley Maclean, Harry McShane, Tom Naim, Nad Thomas and Brian Trench it has set out to analyse in depth the roles of socialism and nationalism in Scotland today using the other Celtic countries as the main perspective.

The first issue deals with British torture and detention methods in Northern Ireland; Left Wing Nationalism in Brittany; the SNP's parliamentary performance and aims; and a focus on the oil industry in East Rosshire. On the literary said Sorley Maclean investigates the Land League poetess of the late 19th century, Maire Mhór nan Orán and there are reviews of prose and poetry and also much more for 40p (Obtainable from West Highland Publishing Co., Kyleakin, Isle of Skye).

SNP ACTIVITIES. The earth-shattering news that the SNP have been allocated two rooms in the House of Commons for its eleven M.P.s can really be put into perspective when you realise that the establishment has allocated twelve rooms to thirteen Liberal M.P.s. The pettiness and frustration of the Westminster parliament is never far from the surface. The SNP 'first team' have been mixing it in debate and inevitably being attacked from all sides as 'tartan Tories' or 'Laffies'. An interesting comment came from the Daily Record political reporter on 14th February.

Not normally noted for being 'pro-Nat' he wrote: 'There seems to be the odd idea in Westminster that the eleven-strong SNP group of M.P.s has split from top to bottom. True there are differences but they are still operating as a cohesive force. Since last February (1974) when there were only seven of them the Nats have taken part in around 150 votes in the Commons. On only four, which concerned defence, the row over the trade unions, education and the Clyde-side rent rebels — have they split. That's a record that the Tories and Labour would be hard put to better.'

Mrs Thatcher (Conservative Party Leader) came to Glasgow and Edinburgh on 22nd February and reminded us that Tories believe in a Scottish Assembly — but — 'let us be in no doubt that any such assembly must be within the framework of preserving the unity of the U.K. Conservatives are and have always been British Nationalists'.

The same week a by-election for the Strathclyde Regional seat of Cullinstown-Dalmarnock (Glasgow), a massive Labour stronghold, brought the SNP candidate to within 80 votes of the Labour winner, thus keeping up the 30% vote the SNP have been getting nationally.

In March Gordon Wilson, SNP M.P. for Dundee East, met the OPEC executive at Algiers by invitation of the Arab-dominated oil producers organisation. The SNP are seeking observer status in anticipation of fuller participation when self-government is achieved. The Arabs are impressed with the SNP approach to oil so they want them as observers. (That's more than OPEC are prepared to do for the Department of Energy in London).

SNP M.P.s in fishing constituencies were active in support of the blockade of Scottish ports from April 1st to 3rd. A

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50-mile limit was prominent amongst the demands of the fishermen. Scots feel the present situation of falling stocks makes such a limit necessary. The E.E.C. policy is one cause of the fears for the future. It is hoped to cover the results of the E.E.C. Referendum in the next issue of *Carn*. Meanwhile the SNP is campaigning for a strong NO vote.

INCREASE IN GAELIC SPEAKERS. The number of people in Scotland who can speak both Gaelic and English increased by 8,000 to 88,415 between 1961 and 1971 according to figures published by the General Register Office, Edinburgh. The strongholds of Gaelic in Ross-shire and the Inverness-shire are joined by Glasgow with a 1,700 increase to 12,860 Gaelic speakers; Argyll showed a drop by a similar amount. The return of exiles could have helped as would the revival of the national movement. The decision of the Western Isles Authority to have an official bilingual policy will ensure the first real attempt to use Gaelic widely in an official, formal and informal capacity.

Whatever retention and extension of the language takes place however, will depend on the control local people have over incoming industries to adapt them to local needs in a continuing Gaelic tradition. The oil industry may well play a key role — as one of their PR men wrote recently in the *Oil Supplement* of the Aberdeen Press and Journal, 'What the next ten years hold for much of the Highlands is wide open to speculation ...'

R. Gibson

The Trojan Horse

A review by Mr Donald Campbell of the recently published 'Poems by Allan Ramsay and Robert Fergusson' should be of interest alike to Scots and to other Celts puzzled as to where, if at all, Scots (or more properly 'Lallans') fits into the Celtic framework. Mr Campbell, in the course of his review commented as follows:

'Fergusson was anything but a dialect poet. Although he probably would have applauded the sentiments Ramsay expressed in the Preface, I doubt if he paid much attention to them in his poetic practice. Unlike Ramsay, Fergusson seems to have learned quite a lot from the medieval Makars, not least of which was his awareness that Scots poets not only have to learn to live with English but have to absorb it, to take it into their own personal poetic language and use it to the best effect. I well remember David Daiches talking in a radio broadcast some years ago of his aspect of Fergusson and citing, as a near-perfect example, the line from THE DAFT DAYS:

'And dwyning Nature droops her wings'

Fergusson knew full well that no poet can afford to reject the use of any language that is available to him and in that line we see him alliterating the Scots 'dwyning' with the English 'droops' to make a stronger statement. As even a cursory glance at Fergusson's work will show, he was very careful in his choice of words, he had an extremely sure touch and no word — no word at all — ever looks out of place. Each word is chosen for the job it has to do and not for its origins. If it doesn't happen to be a Scots word, well, that's just too bad. Fergusson was not interested in making poetry in Modern Scots but in MAKING MODERN SCOTS POETRY."

This very close bond with English that Mr Campbell admits would seem to call into question the whole basis of the claim for Lallans to be considered as 'Scots' or as a valid medium for Scottish literature. It is a common enough phenomenon for any given standard or literary language to

pillage related dialects and ultimately absorb many words that serve the purpose into the literary language. For Lallans the dialect pillaged is a literary language in its own right. It is not a situation of parity between equals, but rather of one between patron and client and as such is a very unhealthy situation. Even a hypothetical remedy is difficult to envisage. A 'victory' for Lallans would require a near miracle. A sustained flowering of literary genius and Lallans dedication in Scotland would need to coincide with a sustained dearth of literary talent in England or a switch to Lallans by English writers. Such a switch is not all that far-fetched. John Arden, one of the most talented contemporary English dramatists has written a play, "Armstrong's Last Goodnight", based on an incident figuring in one of the Border Ballads. One of the principal characters is Lindsay of the Mount, a Lallans "Makar" and the dialogue is in Lallans. Even so the disparity of population between England and Scotland would ensure that such a victory would prove to be an ultimate defeat. The victors would in effect be swallowed and digested by the vanquished.

It is interesting to consider that there was a possibility of such a Lallans victory at the joining of the crowns. As it happened the accession of James VI to the English throne coincided with the Elizabethan (more properly Jacobean) literary flowering of English English. In Scotland itself the pass had already been sold when the Knoxian reformers failed to translate the Bible into Lallans.

Any further opportunity of this nature for a pyrrhic Lallans victory is difficult to foresee. It can be readily admitted that Lallans has produced a body of literature of decided merit. Nevertheless, its purported label 'Scots' has an affinity with the kidskin used by Jacob to obtain the paternal blessing; the voice is the voice of an English Jacob. Changing the metaphor, viewed either in retrospect or in anticipation of future developments, Lallans was, is and will be a non-starter. What is worse it is a Scottish Trojan Horse that Scots have been too ready to accept as an authentically Scottish beast!

Mr Campbell's review was published in the first (December 1974) edition of *Galgacus*. *Galgacus* is a very radical (and very Celtic) Scottish quarterly. Apart from its analysis of events in Scotland the first edition included a very good Irish coverage as well as articles on the Breton and Irish scenes. The annual subscription is £3 (including postage) and it is obtainable from: *Galgacus Review*, The Highland Publishing Company Limited, Breakish, Isle of Skye, IV42 8PY, Alba. Kenneth Gillespie

Aisling Ur

Chaidh ceaid-phobull a dhèanamh airson a 'Glasgow Herald' o chionn ghoirid, agus bha an toradh gu math òidheachail. Sgròid i chùlaic airson nam phàirtidhean eugsamhla, agus bhatar an stàitistig ri leantainn follaiseachadh:

(Aois)	16-34	35-54	55-
S.N.P.	40%	28%	19%
Labour	36%	41%	39%
Conservative	19%	27%	40%
Liberal	4%	3%	2%

Tha e soilleir gu bheil a chùlaic as motha aig na naisean-taich a tighinn bho na h-òganaich. Ma's e seo a chùis, tha tim air air taobh-ne, ceart go leòir.

Sgotha go bheil iomadh reusan ann airson dith chùlaic measg a'ghinealach nas sine. Ach a toir sùil air polaitig

Albannach an latha'n diugh chi sinn barrachd faireachdainn na reusan. Mar eisimpleir tha iomadh sòisialach ann a tha cur an aghaidh an SNP gu dian. Air an son-san chan eil anns an SNP ach son phàirtidh bùirdeasach eile. Air an son-san the nàiseantachd 'neo-theumail' san Alba an latha'n diugh. Se a'chogadh-eagair am fìor strì, an atri a-mhàin na Luchd-Chlaire Salaich an aghaidh na Luchd-Òibre Naomha. Tha an tuathanach bochd an Ceann a Deas Anairde na bhàithair dhomh roimh an Fheargnaich Mòr Dhùn Eideann. Smaidh gu bheil seo fìor uaireannan. Ach chan eil e fìor daonnan. Tha nas motha gu beatha na airgead, ach a rèir coltais chan eil na sòisialaich a'creidinn gu bheil.

Carson nach eil iad airson fèin-riaghalas? Nach bhiheadh diùth-riaghalas sòisialach nas fhèarr na cian-riaghalas sòisialach? Tha an t-Seicislobhaic agus an Ungair a nochdadh duinn gur urrainn cian-riaghalas a bhi le chèile aineolach is impreach, ged is e fear sòisialach e.

Agus nam bharail se seo far a theideas ciall as an uinneig. Chan eil sin a faicinn argumaid reusanta an Alba idir idir, ach aon beachd-pholaitig dall an aghaidh a chèile. Se combhualadh de iomhaighean neo 'mìth-chreudan' e. Agus tha mi meas gur e seo an reusan airson dìthe chùlaic amasg a'ghinealach nas sine, a thaobh an SNP. Chàmhraig iad sa Chogadh airson a' Bhreatainn Mòr, na Ban-rìghinn, agus bratach na h-Aonachd. S'ìdian seo na h-iomhaighean a th'anns na h-ìntinnean aca. Ach airson iomadh òganach, air an làimh eile, chan aithne dha duthaich sam bith ach Alba. Si a' Chrois-Aindrea a'bhathach-sa, agus Albais a' chàin-sa. Tha aising ùr aige (ged nach eil e ùr idir) aising de Alba Albannaich an àite Alba Shasannaich. Air an sobhar seo tha na h-òganaich a' tionndadh chon na Pàirtidh Nàiseanta, agus tha air seannairean (sòisialaich is òrdaichean le chèile) gar coimhead ann am bràth-cheò Breatainnach.

Fearghas Mac Fhionnlaigh.

(Recent statistics show the S.N.P. support as coming overwhelmingly from the youth. This may reflect the 'British' 'idée fixe' of the older generation. But they do not have the monopoly on close-mindedness. Many socialists reject self government as 'irrelevant' to Scotland, in the name of international socialism. They apparently fail to see that remote government remains destructive even when it is socialist. (cf. Hungary and Czechoslovakia). The new dream of young Scots is of a Scotch Scotland, whatever its ideological complexion).

o o o

Cainain na Breise

(air eadar-theangachadh bho 'Le Peuple Breton')

Chan i 'patois' neo dualchaint a th'innis idir, faclan a chleachdar gu tric ann an ciall thar-cuiseach, a chomharrachadh càinain nam treubhan neo-shìobhalta. S a' atharrachadh ònadal de chàinain a th'ann dualchaint, agus gu tric chan eil ann an càinain oifigeil ach dualchaint sheallbach. Chan eil ann an Eadailtis nam faclairean ach an dualchaint a bha aig na Fìorainneach, agus chan e freumhachd na Frainge acadamaich ach dualchaint a bha anns a'cheam bheag an ceann a tuath Phàrlais, far a bheil Roisey an t-àite as aithneach.

Airson na Brèisais a bhi na dualchaint, feumaidh i bhi na atharrachadh ionadal de Frainge. Cò-dhùbhl, chàinail aice dàimh sam bith leis a' chàinain seo, a chionn nach eil i eadhan a' buntainn ri teaghlach nan càinanan air an tarraing bho'n Laideann (Frainge, Eadailtia, Spàinnia, Catalanaia, Ocasatensis, Rùmanais). Tha a' Brèisais a buntainn ri teaghlach nan càinanan. Chaitlich, còmhla ri Gaidhlig na h-Albainn, na

h-Eirinn, agus an Eilein Mhàinn, a' Chumris, agus càinain a' Chòirn. Tha an dàimh is dùithe aice ris an dè Chànain mu dhèireadh, agus bha a' Bhreatainn Aosta, freumh coitcheann nan trì càinain air a bruidhinn roimh an ceathramh linn, anns na bha dol a bhi am Breatainn Mòr, ach a bha aig an am seo gu sìmplidh an 'Breatainn'. Nan tèicheadh an Ìonaidh Anglo-Sàgsach sa chòigeamh linn, a' bhruidhinn nam Breatainnach tearmann ann an Armoirige, ga tabhairt an ainm-san, agus an càinain-san. Dhion Breatainnach eile le piseachd a'Chumrigh agus a'Chorn.

An dèidh a bhi air a bruidhinn air feadh na Brèisais, mar a chi sinn bho ainmean nan aiteachan, agus eadhan san nàortheamh linn sa phàirt de Nòrmanndh-an-lochdar (Landivy, St. Hilaire du Harcouet), dh'fhuaisg a' Brèisais cùlcheam cudthromach a thaobh togail na Frainge leis na h-uachdaran An latha'n diugh tha i fhathead air a bruidhinn le còrr is mìllion fear ri taobh an iar laighe air a tharraig bho fhaig air Vannes gu Paimpol. San linn mù dhèireadh mhair i fhathead mu thimcheall Guerande an Loire-Atlantique. Se seo a dh'aindeòin an t-suidheachaidh dheas air sobhar gearleanmhainn oifigeil. (Thubhairt De Monzie, Ministear an Fhòghuinn an 1925 Airson aonachd na Frainge e feumair cur as na càinain Brèisais).

Tha barrachd dhaoine a bhruidhinn na Brèisais na càinain Chaitteach sam bith eile. Tha ceithir prìomh dualchaintean ann — Léonard, Trégorrois, Cornouallais agus Vannetais. S' ann a' Brèisais a thainig (agus tha iad a thiginn fhathead) obraichean litreacha de luach mòr. Chaidh a cò-bhualadh glè thrùth. B'a faclair Laideann-Brèisais-Frainge a cheud obrar a chleachdadh a' Brèisais agus bha e air 'fhoillseachadh' Tréguier ri ceann na 15mh linn.

Thèid an rathach polaitigeach air chuairt do Tìr-nan-Og uaireannan. Sann an 'neo-theumalachd' na càinain Brèisais a tha a' neart-sa ri fhaighinn. Gu polaitigeach cuiridh a' Brèisais troimh-a-chèile. Tha a' Brèisais ro dlùth-cheangailt ri beatha an t-sluaigh agus chan a di-àiteachadh, airson nach soir aise cìre an U.D.B. (Aonachd Deasmocratach na Brèisais). A' dh'aindeòin na draghan a leanas a cleachdadh air a h-uile ìre de na strì pholaitigich, agus a tuigais gu math gun feum an di-àiteachadh a bhi coimhlionta chan ann a thaobh na càinain a-mhàin, tha e soilleir gu leòir do'n U.D.B. gur e ball ceannaircheach a th'anns a' Brèisais. Uime sin tha a làimheachadh crìdhe na cùise airson saorsa air pobull Brèisais aithiche.

Faich Morvanou.

o o o

"Brittany is normally referred to in Scots Gaelic as 'a' Bhreatainn Bheag' and Wales as 'a' Chumr' while in Ireland 'An Breatainn Bheag' refers to Wales and 'An Bhriotain' is used for Brittany. To avoid confusion, it would be acceptable to Gaelicize BREIZH in the same way, as CYMRU. This would give 'a' Bhriais' for the country and 'a' Brèisais' for the language. This terminology, would be intelligible to readers of CARN. It appeals to me personally".

F. Mac Fhionnlaigh.

EMSAV, monthly, engaging in political analysis and discussions of social, economic and political problems with a view to develop a revolutionary theory of the Breton resurgence leading eventually to the real freedom of Brittany as being essentially a freedom of mind, for this purpose Emsav has evolved a language purged of French loanwords and enriched with Celtic-based neologisms. It aims at scientific precision but is very difficult to understand for its message to reach a large readership. (Emsav will reply, we must work hard). B.P. 125,35003 Rennes Cedex, 408/annum.

BREIZH For The Breton Language: Words and Actions

"IN EUROPE TODAY, east or west, there is not a government that would be prepared to pursue towards its alienogenous ethnic groups as intractable a policy as the French government. In the French schools of Brittany, the teaching of Breton has to compete for time with modelling, weaving and other manual hobbies! That was Per Denz, lecturer for Celtic at the University of Rennes, speaking at a meeting of the Economic and Social Council of the so-called Région Bretagne, on March 11. The E.S.C.s are think-tanks composed of various personalities and set up to advise the French government in regional matters.

A request made by the "Breton" ESC last September for a recognition of the Breton culture and the teaching of Breton met, as usual, with ill will and "a cotton wool wall of silence", said P. Denz. "Does this mean," he asked, "that in order to be heard, the only means are street demonstrations and the Breton Liberation Front commandos?"

It is clear indeed that for the French State, playing with fire is preferable to recognising the minorities on its territory. Its scoundrelly and stubborn refusal to do this is provoking a rise of terrorism.

ANOTHER BANG. The visit to Brest of M. Soisson, State Secretary for the Universities, on April 15, was preceded by a bomb explosion in the Great Lecture Hall — it caused £15,000 worth of damage. A statement in Breton received by the press said: "And the Breton language? Do you know about it, M. Soisson? Enough talk! The ARB (Breton Republican Army) demands that the education be given in Breton in our primary schools. Bretons, let us take pride in speaking our language!"

Soisson's reaction was typical of the French officialdom in its blindness or blinkered steadiness of purpose: Do they believe they defend Brittany by attacking the University of Brittany? Of Brittany! The secretary carefully avoided to refer to the motivation given for the attack on a French institution that is doing its bit to carry out the State's assimilation policy.

A violence that is a thousand times worse is being perpetrated by the French "education" Murder Machine against Breton identity, personality and integrity. It is that violence that is the cause of the exasperation felt by an increasing number of Bretons.

POSITIVE WORK. While this brazen cultural oppression goes on, the determination to keep a Breton Brittany alive has been exemplified in many ways since the beginning of this year, particularly in the field of publication in Breton.

AL. LIAMM has published a new edition of "Gurvan", a play by the great Breton dramatist Malmarche; "Romant ar Roue Arzhur" (King Arthur) by Langleiz; a comics book, "Fri Korioko", with text and drawings by Tudwal Huon. SKOL once more demonstrates with Lukian Kergoat's *Geologiezh* how easily our language can be used and adapted for science and technology.

A new periodical, "Hiro an Deiz", published as a supplement (?) to *Brud*, gives us poems by Mikael Madeg. *Studi* is the title of a series of bilingual works being published by a 'Centre Régional de Recherches et de Documentation, Rennes, in booklet and file card form. It has already to its credit a list of books and (830) articles published in Breton in 1973 — this compilation was made by F. Broudig accord-

ing to the international bibliographical rules; he intends to do it for each year henceforth. From this Centre we also have "Rous ar Portugal", with notes, tape and film for audiovisual classes. For those learning on their own, we are to get soon "Le Breton Sans Poin", by Fanch Morvanou, published by ASSIMIL, with record, tapes, minicassettes. Visant Saite, who has for 30 years been in charge of a Breton correspondence course has collected his lessons for beginners in a clearly presented booklet "Le Breton par les Ondes" — Brezoner dre ar Radio", it is also supplemented by a record and minicassettes. J. GW

Strollad Ar Vro

STROLLAD AR VRO the Breton party described as nationalist and federalist, held its annual congress in Mur, April 5-6. The leftward tendency which appeared last year was confirmed, following the victory in the elections to the Central Executive Committee of a list of candidates representing the Federalist Left: of 172 votes, 100 were given to this wing, as against 24 abstainers and 48 to candidates who advocated National Union, i.e. having a party open to all who just seek recognition and self-government for the Breton nation. This means that S. ar V. intends to take sides in the social problems facing Brittany. A key word to its policy in this respect is "socialisme autogestionnaire" (self-management socialism). The opposition to hierarchies finds expression in the decision to substitute a "direction collégiale" for the previous "comité directeur" at the head of the party, a first step towards the transformation into a "federal committee". By this we understand that the party wants to constitute itself as a federation of district branches. The original intention to stand for "a harmonious cooperation of the classes", which made it vulnerable to being labelled a party of the right, has now been discarded.

S. ar V. has given since its inception a few years ago the impression of lacking a firm policy and a stable structure. Four smaller groups agreed towards the end of 1974 to co-operate with it. The Union Démocratique Bretonne, which has consistently directed its appeal to the lower income groups, has held aloof. Will they continue to throw doubts on the S. ar V's leftist declarations? The U.D.B. sticks rigidly by its "centralisme démocratique!" It has helped it to ensure a remarkable continuity. But there is hardly room or need for two Breton parties of the left. As for a party which would say 'let us wait till the day we have set up the Breton State before dividing on social problems, that is, a "purely" national party, there is none now apart from the groups who are or may be gathered around Douar Breiz (Adsav 1532) and Nation Bretonne. There are many nationalists who, because of their upbringing, position and property, will not lean to the left, but their conviction that Breton national institutions operating in a free enterprise climate are worth struggling for seems to lack aggregating potential and attraction for party workers.

Theater in Breton

A theatre group, the C.D.U.B. was founded last year by a few Brest students, led by Remy Derrien, with the aim of putting the Breton language back on the stage — a place which it had unfortunately lost. A tough undertaking that will require perseverance, the C.D.U.B. is well aware of that. But they have staged, last year, their first two plays: "Epilé" by P. J. Hellas, and J. M. Synge's "Rider to the sea", translated from English by R. Derrien and Fanch Gwilhou. These

were indeed shown in several places in Brittany.

While spinning the kind of second rate plays often shown in village halls the group has also avoided from the start such works as are appreciated only by intellectual snobs. They chose the middle road, which is the hardest: plays acceptable to rural as well as to city people.

They are also trying to link the past with the future. The C.D.U.B. is again working this year on two plays: "Un nozvezhiad gant ar re Boris" freely adapted from the English. In a house the television is out of order, there is a row as a result; and "Karantez droug, karantez kriñ" adapted from the Welsh; it tells the story of a Breton family that emigrated to Pentagonia. On one side the mother, a widow, keenly attached to her religion and to Breton customs, on the other her children who hardly know anything about the "Bro Gosh", the old country. They will have their premiere on May 22 in the Brest Salle des Fêtes.

The group has received great assistance from Chanig ar Gall (who is well known on account of her work for the Breton radio. There is a plan to tour Brittany together with Strollad ar Vro Bagan, another group which is preparing to show "Klevedan an Togn" by Jarl Priel, (directed by Goulven Kervella).

An Important Book

LA LANGUE BRETONNE FACE A SES OPPRESSEURS, by Jorj Gwegen. Published by Nature et Bretagne, 38 rue J. d'Arc, Quimper, Brittany. £3.

This book of 312 pages fills a vacuum: no such book has been available since M. Guieysse's pre-war "La Langue Bretonne" and R. Hemon's "La Langue Bretonne et ses combats" were sold out. It is full of information about the present situation of the Breton language and the struggle between those trying to kill it and those trying to save it. Its title spells bluntly the fact that linguistic oppression is still going on in Brittany. The picture on the cover showing a schoolboy facing a wall, with a wooden clog hanging from his neck, illustrates the infamous method used by the French "educational" system to stamp out the Breton tongue during the past 100 or 150 years. The facts are here, you can judge whether the Bretons were looked upon as French or as an alien people by the State authorities, whether they were educated according to the general principles of pedagogy or in order to make them subservient to an imperial idea. There is no change from that policy, only a slight softening in the pressure as the victim is in a dire state and it would be unwise to provoke a no-longer resigned, but increasingly conscious population. J. Gwegen reviews all the efforts that were and are being made by the growing number of Bretons to maintain the language. He has gathered a wealth of data, even statistics (unofficial, of course) on the number of people speaking it today. We would like, if we had the space, to quote him at length. In order to illustrate how a language could be restored, he devotes 60 pages to the Struggle of other Celts and describes the success of the Israelis and some European peoples in nursing their languages back to strength.

We have not had time to read the second half of the book yet, but judging from the first part, we feel safe in recommending it highly. It will be interesting to know what in Gwegen's view are the conditions for a revival, also what he has to say about a certain duality existing in Brittany (the "disarticulation" which, according to *Emsav* has harmfully

affected the history of Brittany). He is certainly optimistic regarding the outcome of our struggle. At the end an exhaustive list is given of publications and organisations working for the Breton language, and the means for learning it. This book deserves translation into other languages, that more people may learn how the French State applies its high principles of "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité..."

ANONYMOUS THREATS. Dozens of men and women involved in Breton activities received this winter a letter signed, "A group of Bretons more concerned than you with the future of Brittany." It spoke of the obscurantism from which France rescued us; of Hitler's Germany; of the danger of civil-servants and retired people losing their pensions; and after regretting that the police were too soft with them, warned the addressees: "You are no longer safe. We are going to strike". On all the envelopes, the names were followed by the indication: "Member of the F.L.B." There is no proof of such membership.

It is suspected that the threat originated from an organisation called S.A.C. (a title that has something to do with "action civique"), which first came to notice in May 1968 when the French State was on the verge of collapse.

Petra C'Hoarvez En Iwerzhon?

Na fell din komz hiziv nemet eus arvezioù 'zo eus ar vuhez politikel, o tennañ evezh dreistholl war an tri strollad ma'z eo rannet etrezo kouz lavaret an holl sezioù en Dael Iwerzhon. A-boan m'em eus ezhomm da verkañ ez eo renet ar Stad d'ar mare-mañ gant ur C'hevredad eus ar strollad miourien Fine Gael hag eus Strollad al Labour. Etrezo o deus un tammig muioc'h a gennadeg evit Finna Fáil, ar strollad "broadel", a oa renet gwechall gant de Valera. En em glevout a ra an tri anezho evit diwall na savfe dispac'h ebet en Iwerzhon, hag a-du emaint evit klask un diskoulm dre gaer da gennadeg Norzh-Iwerzhon. Harpet e vez ar gouarnamant eta gant F.F., daoust ma lavar ar re-mañ bazañ Republikaned, en e eneberezh ouzh Arme Republikan Iwerzhon. Se a vez anvet bi-partisan policy. Heffvel eo a London e-lec'h ma n'em glev an Eneberezh gant ar gouarnamant diwar-benn ar seurt politikerezh a glasker savenniñ e Norzh-Iwerzhon.

Sach e zo kouskoude e diabarzh ar strolladoù iwerzhonat.

An darnvez-lazenn a-enep torfadoù. En emglev sraet e Sunningdale e dibenn 1973 e oa divizet a rannte Unanourien Norzh-Iwerzhon o gallout gant ar Vrodelourien. Divizet e oa ivez e vije ur Gahedenn Iwerzhonat (an Irish Dimension) d'ar rankamant nevez. Kement-se a oa dizegemurus d'an Unanourien daer, kenseurted Craig, Palaley ha West. E sell d'o sloudeat, e ouestais gouarnamant Duenn aozaf ul lezenn hag a rote ul da varn ar Republik tud tennet dezho e B-Kontelezh bezañ sraet torfadoù, ha teñchet dreist an harzoù evit kabout repu. Freuzhet eo bet Emglev Sunningdale, met gouarnamant Duenn (evit prouiñ ne fell ket dezhañ unañi iwerzhon dre hag) a zalc'h d'ar c'hinnig; n'eo ket chalaet ma vo das barn neuze diwar-bouez testennoù roet a kuzh gant archerien an RUC ken kasat ha distoalek gant an darn vrasañ eus ar Vrodelourien en Hanternoz, Unan eus ar skolioù gwashañ da ziskoulm kuden ar 6-Kontelezh eo e nac'h ar "Bhanniver" annez bell an RUC, tra ma c'houlenn

groñs an Unanourien e ve restalet ar garg eus ar gerrezh dezhañ e pep lec'h.

Lakaet eo bet an danvez-lezenn dirak an Dael un deiz ma oa J. Lynch, rener Fianna Fail, ar-maez a vro. Talabao, tousmach, kunuennou, tamalloù "collabo", ar gouarnamant o plegañ dirak taolioù-skourjez Wilson... Kasel an danvez-lezenn dirak ar Sened, da ziluziañ. Ar senedour Mullen, sekretour-meur ITGWU (ar brasañ c'hweluniad micherourien), o nac'h votañ a-du; hag eñ anvet gant Strollad al Labour, pe genc'h gant an Taoiseach war erbad ar strollad-se, arabat, dezhañ mont a-enep ar gouarnamant. "Mo deus ethomm eus ur mevel bihan", emezañ, "dezho klask ur peotr all". Setu gwall dapet ar vistr; ne gredont ket teurel un den ken bras e levezon ar-maez eus ar strollad. Betekhen e vez harpet Strollad al Labour gant ar C'hweluniadoù. Ma vez broc'h, e vo dizunvaniezh ivez er strollad, hag e vo bec'h war ar C'hevredad.

Tenn e oa an traoù dija en abeg da gleizourien ar strollad bodet el "Liaison Committee of the Left", ur gostezenn hag a zalc'h start d'ar sokialouriezh degemeret ent kefridiel. Tamall a reont d'ar strollad bezañ dilezet e vennadoù kevredadell en treuzvarc'hadou gant Fine Gael. Hegaset e vez eta ar renerien gant ar "poellgor"-se kement ma 'z eus anv da deurel ar-maez kement hini a gendalc'hio d'e zampredif. Termal a reer koulskoude, rak n'ouzer ket gement a zroug e rae d'ar strollad.

Sac'het eo hemañ war-du ar c'hreiz gant ar marc'h bras Conor Cruise O'Brien, Ministr ar Post ha Pellgeloùerezh, ur c'hefredour (intellektour) na denn ket kaer d'ur micherour, a gomz avat evit ur gevrennad dispis he niver, ken e-barzh ar-maez eus ar strollad: tud ha n'int ket lusket gant broadelouriezh, na reont forzh kudennou sevenadurel na gant lwerzhoniz ar 6-Kontelezh, frankizourien a gav mat ewitall an hengounioù degemeret gant lwerhoniz digant ar Saozon. Eñ eo a bouez evit ma vo di-wengaleket (laset ar "myths" eus) kelennadur istor lwerzhon. Eñ eo a fell dezhañ lakaat adskignañ ar BBC dre lwerzhon a-bezh, e-lec'h krouñ un eil chadenn skinwel lwerzhoniz: petra-vern dezhañ ma talvezon an dra-se da beurhefvelaat ar vro-mañ ouzh Bro-Saoz ! Enebet eo bet outañ da gentañ gant Kevre ar Gouezeleg, ha muloñ-mui e vez rummadoù all a-du gant ar C'hevred. Douget da se e talc'h d'e vennad, war a gleven en dije respontet da gelaouerien Telefis Eirenn ne asanto-ef biken d'un eil chadenn lwerzhoniz.

Eñ eo marvez ar spread oberiantañ (ne lavaran ket an den speredekañ) ar gouarnamant, ha n'en deus ket aon da ziskleriañ pezh a fell dezhañ. Meur a wech en deus savet e vouezh evel pa vije eñ an hini a zo e penn ar gouarnamant. Ret e voe da L. Cosgrave e zielevarout ur wech dija. Bremañ, da heul an dilennadegoù d'ar Convention er 6-Ko, en deus lakaet ar gouarnamant adarre e kazel-peuz hag an S.D.L.P. e kounnar ruz.

An S.D.L.P., strollad Gerry Fitt ha John Hume er 6-Kontelezh, a glask diekoumañ kudenn N. lwerzhon dre-lididarez. Enebiezh a zo e traoù eta hag ar re a gred n'eus diakoulm nemet dre hec'h. Ma lavaront ket evel C. C. O'Brien ez eus div vroad er 6-Ko, met anavez a reont ez eus daou hengoun, unan troet war-du lwerzhon, unan all troet war-du "Breizh-Veur". Ret eo gwelout an traoù evel m'emaint, ha klask lakaat an daou hengoun da genoberiañ, ken en Hanternoz hag en lwerzhon a-bezh. Goulenn a ra an S.D.L.P. eta e ve kenludet ar galloud da reñf da ensavadurioù ar 6-KO etre an daou rumm, hag e ve roet korf d'ar "gehenned lwerzhoniz" dre hanterouriezh ensavadurioù

holi-lwerzhoniz. Diwar gement-se e kreske fiziñs etre an daou rumm, hag e ve tu da zigeriñ tachennou all d'o c'henober.

An Unanourien Daer a lavar nann dezho krenn-ha-krak: n'eus aze nemet un arnod, emezo, da unañ lwerzhon dre laer goude m'en deus c'hwitet stourmad A.R.I. Netra d'ober, ne vo ket rannet galloud gant tud a fell dezho distrujañ ar "stad" (n'eus ket a stad hervez lezenn, met an Unanourien a gred ez eus, pe a ra van).

Respont a ra an S.D.L.P. ne dalv ket kenderc'hel gant an dodennou (menozioù hag emzalc'hoù) hengounel, an eil tu hag egile o klask kaout an trech, rak ne zeu e nemet distruj. Gwelloc'h eo anavez en deus pep hini e uhelvennadoù hag evit ar gred, kenober war ziaze an diforc'hoù. Achanta, ra vo anavezet ar Gehedenn Vreizhveuriel hag ar Gehedenn lwerzhoniz, ra vo perzh gant an div gevrennad ar gouarnamant, ur gouarnamant derc'hoveuz (dileuriadus) ha galloud gantañ.

GALLOUD NE VO KET RANNET. Ken sklaer eo disoc'h an dilennadegoù d'ar Convention ma kav da Unanourien Daer an U.U.U.C. e c'hellont chom dibleg. Gwelit ar sifroù roet e lec'h all en niverenn-chom. Ar muiañ ma 'z int prest da astren eo e kemerle an S.D.L.P. perzh e poellgorioù-kuzuliañ. "Ar muiantver en deus ar gwir da ren. Graet e vo reizh ouzh ar Golliged."

Goutout a raed ne zeufe netra galonekaus evit ar bihanniver eus an dilennadeg-se. Bremañ avat ez eo digalonekaet-krenn ar re a garfe kaout un diskoulm dre gaer. Petra-vo roet dezho? War beseurt harp e c'hellont kentañ?

Gouarnamant Dulenn? Petra c'hall ober? E-pad mizvezhoù bremañ ez eo chomet sioul, "azezet war ar c'hleuz", o lavarout netra gant aon da feulañ an Unanourien ha d'o reutaet. Piv an hini kentañ da zisplegañ e soñj a a-vout disoc'h an dilennadegoù? C. C. O'Brien eveljust. Safaet eo karget da gomz en anv e strollad diwar-benn ar 6-KO, neket avat en anv ar gouarnamant. Ha setu eñ o lavarout: "Ne vo ket tu da rannañ'r galloud. Dulenn a c'hellomp London da reñf an U.U.U.C. d'hen ober. Goulenn a c'hellomp hepen na ve ket restalet galloud da Stormont, nag soñret an Unanourien da ziskleriañ ar 6-Kontelezh dizalc'h eus Breizh-Veur".

Fuloret eo bet an S.D.L.P. Un taol-goustiñ en o c'hlein, sin roet d'an U.U.U.C. e c'hellont startaat ar viñs en-dro, hag ober evel ma karont ouzh ar bihanniver. O'Brien, eme P. Devlin, zo un enebour troet deomp. Ret d'ar gouarnamant e Dulenn disklariañ fraezh hag e harp atav an S.D.L.P. pe nann. Atizet ivez gant paotred Fianna Fail en deus kadarnet Cosgrave ar pezh e oa divizet abaoe Sunningdale: mennadurezh ar gouarnamant zo diazezet war ar rannf-galloud hag ar gehedenn lwerzhoniz. Kenderc'hel a ray da herzel paotred A.R.I. ma kousezhont en e rouedad-ercherien.

Petra'ray ar Saozon? Dulenn a gont moarvat evit nebeut a dra en o jedadoù. Petra c'homz eus gouestlodoù Sunningdale evito? Mont a-benn d'an U.U.U.C. a zegas riski e c'houzhec'hennañ ar re-mañ an harz-labour bras adarre hag a sonñfe ar vuhez armerchel er 6-Ko. Kondorc'hel da ren war-eeun eus London? Dulenn zo a-du, betek gwalout. Petra'ray neuze A.R.I.? Komz a reont evel pe vije divizet ec'h en em denno an Arme Saoz tamm ha tamm. Renerezh war-eeun eus London zo dizegemeradus dezho. Pesurt harp o deus avat evit adkregiñ gant ar gouvezrel? Nemet e kemerle an U.U.U.C. ar galloud hag ez afe an heskinerezh war washaat? Lazherezh a zo atav e Béal Feirste hag a lec'h all, evit abegoù relijion. Ha welañ diskoulm abet. A.H.

CYMRU

THE EEC ISSUE IN WALES

The question of the United Kingdom's continued membership of the European Community has inevitably proved to be the major political question of 1975 in Wales as in the other countries of Britain. The debate in Wales has naturally followed quite different lines however to that raging across the border in England, and is likely to result in a different outcome. In order to hide this divergence the government has proposed a device so bizarre that their efforts would have earned nothing but derision outside the context of the totally farcical E.E.C. referendum campaign.

During the five years or so that the question of the U.K.'s application for membership and, later, its actual membership, of the European Communities has been under consideration, the contortions of many prominent Welsh politicians in their attempts to conform to the demands of public opinion and of their party's leadership have been wonderful to behold. These have not been confined to the Labour Party ranks, since Mr. Emyr Hooson, leader of the Welsh Liberals has, within the last few months apparently, reversed his attitude and now conforms to the party line, which may not be unconnected with the fact that Mr. Hooson, unchallenged and unchallengeable for so long as leader of the Welsh Liberals, since he was their only M.P., now has a companion, in the shape of strongly pro-Market Geraint Howells, Member for Cardigan.

But the wriggling and twisting has, of course, been most evident amongst the ranks of Welsh Labour M.P.'s especially those amongst them with an eye on obtaining or retaining ministerial office. Thus the Secretary of State for Wales, John Morris, strongly, and unequivocally against in 1971 is now also amongst the ranks of the converted. Whilst the incidence of ministerial responsibility amongst Welsh Labour M.P.'s is high enough to ensure that the Parliamentary wing of the Labour Party in Wales supports the government's line, the rank and file of the party is overwhelmingly against. This division has allowed Plaid Cymru to make a great deal of the running in the anti-EEC campaign, and in so doing to strengthen its links with the trade unions who have provided the backbone of any effective anti-membership pressure. This has also resulted in a marked difference in the nature of the arguments mobilised.

Whilst in England anti-marketiers have increasingly stressed the question of the loss of so-called "national" sovereignty, in Wales the tendency has been to view the movement of power from Westminster to Brussels as another step in taking power further away from Wales, not different in kind from the tyranny of Whitehall but a further extension of a process which the government's promise of devolution was surely supposed to reverse. In Wales the loss of control by the Government over basic industries such as steel and coal by the imposition of the Community's fair competition rules is of more than academic interest, bearing in mind the far greater importance which they have in the Welsh context than in that of the United Kingdom as a whole.

There are, of course, differences in opinion within Plaid Cymru on the party's attitude to the EEC, although the party's official policy has remained surprisingly constant in its opposition since the issue was first considered seriously. There are indeed those who feel that the removal of power from Westminster and the destruction of the UK as a sovereign state must benefit Wales, and that Wales has a

better chance of a fair hearing in the heterogeneous milieu of Brussels than in the English-dominated Westminster hegemony. Others feel that whilst membership now, as part of the UK and hence without any direct voice in community affairs is harmful for Wales and should be resisted, a future Welsh government might judge that it had a positive role to play in building a more attractive Community. The prevailing view, however, is that the changes which would be necessary to make the EEC palatable to nationalists are so fundamental that they would amount to its complete destruction as we know it. The majority view is thus that of fundamental opposition to membership by the UK or by Wales.

Interestingly the three main attitudes have their representatives in the shape of Plaid Cymru's three M.P.s. Whilst Dafydd Elis Thomas is very strongly against, Gwynfor Evans is against but can envisage reforms which would cause him to support independent Welsh membership, and Dafydd Wigley goes even further and believes that UK membership can be exploited to the benefit of Wales provided the Welsh voice is heard loudly enough in Brussels. Thus the Plaid Cymru Parliamentary Party has already demonstrated that it only needs three members to develop a left wing, a right wing and a centre.

To the great satisfaction of the Welsh and Scottish National Parties, there will be a count of votes region by region in the E.E.C. Referendum.

KEITH BUSH

TRANSPORT. The five nationalised bus companies operating in Wales have agreed to accept a policy of bilingualism and will in future give destinations and other information in Welsh as well as English. This is the result of meetings with Cymdeithas Yr Iaith.

British Rail has also made moves to use more Welsh place names and there is talk of two stations on the Cambrian Railway in central Wales being re-opened as the traffic on this once threatened line has increased by 12½%.

In Gwent the first bilingual motorway signs have appeared despite the fact that the Gwent council were not going to use Welsh. The Welsh office had to force the council to use the language.

ASSEMBLY. Even if the Welsh Assembly is only to have executive powers and Wales is to be run by civil servants, as Gwynfor Evans fears, many of the new industry boards e.g. the National Enterprise Board (state holding company) and the Land Authority for Wales (nationalised development land), are to have separate and 'equal' Welsh versions. How much this freedom is real or just a sop from London has yet to be seen.

However, there are already arguments about who should deal with these boards, the District Council (37) or the County Councils (7). There have even been suggestions that with an assembly as well, whatever its powers, the government of Wales will have too many levels and therefore local government will need to be reorganised at a time when we at last see some truly Welsh local government using the language.

SAUNDERS LEWIS. Saunders Lewis has resigned from his post as honorary president of Cymdeithas Yr Iaith because of the society's opposition, on the ground of pacifism, to the Royal Aircraft Establishment's offering a crown for the Ceredigion Eisteddfod in 1976. One of the reasons given

by Saunders Lewis for the resignation was his belief that "... the career of a soldier is noble and honourable and essential to any free country." *RAE essential to free Wales?

His resignation, and that of founder member and former treasurer Neil ap Siencyn, does not appear to have split Cymdeithas, which has become more radical and professional in its approach to publicity and the public, and as a result is a much stronger organisation.

It was a radio lecture in 1962 "Tynged yr Iaith" (The fate of the language) calling for personal sacrifices for the language that acted as the catalyst for the various forces now combined in the numerous aspects of Cymdeithas Yr Iaith's campaign of direct action.

Originally Saunders Lewis had hoped for a revival in Plaid Cymru and a move away from the then fruitless election field towards a campaign to have the language, for as he said "Perhaps the language would bring self-government in its wake; I cannot tell. The language is more important than self government." I.S.H.

Bilingual's Advantage

It has now been proved conclusively that children with Welsh as a first language are academically in front of those who are brought up in English speaking areas. The percentage of Grammar School children from the old county of CAERNARFON (now incorporated in GWYNEDD) gain more university places than children from 'any other county in Britain'. The fact that pupils from Gwynedd and Ceredigion are better at passing examinations than children from anglicised areas merits consideration. Can it be attributed to better schools; more conscientious teachers or better parents?

For many years people believed that the only way to 'get out' was to abandon things Welsh. The Welsh language, they thought, was a hindrance to 'progress'. And the English government's education department was not slow in offering its support to this belief. But things have changed. For it has now been proved that a knowledge of the Welsh language is indeed of assistance to master most subjects taught in schools.

Even before this report was published the number of adults attending night school to learn the national language had attained a record level.

Recently a member of Mr. Wilson's cabinet said that he was proud to have buried his grandmother and the Welsh language on the same day. No, one does not feel anger about this individual. Just pity. J RHYD HUMPHREYS

THE DESIRE OF NATIONS by R. Tudur Jones. Price 75p. Publishers: Christopher Davies (Publishers) Ltd, Llandybie, Ammanford, Dyfed, Wales.

This book is an account of the phenomenon of Nationalism in general and Welsh Nationalism in particular. The author considers the many and various theories of nationalism and nationalism and then proceeds to analyse the nature and history of Welsh Nationalism. He concludes that Welsh Nationalism is a force for the good, and that it is both civilized and Christian. The extensive footnotes and bibliographical references to be found here testify to Dr. Jones' scholarship and wide knowledge on this subject.

As he himself admits:

"This is not meant to be a dispassionate or neutral study. It is written by one who is committed to the national struggle in his own country and who views nationalism

with sympathy..."

Dr. Tudur Jones is the principal of Bala-Bangor Theological College and is a leading Welsh academic. He has himself stood as a parliamentary candidate for Plaid Cymru.

Television in Wales

"I note with pleasure that Celtic League proposals to the Annan Committee include the retention of some programmes in Welsh on channels other than the fourth channel.

Various anti-Welsh groups have been campaigning for the expulsion of the national language from the main television channels and even from the main Welsh radio services from the earliest days of radio and television. There is now grave danger of their achieving their aims.

This will be a severe blow to the status of the national language in Wales. It will cease to have a firm foothold in the national radio and television services and be confined to minority fourth channel and V.H.F. services to which the overwhelming majority of the people of Wales will never turn. That may well be the fate of the national language in Wales in the near future.

It is very doubtful whether this "momentous" success for the anglophiles would have become such an imminent danger if Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg and Urdd Gobaith Cymru had not given them direct support by campaigning for a separate channel for the Welsh-speaking minority without any evidence that even a substantial proportion of that minority will ever choose to view that special service instead of the national services which, according to the Crawford plan, will be all English-medium.

Your correspondent Rh. M. appears to be unaware of the effect of such a development on viewing and listening figures for Welsh language programmes, on providing motivation for potential learners of the language and on avoiding slippage among young learners when they lose contact with the language when schooldays are over.

No language is likely to survive, or even to be acknowledged as a national language, in the modern world unless it is presented daily by mass media to the majority of a nation's homes. We have been moving steadily in that direction in Wales ever since Welsh language broadcasting began in the mid thirties. That progress accelerated in the nineteen sixties, towards nation-wide penetration, may well be reversed in the seventies. The language may never again be seen or heard in hundreds of thousands of homes into which it now penetrates on the B.B.C.'s Radio 4 service for Wales, B.B.C. Wales Television and Harlech Wales Television.

Your correspondent Rh. M. appears to regard the Crawford Committee's recommendation and the B.B.C.'s plan to confine Welsh language programmes to V.H.F. and the fourth television channel as "an appreciable gain" for the language. Any student of the language restoration and language maintenance, knowing the present state of the national language in Wales, the prevalence of mixed marriages, the mobility rate, etc., would regard them as disastrous. If they are not halted, the present revival of Welsh is likely to be undermined completely within less than a decade. Bilingualism is very unlikely to be achieved through an educational system without the active support of bilingual radio and television programmes presenting the minority language daily to the homes of the nation in general, not merely to the tiny minority motivated to use a special minority service."

Jac L. Williams, Quebec, Llanbadarn Fawr, Aberystwyth.

Y Wyddeleg Yn Y Ffatri

Nid yn aml y clywir gweithwyr yn siarad Gwyddeleg wrth eu gwaith ar lawr ffatri yn Nulyn. A phan sath Antoin Mac Giolla Rua, gweithiwr yn ffatri bisceid Jacob, ati i greu diddordeb yn yr iaith ymlith ei gydweithwyr, nid oedd yn disgwyl i gynifer ohonynt fod mor awyddus. Yn mis Medi diwethaf aeth o gwmpas y ffatri yn gofyn faint ohonynt fuaas'n fodlon i wneud ymdrech i siarad Gwyddeleg yn ystod oriau gwaith a gwisgo bathodyn i ddynodi'r ffai. Yn lle'r rhyw ugain o enwau 'roedd yn eu disgwyl, cafodd tua 400 rhwyg y ddau ffatri sydd gan Jacob yn Nulyn. Ers hynny, heblaw siarad Gwyddeleg yn y gwaith, mae nifer ohonynt yn mynychu dosbarth wedi'r drefnu ar eu cyfer tu allan i oriau gwaith.

'Roedd Antoin ei hun yn 27 oed cyn iddo ddechrau siarad Gwyddeleg. Aeth ati o ddiari ar ôl bod ar ei wyliau yng Nghonamara a chlywed y bobl yn yn siarad Gwyddeleg yn naturiol yn ystod eu bywyd bob dydd. Dyma'r tro cyntaf i weithwyr ffatri tu allan i'r Gaeltacht ddefnyddio'r Wyddeleg yn eu gwaith. I'w helpu nhw bellach mae Antoin yn dyfeisio cyfres o ddalennau geirfa ac ymddroddion delynddiol, ar enghraifft: "An bhfuil na briocail casta? (Ydy'r fwydion trwy ei chymharu a seineg Saesneg Delyn.

Dengys hyn i gyd fod na lawer mwy o awydd a chymdealliad tuag at yr iaith ymlith gweithwyr diwydiannol Delyn nag y byddai gelynydd yn Wyddeleg yn hoftri feddwyl. 'Roedd Antoin hefyd ymlith y rhiel a sefydlodd yr ysgol gynradd Wyddeleg yn Baile Munna, ystad anferth tai a ffleatua ar ymyl Delyn.

Pan fydd pobl fel Antoin a'i ffrindiau yn barod i weithio ac i aherthu er mwyn y Wyddeleg mae'r dyfodol yn edrych yn iach dros can. Rhaid cofio, er bod y Wyddeleg wedi bod yn bwnc gorffodol yn yr ysgolion era pan sefydlwyd y wladwriaeth newydd, nad yw cyllaustrau dysgu wedi bod yn ddelfrydol i ddweud y lleiaf i lawer o blant yn yr ardaloedd diwydiannol. Fel erfer mae dosbarthu ysgolion wedi bod yn rhy llawen i'r athronau fod yn affeithiol. Mae'n gywirlydd i'w ddweud hefyd, er yn wir, fod dulliau newyddol o ddysgu yn gyfrifol am droi llawer o Ddelynwyr yn edrych yr iaith. Diolch bod Antoin a'i debyg yn parhau i genhedlaeth newydd o weithwyr ifanc sydd am afael yn eu hettifeddiath cyf iddi gael ei ddiwyrio. Dymunwn bob bendith diwynt. JANICE WILLIAMS

The Lion's Tongue can Kenneth Mackinnon

Yn ddiweddar ymddangosodd llyfr yn dwyn y teitl "The Lion's Tongue" can Kenneth Mackinnon. Mae'r awdur yn rhoi crynhoed o'r iaith Albanaid o'i dechreuad, ei safle presenol a'i gobaiht am y dyfodol. Cydnebydd Mackinnon iddo gael ysbrydoliaith o ddarlenn "The Dragon's Tongue" gan Gerid Morgan ac mae yn aml yn cydnwau sefylla y ddwy iaith. Yn 1971 sefydlwyd Comunn Na Canain Albanach, sef mudiaid a ysbrydolwyd gan Gymdeithas Yr Iaith ac yn cael ei redeg ar yr un llinellau. Er fod y diwydoliaid yn y nifer sy'n siarad yr iaith er dachrau y ganrif yn fawychys, nid yw'r dyfodol mor dywyll ac anobeithiol ac a gradir. Er enghraifft yn nghyfrif 1971 cyhoeddwyd fod nifer siaradwyr yr iaith Albanaid wedi cynyddu o 10,000 o gyfrif 1961. Atab diond yr awyddodau ydoedd fod ffurfienn; ac fe ar y computer ac fod yn rhaid all astudio'r ffurfienn; ac fe ar y rhaid cymeryd yn gyniatol ac bod yn amhosiaid i oedolion ddysgu'r iaith.

Hwyraich fod peth bai hefyd ar Blaid Genedlaethol yr Alban am ddiwyg arweiniad. Ymdengys nad oedd ganddi bolli o gwlbi hyd yn ddiweddar ar ddyfodol yr iaith.

Foddbynnag, yn 1974 paswyd yn unfrydol yn y gynhadledd llynyddol yn Elgin fod y Blaid i gynhyrchu polli manwl ar y Gaeleg—ac nid yn unig yn yr ardaloedd hynu y siarada hi yn awr, ond hefyd yn yr Alban ar y cyfan. Rhaid cofio hefyd mai ynysoedd y gorllewin oedd y cyntaf i aeth cenedlaetholwr i senedd Lloegr mewn atholiad gyffredinol-sef Donald Stewart. Fe'i magwyd i siarad Gaeleg ac ef yn awr yw arweinydd ei blaid.

Mae gwerts ddychymlyd i'w dysgu. Mae'r awdur yn rhoi bai ar loesgrawch draddodiadol y Celt sydd bob amser yn rhy barod i droi eu hymngom i Saesneg pan fo Saia uniaith yn bresenol.

Ymdengys fod dyfodol yr iaith Albanaid yn gorhwyra ar ysgwyddau Comunn Na Canain Albanach. Ac yn wahanol i Gymdeithas Yr Iaith nid oes i unthw Albanwr dorri'r gyfraith i sicrhau ei dyfodol. Ni phasiwyd erioed ei bod yn anghyfreithlon i dddefnyddio Gaeleg (a dim arall) a'i ffurfienn swyddogol a llys barn. Does ond gobaihtio y gall C.I.C.A. sicrhau fod y'r hadyn mwestard yn y llyr fel y dywedodd Mr. Saunders Lewis wrth gyfeirio at fuddiau uniaith Cymraeg newydd sy'n bodoli yng Nghymru. J RHYD HUMPHREYS

Cyngerdd Celtaidd/Celtic Concert

One of the main attractions at this year's National Eisteddfod in Cricieth Gwynedd (August 2-10) will be the Celtic concert held in the main Eisteddfod pavilion on the Saturday evening (August 2nd) before the Eisteddfod itself officially opens.

This is the first time that such a concert has been organised during the Eisteddfod and it is hoped that it will be a permanent feature of the Eisteddfod from now on. Among those taking part will be Hania'r Ddwyllan and Owen Huw Roberts (Cymru) Valerie Armstrong and the Inia Ealga Dance Group (Eire), the Gaelic choir of Ialay and Margaret Macleod (Alba), Gweltaz ar Fur (Breizh), Charles Guard (harpiast) and Claire Clennell (Mannin), Crowdy Cwmn (Kernow). The president of the evening will be Per Denez.

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Check Cultural Imperialism

"In the past 5 years a new awareness of linguistic and cultural imperialism has developed within Tutmonda Esperantista Junulara Organizo (World Organisation of Young Esperantists). This political (though not party-political) motivation has given new impetus to activities for equality of all peoples, races, classes and language groups. Repeatedly TEJO has pointed out how linguistic and cultural imperialism are all aspects of a general oppression of weak groups by more powerful ones.

In this connection TEJO publishes a bulletin of press cuttings, which I have been asked to edit. I hope you will be able to help by supplying suitable press cuttings from newspapers, magazines and journals which you read. The cuttings sent by you appear in a photocopied form together with a translation.

Articles selected should: (a) deal not only with discrimination against national and ethnic groups but with social discrimination (between classes, sexes, age-groups, etc.) on condition that these also have linguistic and cultural aspects; (b) be up-to-date; (c) not simply give news but have a general value, and shed light on the background to a problem.

Your help in contributing relevant cuttings for the bulletin would be valued." Mr. H. S. Chapman, External Relations Committee, TEJO, 7 Fairacre Road, Barwell, Leicester, LE15. 8HH.

EIRE THE NORTH — CONVENTION ELECTION RESULTS

The Northern Constitutional Convention, which will be charged with considering what provisions for the government of Northern Ireland would be likely to command the most widespread acceptance throughout the community, was first suggested by the British Government in July of last year and a Bill was quickly passed through Parliament with the support of the Opposition. This followed the resignation of the power-sharing Northern Ireland Executive Assembly brought down, after five months in office, by the Ulster Workers Council (Loyalists) strike in May. The elections took place under a proportional representation system and the 78 seats (the same number as was in the Assembly) were won as follows:

United Ulster Unionist Council (U.U.U.C.)	46
Social, Democratic and Labour Party (S.D.L.P.)	17
Independent Loyalists	1
Alliance Party	8
Unionist Party of Northern Ireland (U.P.N.I.)	5
Northern Ireland Labour Party (N.I.L.P.)	1

As can be seen the Loyalist Coalition of the U.U.U.C., comprising the Rev. Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party, Mr. Harry West's Official Unionist Party and Mr. William Craig's Vanguard Unionist Party won an overall majority of 14 seats.

The U.P.N.I. which is Mr. Brian Faulkner's (the former Chief Executive) Party was virtually decimated and the S.D.L.P. not only failed to increase the number of seats they had held in the Assembly but lost two in fact. The Provisional Sinn Féin did not contest the elections and organised an active boycott campaign urging the minority community not to vote. To this the S.D.L.P. attribute their failure to gain more seats. The Republican Clubs (Official Sinn Féin) took part in the elections but fared badly gaining only 2.2% of the votes and no seats. Their performance may have been affected by their continuing bloody feud with the breakaway Irish Republican Socialist Party, the latest casualty of which was the Belfast Official Leader, Liam McMillen.

The Loyalist Coalition having got their majority have reiterated their demand for a return to majority rule and categorically confirmed their opposition to power sharing and any link with the South ("Irish Dimension"). Another of their demands is the return of security powers to a Northern Ireland government. The election results mark the collapse of British strategy over the last few years in the North and indeed of the related policies of the Dublin Government. Their basic policy was to obtain partnership in Government between representatives of the Unionist and Nationalist communities. With the Loyalist Coalition resolutely rejecting this concept it would seem to be thoroughly undermined. Whether the British will be more inclined, and under pressure at home, to work towards a policy of withdrawal or to prepare for a lengthier period of direct rule from Westminster remains to be seen. The Dublin Government would certainly seem to favour the latter course.

Meanwhile the Provisional ceasefire continues and while it does the British Government remains pledged to continue releasing internees, many hundreds of whom still remain jailed. The Provisional I.R.A. regard the Convention as irrelevant (and do not accept power-sharing as a solution) and their aim of course is a declaration of intent to withdraw by the British Government. For the time being, however,

the ceasefire seems likely to continue — at least until after the Convention reports. If the Provisionals have declared a ceasefire, the Loyalists para-military organisations have not and sectarian murders continue unabated.

Ardfeis Chonradh Na Gaeilge

The 1975 Ardfeis (Annual Conference) of Conradh na Gaeilge was held in Beal Atha na Siuaighe (Ballinasloe) in East Galway. There was a large attendance of delegates which was remarkable considering that the Ardfeis coincided with a strike of petrol tanker drivers and a resultant shortage of fuel. For the first time in many years An Ardfeis completed its agenda under the capable chairmanship of President Pádraig Ó Snodaigh.

The assembly passed the following resolution without opposition:

"Conradh na Gaeilge asserts that the restoration of Irish can only be accomplished by a change of system. The present system is, by its nature opposed to the restoration of Irish and all aspects of the Irish way of life. No significant change will come from changing personalities and parties in government because all such persons and parties operate within the system. Irish culture will not hold sway again until a system based on certain standards and values is instituted, a system which will support the political, economic, social and cultural freedom of Ireland, a system which will stand by the rights of man rather than the rights of money."

The "system" referred to is, of course, the socio-political framework.

The Ardfeis instructed An Coiste Gnó (National Executive) to embark immediately on a Civil Rights campaign and to seek support from other organisations. In another resolution the recently announced Gaeltacht Authority was rejected and in its place An Conradh now demands an Authority which (a) would be elected democratically by the voters of the Gaeltacht on the basis of representation for each townland, (b) would take over the powers of the existing local Authorities, (c) would have control over the purchase and sale of land in the Gaeltacht, (d) would be the supreme planning and development authority for the Gaeltacht and (e) would have sufficient legal powers and finance to achieve full employment in the Gaeltacht. A resolution was passed unanimously congratulating Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg on the recent successes in its Broadcasting Campaign.

The Ardfeis welcomed plans to organise a Celtic Languages Conference next year. It was reported that the last year was a very successful one for Clódhanna Teoranta, the Conradh's publishing company, which will open a Celtic Book Shop in the next month or so. Clódhanna also announced plans to set up its own printing press. The Standing Committee's development sub-committee distributed a draft-manifesto for discussion in the organisation's branches. There were lively debates on the fight for the language in the state administration and on the television campaign. The Ardfeis pledged full support to Alan Heussaff in his refusal to pay for a television licence and his ensuing legal battle. Already a large number of Irish-speakers have publicly announced their refusal to take out television licences. It was decided by a large majority to hold the 1976 Ardfeis in Beal Feirste (Belfast).

The discussions showed that the great majority of Conradh branches recognise the validity of an activist programme. Indeed, the open protests about the Conradh being involved in political matters commanded less support than

ever this year and tended to be of a resigned ritualistic nature. This year it was discerned that the opposition to activism was of a subtler opportunistic kind than old-style reaction. Its arguments may be paraphrased thus: "write letters, organise petitions, lobby your T.D.'s, call meetings but, above all, be REASONABLE and "reasonable" in that context is indistinguishable from "respectable".

Pádraig Ó Snodaigh, editor of CARIL, was re-elected president unopposed. Feargus Ó Cuileáin

Ground Rent in Ireland

(In Carn 8 a summary of the historical basis of Ground Rent was given. This article continues with an account of the lead up to and the development of the present campaign being waged against Ground Rents.)

The War of Independence changed nothing as far as Ground Rent was concerned. The Landlord and Tenant Act of 1931 accepted the prevailing situation completely. Its significance was that it established the payment of Ground Rents as an integral part of the new Irish land code. In 1967 following the publication of the report of a Commission set up in 1961 to inquire into Ground Rents another Landlord and Tenant Act (Ground Rents) was passed. The Commission had recommended that the tenant have the right to purchase freehold — but only if he paid a capital sum to the landlord, which when invested would yield in simple interest each year a sum equivalent to the ground rent normally paid i.e. the Commission had established the principle that a tenant could buy freehold by paying his ground rent in advance forever! The 1967 Act gives the tenant the right to compulsory buy out his ground rent, subject to the above principle — the amount to be based on the return from the most recent Government long term loan. In addition to this the tenant must pay the legal costs of both parties and these could be considerable. This basically is still the position as it stands today.

Not only are there Ground Rents from feudal times, now in the hands of the descendants of the conquerors, but new Grounds Rents have been created by builders and developers. These modern ground landlords advance the excuse that ground rents were started by builders as a means of keeping down the price of houses. This is simply untrue and this excuse was scotched in the report of the 1961 Commission which stated "... the fine charged for the house includes a site fine ... and the aggregate of such fines on a reasonably sized building site is double the price paid by the builder for the site. Therefore, there is a substantial margin to cover the development costs, without taking into account the ground rent." Many local authorities operate Ground Rents and prominent insurance companies have invested in them.

A list of some of the 'traditional' ground landlords makes interesting reading. In Dublin City the Earl of Pembroke, of Wilton House, Salisbury, England, owns large sections of the inner and outer southern suburbs. The rackrenting Proby's, Claud, Peter (Bursar of Eton College, England), and Sir Richard (Eton Hall, Peterborough, England) also owns large sections of the southern suburbs as well as seventeen major city properties. The Longford and de Veszi estates are also in south Dublin and the Eton educated Viscount de Veszi owns extensive estates in Abbeylisle, including the town of Abbeylisle. Two third of Cork is owned by the Earl of Cork and Ormery, and Dundalk, for the most part, is owned by Lord Roden.

The immorality of Ground Rent and the need for its abolition would only be contested by the Peers of the Irish Landlords Convention, the builders and developers who created new ground rents and the politicians who represent those interests but it is only in the last few years that a major campaign for the abolition of Ground Rent got under way. The republican paper 'The United Irishman' campaigned against Ground Rent for many years and aided the campaign on the Proby Estate where, due to flaws in the 1967 Act and previous Acts, tenants were forced to renew leases at exorbitant rents (£240 per annum) or pay huge lump sums (£3,000 in one case). The major breakthrough came however when the Association of Combined Residents Associations (A.C.R.A.) took up the fight against Ground Rent. A.C.R.A. is concentrated mainly in Dublin City and County and represents many hundreds of thousands of householders. In June 1973 A.C.R.A. announced a campaign aimed at the complete abolition of Ground Rent.

A special Ground Rent Sub-Committee was set up to investigate every aspect of Ground Rents and advise the general body on the best means of abolition. The sub-committee circulated all affiliated associations requesting details of ground rent paid, names of landlords and suggestions as to action to forward the campaign. From this request evolved the Ground Rent Census form which each Association was asked to fill and return to the sub-committee. A.C.R.A.'s Ground Rent Census revealed the secrets of the landlords' rent rolls and provided the first flow of authentic information ever made public about the amounts being collected and by whom. Information which eluded the Ground Rent Commission since its inception in 1961 flowed in from Dublin's sprawling suburbs as Association after Association collected data in its own area.

The recommendations of the sub-committee included (a) educating the public on the injustices of ground rent, (b) the focusing of attention on cases where leaseholders whose leases had expired were not even given an option to renew them and were to lose their homes, (c) a meeting with the Minister for Justice and the Landlord and Tenant Commission to press for legislation to abolish ground rents, (d) an approach to the major political parties to ascertain their policy on ground rents with a view to making ground rents an issue in any subsequent Local and General Elections. As A.C.R.A. began to act the first legal actions between landlords and tenants were already taking place. A tenant in Cabinteely, a south Dublin estate, had a decree for possession of his house granted against him for non payment of ground rent. Since then however the tenant, Mr. J. Fitzgibbon, has lived on undisturbed at his residence and the landlord, a Mr. O'Neil, although granted possession of a modern house for arrears of £22.50 ground rent, has not claimed possession. Legally, however, he can turn up at any time with the sheriff to enforce the court order. In another case where the alternative course of issuing a Civil Bill for the amount due was adopted by the landlord a tenant had his house entered in his absence by City Sheriff officials and goods to the value of £120 seized for auctioning to recover the £8 ground rent awarded by the court. In July 1973 a picket was placed on an auction of ground rents by A.C.R.A. in an attempt to stop the practice of publicly auctioning ground rent blocks to the highest bidder. When the ground rents were put up for bids A.C.R.A.'s Public Relations Officers objected to the sale describing ground rent as 'feudal extortion'. The auction collapsed immediately.

In February 1974 the delegate body of A.C.R.A. took a

unanimous decision to withhold ground rent as one of the means of getting Government action. The sub-committee had tried to get a commitment from the Government to bring in legislation abolishing all ground rent and had failed. Meetings with the parliamentary parties of Fianna Fáil and Labour helped convince the sub-committee that no real progress had been made in legislating out of existence what everyone admits to be an indefensible institution. A.C.R.A.'s aims were defined as, (1) prohibit by law the creation of new ground rents; (2) abolish existing ground rents; (3) compensate aggrieved parties — in particular people paying this immoral rent over the years.

The months between February and June were crowded with public meetings of residents in many areas of Dublin as the sub-committee, working in co-operation with the residents associations, went about the task of organising the campaign. Literature (explaining the background and aims of the campaign) was prepared for distribution by associations to each householder. The canvass of estates to collect signatures supporting the campaign and a £1 per household towards a fighting fund to meet the costs of the campaign began. Whilst all the activity was being organised and was moving into top gear the first results of the campaign began to emerge on the eve of June 1974. Local Elections.

The Government announced that it intended passing legislation prohibiting the creation of new ground rents and reducing the legal costs involved in the 1967 Landlord and Tenant Act (Ground Rent) to those wishing to buy freehold. A.C.R.A. had won its first point and saved future generations from the grip of this insidious rent and its feudal claims. But the main task remains — that of emancipating existing leaseholders.

Meanwhile the landlords were not idle. Apart from the multitude of threatening letters phrased in such a fashion as to put the heart crossways in the average householder, hundreds of Civil Bills were issued. Many tenants (over a hundred), have gone to Court on the issue and some of them have chosen, like Mr. Fitzgibbon, to refuse to pay even in Court and have joined him in having possession orders granted to their ground rent landlords on their houses. Another less subtle approach by the landlord is to offer the freehold for somewhat less than that specified in the 1967 Act with the additional temptation of waiving legal fees. This is an attempt to anticipate the success of A.C.R.A. in reducing the terms of compensation applicable under the 1967 Act. It is also an attempt to break the solid front forming against the payment of ground rent throughout the whole community.

It is obviously immoral for a landlord to recover the full value of a piece of land through a site charge, then over and over again through ground rent and finally to recover the land itself and everything built upon it including the house bought by the lessee. This is what the ground rent system means. A.C.R.A.'s campaign has highlighted the injustice of ground rent and awakened the conscience of the Irish people. With thousands now withholding payments of ground rents and political pressure building up let us hope that it will not be too long until the campaign achieves its aim to consign ground rent, that iniquitous relic of feudalism, to the dustbin of history. (A.C.R.A.'s pamphlet on ground rent, The A.C.R.A. view on Grounds Rents can be obtained for 20p plus postage, from the Secretary of the Irish Branch of the Celtic League.

C. Ó L.

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Ogras: Annual General Meeting 1975

Ogras is a youth organisation affiliated to Conradh na Gaeilge (Gaelic League). Its aims are: a) to build a national, free and Gaelic, community in Ireland in association with Conradh na Gaeilge and other organisations; b) to give young people the means to develop as persons and as leaders in public life; c) to promote the native culture of Ireland; d) to give support to the Conradh. It is open to young people in the age group 15-19 years. It is non-sectarian and independent of political organisations. Its members are organised in gasraí (groups), subordinated to regional committees and to a National Committee. It will have a Summer camp on the Aran Islands during the first fortnight of July.

The most successful and important A.G.M. of Ogras to date was held in An Rinn, the Gaeltacht in west Waterford in April. It was marked by a numerous and enthusiastic attendance and good efficiency in organising the event and by new proposals being mooted and adopted by the members for a plan-of-action to be undertaken during the coming year. We now look forward to the future with confidence and with a comprehensive programme that will ensure the furtherance of our aims and ideals.

There were over 230 members present apart from 80 delegates from the constituent groups. They came from every part of Ireland. For the first time we had members from Belfast, Carrickmacross and Callan.

All members present were invited to participate in six discussion groups each of which were given a different subject to develop as well as the opinions and proposals scheduled for general discussion at a plenary session the following morning. The six subjects were: Recruitment, Training, National Events, Propaganda, National Campaigns and the National Summer Camp. Among the proposals accepted was one which has great potential: that is the running of an Ogras Olympics annually. Full support will be given for the following Campaigns, (a) Road-signs in Irish-only in the Gaeltacht, and bilingual (with Irish and English of equal status) on all signs elsewhere; (b) defending the rights of all to transact their business through Irish with every Government Department; asking that notices welcoming the use of Irish be displayed in public offices; requesting the Department of Education to supply suitable textbooks in Irish immediately, to make help available to the Naiscoiléanna Gaeilge (Irish-language kindergartens), and to provide more courses in Irish in all third level institutions of Education; requesting the Government to provide a full spectrum of programmes in Irish on R.T.E., and the second Television channel to be Irish-controlled; seeking that the Irish mineral resources be developed and the wealth accruing therefore to be used for the benefit of the people of the country.

Ce'n Bothar?

Ce gur nós linn labhairt ar 'Ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge' feicimid nuair a scrúdaíonn muid an scéal gurb é a príomh locht nach gluaiseacht abhí inti ar chor ar bith é bunaidh ar Saor Stát go dtí le goid arís. Má bhí socrú pholaitiúil 1922 mísháilí tháin le cainte gur cheap a lán go raibh re nua i ndán don teanga. Bronnadh chuile afaid uirthi. Ní bheadh ann ach ceist ama go mbeadh sí ar bhéal na spreasán agus na ngalachóirí chomh maith le chéile arís. Chaitheadh sé go mba mhaith an ceapadh ag an am, cé go bhfuil sé soláir anois go mba shonta an ceapadh é — ní ar chúiseanna polaitiúla amháin. Cé go bhfuil daoine ann a

déarfais nár theip ar fad ar an iarracht agus go mbeadh ann ná is é is beag duine a déarfais go raibh an toradh bord ar bord leis an ngealladh. Chaitheadh bheith ag súil go suathmheo an 'ghluaiseacht' seo ina géag séimh den stát. Céard abhí inti sa deireneach ach an chuid sin den tsaoir-ghluaiseacht a scollt ar thaobh Chonradh 1922? Sár rud nach mbailfí ag súil leis — go bhfanadh sí suaimhneach ar feadh na mbliain i bhfianaise loicead an stáit ar a dhuais leith na teange. D'fhéadadh sí móid dílseachta a thabhairt don stát chuile lá san aer agus troid fhúntach ar son na Gaeilge a dhéanamh ag an am céanna. Ach, is bolach nach mar seo a bhreathnadh sí ar an scéal. Ní hé amháin nach raibh sí tháin ná málam ar bith a chur ar riatas ar bith, sheachain sí go dtírachas tuise ar feadh na mbliain ón goid dhá seán-chorp tháin a chuirigh le Gluaiseacht na Poblaíochta — go háirithe ó Mhúirtín Ó Cadhain. Ach ní raibh seisean ariamh ag iarradh uirthi pé creideamh polaitiúil abhí aice tháin nó ag a baili go haonarach a shéanadh. Ón gcoinbhios abhí aice le modail ar bith a tháinig ariamh as a bhéal shléo go raibh sé ag iarradh uirthi aghaidh a thabhairt ar na cuile agus gunna ar a gualainn! A heasba mianigh a chuir le buile é. Níorbh ionas a rith gur 'Miseach' a bháist sé ar an eagras a bhunadh sé i 1966.

Eis dhúisic, neamhúirdiallach abhí roimh Mhúirtín tar éis a tháma fada príosún ag deireadh na ndaicheddí. Shloighfeadh iníre mhór na goagóidí an dream óg abhí ag teacht suas óna bhféadadh sé bheith ag súil le éisteacht. Leis na seascadh tháinig casadh na taoide. Thosaigh sin seanchreatail-ach ag tabhairt uathu ina chuile ball. Phléasc an Tuaisceart, Chorrigh dream óg, dhúshlánaigh an deannach agus an caonach iad de Chonradh na Gaeilge. Tháinig Gluaiseacht na gCeart ina na Gaeltachtaí ar an saol. Ba l an chuide chéanna a sheol agus a bhrostaigh uilig iad.

Ní réghadh dá chéile a bhíonn an ghluaiseacht nua oifigiúil seo agus gluaiseacht na Gaeltachta go minic. Ach is cinte go dtuigfeadh dóibh amach anseo gur ar scáth a chéile a mhairfeas siad. Ní mhairfidh an Ghaeltacht gan tacaíocht ó phobal níos leithne ná i tháin. Ní mhairfidh sí mura bhféadfaidh sí a teorainneacha atá ag síor-chungú a léathnú. Ach caitheadh an ghluaiseacht taobh amuigh den Ghaeltacht a thaiscint nach ionas ar bith é gur beag an mhúilín atá ag gluaiseacht na Gaeltachta aisi. Is fíor go bhfuil sí ag tabhairt tacaíocht don éileamh ar Udarás Aitiúil agus do rudaí nach é ach caithfidh sí a léiriú gurb í an Ghaeltacht an chuid is tábhachtaí den aithbheochaint agus Gaeilgeoirí na Gaeltachta a eagrú leis an nGaeiltacht sin a mhéad agus a bhuánú. Ba cheart go mbeadh chuile ghloimhálacht eile ag freastal ar an mór-aidhm sin. Tá na comharthaí ann go bhfuil cúl tugtha leis le na seanchreatail tháin. Tuigfeadh go forleathan gur mar phobal a bhíneadh Gaeilgeoirí amach a gcearta agus go deimhin gur beag is fiú na cearta sin ar bhundús ar bith eile. Fiú agus na cearta ann ní bheadh aon éileamh orthu gan an pobal sin ar a mbéidís ag freastal. Cár fhága tú 'céad teanga oifigiúil' an bhunreacht?

Ach má tá na comharthaí sin ann agus go bhfuil ní heol dom go bhfuil sé mar pholasaí cinte, oscailte ag cuid ar bith den ghluaiseacht Gaeilgeoirí a eagrú leis an chuid seo a chur chun cinn. Ní bheadh leiríocht ar bith aice dá gcláiríocht uirthi diús a chur le feachtas den chinéil seo anois. Ní easáid tuaisceana atá uirthi. An líon daoine gur feiceadh dóibh gurb é seo an bóthar a chaitheadh an Aithbheochaint a thabhairt uirthi tháin, tá sé ag méadú leis. Ní áiríonn na lán acu iad tháin mar bhail den ghluaiseacht oifigiúil. Ba e an trua dá gcaithfí ar fad céanna a chur i leith na gluaiseachta athnuachta a chuir sí tháin i leith an tsaoir-dreama abhí

roimpi — gur seadán í ag díol ar an rud a bhfuil sí in ainm agus bheith, ag freastal air — gurb é a príomh-aidhm í tháin a choinneáil beo. Carlin Maude.

KERNOW

INSTITUTE OF CORNISH STUDIES. The Cornwall Council has rejected by a large majority a recommendation by its policy committee that financial support for the Institute should not be continued after next July. The chairman had received 61 letters from organisations and individuals supporting retention of the "Institute" with these and support from Cornishmen on the Council an important part of Kernow's future was saved for the time being.

GRAND BARD. The Grand Bard of "Gorsyth Kernow" recently stated that national heritage did not invite political separation. The Cornish people, he said, must deserve recognition as a Celtic Nation and should not overstate their case. The demand of Home Rulers and the Stannary Court were rather futile exercises. In other words: Cornishmen, don't dare to walk upright.

CELTIC STUDIES. Support for the Fifth International Studies in Penzance came from local authorities and traders. The Penwith Council chairman welcomed delegates and later went on to describe the congress as a platform for all aspects of Celtic studies.

LANGUAGE SUPPORT. A letter in a Cornish newspaper recently accused the Cornish Language of being primitive and suited to a primitive people and it went on to say it would be a crime if it were broadcast or taught in rate-supported schools. This letter was in answer to a communication from the Cornish Branch, Celtic League to the newspaper giving the outline of the C.L. memorandum to the Annan Committee (see CARN No. 8). Since then many letters defending our language have been printed in this same newspaper.

GOOD YEAR FOR LANGUAGE BOARD. There were a record 48 candidates for the 1974's Cornish Language Board examinations. At Advanced Grade 8 out of 8 passed; at Intermediate Grade 9 out of 17 passed and at Elementary Grade 19 out of 22 passed.

A Spring Holiday Residential School for learners of Cornish is under discussion following many requests.

Board publications during the year were a collection of short stories and a tape supplement to a previous book. The Rev. D. Evans translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew is also to be published soon.

Our Democratic Parliament

The inefficiency of the British electoral system, which sometimes puts the wrong political party in power, is now generally recognised but the serious effect it has on important parliamentary decisions is not fully realised. This can only be seen when one breaks down the number of seats cast for each party and relates them to the number of seats gained by that party. When this is done the flaw in the system becomes obvious.

In the October election in 1974 the figures were as follows:

Labour — 11,345,000 votes — 319 seats.
Tories — 10,413,000 votes — 276 seats.
Liberal — 5,353,000 votes — 13 seats.
S.N.P. — 840,000 votes — 11 seats.
Haid Cymru — 166,000 votes — 3 seats.
This means that each Labour M.P. represents 35,300 electors, each Tory 37,700, each Liberal 411,700, each S.N.P.

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76,300, and each Plaid Cymru M.P. 55,300 electors. Though, as may be seen, one M.P. may represent ten times as many electors as another M.P., no account is taken of this difference in parliament, each member having only one vote; consequently when a vote is taken in the House the result may completely misrepresent the electorate. For example: a division in which the Government gets 300 votes and the Opposition only 200, would be regarded as a substantial victory, yet if instead of counting the number of M.P.s voting, one counted the number of electors they represented, an opposite result could be obtained. If all of the Plaid, SNP and Liberal members were in opposition then the figures would be: 3 Plaid Cymru, 166,000, 11 S.N.P., 840,000, 13 Liberals, 5,353,000, 173 Tories, 6,522,100; this would give a total of 12,881,100 electors, against the Government's 10,650,000 (35,500 x 300) yet the Government wins and it's Bill is passed into law although the representatives of 2,231,100 more electors had voted against it than had voted for it.

Much of the unrest and even violence in the country is due to laws being passed in this way without any regard to the wishes of the electorate and the impossibility of getting them changed by existing legal methods. In the earlier election in February the pattern was pretty much the same and a similar division in the resulting parliament could have had the same unsatisfactory result but it is worth noting that the Tories got 220 (Ed. 220,000) more votes than Labour and yet lost the election.

Not only is the voting system in both the elections and in parliament unsatisfactory but so also is the attitude of the M.P.s themselves. Most M.P.s frankly state that they are not obliged to vote in the way their electors want them to vote but only to vote in the way which they think is best for their electors or as it is usually put, they "owe the electors their judgement not their obedience". But in fact they are usually ready to jettison their own judgement and obey the party whip so the elector gets neither his own opinion nor the judgement of his representative expressed.

Over the centuries the power of the sovereign has passed to parliament which has in turn passed it on to the Cabinet, which has gradually let it slip into the hands of the prime minister so that we are now governed, to all intents and to all purposes by one man, who for up to five years has the power of a sovereign in his hands.

The democracy content of our political system is just about nil and will remain so until we adopt some form of proportional representation.

R. C. Boyd

International Congress of Celtic Studies in Penzance

Penzance in Cornwall from 6-12 April 1975 was the scene of the Fifth International Congress of Celtic Studies which was organized by the recently founded Institute of Cornish Studies under its director Prof. Charles Thomas. This Congress brought scholars together from far and wide, many of whom would claim no Celtic descent, as well as many who would, but all professing a deep interest in the languages, history or archaeology to which the adjective Celtic may be applied.

As well as the official programme of lectures and talks, with the emphasis in the major lectures on the history of the Cornish language, the Congress enjoyed the hospitality of the Penwith District Council, and the Royal Institution of Cornwall. An Evening Church service was conducted entirely in Cornish and was attended by practically the entire Corn-

ish attendance. Mediaeval Cornish plays were performed specially for the Congress, one in the original Cornish and the other in an English translation. Unfortunately, due to the bad weather, the plays had to be performed in the Town Hall of Penzance instead of in the ancient Plain-an-Gwary, or circular open-air theatre in the town of St. Just.

Ba shuiml linn na dramal seo agus bhiomar bujoch don fhoirinn a chuir ar fáil dúinn iad. Mé féin, mheas mé gur bhrathas uaim sa dráma Béarla ar rithim rialta a bhí i meadrecht an dráma Cornaise.

Riviera na Breataine a thugtar ar an Chorn ach caithfidh nár tháin gin le spiorad Ceilteach an Chorn. O cheann ceann na seachtaine ní bhfuairamar ach dhá uair a chloig gréine, bhí go leor fliuchtha againn agus cuid mhaith sneachta, rud is fearannamh san áit. Pé rud faoin aimsir bhí muintir Phensans agus an Chorn an-láid leis na cuairteoirí cé go bhfeiceann siad, más fear na tuairisí, suas le 500,000 turasóirí sa bhliain.

Arsa fear siopa liom Eireannach: "I can accept you as a Celt alright, but do all these other people here call themselves Celts?"

Bhí an fear bocht trí chéile dáiríre iontas an domhain air. "In the pub last night, ar sé, 'there were Italians and Spaniards and Germans and Hungarians, not to mention Americans."

Bhí go leor English ann chomh maith, chuirfinn geall air, ach níor luagh sé iad sin.

Mhínigh mé dó go bhfuil ag na daoine seo go léir, ar scoláirí mór le rá slán acu i dtíortha éagsúla, suim i léann teangacha agus stair na gCeilteach agus nuair a bhí ain tuigthe aige bhí sé breá sásta ach fós ba mhór a iontas.

"It's very impressive," ar sé, "just to think that so many foreigners are interested. I don't think we understand these things at all in 'England'. We should know more about this Take Cornish, for instance, I am a Cornishman and proud of it. So perhaps studying Cornish is not as silly as I thought it was."

Cheannaigh mé m'earraí agus d'fhág mé slán ag an Chailteach dúisithe sin.

A Spanish delegation attended the Congress with the desire of bringing the next Congress in 1979 to La Coruña in Spain where a wealth of Celtic archaeology is found, as well as Celtic music and placenames although no spoken Celtic language exists there. They were not successful in their mission as the next Congress is provisionally fixed for Gaillimh in Ireland. Perhaps in the future the Spaniards will be successful in their aim.

A. Ó M.

MANNIN

A LEARNED INSTITUTION FOR MANN?

The Fifth International Congress of Celtic Studies ended in Penzance, Cornwall, on 12 April with the announcement that the next congress would be held in 1979 in Galway. This means that Mann is the only Celtic country not to have played host to this important congress, a depressing fact for the Manx representation at the congress. Presumably, the ad hoc committee which fixed the venue decided that not enough support would be forthcoming from Mann. In any case, Mann does not have a learned or cultural institution of sufficient status and resources under whose auspices an international congress of Celtic Studies could comfortably be run. The Manx National Museum in Douglas is a fine establishment, but it lacks the dynamism and money needed for such an enterprise.

In 1835, in the preface to his "Dictionary of the Manx Language," Archibald Cregeen wrote: "Amongst the numerous literary advantages which 'King William's College' is expected to afford the sons of Mona, it is devoutly to be wished that the cultivation of the vernacular tongue be not overlooked. The establishment of a professorship for that specific object would be highly desirable." Unfortunately, the cultivation of the vernacular was, and is, to a large extent, overlooked. In any case, it can hardly be said that King William's College (a boys' public school in the English mould) turned out to be much use to Manx people as Manx people. Cregeen's hopes were echoed by the present leading authority on Manx, Robert Thomsen, in his Rhys Lecture in 1969.

It could be that the fact that the next international congress of Celtic studies will not be held in Mann will aid those who are calling for the foundation of some form of higher educational institution in Mann. An economic survey of the island commissioned by the Manx government fairly recently recommended the setting up of a university, a move also backed by various individuals and groups, including the Manx Association of Scientists, Artists and Writers (MASAW). But, given the determined philistinism of the Manx government, the present world-wide economic crisis, and the fixed belief that almost all students spend their time demonstrating and drug-taking, etc., it seems impossible to believe that a full university could be set up in Mann in the foreseeable future. MASAW and others have proposed the formation of less ambitious educational and cultural institutions, but so far nothing has been accomplished. Even a proposal with a lot to recommend it to the conservative Manx establishment — the setting-up of a private university for the study of no-nonsense subjects — has got nowhere.

Possibly the best course of action is to press for the foundation of a Manx version of the Institute of Cornish Studies, which is financed and controlled jointly by Exeter University and Cornwall County Council. This would have its dangers, since many Manxmen would tend to think of linking up with Liverpool University, which already has a marine biological out-station in Mann. Liverpool University is at present not strong in Celtic studies and for this reason alone it would be far preferable to link up with universities in Celtic countries.

BRIAN MAC STOYLL

Brishey Yn Unnaneys As Cairys Sheshoil

(Many English liberals have at last got some understanding of Celtic nationalism. But they still seem to believe that only they and their Celtic followers can work for social justice.)

Paart dy veeghyn er dy henney, screu Francis Boyd ny focklyn shoh sy phabyr-naight, y "Guardian": "Peiagh erbee ta feddyn foill leah ysearnneyn ny ashoonaghteyryn Celtiagh son seyrnays lane, ts ny hashoonaghteyryn cur froggyrt da gra dy vel cheer enagh ta ny aloo na yn cheer ocsyn slane seyr, as dy vel yn cheer shoh jannoo fear vie." Ta Mr Boyd goll er dy ghra dy vel ashoonaghteyryn Celtiagh jannoo das varan tra t'ad gearree y ve slane seyr veit Sostyn. Hoashiagh, cha vod fer erbee credjal dy ren sollaghey-lae Lunnin as ch-voik Whitehall stroie dy choillay hro ec ny Celtiee 'moymagh'. Y nah red, ta'n Reerlaight Unnaneysait er ve gobbraghey son cairys sheshoil (social) as seyrnays riah kead blein as ny smoo: cha ihlagh yn obbyr shoh ve ceaut arsoyl.

Tra ylow ny Celtiee tooilleey seyrnays, foddee dy bee tranlaasee chwet roo ayns ny chearaghyn Celtiagh. Agh ore hon dy vel sleih goll rish Boyd smoonaghtyn dy re ny Sostnee yn ynrican pobble fod obbraghey son cairys as seyrnays? Fod ymmoddes Sostnee lash paart dy hargid foddral y ve meelley, cairagh as surransagh — cha nel caggaghyn er ve ayn er y thalloo ocsyn riah keadyn dy vleeantyn. Cha nel nyn jengey ayns gaue ny lieh varroo. Cha vod ad taiggal yn eulys mee — chooyrtail ta goll er ayns Kerim. As erskyn ooliley cha jean ad taiggal dy re cheengey ny mayrey y tro smoo scanshoil ec pobble erbee. Tra ta'n tro shen stroiet, dy jarroo ta tro ny tranlaasee currit da'n phobble.

BRIAN MAC STOYLL

Letters

"In commenting the actions of the Paysans Travailleurs reported in Carn No. 8, p.11, a judge said that it was a plundering worthy of 18th-century highway robbers. What the Justice does not say is that for the past year and a half, the meat price paid to producers has decreased by 15 to 30% . . . and the housewife is paying ever higher prices. To pay for a tractor, a farmer needed 2900 kg of meat in 1972, but 4350 kg in 1974.

The Paysans Travailleurs, a trade union which started in Brittany, proclaim they have nothing left, nothing more to lose, that the land is their working implement (they don't necessarily speak of property). They intercropped for ex. in Nantes, meat imported from Argentina and distributed it to the least fortunate, they called that solidarity.

Justice is worried by such people. When they say "work implement . . . Justice says Property: they say solidarity, Justice says theft; action in support of their claim is for Justice brigandage. To a demonstration with tractors, Justice replies by withdrawing driving licenses! It gives heavy suspended sentences to paralyse the militant minded in the trade unions. A farmer who is deprived of the use of his implements is not free to practise his trade than a farmer in jail . . . but it is more soft-handed, in the image of this French bourgeoisie Justice."

HUON

You invite comment on the magazine, 'Carn', and I would like to say that to a person who is removed from the area concerned the articles appear somewhat esoteric. The same might be conveyed to an inhabitant of say, Wales, reading the pieces about Brittany. This may be because readers are expected to have sufficient background to understand the intricacies of Celtic politics, but to others the long lists of movements referred to by initials mean nothing — what is needed is expository articles putting into perspective the various movements — whether socialist, conservative, anarchist, whether influential politically or culturally, whether rural or industrial, pacifist or militarist etc.

Similarly, with the brief comments on current affairs such as "Frad McAuley announced a new B.B.C. radio service based on Inverness to start in 1976 with an initial 15 hours/week in Gaelic". Is this supposed to be good or bad news? How much Gaelic is at present broadcast? Why did the B.B.C. decide to do this? After reading several articles on Mannin I am still no clearer as to the strength of the Celtic feeling in that island. What proportion of the population would regard themselves as anything but English for example. The overall situation does not come through. This may not be important if the magazine is simply for the League members to keep in touch, but if it wishes to attract a wider readership it may need to alter its emphasis.

I must also comment on your editorial which in effect says that atrocities committed by Irish partisans are not to be measured against peacetime norms. This moral relativism may be acceptable to fanatics but the attitude which I hope the League will adopt is that expressed by the Welsh Language Society — 'In spite of the emphasis placed by the Society on the language and on protecting the national identity we would make it absolutely clear that these are respected because of their ability to contribute meaning and richness to the life of men'.

In the words of a Welsh poet.

"Pa werth na thry yn wawd
Pan ladd dyn ei frawd?"

"Respect for life is the fundamental value on which is built every other value. Take this away and you have no other values..."

There are so many possible responses to a situation of duress which do not involve risk to life that acts which have resulted in the death of innocents must be an abomination even to people who are not pacifists.

Peter Edwards, Australia

AGAINST THE USE OF VIOLENCE

"R wyn meddwl y dylais 'r Undeb Celtaidd pwysu ar bolisi gwrth-fyrnigwydd. Allwn ni ddim cefnogi 'r ffrwydro yn Birmingham neu Llundain hefyd ond yr oedd Casnewydd yn arbennig wrth gwrw am ei bod mewn Cymru. Ar yr un pryd rhaid i ni, ym Mhrydain a Llydaw, caisio ddod i sefyllfa yn lwerddon a chofio bod y Sesson a ddechreuodd popeth."

"Y peth sy'n fwyaf boenus i Geltaid eraill ydyw'r diflathwrch dros ladd pobl... Er nad oedd y mwyafrif o Gymry yn cefnogi 'r ffrwydro, 'roedd rhyw gydymdeimlad (gan y cenedlaetholwyr o leiaf) gyda'r bobl hyn (sef Byddin Rhyddid Cymru) — roeddent yn teimlo eu bod yn fwy gamarwain nag yn ynydd. Os nad oedd y diflathwrch dros fywyd yn yr ymgyrch Gwyddelig twyn 'n credu y gaff yr IRA yr un gydymdeimlad ond barn y mwyafrif drostynt ydyw eu bod yn iddall gan rhyfarn (nid yr IRA yn unig wrth gwyb yd yr eithafwyr Protestanaidd hefyd)..." A.O.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians, based in New York, has come out in support of the aims of the Celtic League. It recognises that the freedom and independence of the other Celtic nations would serve to insure the freedom and independence of Ireland. It wishes to associate with the Celtic League for the sole purpose of furthering mutual interests, paramount among these being the achievement of complete political, cultural, social and economic freedom for all Ireland.

Breton Nationality Recognised

The Goarnig family, from Moelan, S. Brittany, is internationally known on account of the refusal by the French authorities to accept the names of six of their children (four of them being unusual Breton ones). This situation has lasted for over a decade now. These children do not legally exist in the "eyes" of the French administration. They took their complaint to the Hague International Court. Last Winter, they were recognised by U.N.O., UNICEF, UNESCO, the European Court of Human Rights and the Hague Court as European citizens with Breton Nationality, and they are to have the status of immigrant workers in Brittany and France. This is the first time since 1532 that the Breton nationality is recognised internationally.

Louis Napoleon Le Roux (1890-1944)

I wonder how many young people today have ever heard of Louis Napoleon Le Roux and, if his name is not entirely forgotten is it not simply due to his somewhat exotic forenames. Who among the youth of today read or even heard of his great Biographical work *The Life of Patrick Pearse* which had such an influence on the youth of Brittany in the years between the two world wars, far more than the *Barzaz Breiz*? It became their favourite book and was to lead many of them to prison, exile and the firing squad, that is, to a total commitment to the cause of Brittany.

The Breton Nationalist Movement referred to as "Breiz Atad", successor to the "Breton Nationalist Party" founded in 1911 by C. Le Mercier d'Erme took its inspiration equally from two sources: Breton and Irish history. Undoubtedly Irish history gave to the young Breton Movement of that period its militancy and unequivocal separatist doctrine.

In 1916 the young Debeauvais (future leader of the movement) painted pro-Irish slogans on the walls of his native city of Rennes. The heroes of Easter Week and particularly P. Pearse became our heroes alongside the Breton heroes of Easter Week: was for us a sign of Resurrection and its martyrs died for us too, and if the heroes of Easter Week came to replace our own long dead heroes in our minds we owe it to that great book of L. N. Le Roux. There were two editions in the French language and one or possibly more in English. It is now out of print.

No historian identified himself so completely with his subject as L.N.R. did and to this day we associate him exclusively with P. Pearse, and what better homage can one pay to the man! Otherwise we know little about him. At the end of the last war we learned that he had been killed in an air raid in London where he happened to be. In fact at the beginning of the war he appeared to the young generation of Nationalists as belonging to the past, although he was still a relatively young man. Since he had emigrated to Ireland many years previously he had disappeared from the Breton scene as completely as if he had gone to that other Western Isle "Tír na nÓg."

L. N. Le Roux was born in Pleudaniel (Tregor) on the 29th of May 1890, writes C. Le Mercier d'Erme in his Anthology of the National Bards and Poets of Brittany. While attending the village school he was already writing poetry in Breton. In 1900, he joined the Breton Movement as Secretary of *Ar Bobl* under the Editorship of F. Jaffrennou and contributed under various pen names to numerous newspapers: *L'Ouest France*, *Le Clocher Breton*, *Le Pays Breton*, *L'Écho de Finistère*, *Ar Vro Brug*, *Le Breton de Paris*, *Les Argonautes*. He was also a member of the Bardic Association Gorsedd and a founder of the newspaper *Breiz Disheud*, an organ of the Breton Nationalist Party. He played a prominent part in the vigorous press campaign organised by that party at the beginning of 1911.

"All our friends that call themselves Bretons" he writes in *Le Pays Breton* on June 1911 "have been struggling for a long time for the revival of the Breton consciousness. We want to do more: we want to work for the freedom of an Independent Brittany." "We do not believe" he wrote in *Nouvel Avenir* (May 1911), "that it is possible for a true Breton to accept the Act of Union to France, because the Treaty of 1532 has been constantly violated and because the French have always been and always will be our persecutors". Finally in the "Écho du Finistère" of June 1911 he writes: "France has always treated Brittany with con-

tempt. After four centuries of oppression we want to regain our freedom, and we want to proclaim our right to that freedom to the French people and to let them know that there are Bretons who are not afraid to say what others feel in their hearts and while some are content to ask for Regional Reforms we remain uncompromisingly Nationalists."

L. N. Le Roux developed his ideas in a pamphlet "For Separatism" published in 1911 at the same time as the Breton Nationalist party manifesto that created quite a stir in the Press of that period. In 1914 Le Roux sailed for Britain with the intention of studying the other Celtic languages; he was never to return to live in his native Brittany.

He was one of the first members of the Breton Movement started by C. Le Mercier d'Erme in 1910 which was at the origin of all that has happened in the political sphere ever since. He also became a member of the Committee of seven forming the leadership of the new Breton Nationalist party along with Ed. Gurguen, Emile Masson, Erwan Marec, Henry d'Yvignac, the Rev. Stary Daniel and C. Le Mercier d'Erme. His name also appears on the manifesto published to protest against the erection in Rennes of a monument commemorating the Act of Union. C. Le Mercier d'Erme published two photographs of L. N. Le Roux in connection with a study on the Breton Nationalist Movement in 1950 — he also wrote a short biography of his dead friend based on documentation provided by Marion Le Roux, his Irish widow. That article probably appeared in some Irish periodical which should be re-published with some of his writings and in particular his main work *The Life of Patrick Pearse* which remains to this day a source of inspiration to the youth of Brittany.

Obviously in this article it is not possible to do full justice to the personality of L. N. Le Roux, one of the most fascinating and strong men of the first Breton Movement. It would be necessary to research his numerous articles (in Breton, English and French) published in the Breton Press of that period, also his friendship with J. Ramsay Mac Donald founder of the Labour Party and Prime Minister of Britain. He wrote his biography and acted as his translator. Finally we know little about his life in Ireland where he spent 30 years. What part did he play in the life of his adopted country? Did he have anything published in that country? So many questions that remain unanswered to date. This article is only a beginning.

Herve Landiern

Books by L. N. Le Roux include: "Pour le Separatisme" (including the Manifesto of the Breton Nationalist Party) in 18 editions du parti Nationalist Breton 1911 J. Ramsay Mac Donald (Biography); *La Langue des relations inter-celtiques* (Publishers a L'enseigne de L'hermine Dinard 1930); "La Vie de Patrick Pearse" (Imprimerie Commerciale de Bretagne, 2 editions in 1932) Translation; "Le Socialisme et la Société" by J. Ramsay Mac Donald (Fammarion).

READ: GAIRM, the Scottish Gaelic literary quarterly, 29 Waterloo Street, Glasgow G2. Copy 25p (\$0.85).

CORNISH NATION, Trelispen, Gorran, St-Austell, Cornwall. Copy 20p.

COMBAT BRETON, 18 rue St Goueno, St-Brieuc, 22000, monthly, 30F/annum. News of Strölad ar Vro, reports on and review of Breton situation (economic, social, political aspects). Expresses a Breton national, left-oriented outlook.

POOR, OLD, FORGOTTEN CELTS

Browsing through a book of Welsh verse the other day I came across Waldo Williams' poem "Cofio" — "Remembering". In this the bard recalls the many civilisations, small and large, of which no or few remains now exist. "The deeds and arts of the early nations, small dwellings and great halls, the fine folklore which was lost centuries ago, the gods that no-one knows about now."

It struck me that the possible destiny of our own Celtic civilisation may have been in the poet's mind as he wrote it, and that many aspects of the way of life of our own people are now amongst "hen bethau anghofedig teulu dyn" — "The old forgotten things of the family of man".

This brings me to another "Family of Man", namely the Marshall Cavendish encyclopedia in 98 weekly parts. Volume 2, Part 17 contains an article upon the Celts, a useful word when you wish to embrace the Irish, Scots, Welsh and Bretons in one article without even mentioning the Manx or Cornish at all.

The early history of the Celts was dealt with quite fairly considering the number of words in which it had to be written, but the account of the Celts of today could hardly have been more pessimistic. The photographs accompanying the article did not help either. These consisted of Kil-larney's Ross Castle, Breton women in traditional costume (although it was pointed out that it was still worn and that Breton is unrelated to modern French), Celtic peasants digging peat from a moor in a remote part of Western Ireland, three Welshmen using coracles, and a red-haired Scottish girl with freckles who wasn't being taught Celtic traditions in school, nearly all showing ways of life on the way out.

Only the Welsh were given hope, being "extremely conscious" of the language regarding it as a symbol of nationhood, "but it appears inevitable that ancient traditions will eventually die out there too". I disagree. Welsh folk dancing is experiencing a revival, Welsh tapestry patterns are becoming more popular in the world of fashion (to name but two small examples) and the Welsh broadcasting media is about to take a big step forward. The language may be an ancient tradition but Esperanto is the only language I can think of which isn't, and Welsh is also capable of being the modern medium in every walk of life in present day Wales.

The article talked about "waulking", the tribal systems, superstition in Western Ireland and Loughness. English and French exploitation did not come into it: there was just a hint when it was mentioned that "Ireland suffered at the hands of many peoples" and that in Scotland "the traditional kilts were proscribed by the English". Waldo Williams describes the "hen bethau" — old things, "as the foam of a wave which breaks upon a deserted beach, as the song of the wind where there is no ear to hear it". This may be applicable to the call of the Celt for justice to certain English and French (and Irish) authorities, but not to the Celtic culture in general.

I would like to assure Marshall Cavendish that our culture is still alive and kicking, kicking hard against the Anglo-French grasp to keep it down.

A. sb O.

Celtic Concert (continued from p.13)

Tickets for this concert (£1 and 80p.) and full details of other events and activities are available from: Swyddfa'r Eisteddfod, Rhyd y Mor, Crisietti, Gwynedd, Cymru.

The Celtic Character

'A ta e sgríobhta, Cha'n ann h-aran a mháin a bheathach-ear duine, ach leis gach uile fhocal a thig a bheal Dá' (Mata, Caib. IV: 4). This is true of every man. It is a universal or catholic truth and so is true of the Celt. I doubt if the Celt ever was a materialist, hedonist, atheist at any stage of his history. Some years ago I advanced the theory that his very name, which was known to and mentioned by the earliest Greek historians such as Herodotus, may have referred not to his physical stature but to his moral and spiritual stature, to his character as a man. This true Celtic Character may have been originally spiritual. If so, Alan J. Rude (Carn no. 8) has done well to write 'those involved in the Celtic struggle should not fail to ask what its ultimate end is'. Many different answers have been given, and are being given today, to the ancient and perennial question 'Clod is clóich aráidh do'n duine?' For Celtic Christians or indeed for all Celts who are theists there is but one answer to that question, namely 'Si is clóich aráidh do'n duine, Dia a ghíorachadh, agus a mhealtuinn gu síorruidh'.

To speak of Celtic Unspirituality would be a contradiction in terms as it would suggest that the Celt may retain the name while repudiating what the name means! It would be like speaking of Christless Christians and there are none except hypocrites who are not Christians although they may assume the name. They come under the rebuke 'Is aithne dhom t'óibre, gu bheil ainm agad, gu bheil thu beò gídeadh a ta marbh (Taibsean: Ceib. 3: 2).

The spirituality of the pre-Christian Celt is well attested in the very vocabulary of the Celtic Languages. R. A. Armstrong in his Gaelic Dictionary (1925) wrote that 'the smoothness and harmony of the language . . . present . . . an incontrovertible argument that the Gaels were once on a time not merely more cultivated than their neighbours but that they passed through ages of very high civilisation and refinement'. I have written in some detail about this in my paper entitled 'Semantics of the Gaelic Language with special reference to the character of the Gael' (Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Volume 45, pp 319-353, 1969).

There are several very interesting and well-informed studies of the philosophy, theology and religion of the Celt and of his way of life which amply prove his high degree of spirituality and, of course, works published in Ireland and by Irish writers are especially valuable in this respect. To mention only one example, there is 'A Short History of Celtic Philosophy' by Herbert Moore Pim (W. Tempest, Dundalgan Press, Dundalk and T. N. Foulis, Edinburgh and London, 1930) which deals in successive chapters with The Celtic Mind, The Soul of Man, The Soul of the World, The Doctrine of Rest, The Theory of Ideas, John Scotus Erigena, John Dun Scotus, Berkeley and Hutcheson, with Notes by Professor Eoin MacNeill. This is an important and valuable book out of all proportion to its small size — a case of multum in parvo.

The spirituality of the post-Christian Celt is also clear in great Celtic Literature written and oral as well as in such works of calligraphy as The Book of Kells. The finely produced four volumes of The Cabinet of Irish Literature edited by Charles A. Rieu, one volume edited by T. P. O'Connor (1993) are 'things of beauty and a joy for ever'.

Celtic spirituality was most clearly shown by the welcome accorded to the Gospel. This is true no matter what view

may be held as to the relationship between the Celtic Church and the Roman Catholic Church. The ancient Druids, being what they were, would naturally welcome the Christian Message. It is surely significant that Columba is represented in a very old hymn as saying 'Is e mo dral Crist mac Dá' — Christ the Son of God is my Druid. Likewise the Gaelic translation of Matthew 2: 1 is interesting — 'thainig druidhean o'n aird an ear gu Ierusalem', the words 'daoine glíche' being relegated to the footnote!

One of the most terrible consequences of war, civil unrest, violence, strikes and all kinds of struggles connected with the pursuit of political and economic freedom and rights, social security and peace, cultural enjoyment and all other ends regarded as good is that these things become ends in themselves and the ultimate end or summum bonum tends to be completely forgotten. 'God gave them their request; but sent leanness into their soul' (Psalm 106: 18). This is the nemesis which overtakes all forms of unspirituality even when they seem to be 'successful' in a worldly sense. All attempts to live 'by bread alone' are doomed to failure because they proceed on the principle of atheism that man ceases to be when he dies, and so can be regarded and treated as merely a superior kind of animal to which the rule applies of 'the survival of the fittest' the fittest being merely those who can wield most strongly the argumentum baculum. He who sets out to gain the whole world by neglecting his soul in the process inevitably ends up by losing both. It is not enough to denounce unprovoked aggression (which leads to war) as wicked, evil and sinful, etc. It is necessary to recognise, denounce and renounce the very thing which is the cause of such aggression, namely unspirituality. The great Irish wit Oscar Wilde once said: 'As long as war is regarded as wicked it will always have its fascination. When it is looked upon as vulgar, it will cease to be popular'. Well, it is obvious that there is a great deal of vulgarity in the modern world.

We can say of all alleged 'good causes' pursued without spirituality — non sic itur ad astra. Today the Celtic Struggle against attempted persecution and suppression of the Celtic Languages and Celtic Culture in general must be inspired and accompanied by that spirituality which expresses itself by denying self and taking up the cross and following Christ (Luke 9: 23). One of the greatest preachers in the history of the Christian Church was the Roman Catholic Bishop Jean Baptiste Massillon. His sermon 'The Virtues and Vices of the Great' is a masterpiece of truth and courage. In another sermon on Luke 4: 27, speaking of the way of the Cross which the Christian must take, he asked, 'Have you any other Gospel to follow? Any other duties to fulfil? Any other promises to hope for than those of the Holy Bible? . . . How little does mankind consult reason in the point of eternal salvation!'

By retaining his Celtic and Christian spirituality the Celt will observe the sage advice of the old Latin motto — Respicere finem! I

Tomas Mac Choinnich

o o o

Received from the Scots Secretariat

New Scottish Nationalist Ballads, by Archie Lamont. 20p. "The impossibility of universal systems and the failure of absolute values form their underlying theme." Of particular interest: "The Celtic Cause". Lamont draws his inspiration not only from Scotland and other Celtic countries, but from as far afield as India, Persia, Jerusalem, he ranges over centuries of history.

SYNTHESIS

A friend of the Celtic peoples member of the Wolfgang-Philipp Gesellschaft, deplores the divisions existing between those professing to struggle for their freedom, and recommends reading "Die Absolutheit des Christentums" by Wolfgang Philipp (a German with a Scottish ancestry) as it would teach how to preserve the various political Celtic tendencies from quarrelling with one another. He has sent us a statement which is the result of discussions about similar points of dispute in political life. He writes: "We had contact with the 'Liga Europa', an association which aims at a European federation on a Christian basis. Their mistake however is that they favour the adoption of a single European language. Would the Celtic League care to join the W.P.G. and other groups in expressing support for a different view? We believe that Philipp's teaching can help to solve political problems, given the will to do so."

A party which wants not only to make disconnected individual statements and to conform only to the prevailing popular climate of opinion, needs a clear statement of principles. This must however avoid adhering in any way to one-sided ideological notions; it should rather contain the useful elements of the various tendencies.

Three questions arise from these conditions:

1. How do the one-sided ideologies look like?
2. Which are the basic needs and basic outlooks behind them?
3. Which are the consequences for the fundamental program?

We take them in succession:

1. During the last hundred years three one-sided ideological phenomena have, generally speaking, caused great human suffering: a) Capitalism: exploitation, child work, enrichment of a few with pauperization of the masses; b) Communism (socialism): oppression of human freedom, persecution and annihilation of those thinking differently, mass murders; c) nationalism (in cases racism): oppression of human freedom, persecution and annihilation of those belonging to different races, promotion of war.

These three phenomena appear also in less marked oneness and in mixed forms. Each of the three possesses its own characteristics: a) capitalism stresses excessively the freedom of the individual (private enterprise) with disregard for his relations with his fellow-men and to society; b) communism stresses excessively the concept of equality with disregard for the freedom and the personality of the individual; c) nationalism (racism) stresses excessively certain external characteristics of a group of people with disregard for individual freedom and the social needs of man.

We see therefore that to each ideology corresponds a particular angle from which it views reality while neglecting or opposing the two other viewpoints.

2. Obviously none of the three ideologies is exclusively right, yet all three answer certain human basic needs, as otherwise they would find no political support. To each corresponds a basic human need: a) the need of freedom, personal development and realisation of one's own will (it can be called the liberal need); b) the need for neighbourly relations, justice and equality of right (the social need); c) the need for a familiar environment, the preservation of its originality and of the traditional conditions (the national-conservative need).

3. It follows that, when these three basic needs are present side by side with equal recognition, a party should represent them evenly side by side too. This is especially

necessary because, as we saw, the exclusive or preferential consideration given to one of the basic needs makes democratic dialogue impossible, and calls forth fanaticism and human catastrophes. A party which wants really to represent the interests of the people, should thus not be capitalistic, socialist or nationalistic but should follow a liberal-social-national course. It may be objected that this is unrealizable in practice. We want therefore to give an example of this three-structure policy.

Suppose somebody wants to build a big house in a city centre. According to our model the guiding lines will be as follows: a) the person concerned may build the house according to his purpose, in free enterprise, at his own risk and for his own profit; b) he must build it in such a way as to serve and take into account the needs of those living and working in the city and in the house; c) he must build it so as to conform to the character of the environment, the esthetic feelings of the occupants and the traditional style.

The model is thus realizable. The party's task consists in working out the model into a program and apply the latter thoroughly in the assessment of all particular political problems. This attitude will enable the party to become the democratic people's party and allow at last genuine progress to be made in the political and public domain.

Norbert Klein, Albrecht Neumann

Many of us believe in the desirability in allowing as much individual freedom as is compatible with social justice and the maintenance of our national identity. The Celtic League recognises the need to compound its nationalist aims with a concern for the welfare of all our fellow-countrymen and women. As regards capitalism, it is worth investigating how much the individual need for freedom requires private property, but it seems established that large scale capitalism has done more harm than good to our nations. We would like our readers to take up the discussion, keeping to the line proposed by our correspondents.

A. H. "Die Absolutheit des Christentums und die Summe der Anthropologie", by Wolfgang Philipp, 432p. Quella und Meyer, Heidelberg, 1966.

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Fransez Debauvais De Breiz Atao

The second volume of memoirs of the Breton nationalist leader of the inter-war period is to be published in June 1975, edited by his widow Anna Yeuennou. The first volume was published about a year ago and brought a wealth of data of great value for those seeking to know the genesis of the Breton nationalist movement in this century. The second volume titled "La Bagarre de l'Avant-guerre", should be most interesting, as it covers the period from 1932 to 1939, when the nationalists hardened their line, and defying the French authorities 'exposed themselves to arrests, trials and imprisonment. These events and documents are commented from a personal angle. Debauvais spent himself struggling to keep the regularity of paper, Breiz Atao', and steering the party clear of prohibition while war clouds gathered and prosecution got worse. "These 7 years were the hardest in Debauvais's life but they were the most fruitful."

Available from Mme Debauvais, 20 Place des Lices, 35, Rennes, cost 50 Francs (CCP 2656-42N Rennes). The first volume costs 45F + postage.

Celtic League — Annual General Meeting

The A.G.M. of the Celtic League will be held this year on 13th and 14th of September in Peel, Isle of Man. Members are asked to submit matters for the agenda (resolutions, for discussion) before August 15 to C.L. secretaries; they are invited to attend and to apply to the Manx branch secretary (see below) well in time for accommodation arrangements.

The Secretary General of the C.L. is looking for copies of the C.L. annual volumes 1970 and 1972 and of CARN 1, 2, for public and university libraries. Published price offered if in good condition.

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Acknowledgment of receipt of subscriptions cannot always be given promptly, due to pressure of work, sometimes it is delayed until the next issue of CARN is being despatched (it helps to cut down on postage). The same applies to mail. Non-members requiring information (other than about the Celtic League) are requested to enclose an international "coupon-response" (stamp), this will ensure quicker attention.

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Breizh, monthly organ of the cultural confederation, **Kendalc'h** — devoted to music, dance and other cultural material, book reviews.

In French. *L'Avenir de la Bretagne*, organ of Strollad ar Vro, BP 103 Saint-Brieuc; abroad 60F/annum to CCP 11-32-86 Rennes; weekly 4 pages.

Le Peuple Breton, organ of the Union Démocratique Bretonne; BP 304, 29273 Brest-Cedex; 30F/annum to CCP 2365-76 Rennes.

Renewal of Subscription

We appeal again to those members and subscribers who have not renewed their subscription for 1975 to give prompt attention to this matter. We receive numerous encouragements showing that each CARN issue is looked forward to. We register a steady increase in the number of copies sold in shops, particularly in Wales (but also a decrease in the number of Welsh subscribers). We barely manage, because of retail allowances, to get in money returns, the average cost per copy from these sales. We need a minimum number of regular subscribers in order to ensure publication. We have not got it for 1975 . . . yet. What are the reasons for the reticence or the neglect? If it is due to disagreement with an occasional contributor, why not write to express your view? We don't expect all to agree with all that we publish. We are trying to give expression in a meaningful way to the spirit of inter-celtic solidarity, without sentimentalism and conservatism, without shunning problems. Much of what we propose is open to debate. Given more time, we would state a Celtic League position each time a contributor diverges considerably from our policy. We are ready in any case to answer any member who will care to query such contributions and to publish different views so long as they are relevant to our aims!

In this issue, we devoted considerable space to letters from our members. It is only gradually, through such exchanges, that a substantial area of agreement in inter-celticism can be defined.

MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

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

Alba :	Mrs. M. Denovan, 9 Dalgleish Road, Dundee, DD4 7JN.
Cymru :	Rhodri Morgan, 4 Ael-y-Bryn, Radyr, Caerdydd; Administration Secretary: Anton ab Obsorn, 92 Northumberland St., Wallsend, Tyne and Wear, England. Applications and subscriptions to be sent to this address
Breizh :	J. Derouet, 9 Avenue de Toledé, 44100 Nantes-en-Bretagne.
Kernow :	I. J. Evons, 3a Lemon Villas, Lemon Street, Truro, Cornwall.
Eire :	C. O Luain, 37 Dun an Oir, Tamhlacht, Co. Atha Cliath.
Mannin :	Miss Patricia Bridson, Bell Cottage, Derby Rd., Peel.
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General Secretary :	A Heusaff, 9 Bothar Cnoc Sion, Ath Cliath 9, Eire.

Help us to sell CARN, by finding booksellers to stock it (5p allowance per copy, sale or return), by selling copies to friends, at gatherings, or by advertising/publicising it in national periodicals. Articles for CARN should be tidily typed or easily legible to printers, with double spacing; keep carbon copy; endeavour to express ideas/reports clearly, support arguments with facts, be precise.

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