

celyn

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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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QUARTERLY PERIODICAL IN ENGLISH & IN CELTIC LANGUAGES
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ALBA

CRISIS OF IDENTITY.

In many ways the cultural situation in Alba is unique, and, in one important aspect, is much more serious than in any other Celtic country, including Kernow and Mann. At least, in those countries, the national languages are recognised as such and their restoration is an important aim.

This is most certainly not the case in Alba. Even although the overwhelming majority of Scottish people originally spoke Gaelic, and despite the fact that it was still the majority language in Scotland until around 1600, Gaelic is not generally recognised as the national language. Almost the entire population is in total ignorance of the national cultural identity; only a mere handful of Scots identify personally with the words "Gaelic" or "Celtic"; the S.N.P. is not committed to a Gaelic Scotland nor is any other group or substantial body of opinion.

Presumably the Scottish members of the Celtic League recognise that the Scots are essentially a Gaelic nationality, and would like to see that language restored to its former position as the vernacular in common use throughout Scotland, but how many nationalists share these views? Probably not one in every hundred. Most Scottish nationalists have still to encounter the idea of an entirely Gaelic-speaking Scotland and, in any case, would probably regard it as preposterous.

Despite this, Gaelic remains the key to our personal and national identities. The Gaelic influence lies at the root of almost everything distinctively Scottish and, whether or not most Scots are aware of it, is intimately involved with Scottish nationality.

In the other Celtic countries the restoration of the national language is seen as an essential condition for the survival of national identity. Ultimately the survival of any nation depends on its ability to maintain its own culture. Doesn't this also apply in Alba?

If we accept that it does, then it is obvious that there must be a fundamental change within the Scottish national movement.

The issue of cultural identity and the restoration of the Scottish - Gaelic - language should, and must, be raised to supreme importance.

Alienation.

There is absolutely no prospect of successfully propagating the idea of an entirely Gaelic-speaking Scotland unless the major obstacle is recognised and overcome.

For over four hundred years the Gaelic language, its association with Scottish nationality, and the whole idea of a separate and distinctive Scottish identity, have been under attack. Since the Reformation of the late 16th century (which was essentially a political act), the deliberate policy of the State has been to destroy the language and undermine Scottish nationality. So strong was the bias against Gaelic that the aim was to wipe out the language "by the end of the (17th) century", and, in those areas where the population had been deprived of the mother tongue, to erase even the memory of the language. So successfully was the latter policy carried out that, even today, Gaelic is rarely mentioned in Scot-

tish schools, and there is a general belief that Gaelic was never spoken in the so-called lowland areas. As a result, modern attitudes to Scottish linguistic and cultural identity are governed by inherited irrational prejudices and misleading notions, particularly the idea that one part of the population has a separate ethnic identity and cultural heritage from the other, i.e. the highland-lowland myth.

The nation has been alienated from its own language and deliberately deprived of any knowledge of its true history and cultural identity.

And the result?

The complete lack of a national cultural outlook, a nation not just "culturally deprived" but suffering from an acute crisis of identity.

Scottish Revival.

Nationally, the greatest crisis facing the Scots is the continuing erosion of the Scottish identity and our failure to counter it effectively.

It would seem that the real hope for a Scottish Revival lies in the formation, in these days of rising national consciousness, of a movement of linguistic and cultural identity. Whatever the prospects for its formation, any such movement must be national, involving both the Gaelic and English-speaking populations throughout Scotland, and capable of overcoming the major obstacles:

- 1) The alienation of the majority of Scots and the unconscious bias against Gaelic.
- 2) The distortion of Scottish history.
- 3) The widespread total ignorance of the national cultural identity, and the unfortunate and harmful association of Gaelic with - and only with - the highland areas.

The ultimate aims would be:

- a) Recognition of Gaelic as the Scottish language.
- b) The formulation of a united national cultural outlook.
- c) To ensure that the restoration of Scottish becomes a central issue in national politics, and a reality.

The formation of such a movement could well mark the turning-point for the nation and for the language.

A. B.

THE DEVOLUTION DEBATE.

The first months of this year have seen the publication of views for and against the government devolution "offer". At the same time we have been warned "Separation will cripple Scotland." (by the Department of Social and Economic research (on behalf of the Industry and economy group of the Labour Party in Scotland)) "the longer term burden of financing oil might cripple our industry and a buoyant Scottish pound price ourselves out of foreign markets". Probably most Scots would now be willing to risk the exposure of this dread prospect.

Lord Wheatley, the Lord Justice Clerk, spoke for all the High Court Judges, and said that the functions of the court (civil and criminal) should not be devolved but he stressed that this was not an opinion on the political or economic merits and aspects of an Assembly. Prof. McCormick (Regius Prof. of Public Law at Edinburgh Univ.) gave very cogent and reasoned answers as to why they should be devolved, particularly stressing the unlikelihood of a Westminster parliament giving any

time at all to considering Scottish Law Legislation after "devolution". One law Lord defended our law as "being the best for us", but pointed out the complications of increasing interference from state departments, the increasing body of E. E. C. laws and in this sphere as in others the take-over by the English.

An article in the Scotsman on Feb. 7th., was headed "IF THERE IS AN S.N.P. MAJORITY". It purported to express the concern of the writer (Neal Ascherson) over the vagueness of the S.N.P. policy regarding the implementation of independence: would the S.N.P. leave Westminster when they had a majority of the seats, or a majority of the votes? Would they negotiate or just leave for Edinburgh? "The Party's muzziness is beginning to be alarming". The muzziness of the writer may be gauged by this gem too good not to be quoted in full: "It is hard to act Irish without the Troubles. Sinn Fein won most of the seats and votes in Dec. 1918 and pulled out of Westminster and met as the Dail in Dublin. But this followed the probably meant 'was followed by' three years of armed struggle and repression. What will the Scottish people feel if perhaps next year a band of parliamentarians hoist the Saltire on Carlton Hill and dare the British Army to come and get them. The S.N.P. voters may have bought tickets for the Tattoo but hardly for a live performance of the Easter Rising." It is sad that this is what passes for comment in a responsible paper on a serious subject.

On the 9th Feb. Mr. William Wolfe at a press conference stated that no unilateral declaration of independence would be made but that when we had the mandate "negotiations" would begin. However others have said that should it be necessary withdrawal would be retained as an option by the S.N.P. Often events overtake such debate. In conjunction with Mr. Wolfe's statement the party launched an excellent leaflet headed "Independence Means".

Opposition to devolution was voiced by the Scottish Secondary School Teachers' Association (concerned about the cost of setting up the Assembly!); the Scottish branch of the Confederation of British Industry, whose worry is that "the Assembly is a recipe for confusion and disputes and delay in decision making which could harm Scottish industry"; the Council of Sheriffs' Association; and assorted individuals.

A "Scrap the Assembly" group was formed in the Scottish Council of the Labour Party, and cries for a referendum continue to be heard in the land.

At the beginning of March the draft bill reached Mr. Short, and at that point the promise was to publish it in the "early Summer", and the "real" Bill next session. However, Mr. Wilson's surprise resignation and the three-week interregnum following will no doubt be an excuse for further delay. The word devolution was not mentioned by commentators on the race for the English premiership but we in Scotland were reassured that no matter what horrible faces the contestants had made on the subject they were honourable men and would implement Labour's promises.

The main changes in the draft Bill from the White Paper are: A Control of the Scottish Development Agency goes to the Assembly; the " veto" powers of the Secretary of State is gone; and the decision as to whether the Assembly has overstepped its powers goes from the government to parliament. The possibility of tax raising powers has been mooted. It is obvious that pressure has been brought to bear and that the enormity of a pos-

sible failure in Scotland has been dawning on Westminster.

At the beginning of March the papers published the gist of the S.N.P.'s comments on the White Paper, demanding powers over the economy, taxation, and energy; devolution for the Universities; a greater say in the E. E. C. They made it plain that they see the Assembly as a step on the way to independence. They highlight the obvious drawbacks of trying to draw final and immutable lines round the areas to be devolved. They want all the present functions of the Scottish Office plus trade and industry, social services, energy, the environment, the universities, agriculture, fishing, forestry, Treasury functions, including economic planning and fiscal control in addition to supervision of the nationalised industries, public boards and corporations (the proliferation of these boards of nominated people outside the control of the electors has been causing some concern).

A few days previously the S.N.P. had published draft proposals for industry. They suggest a Ministry of Development and Industry taking in some of these boards; The Highlands and Islands Development Board - The National Enterprise Board, - and The Scottish Development Agency. However, this has caused some controversy. The H.I.D.B. dealing as it does with a very specialised area of Scotland must be examined very carefully before blanket measures are applied. With the new chairman, Mr. Kenneth Alexander, the morale of the board is said to be rising, so it should be given a chance to prove itself.

M.D.

Devolution was debated in the House of Lords.

M.D.

ELECTION VICTORY.

At the beginning of February there was a very important by-election in the Strathclyde Region. The S.N.P. held the seat with a small majority and the Labour Party themselves by mounting a large general election style campaign and bringing the big guns of the government out showed how important it was to them to regain the seat. Their efforts were in vain, the S.N.P. vote in this seat continued to rise, and their candidate, George Leslie, scored a magnificent victory with a majority of nearly 3,000 votes. This must be borne in mind when studying the changes in attitude of many in the Labour Party towards devolution.

SCOTTISH STUDENTS SWING TO S.N.P.

The Spring edition of The Free Student Press, the paper of the Federation of Student Nationalists, has been distributed to 20,000 students in Scotland. The single word headline of the front cover was "Landslide!". This referred to a Student Opinion Survey which showed that the S.N.P. will get more votes from students than all the other parties put together. The poll conducted in February tallies with other surveys on the 18-22 age group in Scotland.

The survey contains a grim warning which the Unionist Parties will ignore at their peril; it shows that 45% of students will vote S.N.P., 19% will vote Unionist Conservative, 11% will vote Unionist Labour, and 12% will vote for the new Scottish Labour Party. (This is the first time this party have been represented separately in a poll, and of their number 87% were formerly British Labour voters, now disillusioned with that party's attitude to devolution and attracted by the S.L.P.'s stand on

"maximum devolution and a return to 'Keir Hardy socialism'."

Asked which constitutional status they would like Scotland to obtain, 12% opted for the present system (control from Westminster), 7% wanted the Government devolution scheme, 41% want devolution with full economic powers, 31% want Independence, and 9% want total separation; therefore so far as Scottish students are concerned the choice is between "maximum devolution" and Independence.

One of the reasons for this swing to the Nationalists has been the dramatic growth of the Federation of Student Nationalists to become one of the strongest forces in Scottish student politics and an increasing power within the N.U.S. (National Union of Students) Scottish Region with a membership of nearly 1,900.

In 1969, the S.U.S. (Scottish Union of Students) controlled by Conservatives and right-wingers ran into financial difficulties and was taken over by the (English) National Union of Students, to become the National (British) Union of Students - N.U.S., which since then has become a campaigning body dominated by a Labour Communist amalgamation.

The Federation of Student Nationalists believes in a separate Scottish Union, although individual University and College clubs disagree on the best way to achieve this. Some F.S.N. clubs have fought for their Universities to dis-affiliate from the F.S.N. while Glasgow, Strathclyde, and St. Andrew's Universities have already left the N.U.S. and are looking into the possibility of a separate Scottish union.

The opinion of the majority of F.S.N. clubs however, is that they should remain within the N.U.S. and fight to improve their position by making further inroads into the policy-making bodies of each College or University in order to get F.S.N. candidates elected to all levels of the N.U.S. The N.U.S. has a "Devolution Campaign" and it would seriously affect student bargaining power with any government either in London or Edinburgh to wait till the separate Union is a practical reality. (This could take a long time as there are certain groups who do not want any national union and would delight in fragmenting the student body.)

There is also much common ground between the F.S.N. and the N.U.S., on policies such as the abolition of the means-tested parental grant, the abolition of the binary system (where Universities are separated from and treated more favourably than the rest of further education) - the S.N.P. is the only party in Scotland to oppose this system much to the chagrin of the broad left.

The N.U.S. however has no policy on the Anglicisation trend of further education. Through its very existence it is increasing this trend which has resulted in 60% and more of students in Scottish Universities coming from England; in some cases the syllabus has been changed to suit the qualifications of this English majority at the expense of the native Scottish students. This policy has resulted in or at least contributed to high failure rates in some universities and in certain subjects in the course of the first year among Scottish students.

The F.S.N. has detailed policies on most important political topics such as the social services andcrofting. It is considering a major policy document on Education which it will present to the S.N.P. conference for debate. It is this function of co-ordination with the young-

er generation and formulation of the policies of young thinking Scots for presentation to the S.N.P. that is one of the main reasons for the existence of the F.S.N.

M.D.

A Charaid,

Uilleam MacCaluim, obviously writing on behalf of Club Leabhar, gave a rather partial and inadequate account of Scottish Gaelic publishing in CARN 12 (Feb. 1976). It may interest readers to know that from the recently published catalogue of Gaelic books in print, issued by the Gaelic Books Council, entitled Leabhair-eagan Gaidhlig, it can be deduced that Gairm Publications are the main Gaelic publishers in Scotland, with a total of over a hundred titles in print. I enclose a copy of the catalogue in question. Calum Mac Uilleim.



Resurgent Celtic-Gaelic Scotland.
Design by Ian Gordan Ban, California.

BREIZH

PRIME MINISTER DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THAT LANGUAGE.

Mr. Chirac visited Brittany in December but avoided the people. Demonstrating crowds were kept at a safe distance. To their protests in Lorient, Brest, Kemper, An Oriant, he replied that France was already spending a lot for the Bretons: they must be reasonable. "In 1969, De Gaulle was acclaimed by a multitude in Brittany; in 1973, 1971 Pompidou could still mobilise supporters; in 1973, Messmer could still go through the streets, (protected by the CRS). This time, Chirac met only promiscuities or 'the worthy'." (P. B.)

He took part in a working session of the Regional Council in Rennes at which government nominees, regional personalities and mayors of main towns were present. Rene Pleven, the Council's president, had agreed that Per Denez, University lecturer in Breton, and head of CELIB's Cultural Commission, should address the Prime Minister. After noting that the visit covered only 4 of the 5 Breton departments, he went straight on to tell him that Breton was the expression of the culture of hundreds of thousands, a modern language which is ours and to which we have a right.

Due to historical events (he did not specify: French conquest and assimilation policy), its teaching depended not on the Bretons, whose will was clear, but on a minister in Paris. "That is where the Breton problem arises. The problem is not created by our language, but those in power who deny it recognition. All the changes in the French government have not affected the continuity in the will to eradicate the 'minority' cultures. Some higher civil servants hope, I am told, that there will be no problem in ten years. This is an illusion, leading to trouble. The majority of the young Bretons to-day refuses to allow its culture to be eradicated."

He referred to statements made by the Minister for Education, Mr. Haby, which were interpreted * by foreign correspondents (in the U.S.A., also in Ireland by those who are well inclined to France) as a "change of heart". It was nothing like the enthusiasm for bilingualism in Louisiana (U.S.A.) where the French government has 200 teachers teaching French to 40,000 children. "Why what is right for French speakers in Louisiana does not apply to Breton speakers in Brittany? Your government is the only one to refuse recognition to its minority cultures."

(* The measures he announced would practically change nothing to the situation.)

Per Denez reminded the Prime Minister of all the law bills (including three recent ones) tabled but not allowed for discussion in the 'National Assembly'. He handed him a declaration adopted in common by the Breton Cultural Associations (Brest, July 1975). He repeated the urgent demands made by the two regional assemblies of Brittany (4/5). "Give us what you think right for French speakers in Louisiana."

To which Chirac replied first in the usual evasive manner, then bluntly: the problem was complex, a long debate was needed (wait till the next time), the government was favourable to the "blooming" of regional popular local cultures and traditions (undertones of contempt).

there was no question of treating Breton, Basque (and other dialects) on a par with English and German, like a national language, (the Bretons who thought it clever to speak of regional languages can bite their fingers); the government was opposed to decisions which would be detrimental to the social and economic advancement of the people concerned (it always knows better what is good for them, as in any dictatorial system); there was no question of training teachers of Breton for primary and secondary schools. There were limits beyond which his government would not go.

Anyone who continues after that to assume that soon France will have to follow the enlightened example of other European countries, will be voluntarily blinding himself. Chirac's words express more frankly than Haby's the government's intentions. They are in line with designs which France is fostering for her language at international level.

A.H.



For the Breton Language in Gwangamp 26/10/75.

SCANT REGARD FOR HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTION.

We understand that on April 20th, the three Bretons who were arrested in July 1975 were still in jail, without trial. One of them, Pierre Loquet, who denies the charges laid against him, is seriously ill and risks losing a leg as he cannot be properly treated in prison.

The six who were jailed in October have gradually been released in the past two months. The international outcry over Yann Fouere, the eldest and best-known of them, had its effect. Charges against him were dropped and he was out three days after a debate in the European Parliament in which Welsh and Scottish M.P.'s urged France to respect the Human Rights Convention, while that notorious prop of the French-Breton connection, Abbe Laudrus, tried to thwart their intervention. Fouere is however, only "en liberte surveillee" (supervised); he must regularly report to the police and cannot leave the State territory. The others were freed under similar conditions, having spent 115 days or more without ever seeing any investigation magistrate. International and particularly inter-Celtic solidarity against this denial of rights manifested itself in numerous countries, (Wales, Ireland, Flanders, Canada...). Let all here be thanked, who intervened one way or another. There was disappointment in Brittany with some of the appeals and petitions because they did not apply to all the prisoners without discrimination, as if the principle of French law that you are guilty until proved innocent, was being accepted.

We hear that, apart from Loquet, Crochard and Corbin, two other (J.Ch. Denis & P. Legediar) charged

with attempting to commit acts of violence, are being subjected to prolonged detention without trial. The European Human Rights Convention recognises a State's right to such action only in time of war or national emergency. It is surely not the view of the French Government that unrest in Brittany has reached such a level? One can only conclude that these men are either being punished for their opinions or that the government, afraid of the repercussions of a trial, is short-circuiting the courts and making the prisoners serve such terms as it sees fit. Under the Ancien Régime, a writ (lettre de cachet) was enough to have a person arrested and thrown into the Bastille. On April 15th, the "Mouvement Breton Anti-Represion" held a press conference in Brittany to demand the release of the five prisoners. Jakes Gaucher, president of "Gwenn-Rann", is in touch with Amnesty International which is completing a full inquiry into their cause.

We renew our call to the readers of Carn to send protests against the violation of human rights to the French embassy in their country, or to the Ministry of Justice in Paris; also to write to the papers and to the prisoners themselves, c/o Gwenn Rann.

GWENN-RANN: a pacifist association, which works for the defence and integrity of Brittany, the preservation of its natural environment, the unity of its people and the revival of its culture, is anxious to develop links with the other Celtic nations fighting for similar ideals. Details about the association and its monthly newspaper (published in French) from: GWENN-RANN, 19 Avenue Lajarrige, 44500 La Baule, Brittany.

Cantonal Elections carried out in France last March indicated a shift to the left, away from the government parties. Their purpose was to elect for each Département a General Council of about 40 members. These councils are quite powerless, everything being ruled from Paris. They deal only with practical (parish pump) issues. Their chairman who is the prefect (appointed by the government) decides what is proper for them.

According to Le Peuple Breton, the blacklists usually exerted to impress people to cast their votes for the "right" candidates or suffer neglect of their interests failed in many cantons. In Brittany, 47.5% voted left as compared to 37.5% in 1973, 43% in 1974. The French Parti Socialiste and P. S. Unifié are now competing with the U. D. B. for the support of those concerned with Brittany's economic and cultural problems. Although stating that it expects little from elections in a capitalist system, the U. D. B. - now apparently the only Breton party - put up 3 candidates, 5 of which reached in the first round percentages of 5.5% to 11.7% - doubling figures achieved 3 years ago in a general election. They advised their supporters to vote in the second round for candidates of the French leftist parties, whose Breton noise they don't seem to question in spite of a long tradition of opposition or neglect of the collective Breton interests by all French administrations and by the parties of the Left alike. The U. D. B. takes great pains to prove its leftishness, giving it at times precedence over its "Breton-ness". According to an item in Le Monde, they have pledged at their 1976 A. G. M. to work in coming months for the victory of the French Left-Coalition. We fear that the only serious-looking Breton party to emerge in Brittany since the war is going on the side-track, that Breton politics have become totally regionalistic.

A TIMELY CONTRIBUTION TO OUR HISTORY.

When the Palais St. Georges in Rennes was recently renovated, the escutcheon with the arms of Brittany which adorned its fronton was replaced by another representing both the arms of Brittany and those of France. This falsification of a historic monument was of course done, without anybody being consulted. One can safely bet that most of the people of Rennes have not yet noticed it. Together with the removal and the destruction a few years before of the statues of the Breton magistrates (defenders of Brittany's autonomy status prior to 1789) - which stood in front of the ancient Palace of the Breton Parliament, it illustrates the manner in which attempts are made to 'recast' our history in the mould of (super-centralism) and 'Eternal France'. The latest example of this discreet campaign is the 'kidnapping' of the statue of Alan Barvek, who liberated Nantes from the Normans in 937, from the historic building of the Cour des Comptes (to-day the Nantes prefecture) and its removal to the rubbish corner in the Castle of the Dukes, probably to await its disappearance without a trace. "Positive" action is undertaken on the other hand by a team of accredited historians of various origins so as to rewrite the History of Brittany, providing an official and docile version, with no risk of arousing passion, luxuriously presented, assured of the most generous subventions and of the widest distribution.

Compared with so much adverse activity, our efforts appear rather pailtry. Our failure is particularly alarming when it comes to contemporary history. True, the conditions for research are made extremely difficult by the confiscation of the documents which were not destroyed by the people who took power in 1944-45, by putting them out of reach (except, I am told, for some privileged individuals). But we must recognise that the failure is above all due to the Bretons themselves, to the "pusillanimité", the negligence, or the laziness of those who participated in or witnessed the events themselves and who will forget or take to the grave the treasure of recollections of a whole generation. Their silence to me is tantamount to betraying those who struggled, suffered and died for Brittany, as well as the future generations. Not all are born historians or writers, but anyone can write his memoirs, relate what he saw or how he saw it - irreplaceable information.

It is in this light that Anna Youinou Debauvais' testimony* assumes its full significance. This woman is neither a professional historian nor a writer. She is alone, old, poor. She has at her disposal no secret documentation nor a rich library. In order to publish this book, which she wants to be a monument to the memory of her husband, she has spent to the last franc the few savings which would have brought some security to her old age. Now she is selling the last pieces of furniture which witnessed her conjugal life. She has been criticised for saying too much, for not saying it well, for having failed to separate the essential from the superfluous, making the volumes unnecessarily heavy and costly. So much is undoubtedly true. But for me this work has the immense merit that it exists - and the only advice one could give its detractors is that they follow her example. Because it is from all the testimonies, even if sometimes they contradict one another, that the history of tomorrow will be born, that truth will spring. It will be for future historians to separate the chaff from the grain but those who will have

remained silent will have no place in the memory of the people.

This woman gives us an example of courage and faith, quite rare qualities. Her work is a mirror, naive perhaps, but true. It reconstitutes the image of a man who, as I have written elsewhere, was the greatest in his generation. Well, history is not, like a roll of tissue, divisible into equal parts. Time exists only in terms of events: the impact of Breiz Atao was enormous. From the Breton political view-point, this period of barely twenty years takes much more space than the whole 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. It is a towering moment of our history, strait through which all that moves now in Brittany had to pass.

Herve Landrien.

* **Frances Debauvais de Breiz Atao**, 396 pages, available from the author A. Youinou Debauvais, 20 Place des Lices, 35000 Rennes. Price £5.-.
* Vol. 2. A first volume has 412 pages.

60th Deiz-ha-Bloaz.

60 vloaz'zo hiziv e c'hoarvezas e Dulenn an emsavadeg a vo sellet out evel akt engehendadur ar Stad Iwerzhonat. Bep bloaz e vese lidoù da gomañ an darvoud, a-berzh Stad ha gant ar Republikaned. E 1966 e voent graet war an ton bras, met dres d'ar mare-se e krogas ar strolladoù politikel da ziskouez ent didro na zalc'hent mui da uhelvennadol Pearse - ne voe mui anv ganto koulz lavaret eus "gouezelek" nag eus "trez" (dieub).

Hevrene n'eus tamm lid ebet a-berzh ar gouarnamant. Ar re a oa harozed dec'h zo deat da vesañ eodien ha sponterien. An istor a vez adskrivet. Arabat feukañ "Lealourien" Norzh-Iwerzhon - ar re a lavar n'int ket Iwerzhonat met Breizhveuriat. Diskouez dezho n'eus ket c'hoant d'ober tra na blije dezho. Evit hen prouñ ez er prest da skeif war ar Republikaned bep tro ma vez digarez.

Digarez zo bet p'o deus embannet ar C'hweladourien ("Provo-ed") e kerzhent dre ar straedoù ha en em dolpient dirak Durev-Kreiz ar Post. Evel bep bloaz! Berz diouzh gant ar polis ha difenn da Radio-Teletis Eireann diskouez an dra. Prosez da vesañ graet d'ar re a vefe e penn, hag ar sach da net, kargad a gemerje perzh!

War-dro dek mil den zo deat daoust da se, pe marteze en abeg da se. Ur c'hannad eus Strollad al labour a zoken war al leurenn e-tachen renerien Sinn Féin (C'hweladell). N'eus ket bet a gabadulh. Penaos diskleriañ enzal'h ar gouarnamant?

Ne dalvez ket lavarout ez eo war atiz ar Saozon e vez harzet ken taer ouz ar Republikaned bremañ, bep gwech ma klaskont diskouez o nerzh en tu-mañ eus ar Speurenn. Garmañ a ra ar Strolladoù Parlamentel e vez laketañ an demokratiezh en arvar gant arverourien an doareoù feuls ha tamm ha tamm o deus gonezet fizialls enno o-unan ha diorret an nerzh evit herzel out. Harpet int gant an darn vrasañ eus ar vuezherien, a gred a vefe skoulibet ur born grad e Norzh-Iwerzhon hag e teufe ar brezel d'en em ledad en tu-mañ eus an harzhoù ma ranke ar Saozon mont kuit. Diskouezet eo bet gant taolioù al Lealourien (pe c'hreourien ar Saozon?) betek e Dulenn e oa furioù diwall. Annav a reer eta n'heller ket unañ ur milion a Breteustaned (?) gant tri milion hanter a Gatoiged (?) en despet d'o yod. N'heller komz nemet eus an hiraezh d'an unaniez, da vesañ sevennet pa vo kenaset etre an div gostezenn. Taolioù A.R.L., a lavarer, ne reont nemet

pellast an deiz-se: int eo eta an enebourien. An arme saoz a die chom ste evit mirout ar peoc'h, gwellañ ma c'hell. Ha politikerien Dulenn a die chom sioul gant aon e lakae an diasterañ ger diskret ouz o mennad e penn al Lealourien. Chom poc'het.

Padal, an argadoù a gendalc'h en Hantnoz, hag a-wechoù e Bro-Saoz. C'hwitet trede arnod ar Saozon da gavout un diskoulm degemeradus d'ar Gatoiged ha Proteustaned. Ar C'hwec'h Kondelezh a vez renet war-eun eus London. Ar Saozon dre vras ne reont forzh eus Norzh-Iwerzhon - ar gwellañ tra e vefe o lezel d'en em zrailhañ m'o deus c'hoant, rak re goustas eo d'ur vro a zo war-nes ober freuz-hall, hag al lur sterling o t'f aragoellañ. Marteze e karfe awalc'h gouarnamant London tennañ e arme ermaez eus an neizh-gweudet ivez, met traoù evelas ne vezont ket graet diwar skañv, ret eo laketañ ho prud etrevroadel hag ho lazioù armezhel ha Kenfeurioù politikel a bep seurt e kont. Muioc'h mui a vez anv koulzoude eus emdennad. N'eus ket pell e komze da skouer an istorour saoz A. J. P. Taylor a-du-krenn gant ar menno-se, o lavarout e vije ar gwellañ an abretañ, rak seul vui e vez portezet seul wasoc'h e vo al lazherzh. Ne oa ket chialt ma roe e ziskleriadur. Er stourmoù broadel e lenn peurlvial an traoù da ziskouez e vez ar gwir gant an "ekstremisted", emezañ.

Ar gaoz eus an emdennad a ra poan benn da c'houarnamant Dulenn. Mar da kunt ar Saozon, e chomo war o lerc'h ur gudenn diziskoulm, o tont war c'horre an diasterioù armerzhel bras e ra eus Republik Iwerzhon ur vro ac'habet gant dieoù (kement ha ken gwaz na vo-hi e gouest ket pell gant n'ouzon peserit ar-bantourien etrevroadel). Ur rivin e vefe. Gout kement a dud dilabour, ha tud yaouank anezho dreist-holl, e vefe dispac'h, ken buan. Diskouilh e vez ar Republikaned "Ofisier" koulz hag ar re all, rak ar re-se a zo o tereul had an dispac'h kevredigezhel ha broadel war un dro. Kevraet eo bet hag e vez c'hoazh an arme hag ar bolis evit diwall an urzh, difenn an harzoù, paken al laeron-vankoù. Krig-net e vez tamm ha tamm ar frankizioù keodedel ha goust a ra an doareoù-ober o lennad d'ar faskouriezh.

Kals tud hag a argarz bantemoù ar feuleter pleustret gant ar C'hveladourien a zo heget ivez gant politiker-eh ar C'hevredad Fine Gael-Labour, e-keliver an Iwerzhon da skouer, en darempredoù-diazev ivez.

Gwellt penaos a ra ar C'hellaoued out: stankañ an emporzhiaer-deved eus Iwerzhon evit prenañ ein eus Polonia; laketañ mardoloded eus o merdedreuz-vreel da bignat war vourzh d'aoù lestr-pesketa Iwerzhonat bep dere-hei-kont eus divizoù an emglev. O vont er C'henvarc'had e krede da Iwerzhoniz e raent un afer vat. Kavet o deus c'hoazh gweladeg liern eget ar Saozon. M'o defe untaammig spered broadel e rafent marteze evel Islandia ha Norvegi hag e vijent harrekoc'h da chom soññ.

A. H.
Les Bonnets Rouges by E. S. B. / La Borderie / Porchev, in French, 350 pp., 12F. From Union Générale d'Éditions, 8 rue Garancière, 75006 Paris. Published by Emsav S.B. to mark the tercentenary of a revolt which has been differently interpreted as a Breton-national rising and the first attempt at a social revolution in Europe; criticises these interpretations and assesses the event as a Breton contribution to universality. (Review in CARN 14)
A Breton Centre in Dublin was recently formed for the purpose of fostering Breton-Irish cultural relations; it organised a lively fest not attended by some 400 people, in Trinity College on 25/4/76. Secretary S. Carim. T Terenure Road West, Dublin 6.

CYMRU

WELSH PUBLIC OPINION.

The following survey appeared in Y Cymro (April 13th, 1976.)

Only 46% of those questioned thought Wales would be better off if governed from Caerdydd, but over half of those who felt that it would be an improvement felt that this should mean a full parliament for Wales and 18% felt this should mean full independence. (Tables 1 & 2) Strangely, however, only 14% admitted to having voted for a devolutionary party, Liberals or Plaid Cymru (Table 6).

Whatever their views on an assembly/parliament for Wales 75% felt that a Welsh assembly should have the same powers as an assembly for Scotland. The London government has already said that is not desirable (for whom?) or possible.

However, the London government has clearly started something that it can no longer control. Wales clearly wants the same rights as Scotland and now we hear that English M.P.'s are fed up that Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland had 110 hours of debate in the last Parliament while the regions of England, which are often larger in population, had less than 5 hours.

One of the problems that an assembly for Wales will bring is that there will be three tiers of government in Wales 'below' Westminster. It has been suggested that the only way that an assembly in Caerdydd would get powers would be to take powers away from the new county councils. 53% of those asked felt that one tier of local government would have to go when the assembly is established.

Whatever about people's opinions on devolution 65% felt that Wales should be represented separately in E.E.C. organisations. The London government has said this is not possible until Wales is fully independent, which seems to be asking for trouble. No doubt the Labour government will find a way to give Wales a separate voice, if only to safeguard those vital Welsh Labour M.P.'s at Westminster.

Finally 65% of the sample felt that children in Wales should be allowed the opportunity to learn both Welsh and English. How much this is lip-service is hard to say as the question is one of those nice general questions that practically anyone could say yes to, provided it did not affect them personally.

Table 1. If more decisions on Welsh matters were made in Wales rather than London, which of the following would describe the situation for Wales?

Much better	24%
A bit better	22%
Much the same as now	28%
A little worse	10%
Much worse	15%
Don't know	1%

Table 2. If the answer to Number 1 was 'better' or 'much better' which of the following do you believe would lead to more decisions being made in Wales?

1. Augmenting the present power of the Secretary for Wales and the Welsh Office	15%
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Table 3. Do you think Wales should have its own representatives in the E.E.C.?

Yes	65%
No	25%
Don't know	10%

Table 4. Do you believe that after the establishment of an elected assembly we should revise local government organisation and abolish one level?

Yes	53%
No	19%
Don't know	28%

Table 5. Do you believe that a Welsh assembly should have the same powers as a Scottish assembly?

Yes	75%
No	14%
Don't know	11%

Table 6. Which political party did you vote for at the last election?

Labour	44%
Conservative	24%
Liberal	9%
Plaid Cymru	5%
Communist	-
Other	-
Don't know or no answer	8%
Didn't vote	10%

Table 7. All children should have the opportunity to learn Welsh and English. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

Agree	84%
Disagree	12%
Don't know	4%

(Survey undertaken for Y Cymro, Oswestry, by Research and Marketing Wales and the West' on 29th-30th March, 1976. A sample of 492 was taken.) I.S.H.

WELSH ASSEMBLY: A FIRST STEP.

The initially favourable response of the leadership of Plaid Cymru to the government's devolution proposals ran into trouble at the next meeting of the party's National Council, a body which represents the views of party activists in the constituencies. As a result much stronger opposition to the limited nature of the powers proposed for the Welsh Assembly has come from Plaid Cymru spokesmen, but there is still a great deal of unease amongst nationalists regarding the proper response to the devolution proposals.

All shades of nationalist opinion are agreed that the proposals fall far short of the general aim of the national movement in Wales, namely full self-government with the same degree of control over the affairs of the nation as is possessed by other small European countries. There is also broad agreement that progress towards that aim may and probably should proceed by means of a gradual transfer of power to Wales, rather than the overnight transfer of all governmental powers to bodies with no experience in government at a national level. The controversy

centres on the question of what the correct attitude should be to a particular set of proposals, originating from one of the London parties, which would establish an elected Welsh body with minimal powers. Thus the disagreement, if that is not too strong a word to describe this difference of emphasis, is over tactics rather than over ultimate goals.

On the one hand there are those who feel that the establishment, for the first time in history, of a national body, elected by and answerable to the people of Wales, is in itself a tremendous leap forward, and so qualitatively different from anything which has gone before that it must be secured at all costs. According to this argument, the precise powers which this body initially possesses are of small importance since more authority can be attracted to it as it grows in confidence and attracts the loyalty of increasing numbers of Welsh people as an alternative to Westminster.

On the other hand there are those who are so sceptical of the commitment of the Labour government to devolution that they see the proposals as being designed basically to deny to Wales any effective say in her own affairs. They see them as no more than a response to the growth of nationalist support and being pitched at a level directly proportional to the Labour Party's assessment of the danger from that support at any given moment. They point to the fact that the recommendations of the Kilbrandon Commission were quietly shelved until the February 1974 election when nationalist M.P.'s were returned to Westminster in significant numbers. During the period when the government depended for its survival on the co-operation of Plaid Cymru M.P.'s hints that a Welsh Assembly with powers of a very wide nature indeed would be established were freely dropped, but now that the government is able to stand, however shakily, on its own two feet the actual proposals are much more modest. Thus, it is argued, any readiness on the part of Plaid Cymru to accept what is offered will be interpreted as a sign of weakness, and the stakes will drop accordingly, even to the extent of devolution, at least for Wales, being ditched entirely.

For those who have the task of representing the views of the party in Parliament and on the media, a careful path must be trod. However carefully Plaid's M.P.'s and spokesmen handle the matter, they still find themselves in the uncomfortable position of having to some extent to fight the government's battle with the anti-devolutionists on the Labour back-benches. A manifesto promises finds itself in a strange position in United Kingdom politics. This is, of course, one of the in-built defects of the Westminster system, and one which has probably contributed more than any other to the economic troubles and general decline of England. The traditional two-party system turns every issue into a conflict between twiddle-dum and twiddle-dee. Governments govern and oppositions oppose. Consensus is positively shunned and criticism must always be destructive. The party which seeks to improve government proposals, but would rather they were passed unimproved than not passed at all finds itself in an invidious situation in such a system, and deserves a great degree of understanding of its difficulties from its members and friends.

Keith Dash.
C.L. Annual "Celt in the Seventies" and also earlier issues needed for University Libraries. Anyone with copies to sell?

DYBOW IAITH CELTAIDD ARALL.

O bryd i bryd bydd yn Undeb un sylweddol i'r anafais fawr iaethyddol y Celtaidd. Y mae y rhan fwyd ohonon yn gorffod ysgirfennu a siarad a'n gylid yn Saesneg. Mewn un cyfarfod blynyddol cynniogwyd creu iaith newydd - rhyw fath o gymysgfa o eiriau'r iaethoedd Celtaidd-i'w dysgu gan seolodau'r undeb. Yn sicr buasai'n rhaid cael gafael ar ysgolior go wych i ymgynmyddu a'r iaith weith-a phe buasai'r daig yn canl ei chweithiau faint ohonon tybed a fusai'n cymeryd y drafferth i'w dysgu ac i'w defnyddio. Yn wir mae'n ormod o drafferth gan rai ohonon i ddysgu ein hieithoedd ein hunain. Mae eraill yn meddwl mai mwy priodol fusai i bob seolod o'r undeb ddysgu un iaith Celtaidd arall, ac felly dangos esiampl i eraill. Mae amryw wedi gweud hyn yn barod.

Mae llawer o waith addysgu ein pobl. Rhaid pwy-sieilio mai pob tro yr ydym yn siarad Saesneg neu Ffrangeg ein bod yn siarad iaith ein concweryr. Yn sicr ni fusai yn rhy anodd i Albanwyr gyda gwybodaeth o'r Gaeneg ddysgu Gwyddeleg ac mae digon o debygrwyd rhwng Cymraeg a Llydaweg a mwy byth rhwng Cymraeg a Cernyweg. A rhaid dweud fod llawer mwy o Lydawyr gyda gwybodaeth o Gymraeg na fel arall.

A rhaid sylweddoli nad peth hawdd yw dysgu iaith arall. Ac unwaith wedi ei dysgu rhaid ei hymarfer yn gyson. Mae cyrsiau ardderchog ar gael ar dap a recordiau a tybed a fusai'n syniad i'r Undeb geistio trefnu i seolodau (ac eraill) gyfathrechu a'u gylid a gwell fyth fusai trefnu celloedd mewn ysgolion.

Os yw iaith i'w a llynu mae'n rhaid iddi gael statws swyddogol. Yr ydym wedi cymeryd yn ganiataol yn y gortfenol na ellid disgwyl i sestron ddysgu ein hialth ni. A ellid dychmygu y chwyldro a fusai pe bai pob Cymro yn defnyddio Cymraeg pan yn ysgirfennu at gymmuniad yn Lloegr neu unrhyw wlad arall? Neu pe buasai llywodraeth Iwerddon yn cyfathrechu a llywodraeth Lloegr mewn Gwyddeleg? Mae lle i greu mai buan iawn y buasai'r Saeson yn dod yn gyfarwydd ar drefn newydd.

League members have often to write to or speak with each other in either French or English. Could a new Celtic language be devised, or should we try to learn one other Celtic language and thereby set an example? Similarity exists between the Scots and Irish languages and between Welsh, Cornish and Breton. If a language is to thrive it has to be given official status. If every Welshman wrote in Welsh when dealing with companies in England or any other country or if Irish government wrote in Irish when conducting correspondence with English government people would soon accept the new order of things.)

J. Rhys Humphreys.

Pan ddiarllanais y llythyr wedi'i gyhoeddi yn CAERN 12, oddi wrth ffrwydr Americanaidd o'r enw "L. K.", fe waeth i mi faddal am gyfwrth eidd iaith ni. Meddai L. K., "for some people there seems to be a problem in being 'modern' and 'Breton' at the same time". Mae'r un problem (od hyn i'w liat) wedi bod y ly mhoni i yngbyth yr iaith Gymraeg.

Yn fy marn i, mae'n bryngus dros ben i'r iaith Gymraeg symud ymlaen gyda'r unes. Ffeindiai ei bod hi'n drist iawn bod cymraid o eiriau Saesneg yn ymlaen i mewn i'r iaith. Mewn notid ddifastell yn Gymraeg a ddiarllanais i ychydig wythnosau yn ôl, yr oedd llawer o eiriau

a gair cywerth derbyniol iawn yn Gymraeg wedi'u gadael yn Saesneg neu wedi'u newid i Saes-Gymraeg - er onghraifft, dywedant hwy 'motive' (yn Gymraeg, cymhellad neu amcan), 'chief' (yn Gymraeg, pennach) ac yn lle 'esgidiau', dywedant hwy 'shws'. Wel, dyma air di-ystyr yn y Gymraeg wir.

Freindiaf hyn yn ddiagonalogol iawn (a) achos yr wyf i'n dysgu Gymraeg, (b) achos mae pardeb yr iaith yn cael ei herio gan Seisnigeiddio parhaus, (c) achos mae hi wedi achost gwadw ein hiaith ni gan Saeswn sy'n meddwl nad ydym yn gallu symud gyda'r amser ac fod rhaid i ni fenthycu eu geiriau hwy i lenwi gwactod geiriol.

Hoffwn weld Sefydliad yr iaith Gymraeg tebyg i'r "Institut Francais" yn Ffrainc. (A gadewch i ni gofio fod y Llywodraeth Ffrangeg wedi gwahardd defnydd y "patois" o'r enw "Fraglais" i amddiffyn pardeb yr iaith Ffrangeg.) Byddai'r Sefydliad yn sicrhau ffeindio gair Gymraeg i ymddroddion a thermau cyfoes ac yn sicrhau hefyd ymhlid i'r geiriau hyn i lafar gwlad.

Nid wyf i'n byw yng Nghymru, felly mae hi'n anodd i mi weld datblygiadau'r iaith a theuediadau modern, ond yr wyf yn darllen Hawer o lyfrau Gymraeg cyfoes ac mae genyf gysylltiadau gyda'r diwylliant Cymreig. Seiliaf i fy "metriniadaeth" ar y tarddiadau hyn a gobeithio y bydd efallai ymateb oddi wrth aelodau Cymraeg i'm llythyr.

Steven Morris, Lloegr.

The author of this letter, on the subject of keeping the Welsh language free from anglicizations suggests that a Welsh Language Institute be set up to protect the purity of the language and to ensure that English corruptions are got rid of. He would like to read of other people's views on the subject.

THE 'GWERN' WHO SHAPED OUR HISTORY. A. ab O.

I think I would be fairly correct in saying that the gwerin (commoners) of Wales have played a more prominent part in the shaping of their country's history than have their counterparts in most other lands.

Of course, when we read the history books, the Chronicle of the Princes or Annales Cambriae, the names of kings, bishops and others of high rank are the ones that have come down to us. But from the same sources we can see that even then there existed some form of equality between the gwerin and the aristocracy, e.g., the quickness of the gwerin to speak before lords just as they spoke to one another (Giraldus Cambrensis, the Old Man of Pencaer).

Amongst the Indians of North America the chiefs were more of leaders than special, privileged people, and the position of the Welsh king was somewhere between this and the special, privileged position which the Anglo-Norman monarchs held.

If the Welsh king was a good leader and a fair ruler he got far more respect and support from his people than the kings of England, but they never thought of him as being so much more "superior" as the people of England were led to believe theirs were.

Hywel Dda, the codifier of the Welsh laws, was one person who would have liked this to have been changed. This was one reason why he codified, and slightly changed, them.

In comparison to other laws of the time, and even with those of Victorian Britain, they were extremely civilized and fair, reflecting the Celtic society in which

they had been formed. But, unlike the Saxon and Norman laws, they were not the most suitable for the formation of a powerful, centralised state with a king at the top of the hierarchy (again a reflection of their Celtic origin).

Hywel managed to alter this to a small degree, but he could not change the make-up of a nation. Indeed, it remains unchanged to this day.

The two Llywelyns went a step further than Hywel with hardline feudalisation policies, but, ironically perhaps, it was a system which they were trying so hard to imitate which managed to destroy the House of Gwynedd and Welsh political independence with it.

The final war began with Prince Dafydd, Lord of Rhos and Rhufoniog and a bit of a political acrobat. His allegiance sprang to and fro between his brother, Llywelyn, and king Edward. But when he turned against the Normans by suddenly capturing Hawarden castle on May Day, 1282, Llywelyn was forced to support him.

Why? Because the gwerin, sick and tired of unjust laws and heavy taxes, were behind him to the man.

Llywelyn, too, had to bear the feeling of the gwerin in mind in his many dealings with the English king. Powicke, the historian, describing Llywelyn's refusal of terms offered by Edward, says: "Llywelyn, in a brief and dignified letter, dismissed the 'form' of submission (Edward's 'terms') as neither safe nor honourable and said that it had been heard with astonishment by all in council. No subjects of his, noble or freeman, would allow him, even if he wished, to consent to it."

Two years later, the result of Dafydd's attack was the extinction of the House of Gwynedd, but the gwerin, with their highly Celtic outlook, lived on, and just over 100 years later the Glyndŵr Rebellion was just as much a fight by the gwerin against oppression.

It must be said that this was a nationalist rebellion and not a socialist one. The people wanted to do away with the tyrannical English monarchy, but only to replace it with the more civilised Welsh monarchy with its lighter taxes and gentler laws.

They wanted the return of the Celtic, joint-ownership system, but the hereditary monarchy was just as much a part of that system as well.

The rebellion failed and 100 years later again the Act of Union, which was to "utterly extirpate" the Welsh language, came into being. This time the gwerin were on their own. Attracted by the comfort of the English court under the Tudors, the Welsh gentry turned their back on their culture and left.

This desertion, by the very people who had been the greatest patrons of the bards and harpists, was, however, to give the gwerin one of the proudest eras of their history. One which still lingers on today.

"Y Bendeigath Werinol", a contradiction in terms, means "the common aristocracy". This was the period when the people turned to a section of their population which they had always loved, the poets and musicians, to be their leaders, to inspire them and to mirror their thoughts and emotions. Later the great preachers of the nonconformist revivals were also to be raised to the hierarchy of the peasants.

Despite six or seven centuries of alien domination, the spirit of the gwerin remained undaunted. It re-

emerged at the beginning of the last century with the great trade unions of the industrialised south, the Chartist movement, the Merthyr Tudful riots. The country-folk showed they were of the same stuff as their cousins in the towns by the burning of the hated tollbooths in the Rebecca Riots.

Today, it is the gwerin who are fighting for the freedom of their country, and a glance at the history of Wales leaves one without any doubt that they will be the ones to run the new Cymru Rydd.

THE LION LOOKS AT THE DRAGON.

Saunders Lewis said in his prophetic and now famous radio lecture in 1962 entitled, "The Fate of the Language" that for Wales, "the political tradition of centuries, and all the economic tendencies of the present time are against the survival of Welsh, nothing can change the fact, except determination, willpower, struggle, sacrifice and effort. . . . I do not deny that there would be a period of hate and persecution and strife instead of the loving peacefulness so remarkable in Welsh political life today. To revive the Welsh language in Wales is nothing less than a revolution. Success can only come through revolutionary methods; perhaps the language would bring self-government in its wake, I cannot tell. . . ." (1)

Since his inspiration went a long way to founding Cymdeithas Yr Iaith (Welsh Language Society) later in the same year, that movement has achieved spectacular partial success, in both the struggle to gain official status for Welsh and to mobilise the language on behalf of and as the sheet anchor of the Welsh Nation.

I think it is safe to say that on a visit we paid to Wales in October 1975 we saw many examples showing that Welsh is undoubtedly the most vigorous Celtic language today: vigorous in everyday speaking in West Wales; the inspiration of modern publishing methods by Y Lolfa, Talyllyn near Aberystwyth, and the soul of Dafydd Iwan's militant songs. I found great enthusiasm amongst the young activists yet they were well aware of the terrific struggle before them. Hugh MacDiarmid has said his philosophy is, "aye be where extremes meet", to refuse to stand at the grave side of your language takes all the revolutionary zeal you can muster.

My abiding impression of the people I met in the cause of a Welsh Wales is of folk happy in their struggle, often taking cuts in potential salary to work at a job which will help the language. It might be invidious to single out individuals but their approach is most healthy and encouraging to others in less favoured language struggles. In many ways the Welsh have shown the way by dragging their language kicking and screaming into the late 20th century idiom. Robat Gruffydd, proprietor of Y Lolfa, has provided the printed medium to float the language revolution. His style has been eye catching and colourful and the old chapel image of Welsh has been deliberately displaced through, e.g. adult 'X' Certificate methods such as LOL magazine and Welsh is Fun, a budget price language learner which has sold 20,000 copies and has just come out in the metamorphosis of Cornish is Fun. The man behind the books, posters, leaflets, Welsh trendy magazines and greetings cards is a quiet almost diffident person. By looks he wouldn't hurt a fly. His personal equation is proof positive of the spirit of Cymru Rydd (Free Wales). He refused his philosophy degree in 1964 because of the attitude of the University of Wales towards the language of the country whose university it is.

This summer he and Gwilym Tudar (Aberystwyth bookseller, founder member of Cymdeithas Yr Iaith) decided not to speak English, because the social and public life of the villages where they lived (Robat at Talyllyn and Gwilym at Llanon) had been transformed within the last five years from Welsh to English by an influx of English people who felt no compulsion to show any interest in the language or culture of the community.

Our visit to Wales was during the week prior to the Cymdeithas A.G.M. and the people we were able to talk to thought that some serious thinking had to be done to get better publicity for their protests while the press are giving less space to despite the same amount of sacrifice by members. About 400 people attended the A.G.M. so the burden of decisions carries great weight in a society which has never sought a big card carrying membership (the books show 2-3,000). The most important motion called for strong measures to aid rural areas, where the language is most widely spoken; e.g. calls for local authorities to put curbs on holiday homes, and for the Welsh Office to empower them among other things to acquire such homes by compulsory purchase in areas with dire housing needs. But "Alder" policy of concentrating wholly on "Welsh" areas was rejected: there was another motion for development of the South Wales valleys and a strengthening of their Welshness.

I discussed with Dafydd Iwan, who has just recorded his first LP record for three years in his new studio near Caernarfon and with Arfon Gwilym (treasurer of Cymdeithas) the development of the manifesto. They both were enthusiastic about the ideology the A.G.M. was to discuss, CYMDEITHASIAETH, a sort of Welsh socialism - socialism which will become policy after a year's discussion in symbolic black and white issues proceed now? The enthusiasm is unabated and such things as the road-signs campaign will continue. Cymdeithas continues to support Gwynedd County Council's enlightened bi-lingual policy. But as Fred Ffrancis, a hardened campaigner said on the social policy motion, "Winning status for the language though vital, is not enough. Language is a social phenomenon, and to safeguard a language involves safeguarding the country's social life. Cymdeithas will therefore develop a social policy known as cymdeithasiaeth."

(1) Saunders Lewis, *Fate of the Language*, translated in Planet 4. Roy Gibson.

THE CELTIC WELSH-LEARNER CIRCLE.

A new innovation at the National Eisteddfod of Wales to be held at Cardiff (August 2-7) will be a meeting of those who are learning Welsh in the Celtic countries. You are cordially invited to attend. One representative from each of the Celtic countries will be invited to speak in Welsh for 5-10 minutes and this will be interspersed with entertainment by groups from the Celtic countries.

The 'Circle' will be held in the Learners' Tent on the Eisteddfod Field between 4 and 5 p.m. on Friday, August 6th. Enquiries to:- Robina Ellis Gruffydd, Cwm Gorthwyn, Boncath, Dyfed, Cymru SA35 0DN.

SEPARATE BILLS?

It is still uncertain whether Scotland and Wales will have separate Devolution Bills if the Labour Government persists with its feeble plan to set up glorified county councils in Cardiff and Edinburgh. The Tories would like separate Bills, as this would provide an opportunity (continued on page 23.)

ÉIRE

CRIMINAL LAW BILL.

The Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill, which provides that people accused of certain offences in the North and Irish citizens accused of listed offences anywhere in the world can be tried and convicted in the Courts of the Republic, was passed in the Dail despite objections from the Fianna Fail party in the Dail and from groups outside who argued that, apart from other aspects involved, the Bill would be unconstitutional. This Bill is the last surviving vestige of the Sunningdale Agreement which in December 1973, led to the power sharing Executive in the North (later brought down by the loyalist Ulster Workers Council strike) and to setting up of an Anglo-Irish Commission on Law Enforcement to examine means of dealing with fugitive offenders. The Commission recommended legislation along the lines of the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill and similar reciprocal legislation which has already been passed by the Westminster Parliament in London. The President, Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh, having consulted with the Council of State, has referred the Bill to the Supreme Court for a test on its constitutionality. The decision to refer a Bill to the Court is the President's alone. Two of the six judges who at present normally sit in the Supreme Court were members of the Anglo-Irish Commission which recommended the concept of extra territoriality. It should be mentioned that as well as that provision the Bill contains other objectionable innovations in the Criminal Law.

CHANGES IN PRISON RULES.

A motion in the Senate in the names of Mrs. Mary Robinson and Mr. Eoin Ryan against the amendments to the Prison Rules being brought in by the Minister for Justice, Mr. Cooney, allowing him to prohibit legal advisors entering prisons to receive instructions from their clients, was defeated. Mr. Cooney attempted to justify the Order changing the 1949 Prison Rules to enable him to bar visits to prisoners by lawyers of their choice by claiming it was being introduced to maintain security in the prisons and that solicitors had recently abused the privacy which normally attends legal visits in prisons and that these abuses were serious breaches of security. Mrs. Robinson, in proposing the motion, said the rules were ultra vires the existing prison acts as these only gave the Minister the power to regulate the conditions of a consultation between prisoner and legal advisor, not the power to decide who the legal advisor should or should not be. She said the rules were contrary to the European Convention of Human Rights, Article 6 of which provides for a defence for a prisoner by a legal advisor of his own choice and for free legal aid, and contrary to the United Nations Minimum rules for the regulation of prisons. Under the Constitution it was laid down that all citizens, including prisoners, be treated equally under the law. If one category of prisoner could have legal advice from the person of his own choice, and another could not that would not be treating prisoners equally as a class before the law.

Lastly she objected to the proposed rules because they gave the Minister arbitrary and invidious powers which went far beyond what was envisaged on grounds of security and once passed they became the law of the land.

The Incorporated Law Society has indicated its opposition to the proposed rules and has said that the Minister has adequate means in existence at present for dealing with any solicitors he thought guilty of abusing consultations or using them to breach security. The Prisoners Rights Organisation commented that it would be the prisoners who would suffer as a result. They would be denied the legal advisor of their choice and visits from their families and friends with no right of appeal against the Minister's decision.

ALLEGATIONS OF POLICE BRUTALITY.

Following the arrest and questioning of many members of the Irish Republican Socialist Party by the Gardaí and Special Branch spokesmen for the party claimed that many of their members were badly beaten when in custody. They stated that legal action would be taken in cases of brutality and added that members of the party were meeting with senior counsel for discussions. The Belfast based Association for Legal Justice announced that it was prepared to underwrite legal and medical costs for people alleging unlawful arrest or assault while in custody in the Republic. The A.L.J. in a statement said that a large amount of money had been made available to it from 'a Dublin trust of high philanthropic standing'. This was for use in providing legal aid for suitable cases against the Authorities in the Republic. The A.L.J. statement said that detailed reports given to the association (which is centred in Belfast but has a Dublin branch) had alleged severe beatings and in one case a fractured skull suffered during interrogation. The A.L.J. statement went on to say that it judges it of very high priority that the funds of the charitable trust be swiftly used to end the growing recourse to serious and unlawful assault upon arrested persons by the Irish authorities, which an increasing stream of allegations indicate is serious indeed.

BRITISH ARMY CONSPIRACY EXPOSED.

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association has demanded the re-opening of all court cases in the North where people have been jailed on the evidence of members of the British Army alone. This call was made following the revelation that a private of the 3rd Parachute Regiment was instructed to lie in a case in which a man, Edward McClafferty, of Ardoyne, Belfast, was sentenced to 8 years on a charge of possessing a firearm with intent to endanger life in Belfast in April 1974. The case involved an incident in which another man, Brian Smith, was shot dead and Mr. McClafferty fired on by four soldiers from a hidden observation post who claimed to court that they had seen both men produce weapons. If the revelations are substantiated then B. Smith was murdered and E. McClafferty, who has always protested his innocence and maintained that neither he nor B. Smith had guns, was convicted because of a conspiracy to justify the shootings. Legal sources in the North fear that the British Army's priority is to protect its soldiers from the law rather than to uphold the processes of the courts - while paying compensation to the victim or relatives if necessary. In March a payment of £30,000 was agreed in a claim by a woman whose husband was shot dead by the British Army in Andersonstown in 1973 (the Army alleged he had a weapon). The man was not involved in any paramilitary organisation and the Ministry of Defence paid compensation without admitting criminal culpability. There are numerous other instances of controversial Army actions in the North, but no soldier has ever served a sentence arising from subsequent court cases.

TORTURE CASE AGAINST BRITAIN.

The Irish Government's case against Britain begun in 1972, alleging inhuman and degrading treatment of prisoners in the North of Ireland, has been referred to the European Court of Human Rights. The European Commission on Human Rights had reported its opinion (which speculation says was favourable to the Republic's case) to both Governments and the choice was to refer the case to the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe or to the Court, where in the reported opinion of the Irish Government it would receive more dispassionate consideration. The allegations of torture listed hooding, sensory deprivation, with-holding of food, isolation and the use of sound among the techniques applied during interrogation in depth. It is indeed ironic that at a time when the Irish Government is bringing Britain to the European Court for a breach of the Convention on Human Rights they are themselves proposing to introduce rules (see 'Changes in Prison Rules') which would contravene Article 6 of the Convention and are being accused of acts (see 'Allegations of Police Brutality') which could lead to their themselves being eventually brought before the Court also.

INDEFINITE DIRECT RULE.

With the end of the month's extension of the Northern Ireland Constitutional Convention and it's failure to reach agreement on the lines proposed by him, the British Secretary of State for the North, Mr. Merlyn Rees, announced a period of indefinite direct rule from Westminster. In the opinion of most observers the Convention has acted as a time buffer between the end of the Assembly and direct rule and the policy now is an indefinite period of government without initiative. There will be no new initiative to create an agreed local administration nor any move to increase the negligible powers of the North's 25 local authorities and any call for more Members of Parliament from the North at Westminster will be ignored for the present. No change in security policy is foreseen in the near future. Mr. Rees believes that the ending of internment has weakened support for the Provisionals and that the Loyalist paramilitaries - now that withdrawal is definitely ruled out - have nothing to destroy but the Union and, seeing this, will contain themselves. The vital question is when will this period of direct rule end (and how). Some predict not until devolution within the U.K. has been dealt with and settled (what ultimate settlement there will be and whether it will satisfy Scotland and Wales is another matter). There is official resignation by Stormont Castle to continuing violence - much of it sectarian - and an assumption that it can be contained.

According to the Provisionals the situation is now that the decks are really cleared. Spokesman, Daithí O'Connell, recently released from Portlaoise Prison (where conditions are, he claimed, 'degrading and inhuman'), said that various attempts at intermediate solutions had failed and it was now either permanent rule by Britain or Britain gets out. He called on the new Premier, Mr. Callaghan, for a radical change in policy and stated that the only radical change now open is for the British to declare that they are withdrawing but, he said, the Provisionals did not seek an immediate or overnight withdrawal.

The eminent British historian Prof. A. J. P. Taylor

said in an interview on RTE Radio in Mid-April that the British should withdraw from the North as soon as possible. He said he was not convinced that a bloody civil war would automatically follow on withdrawal but warned that every day longer the British remained in the North was likely to increase the number of people killed in the end. Prof. Taylor stated that no doubt there would be conflict but he was not prepared to accept it would be far worse than the present level of killing. He went on to say that the general moral to be drawn from these national conflicts was that the price of settlement steadily increased. Prof. Taylor concluded however by saying that the problem was basically not a national cleavage but a domestic dispute between two categories of Irish people and that the best hope of all would be the triumph of national opinion over religious opinions.

GAELTACHT AUTHORITY.

The demand for a powerful democratic Authority for the Gaeltacht (Irish speaking areas) has been made for many years now. Such an Authority is deemed essential to restore the self-confidence of the Gaeltacht communities - economic development (which is difficult enough due to the lack of co-ordination between agencies and lack of physical infrastructures) alone not being sufficient to check the spread of English. The present Minister for the Gaeltacht promised that an Authority would be set up - whether that he envisaged would be sufficient is another matter. However the years passed no Authority of any kind appeared and in recent months rumours circulated that the Minister, Tom O'Donnell, had changed his mind. On one occasion having confirmed a backdown he hurriedly denied it in the face of the resulting outcry. These vacillations have prompted the setting up of an inter-Gaeltacht committee to press urgently and agitate for an Authority which would be democratically elected and have sufficient powers. The committee was formed at a meeting in Conamara in early April which was attended by delegates from all Gaeltacht regions. This is the first time since 1971 that any vigorous attempt at co-operation between the various Gaeltachtais has been made on this issue - let us hope it achieves the desired results.

IDIR-CHEILTIS.

Is minic muid sa gConradh Ceitreach ag rá gur cheir do na teangaacha ceitreacha teacht i gcobhair ar a cheile trí fhocla a thabhairt ar iasacht dá cheile nuair is gá. Is minic go mbíonn foclaí n'leagan deas i dteanga amháin do rad éirid nuair a bhíonn teanga eile ag dul i muintín gaeil ar fhocal Bearla. Tá sé seo fíor go h-éirí na fíor thearmat nua-aoiseacha go tearmat teirmolafocht. Cé nach bhfuil cainteoirí ó dhúshas ar bith Manannais beo ann, is an teanga toghmhaigh go bhfaighimid na foclaí de aonair. Tá foclaí dá uimhne faoi lath-air, 'Cas-aibéalán' and focal atá acu an 'helicopter', 'Healicopter' atá agallann. 'Sciathán uisce' a thugann siad ar 'hovercraft'. Go bhfuil dom atá focal ar bith agallann lena aghaidh. Is coitianta go bhfuil roinnt den iasacht seo a dhéanamh idir na Bríotánaigh agus na Breathnaigh. Níor mhéid do na Q-Cheiltigh dá na muintín níos minic.

COMÓRADH AGUS COMÓRADH.

Tá náire orainn is coitianta faoi cé muid, cad as dúinn, cad as ar fuinneadh muid. Ní sin an t-aon chiall atá in dúilín ar rialtais abhna iubhail 1918 a chomórán i mbliana. Is mó sampla den náire, den bráid-fhuath

seo atá feibthe againn ar na mallabha.

Ta Bord na Gaeilge ag leanúil pleannanna fós agus gan de chineacht uathu ach leabhar amháin dátheangach a bhailiú. Níl muid ina choinne sin, ar ndóig, ach dúb thearrde an Bord agus dób thearrde foillsitheoir na Gaeilge móide pobal leitheoirí eactha na Gaeilge dá mba gur chinnigh an Bord go ndéanfar an tharrtháil chui is ga a dhéanamh go príomha d'fhonn na foillsitheoirí san - cuid acu go bhfuil fiacha uafásaigh iroma é geogadh - a chomhad sa ghúis sin ar chor ar bith.

Ní raibh tagart don aidm náisiúnta san faoi athreim-nis na Gaeilge i riteas an Bhoird, ní raibh trácht air mar chuspóir; ní raibh uathu i ndáiríre ach "aspiration" agus is maithe is eol dúinn teip na "n-aspirations" i nua-stair na hÉireann.

Dá mba gur sheas an Bord go láidir ar son cearta lucht labhartha na Gaeilge - pe cuid den tír ina bhfuil lonnaithe, dá mba gur fheachadar chuige go n-ardfar ualach shíorbhíor an Bhárla on státhoras orbu bheudh dal chun cinn déanta agus bheadh níos mó dúchais againn sa pleannanna an Bhoird.

Ní naonafonn muid leis an leath-scéal, leis an éileam-ní thart ag gabáil leathscéal ar bhéimínlacht. Muna bhfuil muid brúidil asainn fein agus mórtasach sa ár dteanga níl in ann dúinn ach an chomhshamhlú san nach n-eascairíonn síochán ná só as.

Ach ní easpa airgid atá ag múcadh chomórán 1916 i mbliana ná ta comórán 1976 faoi léntseal idir stampal ar leith agus ainm na tíre lútrúibh mheacht ortha sein infain léanta, forlúnta sna macháin, léachtanna radio, turasanna siar agus bratacha na Stát Aontaithe ar foluain sa chuide sírd. Níl mé ag disbeagadh Éirí-Amach 1976, níl mé ag rádh nar choir é a mhórán ná páirt na nÉireannach ann a ríomhadh i gceart (nó bhí sé thar am chuige sin); ní hé sin é. Ach an comórán sin i gcomh-úestla an fosta faoi 1916 níl ann ach magadh mairr infíocht mheabhair é d'fhonn muid a chur ar seachran ó bheith ag cur sínt-tomhaís Fhorógra na Casca ar Éirínn mar atá sé anois.

P. Ó S.

MALAIRT SAOIL.

Ní rud nua é an duine craosach a bheith ag déanamh brabach ar a chomhdhúine nach bhfuil an mian chun maoine chomh láidir ann. Tréith é an craos atá chomh aon leis an geoc. Ach in aon seo na teicneolaíochta agus na speisialtóiríocht imríonn sé trí na h-ollchomh-íochtaí tionsclaíochta - atá in ann chailte shochar a cheannacht ar mhaith leo fúin - tiorantacht ar an bpobal nach raibh indéanta san am ar lu an daonlathas pholaitiúil.

Níl gúar ar bith de shaoil an duine nach ndéanann siad freastal air. Chéagfaí ar dís b'fhéidir gur cruth é seo nach bhfuil a sárú le fáil le riachtanaisí an chine daonna a sholáthar.

Leis an leagan amach atá ar shaoil an lae inniu ní fíor é ar chor ar bith. Braitneasfa é an duine ina him-peallacht fúin sa lá síd innis ann. Is annamh a dheanann an himpeallacht sin freastal ar cheann ar bith dha chuid riachtanaisí. Tá sé spíeágh go h-íomlán ar na chluichlaith. Is rud amháin luach - saothair a bhábh-nírt dno dochtúir abair. Is rud eile ar fad tionscail mhóra shábhair a bheith bunaithe ar thineas. Is measa síe é nuair is é síocair an tinnis tionscail mhor shábhair eile - tionscail an bhídh. Ba é 'Ar n-arán laethúil' ár n-arán laethúil tréth. Measáin measaí de mhargaraí

saorga ceimiceach is mó a bhíonn in arán na laethanta seo. Agus cén fáth? Ionannas go mairfidh sé níos faide agus go ndéanfar níos mó brabáigh. Is é an cás cranna le chuide shághas bith. I gcóras rachnais na gcomh-luchtaí is mó é spíris lucht leighis i dtineas ná i sílante. In aois ina bhfuil an oigead sin beim ar chursal oideachais agus an scoláíocht éigeantach bheifí ag súil go mbeadh daoine ina ndúiseacht faoi na rudaf seo. Bheadh freisin marach gach bhfuil sa gcóras oideachais é fíneán ach úrúis ag beathú an dáshaorthaí agus ag scaipeadh a shóisceil.

Bheadh sé críonna ag dreamanna polaitiúchá atá ag iarraidh an córas seo a bhriseadh árd a thabhairt ar na bealaí éagala a bhfuil sé ag scriosadh an duine. Níl sé soiléir go dtuigeanann siad nach leor saibreas an domhain a bhaint amach do na daoine. Caitheadh cultúr iomlán an chraois, a dheanann leatrom ar chách i láthair na huairé, a chur de dhroim seoil.

Le blianta beaga anuas tá dreamanna i dtíortha éag-sála ag iarraidh malairt saoil a chur ar fáil trí chur faoi ndeara de dhaoine gur sclábhaithe de shaghas nua iad ins an "consumer society". Agus gur féidir saoi níos saála a reacháil ar bhealaí eile.

Measann siad gur féidir ard-teicneolaíocht na linne seo a úsáid i bhfad níos eifeachtaí ach na struchtair chúf a chur ar fáil. Le tamall anuas tá dream anseo in Éirinn atá ar aon aigne leor tar fás iad fein a eagrú. Píeann siad cúrsal faoi an lomad ceann-teideal - dí-láirí combachta, dí-scoilú oideachais, malairt foinisí combachta, rialtas comhdhúair, feilemóiracht orgánach agus a leithéide eile. Fealsúnacht combóiríoch ar ndóig atá acu. Déarfadh a lán gur leagan amach saonta, ro-ídealach é seo. B'fhéidir go bhfuil cuid den fírinne annsin. Ach tá an saoi ina phraiseach chomh mór sin go bhfuil gá le malairt éicint. Ní hé amháin go bhfuil gá leis. Caitheadh sé teacht. Leis an mbólaíge seo atá ag eirí níos measa i naghaidh an lae is gearr go dtitfidh an tóin as cúrsal eacnamaíochta ar fad más fíor do eacnamaí. Ní minic leo an ceart a bheith acu. D'fhéadfaí iad a chreidsint an uair seo. Pé scéal é ní sheafaidh an dohan é - agus sé an dohan atá i gceist agam, an dohan físiúil. Tá sé ag eirí níos lá ceart go leor agus ní ó thaobh cúrsal faoi amháin. Sompá é an Comhnhargadh ar mhí-físeacht sonaif móra. Cén fáth a bhfuil orainn fátal, úlail, iasc agus céad rud eile a fháil ón iasacht nuair a d'fhéadfaí siad a bheith go fíúirseach againn sa mbailé? Seo 'progress' a chuide. Dá gcuirfí deire le córas an mhargaidh agus earráil a thairgeadh go h-físeachtach san áit inar fídir agus iad a thairgeadh do riachtanaisí na ndaoine i leabhadh sin a dhéanamh ar a bheith d'fhéadfaí daonra iomlán an domhain a bheith. In áit sin níl a dhóthain le n-íthe ag dá drian den daonra sin. D'fhéadfaí ar an bpointe dreach eile a chur ar an scéal dá gcuirfí bhfeidm moltaí na ndreamanna atá ar shon na malairte. Cúimh-nigh ar an saoi a bheadh ann. Má tá spéis agatá sna cúrsal seo déan teangmháil le SCM na hÉireann, Teach SCM, Árdán Prince Arthur, Ráthmaónais, B. Á. C. 6. Gráinne Ní Mháille.

GADHLIG - GAEILGE POETRY COURT.

The annual exchange of Scots and Irish poets, singers and musicians is now in it's sixth year. The visit to Ireland this year took place from April 4th to the 11th, and, in addition to Dublin, the venues this year included Claremorris in Co. Mayo, two of the Aran Islands, and the city of Kilkenny. Altogether a crowded tour for poets Aonghus (continued on page 21.)

KERNOW

PREPARING FOR NOVEMBER GENERAL ELECTION.

In the last few months much progress has been made within and outside the Cornish National movement. There are, up to the time of writing this, four official nationalist prospective candidates for 4 of the 5 Cornish seats in Westminster. The Mebyon Kernow Chairman, Mr. Richard Jenkins, and National Secretary, Mr. Leonard Turran are both candidates. M.K.'s third man is Mr. Michael Payne-Jago, a 44 year old company director from Trebetherick near Padstow. Dr. James Whetter, Chairman of the Cornish Nationalist Party is the official C.N.P. candidate. Two other C.N.P. candidates commendably agreed to stand down when M.K. representatives were adopted for the same constituencies. The C.N.P. have since said they would keep liaison with M.K. to choose a suitable candidate for the one constituency without a nationalist candidate.

To expand a little on the subject of why M.K. seemed to have put candidates up against other members of the national movement: The National Secretary of M.K. has said that the organisation goes through the democratic process of choosing people to represent it at all levels, inside and outside the movement, which often takes time; but just as important in this case is that M.K., with a large membership and experience of 25 years on the Cornish political scene must keep the faith of members and other Cornish people by moving forward with mature sensible policies. This may mean speaking out against other Cornish organisations whose methods of working or policies are open to charges from some that they have not the well-being of our people in mind.

At present M.K. have four candidates standing in the district council elections in May. In Marazion near Penzance there is a strong M.K. branch and up to nine official M.K. candidates are standing in the parish council elections taking place at the same time as the district elections. M.K. faced a small set-back when two or three candidates for district elections failed to pass residential qualifications, i.e. 12 months of working or living in the district. One candidate is a member of the Cornish Branch of the C.L. - the co-ordinator for inter-Celtic exchanges (Carn 12).

MEBYON KERNOW'S CONFERENCE.

At their conference on the 6th March, following St. Piran's Day* in Truro, Mebyon Kernow renewed their commitment to fulfil the Celtic character of Cornwall and its right to self-government as a nation which would be part of a Celtic Confederation. Mebyon Kernow also declared itself a political movement to be organised as a political party, and membership is to be refused to members of any other political party or movement active in Cornwall (excepting the Celtic League) - these people must choose if they are Cornish or English.

The conference also heard that a recent opinion poll had indicated that 38% of the people of Cornwall wanted self-government.

A large part of the credit for the new commitments of Mebyon Kernow must go to the younger members of the movement, some belonging to the Cornish branch of the Celtic League, who are very active in making Mebyon Kernow a really viable Cornish National Movement. J. T.

DYLATYA CHAYN PELLWOLOK KEMBREK.

Roy Jenkins, Tern Materow-Gwias an gywys vrel-anez, re dherrys, y fyth dylatys 'bys y'n amser a dbe' tavethi towlennow Kembrek ha kembrek y'n Penwera Chayn Pellwolok rak fowt arghans lowr yn onden-erbyis an termyn mai. Govyns a vyth yho fatel us kemmys a arghans rak tavethi yn Arabek, Rossiek, Cathayek h. e. h. e. A pe Kembrek kewrys yn Iwerdhon, ha tus an vro ma ow trý aga fellwolog troha'n Enys Wer, hep mar y fya Chayn Kembrek dallethys naas yw lies bledhen. Kwyas Israel re dhallesha Chayn Arabek k-bas yf tus Palestina gwies towlennow Elyp, Libanus, Syrya ha Bro-Yordán. Termyn an 2a Bressel Bys, CortEB (Cor-forth Tavethi Enys Breten) a wre tavethi towlennow Islanek pup deth oll rak dyoya tus Enys an Yey dhe gryni bones da ganas soudoryon Pow Saws y'ha bro. Apert yw na gft an kembregoryon aga Chayn Pellwolok mar ny dheffous ha bones gwir bonvos dhe sawder an kywys.

Lemon nyas y'n kembregoryon oll kesecol yn keves teslen dathla'n Penwera Chayn. War dowl cor-TEB ha Teleda Harlech o tavethi y'n chayn noweth towlennow Kembrek ynweth na towlennow kembrek yn Sawnek. Cymdeithas yr Iaith a wre deryn Chayn Kembrek war nuk ha moy a ddielnyth kembrek yn mysk towlennow'n Chaynow Sawnek. Ydelna y hyller dar-bari Corforth Tavethi Kembry may lo dea jayn dhe'n vro ma, onen Kembrek hag onen Sawnek. Mes an Pendyscajor Jac L. Williams, Deyn Kevrasan Dycasas Colly Aberystrwyth, a wre lowenbó na vyth Chayn Kem-brek. Y dylatya yw 'boshgolyeth aral dhe'n yeth Kembrek', yn meth ef. An pendyscajor mas a dyp y fyn nur a gembry dhigembrek dyski'n yeth kemethiek mara pyth 'Dau Syle' ha 'Miri Mawr' gweskys ynfra 'Coronation Street' ha 'Kojack'. Y crys ef y fyn sawnegoryon bur Gwent, Morgannwg ha Fflint dyski Kembrek ow colswes yn hebak worth towlennow na wodons i con-vedhes ger vyth anedha. Martesen yho y wra leveret an gwir, ha martesen yw. Yn sur nyas us dhodon dustuni lowr rak previ y dathal - ha hep wew vyth nyas us dustuni lowr dhe'n re a wra dathal ar f'byn. Tenkys yeth an weria re bu geys a-berth yn newi ha tewlyjyon.

(La Berta Disenda Korporacio estas prokrastinta la Kimralingvon Kanalon. Kvankam oni audas amarajn deoktoj pri lo efikeco de tia kanalo por helpi la liugvon, ne ekzistas sufiche da pruvoj statistikal kaj social plus nun.) T. MacA.

BORDER BLURRING. (Continued from CARN 12.)

Border Blurring is a threat which should be met by absolute rejection, particularly with regard to the Post Office. The areas affected by this form of assimilation are the least densely populated and may be possibly the most 'diluted' with regard to native population. It does, therefore, present the dangerous situation whereby the fate of Kernow could rest with a minority when 'local governmental boundaries' are reviewed in the 1980's. The Cornwall Council say that they are opposed to any boundary changes, yet they actively support the Border Blurring by the S.W. Economic Planning Council by liaising with the Devon Council in a study of the Plymouth Sub-Region (which includes S.E. Kernow). Not only have they co-operated in what is no more than an extension of the English "Tamar-side County" ideal, but have put forward, jointly, a number of "overspill" proposals, presumably on the assumption that given enough alternatives the Cornish will overlook the objectionable principle underlying the move. These proposals are for a

planned development in the Plymouth Sub-Region to provide for future population growth and industrial expansion over the next 25 years based on a report by the S.W. Economic Planning Council. The proposed development could allow for a population increase of up to 33,000 at concentrated centres; such an expansion could not arise from a 'natural' increase, and thus would inevitably attract further English immigrants, who would use the new housing for second homes or retirement. Speculative industrial growth attracts small industrial concerns which bring their own 'key' workers and families, who receive priority accommodation. Apart from the social devastation in the areas concerned, the effect of approximately fifty per cent increase in population over this period would be disastrous to a Cornish identity. Parallel to these proposals the Government sponsored Housing Corporation of Exeter have put the condition to Caradon District Council that if they provide financial backing for housing schemes in Salish or Torpoint, the tenants should come chiefly from 'Plymouth' because Plymouth had 9,000 on the waiting list whilst Caradon had only 2,000. The respective populations 350,000 and 54,000, are ignored by the 'official' spokesman who stated that, "... Plymouth included Salish and Torpoint. It was one conurbation." Thankfully this statement was utterly rejected by Caradon District Council.

Without the Tamar the Cornish Nation disappears and Kernow could be remembered as the Nation which fought to retain its language, yet still lost its land. The complementary nature of assimilation is indicated by such terms as 'minor' and 'insignificant' or 'that will not affect my Cornishness' with reference to each step of assimilation. Thus we find, as a Cornish M.P. stated, "... The trouble is that it is virtually impossible to fight the process at each individual step unless there is strong public opinion to support the view ...". It is, therefore, imperative that informed public opinion must be rallied to prevent further encroachments upon Cornish rights, particularly so with the impending discussions in Westminster upon 'Devolution'. Cornishmen must strive to attain the maximum possible constitutional status for Kernow with the security of the Tamar as a minimum requirement. The 'Kilbrandon Report on the Constitution' recommended an increased use of the term 'Duchy of Cornwall' which will certainly meet with popular support by tradition, and which would re-affirm our forgotten (7) link with Cymru via the Duke of Cornwall (Prince of Wales). One wonders: did our county status originate because the term 'Anglia et Cornubia' was dropped in favour of 'England and Wales'? Wales being an all-embracing term for an English 'Royal Welsh Province' with Welsh taken in its anglo-saxon meaning of 'foreign'. I.e. the Kernow Welsh of West Wales (Cornwall) with the Cymro of Wales. If this can be proved to be a fact, then perhaps we should direct our complaints via the 'Welsh Office'?

● A.G.M. It was decided to change the venue of the General Meeting of the Celtic League (1976) from Kernow to Dublin so as to enable participants to also attend the Celtic Languages Conference in Bath Chairs, 20-22/8, and the Oireachtas (Festival of Gaelic Culture) 28-8 to 4-9 in Inisrebhann (Connemara). Date of the A.G.M. 28th-29th August.

● Irish Language Summer courses are now available in the Donegal Gaeltacht for adult learners. Write to Brian O Maoliosáin, Cnoc na Muirleoge, na Dunaibh, Leitir Cheannainn, Tir Chonaill.

MANNIN

MANNIN: MOMENT OF TRUTH.

The General Election in November next must surely be recognised as indeed a moment of truth in our rough island story, because if the same mentality, regardless of the faces behind which it operates, is returned to power for another five years, the rate at which our land and commercial holdings are passing out of our control through immigration and outside investment and speculation will ensure that at the end of that term practically nothing will be left in our hands. Even now almost every indigenous worker is dependent upon alien capital investment for the means of life, and it has been officially announced that tourism, the traditional mainstay of the Manx economy has now been replaced, as the largest contributor to our income, by the banks and finance houses which have proliferated in the island in recent years because of the low rate of insular taxation.

It must be evident that no extension of formal constitutional independence can have any reality while the economic and financial infrastructure upon which the community actually depends for its very life is beyond the control of the administration. While the development boom is in full swing and the imported capital is being utilized in development and creating much-needed employment, the government would be in a position to impose its standards and regulations in the various spheres of economic and financial activity. (In actual fact even this did not occur here; the government was so besotted with its development policy, not to mention the easy money which poured into its coffers from rich refugees from Britain and elsewhere, that practically no control was exercised and Manx industry, development and commerce was a glorious free-for-all for the pirates, land sharks and wide-boys from all points of the compass). But no government apparently can prevent the boom turning into a 'bust', and there are already ominous signs of a down-turn, in the form of bankruptcies and voluntary liquidations, with consequent unemployment, particularly amongst young people and school-leavers.

Manx nationalism has always warned against the dangers of such rapid expansion in a community so ill-acquainted to modern high pressure operations. Mac Vannin even went to the length of petitioning the Crown to set up an inquiry into the whole political and commercial set-up in the Island. Rumours were rife at the time about undercover tie-ups between the new plutocracy and certain local worthies in politics and business, and one phrase "the stench of greed, corruption and misgovernment" put the cat amongst the pigeons with a vengeance, for a while. But in the end, nothing came of it.

But that is water under the bridge, and the only valid reason for such inquests is the possibility of finding out what went wrong and how to avoid future repetition. And as we face the prospect of a make or break confrontation with the strongly-entrenched and firmly established forces of re-action within a few months, we must also face the fact that the most serious obstacle to our process in entirely within our power to remove, because it is within our minds - a matter of psychology if not actually of psychiatry, we would never admit it under torture, for the good and sufficient reason that our conscious minds are hardly aware of it, but the fact is that at bottom we don't believe in ourselves or our own fitness or right to govern ourselves as adults in an adult world.

The historical reasons are not far to seek. We have no tradition of freedom such as has nerved Poland, Brittany, Wales, Gaelic Scotland, the Basques, the Catalans, and other suppressed peoples to keep alight the flame of revolt for hundreds of years under the iron heel. Whatever may have been the position during the first millennium A.D., the Gaelic Manx have never enjoyed the political freedom which is now claimed. Since the Norse Conquest in 1079 they have been no more than vassals to one absentee landlord or other. This tradition of dependence, re-inforced by the famous 'Celtic melancholy' so fiercely repudiated by Bernard Shaw, later by colonial direct rule after the Act of Revestment of 1765 - then by our increasing dependence upon tourism and its usual devastating effect on indigenous culture and language, and in recent years the policy of large-scale development by alien finance, spurred on by an influential clique of venal politicians with a rabble of political nonentities at its back has resulted in a deep-seated inferiority complex in our national psyche which tends to stultify our efforts before they've even got off the ground. One cannot keep noting the increasingly pessimistic atmosphere in nationalist gatherings in recent months; can it be that we are suffering a failure of nerve as the crisis approaches when we shall be called upon to justify our brave words of the past? It may well be so.

A movement which does not give the impression of belonging in itself can scarcely be expected to inspire the uncommitted floating vote which is an important electoral factor in an apathetic electorate so every effort must be made to shake off the blues and realize that the job can be done. The Island has no industrial potential, except as a tax-haven to which sections of mainland light industry can be lured out but it has the basic life-support systems which together with tourism and other factors could make it a viable if small political entity.

It is important to capitalise on such practical arguments - but our most promising asset is the strong undercurrent of nationalist rebellion which so far we have been unable to harness or exploit. The mass of ordinary islanders are deeply resentful of what has been done to their country and themselves in recent years, and this popular malaise could, if properly organized, prove to be an explosive force capable of sweeping the present incumbents out of the corridors of power. We have seen inexperienced and completely unknown candidates picking up respectable votes from nothing except a mere nationalist label.

In an electorate to which the party lines mean little or nothing politics is highly personalized apart from a handful of labourites which has never been an effective opposition. The mass of our politicians are elected as 'independents', and succeed or fail by their local standing as individuals, so perhaps the most important first step is to provide actual candidates in the flesh who are explicitly committed to carry the flag in the pending struggle. A number of credible individuals committed in this way and able and willing to strengthen his political platform by local campaigning in the next few months, could act as centres around which nationalist sentiment could crystallize instead of floating at large in a political limbo such as we have seen too often when a candidate has not appeared until the eleventh hour, by which time large numbers of potential supporters have become committed elsewhere faute de mieux.

Another handicap to nationalist prospects is the lack of the bribes in the form of glowing promises of better things to come which is an important electoral factor in

a community in which the standard of political awareness and sophistication has scarcely advanced beyond kindergarten level. For many years the island has enjoyed a boom based on large scale development by alien capital - a nationalist challenge which sees this very factor as the most ominous symptom of our increasing loss of freedom will inevitably find some difficulty in putting forward a credible alternative to this as a means of securing continuing progress.

There is also an important financial disincentive for possible candidates. The island's legislature has always kept the level of members remuneration well below the level of an ordinary living wage. Many sceptics regard this as a deliberate policy of class discrimination designed to keep the lower class out of the corridors of power and maintain island politics as a closed shop for snobs and part-time with other sources of income, be that as it may, this is how it has worked - so that now we are almost prohibited from asking promising candidates to come forward knowing that it would involve a considerable financial sacrifice by the individual concerned.

So on the whole our prospects cannot be described as rosy - but the campaign will undoubtedly continue in one form or another.

L. V. Crellin.

FODDEEAGHT SON Y VOOAR-HEER.

Manxmen and Irishmen (and others) get annoyed over the use of the term 'mainland' meaning 'Britain'. The dispute between the U.K. and Iceland has made at least one English journalist complain that the Icelanders look up to no 'mainland'.

Shimney keayrt ta Manninee as Yernee doole cheet dy ve corree tra ta sleih loayrt mychione y "voor-heer", she shen Sostyn. Shen y fa dy vel mieh hene garaghtee tra ta Sostynne ganne corree my 'fad clahkyn dy vel laght y cho-phobbe Euraopagh (yn E.E.C.) loayrt mychione Sostyn hene myr ellan beg faggys da'n "voor-heer Euraopagh". Er dy gerriid, hennick mee red yndyassagh ayns palyr-naight Sostyngh mychione turrys jeant ec eariaheyr (journalist) gys yn Eeslyn, gys Reykjavik. Gyn outys, va'n fer boght shoh ceau tammyll beg mastey ny barbaree er y fa dy vel y "caggyr boiddagh" fo raad eddyr yn Eeslyn as Sostyn. Goll rish ram sleih voish cheeraghyn moorey, cha row yn eariaheyr shoh countey monney jeh'n Eeslyn. Erakyn oallay, y'eh countey oie Jeanaa ayns Reykjavik y ve dree aglahgh. T'eh feer gholllee jough y gheddyn. Aghterbee, ta botell dy ushtey-vea costal F15! Heill yn eariaheyr nagh beagh aym erbee ec ny Americannee boghtey t'ayns yn ynnyl-caggyr NATO ayns cheer nagh chaghtey myr yn Eeslyn. Cha vod eh toigael ere'n fa ta ny Eeslynee countey claryn chelloish (TV) Americanaagh y ve "nieu culturil!" As t'eh gra dy vel ny theyrn Eeslynagh cur er ny theyrn yn-vellyn Ghlasheyr dy ve jesaghyn goll rish Mayfair. Noddagh oo smooinegh er oltsoan smeeag.

Dy neu-arryttagh, ta'n eariaheyr goallt rish dy vel ashoon Eeslynagh ayns ("... of course, there are the trappings of a national identity..."). T'eh shreilay nagh beagh cho wheesh jeant ec ellan Albunagh as 300,000 cummaltee er as ta'n Eeslyn er nyannoo. Agh, ghoinneey veen, ta'n fer boght garacan, ta "moor-heer" ec ellane Albunagh as cha jean ny Eeslynee oomidagh goallt rish y theid!

Brian Mac Stoyll.

FOR A HEALTH-ORIENTED FOOD POLICY: The case against factory sugar. By Dr. M.O. Bruker, F.R. Germany.

More and more people suffer from increasingly numerous types of diseases. This fact stands in remarkable contrast to the so-called progress in medical science. The increase in disease brings with it plenty of problems for the individual and his or her family, but it has also economic, sociological and political repercussions.

The reason for the spread of disease is that to-day the treatment of sick people is generally limited to an alleviation of symptoms, tacitly renouncing to seek a definite cure. Curing a disease supposes the elimination of its causes, whereas the temporary alleviation of a troublesome symptom by means of a medicament can be obtained without knowing the cause of the disease. It is possible for instance in the case of constipation to bring about the evacuation of the bowels every day by means of a laxative, but if one stops taking this, constipation returns - its cause had not been eliminated. The same can be said about sleeping tablets and insomnia, analgesics and headaches, etc.

A decrease in the frequency of occurrence of a disease will be obtained only when treatment dealing with its cause replaces treatment by alleviation of its symptoms. The latter treatment has gradually resulted in wide sections of the population knowing singularly little about the cause of disease. This can be daily verified in consultation rooms. Hardly any patient knows the origin of his illness even after a decade.

From a causal point of view diseases can be divided into two main groups - the diseases of civilisation related to nutrition and the diseases related to one's way of life, i.e. having to do with the burdens and problems which our daily lives bring us and how we deal with them on the basis of our outlook on life, education and experience. Most of to-day's diseases are injuries of civilisation related to our nutrition. They are mainly caused by a group of food stuffs which did not exist a century ago: the industrial food stuffs. The invasion of technique in the field of food stuffs has resulted in a considerable change in the feeding scheme of civilised people.

Among the industrial food stuffs are predominantly two which technical processing has transformed into concentrates devoid of or deficient in vital substances, yet they are consumed in huge amounts: refined (white) flour and refined sugar. Mass consumption makes them the grave diggers of civilised humanity. The other food stuffs, like vegetables, meat and its subsidiaries, milk and dairy products, potatoes, fruit, etc., are not industrially transformed to such an extent into pure chemical products. The vital substances which are lost in the technical process are biological agents essential to life: vitamins, minerals, trace elements, enzymes, unsaturated fatty acids and aromas (essences).

All the kinds of sugar which are manufactured industrially - cane or beet-sugar as well as fruit or grape sugar - are pure concentrates devoid of vital substances. This in itself explains most of the metabolic disturbances caused by sugar. Moreover sugar causes an impoverishment in vitamin B1. This effect is further enhanced by civilised man's consumption of refined flour which is also deficient in vitamin B1. By refined flour are meant meals from which the grain's external layers (bran) and germ have been removed, leaving only the starchy part. The main supplier of the most important vitamin B1 being the

grain germ, the civilised man who eats white or grey bread is being permanently deprived of vitamin B1. Sugar and white flour are referred to in German as "robbers of vitamin B". It is clear that the combination of the two refined carbohydrates represent the main cause of the food-related diseases of civilisation.

These include:-

- 1) Tooth decay, caries and parodontosis. Caries is due to localised action by sugar. 95% of civilised people are affected by it. Dental decay provides the classical measure for the degree of injury due to civilisation in nations and individuals alike.
- 2) Chronic diseases of the stomach and the liver which in turn open the way for the diseases of metabolism. Every second person suffers from them.
- 3) Heart and circulatory diseases, the cause of most deaths in middle age; every third civilised person suffers from them.
- 4) Diseases of the limbs and of the connective tissues, of the articulations and of the spine.
- 5) Diseases of the nervous system - here the lack of vitamin B1 plays a leading role.
- 6) Cancer: every fifth person dies of it.

How tragic this development is will be clear if one realises that these diseases of civilisation were hardly present a century ago.

In order to ensure a sufficient supply of vital substances, white bread and other white flour products should be replaced by whole meal or whole grain bread and cereals and by fresh food (raw fruit and salads of fresh vegetables). Here another defect of the factory sugar must be noted: it causes incompatibility between whole grain food and fresh food: if they are taken in conjunction with sugar, disturbances of the digestive system occur. In the first weeks of transition to a diet rich in fresh food industrial sugar should be strictly avoided to prevent indispositions.

Unfortunately the dangers arising from the consumption of refined carbohydrates are veiled by a delay of 20-30 years intervening before the injuries become evident. On account of this delay, most of the diseases of civilisation are falsely attributed to old age and decrepitude.

Remedy is possible only if information about the connections we have described is disseminated worldwide. But the food industry forms an extraordinarily powerful group of financial interests with a strong influence on the mass media. The question is therefore how to overcome the serious obstacles to the spread of that information. Stemming the avalanche of diseases is no longer a scientific-medical problem but purely one of health-related food policy. Unfortunately when political decisions have to be taken involving conflicting economic and health interests, precedence is always given to the economic ones.

Of course the problem of industrial sugar is in the medical field only one of many connected with nutrition but it constitutes a central and prominent case which illustrates the need to adopt for our national communities a radical health-oriented food policy.

(Translated by A. Heusaff.)

We are indebted to Dr. Bruker, chief physician at the Psychosomatic Clinic of Bad Salzungen, F.R. Ger-

many, for this contribution. The political aspect to which he refers is of particular concern to us. We want the Celtic peoples to recover their political freedom, which also means becoming healthy communities, physically and in outlook. At present their sense of community is much too weak. This is partly due to internal clashes of interests and partly to the disintegrative effect of alien domination. The powerful hold exerted in the food industry by profit-motivated sectional interests and increasingly by multinational companies makes it harder for the people to know exactly what they consume. What we are, feel, think and do is certainly greatly determined by what we eat, drink and breathe. The chains of supply have become so complex that it is no longer true that what the consumers buy is what they want - think for instance of the monopolies (Ranks for the flour in Ireland...?), of all the advertising, of all the additives. Not to mention purchasing power... Supermarkets offer a greater variety of food stuffs than ever but what we take home in our shopping baskets includes many ingredients we don't want, and whose long-term effects on our health nobody has tested. How the public's awareness of the dangers, which would compel governments to institute more stringent and effective controls, can be developed without the co-operation of the mass media is difficult to imagine until the damage done reaches more alarming proportions. In the mean time we should individually be constantly mindful of the fact that our work capacity is ultimately dependent on the quality of our food. It is by paying great attention to the latter that we shall be capable of sustained effort and most important in view of our shortage of personnel, perform our share of the national rebuilding after finishing our day's work for "living".

A. H.

BILINGUALISM: ASSET OR CURSE?

Bilingualism is an asset, but when one of the two languages overpowers the other, it does it also in the mind of the speakers. Practically all Celtic speakers are now bilingual, knowing English or French at least as perfectly as their own language, and even using the foreign vernacular more frequently than their own.

The result of it is that our languages are decaying rapidly, the worst being not when foreign words are introduced into our conversations (separate words are relatively easy to discard and replace with genuine ones), but when foreign idioms get their way into our language, thus replacing Celtic ways of thinking with English or French ones.

Some people seem to consider that this is unavoidable and belongs to modern standardizing. I dare say bluntly that were it so, it would be senseless to fight for our culture and our languages. If we are supposed to think like Saxon or like French people, and just stick a few Celtic words upon English or French sentences, this is of no use whatsoever.

Actually, it is distressing for Bretons reading modern Welsh prose, to be contrived to translate it first into English to get the meaning of it, while ancient texts, from the Mabnogi to the beginning of our century, were readily understood, since the idioms were either identical or parallel to the Breton ones. I am sure that Welsh scholars reading Breton could say the same about French idioms permeating Breton prose. An example:-

.... y desbarthiadau dygu Cymraeg sydd wedi tyfu mewn rhif dros Gymru Literally: the Welsh

teaching classes that have grown in number through Wales A pure English idiom is "to grow in number". I venture to think that an ancient Welshman could have said aydd en rhif wedi cynyddu or even aydd wedi lluosli

Let us not give up (don't translate with "rhoi i vyny", please!). There is a problem, let us find a solution.

The fact is that when studying our languages, we need to be made conscious of idiomatic differences with English and French, that is to learn what, in English and French, is specifically idiomatic, and the corresponding Celtic idioms.

We need therefore textbooks collecting these idiomatic correspondences. The matter of these books already exists, scattered in many books, articles etc. Some people should collect it. But anyway, we have two ways to help us tackle the problem:

- 1) The language tuition books or courses, from English to German, French, Spanish etc., and reciprocally, can provide us with lists of English and French idioms, for which Celtic scholars can point out correct Celtic idioms.

- 2) Bretons are more readily enabled to detect English idioms in Welsh or Cornish, and conversely, Welsh scholars are able to detect French idioms in Breton. Exchange of such information could be a precious help.

Differential learning of idioms would deepen our knowledge of the languages we speak, and armour our minds so that they are no more free fields for foreign ways of thinking.

If we don't do that, let us give up speaking about the future of our languages and culture, and cease wasting time for a prattle-battle of estranged thought-patterns.

A. J. Raude.

LETTERS.

I would like to comment on the article "Irish Language Survey Report" which appeared in CARN, No. 12. Although I have not seen the report itself, the article in CARN brought out a great deal of information about the language attitudes of Irishmen in the South of Ireland and also raised a number of questions regarding the position of Irish now and in the future. The report shows that a majority of the Irish people are favourably inclined towards Irish as a major indicator of Irish identity and this is indeed important and encouraging. On the other hand, however, outside the Gaeltacht Irish has not come to be used to any reasonable degree; many people feel too much money is being spent on the language and that the language is unimportant in comparison with other European languages; and 61% of those questioned said they did not care if a person spoke Irish or not. What do these contradictory feelings about Irish mean and what must be done to "revive" Irish in Ireland?

I think the entire problem is two-fold. On the one hand you have the Gaeltacht areas and the native speakers of Irish outside the Gaeltacht, and on the other you have those people whose first language is English. So it is first of all a question of language maintenance and strengthening of Irish in the Gaeltacht and guaranteeing the rights of Irish speakers to use Irish outside the Gaeltacht, and secondly a question of language revival for persons not having Irish as their first language. These two aspects of the language problem are inter-related of course, but still distinct and different. The

distinction has been stressed in the past, notably by John Macnamara of McGill University and Mairtin O Murchu of University College, Cork/Trinity College, Dublin.

Unfortunately, in the case of each aspect of the problem there has not been the kind of progress hoped for. Irish is not a widely spoken language of everyday communication outside the Gaeltacht, the Gaeltacht areas themselves have shrunk and English is in many of those areas the dominant language outside of the home and the intimate circle of friends.

The Language Survey Report reflects why there has been so little success in reviving Irish. No matter how positive one feels about the language, if there are no compelling, down to earth reasons for a person to use the language, then all those positive attitudes will be no more than so many good intentions. In fact, being required to learn a language when it is clear that the effort expended is of little or no practical value leads to a negative reaction to Irish. The point is that the attitudes of English speaking Irishmen towards Irish are only of secondary importance in the language revival. A change in language usage from English to Irish will most readily come about as a result of socio-economic factors; the need to communicate in Irish, socio-economic betterment through active competence in Irish, certain sectors of activities such as official communication with Irish speakers being set aside for Irish, etc.

The success of language maintenance and strengthening for the Gaeltacht and native Irish speakers is also directly influenced by socio-economic factors. If the Gaeltacht areas are not viable regional socio-economic communities then they will likewise not be viable Irish speaking communities. If the Irish speaker in or outside of the Gaeltacht finds it necessary to increasingly or totally use English to function successfully in everyday life, then he ceases to be an active member of the Irish speaking community. Whatever the long-term goals for stable bilingualism in Ireland may be, use of Irish by a person must not place that person at a disadvantage, if anything, Irish should be the dominant and prestigious language in the Gaeltacht areas and these areas must have socio-economic parity with the rest of Ireland.

In conclusion, the only reasonable program is one such as set out in Occasional Paper No. 1 of Comhairle Na Gaeltache, Language and Community by Mairtin O Murchu. That is, an immediate and concentrated effort to strengthen the Gaeltacht areas socio-economically, a reduction in the influence of English in the Gaeltacht and a long-term program to gradually create a viable place for Irish in the linguistic behavior of non-native speakers of Irish.

Seumas Mac a' Ghobhainn.

The Example of the Kibbutz.

"Some time ago I was prompted to write a letter to various Irish newspapers, re a Celtic Federation. Among the response I received was an edition of CARN, August '76 issue, from one of your members. Needless to say I was thrilled with its contents, and amazed to learn and hear of a movement, the CELTIC LEAGUE, which advocates a Celtic Federation or Con-federation.

Hailing from Ireland, though my name may indicate differently, be a Socialist and Republican, I am very concerned about events in my own country, and indeed

the world. I saw similarities between the problems of Ireland and Israel, and came to Israel thirsty for solutions. Naturally I headed straight for a kibbutz.

Kibbutzim struck me as being the near perfect life style, and an experience I shall never forget. Politically, economically and culturally they are the backbone of modern Israel. Many of its politicians in the Labour Movement are formerly from the Soviet Union. They saw the dreams of Marx and Lenin turn sour under Stalin, and came to Eretz Israel as ideological, practical, and determined Socialists. They saw the need for re-uniting world Jewry in their long lost homeland. No more will Jews be hounded from country to country, locked away in their ghettos, forced into money lending (an un-Christian practice during the Middle Ages), used as scapegoats in times of plague, famine and war. No more will they be subjected to wanton pogroms of anti-Semitism, or the gas chambers of fanatics.

To re-build a country from scratch is no mean feat. Many social, economic and political problems remain. However I feel modern Israel has the ability and determination to succeed in spite of (self-interested) world opposition.

The needs of a PEOPLE are many. Identity, a language, culture, traditions, a history, a progressive outlook, common interests, and viability.

The Celts built the English and French Empires, at their own expense. They were the hard core of the Imperial armies, navies, and settlers. For what? And why? Today all the Celtic regions suffer the same common woes of suppression, de-population, centralised government, cultural erosion, and exploitation by their foreign masters and native collaborators. We simply let it happen. The Celts of today are not the fiercely independent inhabitants of these islands of old. Are the Celts a beaten vanquished half people?

I was amazed at how kibbutzim overcame these hazards of a nearly beaten people. Most other volunteers I met had the same feelings, and many Irish volunteers I spoke to were in agreement that something similar should be tried in Ireland.

This form of living is nothing new to the Celts, who in by-gone days practised a form of communism that is the envy of many modern socialists. Granted that absolute power was in the strongest sword, and that rank within a clan was portrayed in the form of a tartan, thus the more colours in the tartan the higher the rank (the Celts love colour). The Ri was surrounded by the clan hierarchy, each eager for power, and ruled the Kingdom from a position of strength. The Prodominant clan imposed its rule on lesser clans, the lesser clans together often outnumbering the major clan. In order to deter from the power struggle the Celts had an ingenious system of TUATHA, it was at this level that communism existed. The so called hill-forts and crannogs (lake-dwellings) were actually communes, made up of about 100 people, they were cultural, productive, and consuming centres, mostly self-sufficient. They also acted as offensive and defensive outposts. A popular pastime was collective raids on neighbouring clans' cattle. Hostages and slaves were a form of guarantee against such raids, and were slaughtered by their captors in the event of war. A man was worth two cattle, what's he worth to-day? All tuaths had to surrender an annual tribute, (a form of rent), to their Ri, and send a certain amount of adult males to serve in the Kingdom's army for a specified

(continued on page 23.)

ADSAV 1532 AND THE REGIONAL COUNCIL.

ADSAV 1532, founded in 1532, held its A. G. M. in Pondivi on March 7th. This association works for a reactivation of the treaty of 1532, which united the Breton and the French crowns but recognised a Status of Autonomy for Brittany. Our Parliament (= High Court) retained a control over laws and administration. No taxes could be raised without the consent of the Breton Assembly (Etats-Generaux).

This treaty remained in force. In spite of generally minor violations by the King, until 1789. It was then abolished without consulting the Breton Assembly. The town and department councils which replaced the latter have no powers. In 1972, under public pressure, Regional Assemblies were instituted - but again as little power as possible was given to these "Conseils de Region".

We must make the best of it. ADSAV 1532 (short for "Arise, rebuild and revalidate the Treaty of 1532") proclaims that the Conseil de Region is entitled to re-enact our ancient rights; to consider itself as the re-constituted Etats-Generaux. The rights concerning taxation are of particular interest to our regional councillors. The government wants them to subsidize their own projects but gives only trifling financial support. They know the difference it would make if they could decide over the regional budget. It is our task to get them also to understand that the Treaty gives them that right; to claim its reactivation; to make the people aware of it too, since school history does not do it. Of course, this requires a sustained effort, and probably a stiff contest which is likely to bring the people to raise their demands. The struggle for American (U.S.) Independence began over taxes and custom duties....

The Minister of the "Interior" refused 8 months ago to acknowledge legal notification of the foundation of ADSAV 1532: the matter was in the hands of the French Constitutional Council. M. Kerhuél.

[Regional Councils are so constituted as to ensure their docility towards the Paris Government. A quarter of the members are appointed by the latter. Agendas are decided by the regional prefect, another creature of the government. Budgets are insignificant. To my mind it is extremely optimistic of ADSAV to expect this nag to pull itself together, not to mention becoming a driving force.

One of the "Breton" politicians who connived in the sham regionalisation schemes of the French government, René Pleven, president of everything "regional" for the past 23 years - *Celtic Coder*, now CR - even once-year 4th Republic Prime Minister, is at long last retiring from the scene. He can be considered as the representative of a submissive Brittany which we hope is also on the way out. He once said that for him French interests took precedence over the Breton ones. Yet in his book, *L'Avenir de la Bretagne* (1962), - which showed how plentiful our country's agricultural and marine resources are, - he recognised that these Breton interests had been systematically neglected. It is only now, on retiring, that he expresses the need to enable the regions to exercise responsibility in their economic and social life.

More worthy of respect is the decision of Mr. Bouyer, President of the Comité Economique et Social for Region-Brittany not to go forward for that post again: it was frustrating that this body could do no more than give advice. A. H.

We have received correspondence on the subjects raised by Jakez Derouet (CARN 12, p.2) and A. Neumann/R. Green in previous issues. Lack of space compels us to postpone publication also of some articles which will not lose too much of their value. Our wish to improve presentation by using a larger type is costing us perhaps too great a reduction in printed material. Your opinion?

FORTHCOMING EVENTS OF INTEREST IN IRELAND.

8th-16th May: Pan-Celtic Week, Killybegs, Co. Kerry.
20th-21st May: Weekend on Carolan, Boyle, Co. Roscommon.
28th-31st May: Flea Nua in Ennis, Co. Clare.
27th-30th May: Eilge Chonamara, in Rosmuc, Connemara, Co. Galway.
18th-20th June: Feile na Feile, Abbeystead, Co. Kerry.

Detailed information and confirmation of the above dates may be had from Comhthail Naisiunta na Gaeltache, 86 Stráid Gardiner Loch, B. Á. C. 1.

TREVELYAN AND COMPANY.

The late Prof. G. M. Trevelyan's "History of England" has run into numerous editions and has had a powerful effect in popularising an establishment view of English history. Despite, (or perhaps because of) his Cornish name, he tended to interpret research in a way that romanticised English institutions, which were duly high-lighted by the "barbarism" of England's Celtic neighbours. In his brief booklet of 100 odd pages "English Historians and Welsh History" *** Mr. A. H. Evans demonstrates the fallacy of this interpretation.

Unfortunately, Mr. Evans is not a Welsh-speaker. A failure to submit his manuscript to a Welsh-speaker before printing has resulted in some lapses calculated to make linguistic purists squirm. In addition, cursory proof-reading has resulted in many individual lapses to which attention may be brought by establishment historians, enabling them to dodge the main tenor of Mr. Evans's case.

This criticism apart, the booklet definitely focuses a light on some of the darker areas of establishment history. It is to be hoped that it will inspire some young academic Celtic lions to play their own part in questioning the approved establishment wisdom.

* Assimilados, such also as Macaulay, of an older generation than Trevelyan, notoriously tend to out-Herod Herod.

** From: A. H. Evans, 39 Ickburgh Road, London E. 5. (Price: £1.11p including postage.)

• (continued from page 14.)

MacNeacail and Aonghus Caimbeul, singer Flora Mac Neill and piper Alan MacDonnail. A packed Junior Common Room in Trinity College, Dublin, listened attentively to the fine poetry of the two Aonghus's and gave a great reception to the traditional singing of Flora Mac Neill and the piping of Alan. The Irish side at this venue was well acquitted by Críostoir O'Floinn, Máire Ní Dhaoda and Michael Davitt. The latter in wishing the Scots the best on their tour said he hoped that they would enjoy themselves half as much as he did on his reading tour, with others, of Alba in 1973 - and if you wish to refresh your memory on that, re-read p. 14 of CARN 2!

It is indeed good to see a regular interceltic event like this flourishing. We understand that at their other venues the Scots were as enthusiastically received by large audiences and that they thoroughly enjoyed themselves.

The American Branch of the C. L. organised a series of mini-lectures on each of the Celtic countries, starting in November with Brittany, ending on May 21st with Scotland, and on June 18th with the Inter-Celtic Movement. (8.30 p.m., Room 627, Hunter College, 69th Street, Lexington Avenue, New York. Further details from our secretary.

C. L. members touring Brittany, meet Yana and Mona Cailiarc, 4 rue St. Michel, Guingamp 22200. Friendly welcome assured.

J. K. O'Brien (34) and wife Susan (25), M.A. & B.A. University, interested in learning Celtic languages and promoting Celtic League or related organisation's aims in free time, would like to work (teaching, manual labour: experience in business, secretarial editorial data-processing skills) in any of the Celtic countries, including Cape Breton. Anyone in position to help with small or moderate salary write to 3020 Yolo Ave., # C, El Cerrito, California 94530, U.S.A.



Joint Celtic League, Conradh na Gaeilge and Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg picket on Office of Taoiseach (21/2/76).

The quarterly BARR-HEOL reports one case of the type of intimidation which is being exerted against members of even the most law-abiding Breton associations. Its editor, M. Klerg, a parish priest, was approached recently by a gentleman who expressed appreciation for his devotion to Brittany and its language, but friendly warned him that the top local government official considered him to be a dangerous person: he allegedly kept in touch with criminals who had been in trouble with "la Justice" and, having fled abroad, were doing as much harm as they could to France's reputation.

A letter was addressed on 18/2/76, to the Prime Minister of Ireland on behalf of the Celtic League congratulating his government on its brave and determined stand for the control of fishing within 200 miles from the island, it being also in the interest of the Celtic countries in view of the important place of this activity in their economies to see that sea fishing be subjected to agreements aimed at ensuring the renewal of fish stocks.

GAEILGE - CYMRAEG PICKET.

A picket in support of demands on behalf of the Welsh and Irish Languages was placed on the Taoiseach's (Irish Premier's) Office and on the English Embassy in Dublin on February 21st - the occasion of the Welsh- Irish rugby international. The picket was organised by the Irish Branch of the League, Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (The Welsh Language Society) and Conradh na Gaeilge (The Gaelic League). The picket was well attended with about 40-50 taking part at both venues and as well as the organising groups members of Ogras (Conradh na Gaeilge's youth organisation) and a group of 7 Bretons participated. Leaflets were distributed demanding the immediate establishment of a democratic Gaeltacht Authority and the provision of textbooks in Irish and criticising the use of English-only road signs on Irish roads and the deplorable amount of Irish on R.T.E. television. The leaflets also highlighted the demands of Welsh speakers that the decision to establish a Welsh Language television channel be implemented immediately, that Welsh be granted full legal status in local and central government in Wales and that the erosion of Y Fro Gymraeg (Welsh speaking areas) by English holiday homes be halted. A letter from the Secretary of the Irish Branch of the League and the Secretary of Conradh na Gaeilge along with the press statement detailing the demands on behalf of Irish and Welsh and emphasising the joint support for each others demands was handed in at the Taoiseach's Office. At the English Embassy a letter from the Chairman of the Cymdeithas listing the pressures on Welsh and Irish was delivered. The demonstrations were reported reasonably well on R.T.E. television and on the Radio news in Irish but apart from a small item in the late edition of one evening paper they were ignored by the press - despite the fact that a lengthy statement was delivered well in advance to the newspaper offices.

A very well attended traditional music and ballad session was held by the Irish Branch of the League in the Abbey Tavern, Bowth, Co. Dublin, at the beginning of April. The event raised just over £100 and was held to augment League funds and to aid the proposed forthcoming visit to Ireland of musicians (and poets if possible), from the Isle of Man. The Irish Branch would like to express its thanks to Gael Linn, An Siopa Ceilteach, (Celtic Bookshop, 6 St. Fhearchair, B.A.C. 2) and Club an Chonradh all of whom donated prizes for the raffle. The Branch Secretary would also like to thank all those members who sold tickets and in particular to Tomas O Baoill, who suggested the venture and did trojan work to ensure its success.

Breton Language Summer Courses will be held, for various types of learners, throughout the Summer. We advise in particular those who have done about 20 lessons, to attend one of them, as the best way to gain practice. One of the addresses for information: Bernex Roux, ar Veleneg, Ergue-Gaberic, 29000 Quimper.

The Minority Rights Group, B. Franklin's House, 36 Craven St., London WC2N 5NG would welcome reports on the 'Celtic' speakers. They have sent us a rough description of their needs which could be a base for a summary of their situations. There is work for those willing to assist!

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period, usually one to two years. While not in the army, he engaged in the running of his tuatha (commune), hunting, fishing, farming, building, etc., until his turn for army service came round again, in this way all adult males could answer the call to arms in times of war. Women too played an important role in the everyday running of their commune, craft work, farming, clothing, dyeing, etc., and voted together with men at commune meetings. Every so often there was a Fleadh or Anonach, to these gatherings the various tuatha would bring their produce, and exchange (barter) for that of other tuatha. If peace prevailed neighbouring clans were invited, to trade, exchange gossip, play sports, entertain, and find mates.

Kibbutzim are basically the same, though adopted to suit the 20th century. They produce an enormous array of products, from fish in the desert to sophisticated electronics. The standard of living is very high, mid/ mid class without class frills. Each kibbutznik produces collectively and receives collectively. Most kibbutzim are engaged in more than three economic projects, and sell through a giant Co-op run by the kibbutz movement. Some kibbutzim are so wealthy, and have such high living standards, that it is an embarrassment to their socialist principles.

They vary in population from 40 adult members to over 2,000. To see what these people can produce from such sparse resources, poor land, aridness, isolation, etc., makes Irish agricultural problems look like child's play. Many kibbutzim now have their children living with their parents, and attend day nursery while the parents work. As they grow older they attend national, and secondary school, often on a neighbouring kibbutz, then its army service for 3 years, and later university. Kibbutz children struck me as being among the best in the world as regards health, diet, education, outlook, and family love. Where else in the world can working parents devote over 6 hours a day entirely to their children? Western Europe's average is 2 or 3 hours. Members are encouraged to engage in the work they like best, and can change every other year if they wish, i.e., from working with cows to factory to market-garden to orchards.

All major decisions are made by the Secretary (kibbutz boss) who is elected by the members for a two year period, but he or she must first get majority approval at weekly meetings. At these meetings all the kibbutz business and personal problems are ironed out. Positions of authority carry no extra reward: if a kitchen manageress, farm chief, or factory boss is not up to scratch the members simply vote him or her out of office.

All members receive the same value of allowance, and the same value of commodities which are obtained through kibbutz coupons in the kibbutz store. Medical care, education are free to members, at kibbutz' expense.

Kibbutzim may sound ideal to most people. However there are problems of social adjustment, re-adjustment if one leaves, over-security, and pettiness.

The only reason why such a life style is not more common in the so called Free West is because of CAPITALISM, our greed to 'make it' at all costs, even over the bodies of our neighbours.

Large tracts of rural Ireland are de-populating at an alarming rate. People are being shoved away from the land against their will. Farms may be getting bigger, but not more productive per acre. Old ways are dying,

people model their artificial lives from T.V. ads., they are becoming more affluent and going places - poor fools they can no longer think. If they could they would realise they have ceased to be people - they are like the machines they build and operate, but seldom own, deeper and deeper in debt, time's their master.

500 to 1000 acres of average land could easily support 40 to 80 average sized families, which works out at roughly 25 acres per family. Such a venture needs government backing, grants and loans. Banks, E.E.C., AnCO, etc., all have to be approached. A commune's worth depends on its members who have to be 'that' way inclined, i.e., socialists. A policy of social integration is essential, which is best done through projects of common interest, i.e., the Gaelic language, culture, politics, and liaison with other Celtic peoples for expansion of ideal.

Michael Kant.



Picket on French Consulate, Montreal, 16/2/76.

From left:- Samantha Stewart, Ron Stewart, Tom Edmund, Marcel Marjol, Jean Jacques Lombard, Yana Plunier, Michel Guegues, John Williams, Iolo Morris, Robert Delisle, Anne Murphy, Annie MacFarlane, Martyn Jones, Owen Roberts.

(continued from page 11.)

to sabotage Wales's progress towards self-determination. No doubt the reformist clique led by pseudo-socialist Neil Kinnock and unashamed reactionary Leo Abse would concur with them. The Welsh Labour Party's complete demoralization, with its pathetic performance since the late twenties, throws the whole matter into doubt. Would any principled Labour M.P.'s be numerous enough to join with Plaid Cymru and S.N.P. in pushing the necessary legislation through?

A further question arises: How much time and opportunity would S.N.P. sacrifice to help Plaid Cymru? Certain complaints have been heard that S.N.P.'s attitude to Plaid is too similar to Plaid's attitude to the Cornish movement. Furthermore, the two parties are clearly not completely in sympathy with each other on social issues. S.N.P. members present at the last Plaid conference were disturbed by the attention given to the struggles of such peoples as the Basques. Till now it has been convenient to suppress these differences. But how will they affect the tactics of nationalist parties over the coming months?

T. MacA. (Kiel taktikon parliamentan afeklos la hontrandirioj interne de la Laborista kaj la Nacisistaj Partioj?)

WELL DONE, CANADIAN CELTIC CONGRESS!

The Celtic Congress of Canada, founded in 1967 in Montreal, has now sprung to a new life under the impulsion of three Welshmen, with C.L. member Ron Stewart as its secretary-treasurer, (265, Sanford, St. Lambert, P.Q.) Its activities are cultural but it supports the national movements in the Celtic countries. It quickly proved this when, on 16/2/'76, 16 of its members or sympathisers took part in a march to, and picket on, the French Consulat General in Montreal (see photo), and delivered letters to the French ministers of Justice and of the Interior, protesting against the prolonged detention without trial of 9 Bretons.

Having received no reply, they demonstrated again on March 22nd, when in bitterly cold weather, the four main Celtic countries being represented, they marched behind a piper and Breton, Yann Plunier, through the streets of Montreal to the French Consulate, where they renewed their demand for the release of 8 men still detained at "La Sante". Only the 5 co-signatories of its protest letter were received by the Consul. He asked what business they had meddling in French affairs, to which

the president of C.C.C., John Williams, replied that the Bretons' trouble to-day could be the other Celts' tomorrow. The French took pride in their Francophony; was it surprising that the Celts felt an equal sense of pride and brotherhood in their Celticity? They would continue to protest until all the jailed Bretons were released.

The demonstration was orderly and attracted much attention with the piper, the colourful flags and the placards.

However, they also received the attention of two detectives, who wanted to question them about the previous picket at the request of the French Embassy. They wrote an indignant letter to a leading socialist M.P. in Ottawa against such interference in a perfectly legal demonstration. A meeting of the C.C.C. held on 2/4/'76 gave full approval to their action. It was decided to organise an Interceltic Noson Lawen/Ceili/Fest-Noz on the 10th April in a hall holding 200 people. It was a sell-out well before that date. With Annie MacFarlane (from Lewis) as M.C., individuals and groups (Cor Meibion Cymru) representing Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Brittany, sang (only in Celtic languages), danced, played music till late in the night.

There is to be an early repeat.

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 £2.00 for Ireland and Britain; £2.10p for Brittany and Continental Europe in general; £2.60p 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. Maire Denovan, 9 Dalgleish Road, Dundee DD4 7JN.
Cymru:	Antwn ab Osborn, 165A Witton Str., Northwich, Cheshire.
Breizh:	Jakez Derouet, 89 Boulevard des Anglais, 44100 Nantes-en-Bretagne.
Éire:	Cathal Ó Luain, 37 Dún an Óir, Tamhlacht, Co. Átha Cliath.
Kernow:	Ian J. Williams, Crowshensy, Clifton Road, Park Bottom, Nr. Illogan.
Mannin:	Miss Patricia Bridson, Bell Cottage, Derby Road, Peel.
London:	John Rh. Humphreys, 113 Loveday Road, Ealing, London W. 13.
U.S.A.:	Mickey Burke, 2463 Grand Ave., New York City, 10468.

General Secretary: Alan Heusaff, 9 Bóthar Cnoc Sion, Áth Cliath 9, Éire.

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