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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



In THIS ISSUE

- ★ **Alba:** Scotland's Forgotten Heritage.
- ★ **Breizh:** A Major Breton Language Survey.
- ★ **Cymru:** London's Welsh Office and the Welsh Language.
- ★ **Éire:** England Indicted by Torture Report.
- ★ **Kernow:** 10% Nationalism.
- ★ **Mannin:** Radioactive Seas.
- ★ **The Seventh Spiral - Galicia.**
- ★ **Conradh's na Gaeilge's Celtic Conference.**

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QUARTERLY PERIODICAL IN ENGLISH & IN CELTIC LANGUAGES
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EAGARPHOCAL

"I wish categorically to state that the Celtic League, an open organisation set up to promote inter-Celtic solidarity and understanding, confines itself to legal activities."

Let us be quite clear about this. That our secretary-general found it incumbent on him to write the above to *The Irish Press* last month, may lead some to adopt a doubling "no smoke without a fire" attitude.

Our name and his name have been used in the Edinburgh case of attempted arson at the French Consulate in that city. We had nothing to do with that case. He had nothing to do with it. Neither he nor we endorsed or endorse that attempt.

But when the obfuscating smoke clears it may well become apparent that groups inimical to our cause in two or maybe three states were engaged - perhaps through the use of agents provocateurs - in an effort to be-smirch both us and the nationalist movements in those countries.

We hope our members will not be misled or intimidated by this occurrence. We will not betray their trust. Our secretary-general has already issued a comprehensive statement to the media - including the press and BBC in Alba - outlining the facts as they refer to us and to him.

ALBA

A FORGOTTEN HERITAGE.

Scottish nationalism, as even the most casual observation reveals, is not a movement of linguistic and cultural identity. In this respect it differs fundamentally from Irish, Welsh, and all other Celtic national movements.

In Scotland, the main reason for the lack of involvement between political nationalism and language activities would seem to be the lack of a united national cultural outlook. In particular, the majority of Scots do not identify personally with the Gaelic language, nor do they feel that there is a close association between the language and Scottish nationality. Under these circumstances there was no hope for the growth of "language loyalty", or the fusion between political and cultural nationalism.

Modern attitudes to the Scottish identity are determined by the widespread belief in the idea of an irreconcilable division between "Highland" and "Lowland". The lack of a united national cultural outlook results from the popular concept of completely separate "Highland" and "Lowland" identities. Gaelic is "Highland", of course. Or is it?

Cultural Amnesia.

The linguistic history of Scotland has yet to be written, although Kenneth MacKinnon's *The Lion's Tongue* has provided a worthwhile general background. Neglect, and the lack of intensive research, has resulted in a situation in which the national linguistic history is still the subject of misconception in some quarters, and of total ignorance in most.

Despite the modern tendency to associate the Gaelic language only with the highland areas, it is an incontrovertible historical fact that, until the 13th century and beyond, Alba (Scotland) was almost entirely Gaelic in speech. This is the opinion of the leading Celtic schol-

ars, the evidence coming from a number of sources. For example, James B. Johnston, who pioneered the study of Scottish place-names, stated that Celtic (Predominantly Gaelic) names outnumbered the remainder by ten to one, and that many familiar English-looking place-names in Scotland were merely corruptions of Gaelic originals. Incidentally, it is worthwhile noting that in the supposedly "Anglian" or "English" Lothians Celtic place-names are predominant, and that Gaelic place-names can still be found in the northern English counties.

There is no evidence to suggest that the English language was anything other than a foreign tongue, or that it was in widespread use, prior to the 12th century. Only a handful of English place-names can be traced back to the 11th century (Johnston - *The Place-Names of Scotland* p. 46), most of these occurring in border areas.

Under the Anglo-Norman Penetration, Gaelic was the language of all classes, including the royal family. Official language of Gaelic in the royal court continued until the 13th century, and the last Scottish monarch definitely known as Gaelic-speaking was James IV (1488-1513). It is important to stress that Gaelic was associated with Scottish nationality in the same way as French, Italian, and Polish are associated with their respective nationalities. In fact the Latin charters referred to Gaelic as "Scottice", and, even as late as the 16th century, Gaelic was referred to as "Scottis", or the Scottish language. The English word "Scot" meant a Gaelic speaker, originally.

The shift from Gaelic to English took place as a result of the Anglo-Norman Penetration; the introduction of feudalism; the establishment of burghs; the anglicisation of the dominant social classes, especially in the more accessible areas.

No historian disputes these facts. However, far too many have unwittingly accepted the assumption that Gaelic disappeared from the lowland districts soon after Norman influences made themselves felt. The tendency has been to accept the concept of a linguistic division by "Highland Line". (Actually, the "Highland", "Lowland" categorization did not develop until the latter half of the 18th century, and the distinctions were never as severe, nor as clean-cut, as most people believe. Nineteenth century writers were the first to describe the "Highland Line".)

The truth is that, in most of Scotland, Gaelic was the everyday language of the ordinary folk for centuries after the anglicisation of the upper classes. Although it is difficult, or rather impossible, to estimate the exact period, there is no doubt that Gaelic - or rather "Scottis" - was still the language of the majority of the Scots until sometime during the latter 18th century, and perhaps even as late as the beginning of the 17th century.

Aburd? Certainly the idea is one which the majority of Scots will find extremely difficult to accept. Nevertheless, the evidence is plain enough.

About the year 1500, Andrea Trevisano, the Venetian ambassador to Henry VII, prepared an account of Scotland which included a description of the linguistic situation: "The language of the Scotch people speak English extremely well, in consequence of the intercourse they have with each other on the borders."

Trevisano's account, with its emphasis on Gaelic as the "language of the Scotch", cannot be disregarded. It is consistent with the accounts given by contemporary Scottish writers, scholars and historians; by men like Kennedy, Major, Boece, and Buchanan, all of whom confirmed that Gaelic - Scottish - was the original language of the Scots,

and that English was an intrusive language.

Walter Kennedy, an aristocratic Gallovidian Gael (by modern standards a "Lowlander", of course), patriotically championed "Scottis" against "Inglis" (English) in "The Flying of Dunbar and Kennedy".

John Major, a notable scholar, specifically mentioned in his, "The History of Greater Britain" (1521) that most Scots spoke Gaelic "a short time ago", and that it was still in widespread use.

Professor Hector Boece, "the first Scottish historian", writing circa 1527, described how "those of us who live on the borders of England have forsaken our mother tongue (i. e. Gaelic) and learned English, being driven thereto by wars and commerce . . ."

George Buchanan, historian, political theorist and scholar of international reputation, mentioned the widespread general use of Gaelic in areas such as the south-west of Scotland during the late 16th century. Buchanan, like Kennedy, was another Gaelic-speaking "Lowlander". His own biographical notes reveal that he was a native of Moss, a hamlet only seven miles from Glasgow, and had Gaelic as his first language.

The evidence for the use of Gaelic in most parts of Scotland during the 16th century is impressive. For example, Sir Thomas Craig's assertion that "the inhabitants of the shires of Stirling and Dumbaron spoke pure Gaelic". But the tide was turning in favour of English during this century.

The expansion and growth in importance of the English-speaking burghs meant that they increasingly exerted a negative linguistic influence on the rural areas. But edly the main reason for the rapid decline of Gaelic. To the Kirk, Gaelic was seen as an obstacle to the spread of Protestant ideas, and, to the pro-English Unionist faction headed by James VI, it was seen as a basis of resistance to central authority and the Union.

Official and unofficial attitudes to the language changed completely. The official policy was to eradicate the Gaelic language completely, and legislation to this effect was introduced. Gaelic was no longer "Scottis" or "our mother tongue". Instead it was represented as anti-Scottish; associated with "the dregs of Papistry". In order to overcome the association between the language and Scottish nationality, Gaelic was almost always referred to as "Irish". At the same time "Scots" was, and, of course, still is, used to describe the English dialects of Scotland. [In Ireland, those opposed to the restoration of the national language studiously avoid referring to it as Irish and seek to reduce its status by calling it "Gaelic" instead.]

The Scottish (sic) educational system became the main instrument for the implementation of a policy of cultural genocide. During the 17th century its establishments were officially described as "English Schools for rooting out the Irish language and other plous uses". Their purpose and effect was not only to root out the language, but to instill in the average Scot a deep seated subconscious prejudice against the original Scottish language. This, and a general ignorance of the linguistic past, have survived until the present day.

Gaelic did not completely disappear from the lowland districts after 1600. The Acts of the Assembly (1699) mentioned south-east Perthshire as one area in which Gaelic speaking ministers and Gaelic religious literature were required. There are references in Burt's "Letters" and

the "Old Statistical Account of Scotland" (IX, 478) to Gaelic being spoken in Fife about 1700. In Carrick and Galloway it survived even longer. The parish of Barr required a Gaelic-speaking schoolmaster in 1762, and as recently as 1820, old people in Glen Barr still spoke Gaelic. Professor Alexander Murray (1775-1813) was one of the last native Gaelic speakers of Kirkcubrightshire. But, even where the language survived longest, the memory of it has been forgotten.

The truth, unpleasant perhaps, but it has to be faced before anything can be done to remedy the situation, is that the Scots are a nation which has lost sight of its own identity.

The seriousness of the situation can be judged by Thomas Johnston's maxim "that a people which does not understand the past will never comprehend the present nor mould the future". In this case it means that, until the Scottish people gain a thorough and general knowledge of their linguistic past, and an appreciation of the importance of linguistics, they will be unable to maintain or enhance their distinctive national culture.

James Hamilton.

THE SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY

The S. L. P. originates in a socialist departure from the old British Labour Party (B. L. P.). Naturally, Socialists, who oppose all oppression everywhere, stand for Scottish Self-Government, the restoration of the rights and identity of the Scottish Nation. This is an integral part of the socialist programme and provides the national framework without which the S. L. P. could not exist. Given this basic stance - Socialist Self-Government For Scotland - the S. L. P. has since been joined by people from a variety of different political backgrounds and some with no previous political experience. The S. N. P. camp has not been unrepresented amongst our recruits, among whom are Councillor Iain Smith of Clydebank (elected as S. N. P.) a former office-bearer of the A. S. N. T. U. (the Association of Scottish Nationalist Trade Unionists), and Bob Tait (ex-Aberdeen S. N. P.).

In the light of this, the implied comment in "CARN" No. 12, that the omission of John Maclean's name by the S. L. P. on January 18th had deep significance was premature, and ill-informed. S. L. P. members have been active in the John Maclean Society since the party's foundation and, as Assistant Secretary of the Society, I can assure readers that S. N. P. interest in the Society has fallen drastically in recent years and is causing the Society some concern. The Society greatly regrets this, and is anxious that more S. N. P. members take an active interest in its affairs. Lack of interest in John Maclean does not, apparently, mean lack of interest in Scottish Independence.

As a nationalist, I can assure readers of "CARN" that the name of John Maclean will not be omitted in future. Indeed as S. L. P. speaker is scheduled to speak, together with an S. N. P. speaker and others, at the Commemoration of Maclean's birth on August 29th.

So the S. L. P. bridges the bitter sectarian divide which English imperialism has inspired, these last 50 years, between nationalist and socialist. Jim Sillars has readily described himself as a nationalist and a socialist, but a socialist first. We see the two as perfectly compatible. John Maclean would have understood that. His independence Scotland was to be the culmination of his fight for socialism in Scotland and not a policy in itself. Maclean, who at the time of his alliance with Ruaradh Arscaille in the 1919 National Committee was also busy building a soc-

alist party, would have understood that need for a separate Socialist Nationalist party such as the S. L. P. Maclean could never have joined the (modern, post-war) S. N. P. as an examination of his views on party-building as outlined in the debate with Johnston in "Foreword" in 1910 readily proves.

The S. L. P. claims the moral allegiance of a movement but demands the strict control and discipline of a party. Socialists, if they cannot organise a socialist party within the 'movement', must organise one outside the 'party'. The S. N. P. has begun the National Movement so that is now feels it is the movement. It is hard to realise that once the national movement in our country consisted of several loose 'movements', of which the S. N. P. was but one. Since the S. N. P. has opted for being a party, it must afford other Socialist Nationalists the right to form their own party. Not that the S. L. P. doesn't acknowledge the work of the S. N. P. in reawakening Scottish National Consciousness in the last two decades - without which we ourselves would not have come into being. The S. L. P. is, in a sense, the step-daughter of the S. N. P. Perhaps it is not insignificant that two parties, the two Scottish parties, did well at the recent Darnley district council by-election, the S. N. P. gaining 15% of the vote first time out. The British parties, the unionists, were likewise together in one boat, only theirs was sinking.

As yet, the S. L. P. is presently caught in the mislaid bog of the 'Devolution versus independence' wrangle. But then so is the S. N. P. Indeed the S. N. P. is increasingly more entangled, while the S. L. P., only 6 months old, is decreasingly so entangled. Like many nationalist currents in Europe, ours stems not from desire to leave the imperialist state system but to restructure it - a kind of 'Britto-Celtism' on the 1848 Austro-Slav model; like the Slavs, however, we will end up abandoning it. The real issue is by what means will this process take place and consequently what kind of system will be the result. From the beginning (including the N. P. of S.) the S. N. P. has been in favour of retaining the British link, 'the British Group of Nations', the modern version being an 'Association of British States'. Pan-Celts should beware of this strange mini-Brit-Commonwealth, a revamped empire. Given this ultra-Brit background to Scottish Nationalism, the S. L. P. is not as un-nationalist as it might seem. Once upon a time the S. N. P. wanted to be joint broody hen, with the English, to the British Empire.

The S. L. P. stands for Socialist Self-Government, and if any reader of 'CARN' can distinguish between self-government and independence I'd welcome the challenge. Further, though the British context, as in the S. N. P., is still stressed by the S. L. P., Jim Hillars is on record as stating that the future lies with a Europe of the Peoples, citing specifically Brittany, South Italy, the German Lander. It is in this context that 'nationhood does not mean statehood', a radical and not a capitulationist context. The Pan-Celtic idea cannot be opposed to that context, indeed it is surely part of it. A Europe des Peuples would reunite Breizh with the insular Celts and accord equal status to all nationalities. It is, after all, EQUALITY rather than STATEHOOD that is the ultimate goal. Statehood is only of relevance in so far as it is a means to an end. Of course, a Europe of the peoples would in any case imply status of a kind. It depends what you mean by a state.

All in all, Celts should find themselves at home with the concept of the S. L. P. We are not without precedent in the Celtic World... what of the Union Democratique Bretonne for instance, and at times Plaid Cymru seems

more akin to us than the S. N. P. It is the S. N. P. that is the stranger in Celtic political terms. Strollad ar Vro is, remember, a newcomer, and socialism has always formed a vital common link in the nationalism of Cymru, Eire, Bretz, and Albainn (of Kernew and Mannin I know too little to judge).

But of course there is another area in which the S. L. P. supercedes the S. N. P. We are a return to the old Scottish Labour movement, Scottish radicalism, from which the original founders of the National Party of Scotland. The pioneers of modern nationalism were the Land, Language, Labour and Home Rule movements, the personnel often being interchangeable. The treachery of those who surrendered to 'British' Labourism divided the nationalist and socialist. We return to the days before the divide - to real Scottish Socialism, to real Nationalist radicalism. S. L. P. members are active in all organisations, there are all too few, in which Nationalists and Socialists can work together. Significantly, this means at present the commemoration groups, the memorials to the common past of both movements. But out of the past comes the future. It is in this spirit that Alex Neil, General Secretary of the S. L. P., will be speaking at the 1920 Commemoration in Stirling in September. It is in the same spirit that we have committed our party to bringing the land of our country into public ownership within 12 months of an S. L. P. government in Dun Eideann. We are not schismatics, we heal the split in Scotland's political psyche.

But fellow-cells must be patient. The S. L. P.'s first Congress is a few weeks ahead, and detailed policies are not yet formed. For this reason the question of an sean chanain albannach, a difficult one for a party 6 months old and originating in the Galltachd, is still on the table.

Norman Easton.

BREIZH

TROIAD E BRO-SKOS (Kendalc'h)

Sadorn 3-7. Aetomp dre ur vro gear-meurbet - kernell mentell hag aherioù t'igant an eil re war-lerc'h ar re all a-bed 200 km betek Mallaig hag ac'hano dre lestr da Armadaie en Oliead Sgathnach (Skye). Ret eo aetomp kampif war-her tri pe bevar c'hlometr diouzh Sabhal Mor Ostaig e-lec'h ma fell deomp tremen ur sizhun-vezh o teskiñ skoseg. N'eus ket a zour kompez el ledenez Steat-mañ, ne hañval ket e ve meur a draebenn kennebet. Kavet hon eus un dachenn-gampif en ur park tieren war zinaou, gant dour-nulleina ha privezioù e-kichen, ur gwel-va dispaz eus tu 'r reter hag an norzh. Fadal n'hon eus ket kroget-mat da sevel an delenn ma tegouezh ar fabul Biskozh a'omp bet hegaet gant an amprevand-se evel ma vimp amañ. War washaat ez ay a-hed ar sizhun ken na vimp mui evit ober netra ganto d'an abardaez evel a virint ouzhpenn da gousket zoken. Lavarout a ra ur Saozez "be Hemmont ket Skoziaf". Ma n'em'ant ket ar gwir gant n'oun dare penaos e c'hell tud an enez padout ganto. N'eo ket alies e vez devezhoù ken diavel dre amañ, koulskoude.

4-7. War dro kreistez ez ont aet da Ostaleri Iarmain hag hon eus kerjet gant ar perr'henn Iain Noble, un den pinvidic-mor hervez doare, douget-bras d'ar yezh ha d'ar sevenadur gouezele. A-drugarez dezhañ ez eus bet laketaf postoù-henchañ e gouezele en ardredez. Perc'henn eo ivez da 7000 devesh-arat* a zour en enez, war a glevomp, ha da nouspet penn-ti. E Bro-Skos e chom doareoù-gwel-out mrouizien stag ouzh dudenn ar yezh; milbeil emeur eno

diouzh savbont Skol am Emsav, lakaomp.

5-7. Skol Skoseg. E tri rumad so rannet ar berrhidi. 25 den zo savbont. Brif ha me zo lakaet gant pevar all er c'hlav "Mileanta" - ar re (sam) varrek.Aes eo d'an hini a oar twerzhog Tir Chonail (Donegal) tapout un tamm zast eus gouezeleg Alba, pegen pa vez komzet gant ur gouezeleger a-vihanek eus Enez Muile (Mull) evel hoc' chelesennor Donnach Mac Quaire. Hemañ ne siatleg kouiz lavaret netra dre hantouristiek ar saoneg. Pa ve velzomp ket e tallomp ur ger pe un dro-lavar iwerzhonek kement ha gweliet hag ez eus anezhañ e skoseg, ha pa ve gant ur ster pe un distagadur damheñvel. E gwirionez tost-tre eo ar skoseg d'an iwerzhoneg, ken tost eo da ramyezh Tir Chonail ha ma's eo hounnañ da hini v-Mhumbhan (Mun-Tir) Tu a veve d'o ' staat muioc'h 'choazh dre an em-bannerezh hag ar skingoz, hag e startefe sichenn an eil hag eglie. Skiant ha youl a ra diouer avat, e lec'h ma's eus galoud.

E-ser lenn danevelloù arnevez Iain Mac Gobhann e teskomp digant Donnachd kalc' traoù deurus a-zivout tud an Inizi hag o istor. Da skouer penaos e voent atizet gant ar Brezel an Douar en Iwerzhon (war-dro 1880) da stourm ivez ouzh ar re a glasket gant harp an arme saoz o lakat da zivraoñ ha degas deñved en o lec'h; penaos c'hoazh e voe nac'het gant gwazed-to mont d'ar brezel '14. Er brezel-se e voe lazhet kement eus an Enezidi ma tigrasak o foblañs en un doare reuzus da heul. E Sgathnach eo a 22000 den kant vloaz* zo, hiziv n'eus mui nemet 7000; e Muile eo a 10000, hiziv n'eus nemet 2000 hag ouzhpenn ar hanter anezho zo ganet e lec'h all, e Bro-Saoz dreist-holl.

6-7. Un darn vat eus perzhidi ar skol-hañ ne evont ket e Bro-Skos. Ur c'helesenn zo eus Skol-Yeur Oklahoma, un den a orin skosat hag a fell dezhañ ober enklask a-ziv-out an emsiek a gumunerezh hag 'ar youl a hevelelezh' e-touez ar Ozezed. Ur c'habiten en arme yreizhveuriat, a gomz saoneg diouzh doare Oxford, zo abasomp penaos vloaz e Beann a' Bhaoigha (Benevolia) gant doas c'hant den en e c'hoarzh-hennoz hag a ra gant ar gouezeleg met ed n'eo ket dent a-benn d'o c'hompren rak outañ ez eont bepred e saoneg. Ar skolas-mañ zo dizalc'h diouzh An Comunn Gaedhialch hag a ren ur skol-hañv all d'ar mare-mañ e Leodhas (Lewis). Hervez doare ez eus abasomp toullad biovezehoù muioc'h a dud o kas deskiñ skoseg.

7-7. Deut eo ar barzh Sombairis Mac Il' Leathin 'J'ober ur brezegen deomp diwar-benn Skundennerzh ar Mor e Barzhonezh Skosek ar 17^{vet}-18^{vet} kantved. E saoneg e preseg, gant troidigezhioù arak displegan an testennoù en o yezh-orin. Un dadi so e glevout, zoken ma ne gomprent ket ervat. Barzhoneg ar mare-se a veze kanet. Distonere a ra penaos ez so bet estaolaet ar perzh bras a generer ar mor e buez ar gouezelegerien, o stiamm dirak e gander hag e feulster, o trom hag o reuzidigezh da heul ar peñsadedennnoù...

Bep endarvezh e vez bremañ gouestlet un eurvezh d'un tamm prezegen e gouezeleg aezet gant unvan eus an deskarded ha da c'houlennoù a vez graet outañ gant ar re all. Komzet em eus eus an hinourtezh hag he reizvedigezh evit ar garrarterien. Amprestet em eus ur geriadur saoneg-gouezelek met n'em eus ket kavet gerioù enañ evit a vuez arnevez pe ar ouzelegerien. Evit an eil eur-vezh e vez bodet an holl berrhidi hag e vez desket kanennid gant harp ur p'la'c'h hag he deus bet ur j'el en ur gendirvadeg er Mod. Sonioù karantez, meulganod d'an Inizi, Abaoe 1968 ez eus bet tri pe bevar den o tiorren en doare da senañ ha da ganañ ar sonioù gouezelek hengounel hag a ya senañ gant tud youanek ar c'herioù. Evit ar re a garje kaout minkasedoù e vengant The Great Gaelic Sound of Na h-Oganich, embannet gant Beitona (SBE 160)

ha The Sound of Na Starach (Lismor, LILP 5010). Si-wash evit ar mare ez eus diarzh: trili ar bodadoù zo savet tabut etrezo pe a zo aet evit abegoù all pep hind diouzh e du. Emichañs e teuy bodadoù all diwar stiz kenstrivadegoù ar Mod pe Gouel Holligeltiek Cili Airne.

8-7. Pemp paotr eus Skos Nevez zo dequozhet. D'ou anezho zo bet amañ warlene hag unan zo barrek-mat da gomz skoseg. Hag evit eus un emsav e Kap Breton evit startat sichenn ar yezh? N'eus ket chazh, emezoz, met moarvat e vo hep re a zale. Goulenet em eus outo kas keloù deomp evit CARN.

9-7. Ur gevredigezh evit harpañ ar skolas-mañ, hec'h lizil a bae ur skodenn a r. E rener en deus un lid padiged da vagan, adanadurioù zo d'ober d'ar savadurioù (gweschall e oa amañ ur skiber, kreier ha skolioù). Skozeall zo bet digant an Highland Development Board. Setu moarvat an abeg ma ne b'ij ket d'ar gelennerien komz eus traoù politikel e-pad ar c'hestelioù. N'eo ket pal nemetaf ar skolas deskiñ ar yezh da dud eus an diavere, klink a reer e lakat da c'hoari ur roll e buez kevredigezhel an Enez Ivez. D'ar re a garje gouestlet h'roch diwar-benn doareoù-soñjal ar re a striv da wellat stad ar skoseg ec'h erbedan lenn "Gaelic - a time to survive" embannet gant an Edinburgh University Student Publications Board, 1 Buccleugh Place, Edinburgh. 35p hep ar mizhoù-post. A. Heusaff.

* Footnote: "devesh-arat" ... ret gwasat ez eo eus a-walc'h douaroù frons evit ar pep brasañ, peurlvannoù treut evit an deved (gw. avat penad A. MacKillop.)

ON TRIAL

P. Loquet, G. Coriton, and D. Cruchard went on trial before the State Security Court in Paris on September 9th, accused of having attempted to blow up an Agriculture Ministry building in Nantes on 17-7-75. Loquet spent some 10 months in jail and went on hunger strike for 42 days before being released provisionally. Before the trial, the accused explained that their decision to use violence had not been taken without reflection and that it was motivated by the injuries caused to the Breton people by the centralist State, its administration and its technocrats.

"We were previously active in the political, economic, cultural, trade-unionist and ecological fields and came constantly against the deliberate will of established power to enforce their decisions by all means including violence. We want to safeguard employment in our salt-marshes, uphold the right of public access to our shores, see our rivers and the sea duly protected against pollution, stop the reckless destruction of our landscape and a catastrophic practice of "renewements" (planting of hilltops scattered farm holdings) which is carried out for the sake of profiteers with the encouragement of a technocratic State (e.g. through the agency of the Agriculture ministry offices). We acted only in answer to the violence manifesting itself daily in the form of unemployment, emigration, venality and repression against tens of thousands of our people, in particular the young, who claim the right to work and live with dignity in Brittany."

The trial concluded on September 15th, with sentences of imprisonment equal to the times already served by the accused, so that they were immediately free to go home. It looked as if it were to be the normal practice now for the judiciary to just confirm the penalties imposed by the executive arm, and determined by considerations of what is best for the State, in the government's view. P. Loquet refused to recognise the court, his solicitor having printed

out that, according to the treaty of Union, Bretons should be judged in Brittany for acts committed there. The other accused said they aimed not to substitute an illegal authority to that of the French State, but to obtain autonomy for Brittany. The public prosecutor adopted a very soft line, acknowledging the legitimacy of the grievances expressed on behalf of the accused, the sincerity of the latter, the weight of "Brittany's particularism", but while all these ideas were perfectly permissible, the resort to action "had to be judged". However the State wanted reconciliation, ... which of course does not mean revising anything in its policy.

How degrading the type of "economy" reserved for the Bretons is will again be illustrated by quotations from a study of tourism published in Le Peuple Breton (September 1976). In this issue, four attacks on administrative buildings carried out in July-August are mentioned but the usefulness of such actions is strongly contested for the following reasons: they have not resulted in any increase in the time allotted to Breton on television, not prevented Menez Kerc'h becoming a military base, not delayed "re-embarkment", not improved work conditions in pirat factories; the people have not expressed disapproval but neither have they become more involved in the struggle; minor bomb incidents have become so common on the part of marginal groups that they are hardly noticed in a world of increasing violence. What perspective but escalation and killing and repression?

In another section, L. P. B. sees no reason for pessimism in the ebbing of activity in certain sectors of the Breton movement; they point to the UDB's progress and vow to continue their patient work of educating the people by sticking to their socialist and Breton positions.

THE END OF MYSTIFICATION

The situation in the political Breton movement has been somewhat clarified in recent months. It is now well known that the big money which Strollad ar Vro was built up a few years ago came from a French undercover organisation of Gaullist allegiance which, when the party was founded, seized the opportunity to introduce a "Trojan horse" into it. Experienced members of the movement became suspicious about the way the cash was flowing in. Having carried out an investigation, they warned against the manoeuvre at the end of 1972, only to be slandered and abused. But they were proved right. A year ago a book published under the title "B COMME BARBOUZE" revealed the composition of that gang, which had already won notoriety in France. On p. 88 it disclosed the number of a current account held in a Swiss bank by Jean Le Calvez, the man who had claimed to be financing the party from private means and who had worked himself up to the top of S. A. V. Here were details of the origin and amounts of money he had received from that organisation. Mr. Le Calvez was unwise to use the publishers. His case was dismissed and the widely read Rennes daily Ouest-France printed two articles on the proceedings. Towards that time it became clear that the police had used the S. A. V. membership lists in their attempt to arrest F. L. B. members (they were mistaken as the F. L. B. people had taken care not to enroll with S. A. V.). But former S. A. V. members were visited by the police and warned not to reveal what they had seen in the party and which had been too much for them. Great disgust had been caused by the changes in its political orientation and by Le Calvez's authoritarian behaviour ("I am paying, therefore I order..."). So many had defected as a result that S. A. V. is at present

not much more than a name.

The solid core of a future Breton party is certainly the Union Democratique Bretonne. They are I think still impeded by the marxism of some of their leading members but it seems that it will not be for very long as it seems more and more evident that as presented it is an obsolete theory with no chance in Brittany; we are constantly complaining about the French bureaucracy so we are not likely to fall for an even stronger bureaucratic system. Many in the U. D. B. understand that. Changes are expected.

The time is not ripe for establishing a fully fledged party and contesting elections. Our ideas must first be better disseminated, using more flexible methods than hitherto. Many people are wary or even scared of joining political parties, caution and fear being also the consequences of the ferocious repression in 1944-46. To get good electoral results we have to wait till more of the younger generations reach voting age.

But the climate of opinion is more favourable that it seems. Some of our young members of parliament, who joined French parties (especially the Socialist Party) because it was the only way for them to get in, are quite "Breton", we have very good relations with them. That is new. ADSAV 1532 are working in this direction and striving to obtain concrete results, without electoral pretensions. Two years ago they promoted the idea of transferring the regional capital from Rennes to Pondivi, arguing that this town is situated in the centre of Brittany, that it would boost up the economic development of this particularly neglected area; and above all that it would facilitate the reunification of Brittany since it would transcend the rival claims of Nantes and Rennes to be the regional capital. ADSAV 1532 canvassed support from all the regional councillors and got a very good response. The "regional prefect" used all sorts of deceit to prevent the change. We hear just now that the Regional Assembly is to meet in Pondivi at the end of September. The next step will be taken in co-operation with the Nantes group B-5 to put an end to partition (see CARN 14, p. 7). When reunification is achieved, ADSAV will press the Regional Assembly to exercise the right to vote and use the taxes and duties collected in Brittany in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of 1532. This will be a tough contest but its consequences will be decisive. They will be much better understood by the people than political theory. It is a cause which can win a strong popular backing and take us farther on the road to freedom.

A few words about the search for oil in our continental shelf. The drilling company "found nothing", but in Breton there were indications that gas was found the first time and oil the second time. Difficulties with the Arabs having receded into the background, the company prefers to go on draining the Middle East reserves before seriously prospecting overseas. We are in no hurry - we will be stronger in a few years. M. Kerhael.

Nota: With reference to the paragraph at the bottom of p. 24 of CARN, we trust that M. K. will not take amiss the reservation we wish to express about some of her judgements. We wish to maintain our objectivity towards national organisations such as the U. D. B. (and even S. A. V. however disorganised they are now). Reading the U. D. B. monthlies, we find their articles full of facts and details, and quite sober as far as theoretical exposition is concerned (could this even account for the fact that the U. D. B. is more successful in the Breton-

speaking part of Brittany? The Breton language keeps you close to concrete realities.) The word "marxism" hardly ever appears in its columns. It would be interesting to be told exactly in which ways marxism is now obsolete and how in countries where marxist socialism is practised bureaucracy is even worse than in the French State. Let us not eschew discussion of these subjects but let it refer as closely as possible to our Celtic situations because obviously CARN cannot devote so much space to that kind of argument - particularly if assertions are not rigorously supported by reasonably verifiable facts. (Eag.)

SECONDARY SCHOOL SURVEY:

PEOPLE WANT LANGUAGE TO LIVE.

About a year ago, French Education minister Haby was cornered into conceding that the teaching of Breton would be organised wherever the demand existed. His P. M., Chirac, soon afterwards took a much more conservative stand (CARN 13, p. 5). French officials would like the world to believe that, if they are doing nothing for the Breton language, it is because its speakers are themselves not concerned.

Of course they never took any steps to find out if the Breton-speakers want to keep their language. Any indications that they did, like the all-too-submissive, though unanimous petitions and bills put forward by local councils and parliamentary groups, were regularly ignored.

It has now been shown that in an extensive area around Karaez ("Carhaz"), in the central parts of Western Brittany, the demand referred to by Haby effectively exists. Breton is widely spoken in this region of marked underdevelopment and emigration.

Questionnaire: Knowing it would be vain to expect the French State to investigate how strongly Bretons want their language to live, Fanch Favereau recently undertook the research with the help of teacher colleagues in eleven secondary schools, technical colleges or colleges for general education in the Karaez region. A series of questions established by the Language section of the University of Upper Brittany (Rennes), were submitted to students or pupils in 2nd (i. e. second highest) and 6th (lowest) years in those schools, with the agreement or help of their principals. Results computed from replies received from 7 of them (the other 4 being delayed) were published in AR FALZ, the bulletin which advocates the cause of Breton among teachers (Nr. 16, July-Sept. 1976). The numbers of pupils questioned were as follows:

2nd class, Karaez Grammar School	: 171
6th class, Pliben Technical School	: 321
6th class, Karaez-Landev "Vocational" Sch.	: 191
6th class, Uhelgoad C. E. S. (Voc. School)	: 102
6th class, Rostrenez C. E. S. (Voc. School)	: 132
6th class, Kallag C. E. S. (Voc. School)	: 61
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Total	: 978

The investigation aimed at finding out to what extent the pupils knew Breton and how much it was in use in their homes and in their relations with friends or members of their families, the attitudes of their parents and teachers towards it, their wishes regarding its teaching, their appreciation of its nature and importance. F. Favereau stresses that the greatest care was exercised to ensure that the results were scientifically valid. They give valuable information on the present state of the language as a means of communication.

(People not sending their children to secondary schools/ higher percentage using Breton?)

They are presented here in table form.

Level	KNOWLEDGE OF BRETON					
	2nd Karaez	Tech. Pliben	6th Karaez	6th Uhelgoad	6th Rostrenez	6th Kallag
Can understand						
No	28%	28%	39%	21%	24%	10%
Yes	72%	72%	60%	79%	65%	90%
Well	22%	19%	22%	30%	24%	40%
Fairly well	23%	28%	17%	23%	20%	30%
A little	27%	27%	21%	23%	21%	30%
Can speak						
No	50%	38%	50%	37%	40%	13%
Yes	49%	62%	50%	63%	59%	87%
Well	3%	4%	5%	13%	7%	20%
Fairly well	13%	27%	22%	20%	15%	39%
A little	33%	24%	23%	30%	37%	37%

The pupils were asked to translate five simple sentences in order to check the replies. Making allowance for the fact that Breton is taught in none of the schools, they proved to be true. The highest percentage of 'Yes' replies (in 2nd as compared to 6th) was explained as due to the fact that 15-16 year olds have started to work with adults and, having the language already in their ears, to speak like them. The 12-13 year olds are less exacting than their seniors in claiming ability in speaking. Three classes of the type III (in all 56 children from workers, generally poorer families, intending to leave school early) were compared with three classes of type I, 6th A (in all 80 children, intending to finish, from relatively well-off families) in Karaez, Uhelgoad and Rostrenez:

Type:	6th III (56 pupils)	6th A, I (80 pupils)
Understood Breton	80%	60%
Speak Breton	75%	45%
Breton spoken between parents	80%	50%
Pupils want to learn it	90%	70%

A more precise idea of the place held by the Breton Language in family life can be gained from the following table:

	2nd Kz.	Pl.Tech.	6thKz.	6thU.	6thR.	6thKz.
Father understands	84%	90%	87%	91%	86%	98%
Mother does	83%	91%	82%	89%	80%	98%
Father speaks	80%	87%	86%	88%	80%	98%
Mother does	80%	89%	81%	84%	80%	98%

Breton spoken between:	parents	parents/children	children	sometimes	often/always
parents	46%	63%	54%	50%	63%
children	46%	48%	50%	57%	47%
sometimes	36%	32%	36%	45%	38%
often/always	10%	16%	14%	13%	9%

Children speak Breton between themselves sometimes outside school: 19% 27% 19% 24% 22% 40% in the playground sometimes: 4% 7% 12% 22% 15% 30%

These figures tend to prove that, of the parents in the age group 35-45 (having children of ages 12-16), 80-90% understand Breton, 50-60% use it between themselves and 50% use it occasionally when speaking to their children.

The enquiry shows that Breton is spoken not only by rural workers and farmers (as is sometimes assumed) but also by factory workers, shopkeepers and office workers including the urban dwellers in the new estates of Karnez, Uhelgoad, etc.:

Profession of parents who speak Breton between themselves:	Farmers	Workers	Services
Rostrenen (77)	50%	40%	10%
Uhelgoad (56)	50%	45%	3%
Karnez (100)	28%	52%	20%
% Total (233)	42%	45%	13%

Breton is much less spoken between brothers and sisters or schoolpals; figures vary from 10-40%. The figures for its use in the school playground suggest that, although the "clog around the neck" (equivalent of the Welsh hook and Irish tally-stick) is practically no longer in use, the State's Murder Machine is still at work: the Breton language continues to be a victim of the boundless indifference, apathy or hostility of the school system, whose repressive effect can be seen for instance from the Kallag percentages, but still more if one compares the last two sets of figures with those of the following tables: a comparison which proves that the French State (if it were a democratic State we could say FRANCE) continues its policy of eradication of our language in spite of the deep desire of its speakers to keep it, and to learn it as any other people learns its own language. During the period 1900-1970 they may generally have accepted - mistakenly, under pressure of a false education - that Breton was an obstacle to "progress", but they are now beginning to realise the loss.

The replies to the two questions "Do you think your parents are favourable or unfavourably disposed towards Breton?" and "Do you think that Breton is a language like the others?" are summed up as follows:

Class	2ndKz	Pl.Tech	6thKz	6th U.	6th R.	6th Kg.
Parents for: 80% + neutral:	94%	78%	83%	84%	91%	
Breton is a language like the others:	77%	87%	83%	78%	92%	89%
No:	20%	13%	8%	17%	6%	10%

(The second question may have been misunderstood, as "similar to others" instead of "a fully characterised language"; not a "dialect" or a "patois" as the French assimilationists would have its speakers believe.)

The pupils' desire to develop a better knowledge of Breton was expressed in four different ways, the higher

figures indicating their interest in language as a means of verbal communication:

Class	2ndKz	Pl.Tech	6thKz	6th U.	6th R.	6thKg.
Wish to understand better:	84%	87%	86%	79%	86%	77%
To speak better:	82%	87%	86%	76%	82%	80%
To learn to read:	66%	66%	83%	73%	62%	47%
To learn to write:	62%	59%*	78%	59%	61%	41%

In Pleiben 149 would like to get courses in Breton. In Kallag where it is in common use among the young, the need to learn it was not felt. If people were less ignorant of the facts concerning the life of language, they would not be so short-sighted? It is stressed that the replies were given quite freely, without any reference to partisan claims, without prior elucidation of the problem. It appears that the demand for a better knowledge of Breton is strongest in the districts where the language is most endangered, as in Karnez where only 50% of the parents speak it among themselves.

In order to gauge further the importance the pupils attributed to acquiring a better knowledge of Breton, they were given a list of ten languages in alphabetical order, i.e. (in French) German, English, Breton, Spanish, French, Welsh, Italian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, and asked to state the order of priority they would give them:

Class	2ndKz	Pl.Tech	6thKz	6th U.	6th R.	6thKg.
Would give Breton 1st, 2nd, or 3rd priority among the 10 languages:	90%	60%	52%	52%	67%	51%

Replies to the questions concerning their parents' and their own motivations were all similar: Breton is "the language of Brittany" (langue du pays), "we must keep it alive", "we must prevent its disappearance". The people's lack of information is the great handicap: if their emotional attachment were supplemented by a realisation of the particular qualities of their language and a knowledge of how backward or rather tyrannical the French State is in its linguistic policies, they would certainly be much less resigned and would not put up with the evasions, false excuses and complacency of politicians and officials.

It is creditable for the various language organisations and individual teachers to devote much of their energy to voluntary courses both for the terminal classes of some secondary schools, evening adult classes, summer schools, correspondence courses. But they reach only a small proportion of tens, nay hundreds of thousands who would like to learn Breton or learn it better. And in spite of all the zeal and good will, these voluntary courses can impart fluency but to a small proportion of the students.

The figures gathered by F. Favereau prompt the question: What can the language movement do in order to transform the desires of hundreds of thousands into a will that will have to be respected? The French State is banking on their resignation, itself borne of the lack of information. What about a well-organised methodical, sustained campaign of educating the mass of the Breton-speakers - and others - by means of leaflets distributed at gather-

ings or from door to door giving the essential elements capable of triggering off a vast popular movement? This is a task which would lift the "conscious Bretons" above so many of their present sterile divisions and bring the Breton "movement" into close contact with the people. In our view it could have a much more positive effect than either participation in the French elections or ill-understood acts of violence. The above figures show that the climate is right for this type of action.

A. H.

CYMRU

Note:

[Despite our efforts no article in Cymraeg reached us in time for this edition. - Eas.]

COUNCILS AND WELSH

During the year Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg have had a number of meetings with Town Councils in Dyfed, (S. E. Wales) to discuss their use of the Welsh language. This valuable new effort in the language struggle began at the beginning of the year when Cymdeithas members in Aberystwyth had a successful meeting with that town's Council (despite the fact that two councillors walked out of the chamber in disgust!)

After this meeting it was decided to set up a working party under the Council's leadership to look into methods of safeguarding the language in the town and, if possible, to give it a boost. By now the party has split into a number of groups to look after the language's interests in various areas such as education and commerce.

This showed that a Welsh Town Council was prepared to do something positive about the language instead of sitting around, saying they support its revival, but failing to play an active part in bringing it about. The Council had bilingual signs and forms but in some ways this is only a token recognition of the existence of Welsh. It is an important step in making people aware of it but it does not really encourage them to use it more often. By setting up the working party the Council had recognised the fact that a totally new stance had to be taken if the language decline is to be halted.

There are a number of things the Council can do to help the language in the town, depending on the working party's conclusions as to how this can best be done in that particular area. Welsh nursery schools, adult classes, buying instantaneous translation equipment to hire out, offering a translation service to the local business men, all these would greatly quicken the revival in the town as many people would be encouraged to use the language if they saw the Council taking the lead.

After the success in Aberystwyth a number of other Cymdeithas - Council meetings were arranged, helped, no doubt, by the knowledge that Aberystwyth Council had taken such a positive stand.

Most of these meetings were not half as productive as the first, probably because many were held in very Anglicised areas where English tourists are one of the main sources of revenue, and because of the Victorian attitude to Welsh which many councillors held. Laughable if it was not so serious (and pathetic).

In Abertelfi (Cardigan), where the National Eisteddfod was held recently, the Cymdeithas put forward its views and plans but afterwards councillors were not given a chance to ask questions. At a later meeting it was decided not to do anything, a shameful abrogation of the chance to show a bit of initiative by taking the lead in re-viving the language.

At Aberseron, the former county town of Cardiganshire, Cymdeithas representatives felt the Council did not feel it had enough power to act as a result of the local government reorganisation. One encouraging point was that they agreed to the meeting being held in Welsh although there were non-Welsh speakers present.

After a meeting in Llanbeir Poni Steffan (Lampeter) it was decided to set up a Council Committee, though only after a bit of a row in the chamber. The Committee consists of two members who supported positive action, two who did not, and the Mayor. It is not yet known what has been the result of the Committee's formation, but Cymdeithas are hoping that its members in the area will ensure that something positive is the result.

After difficulties about what language should be used in the meeting with Llandellio Town Council, and some childish remarks from one or two councillors about breaking the law, it was decided that a working party should be set up. As the situation of the language in the town is pretty poor it is hoped that the Council will take some notice of the party's findings.

At Abergwaun (Fishguard) Cymdeithas representatives again came up against the apathy caused by local government reorganisation. The Council obviously felt it was unable to do anything positive, or simply did not want to, as at a later meeting they turned the whole matter over to the Chamber of Trade.

In the very Anglicised townships of Dinbyth-y-Fyngod (Tenby) and Penfro (Pembrokeshire) it soon became obvious in the Cymdeithas members who were present that they had simply been invited so that councillors could have a go at them.

In Dinbyth-y-Fyngod there was a particularly fiery meeting and many councillors spoke about Welsh as if it was something foreign, using "us" and "you" as if the debate concerned two countries.

In Penfro it was encouraging when one councillor pointed out that about 2,000 children in the town were learning Welsh but Cymdeithas members felt that the English atmosphere in the town made all the teachers' good work pointless.

One of the least productive and saddest meetings was at Cei Newydd (New Quay) where, after it had been stated that the Council was doing everything it could for the language, the Cymdeithas representatives were criticised for sending a monolingual Welsh letter to them. They said it was not fair on those who were learning the language.

After the meeting the Cymdeithas wrote back pointing out that all the signs in the town were in English and that according to the last census the number of Welsh speakers there had decreased.

That letter was not answered, presumably because it was written in Welsh, but in an article in one of the local papers the Mayor, Mr. Howard Jones, later boasted that everyone had a chance to speak Welsh if they wanted to.

The meetings are to continue, and let us hope that Cymdeithas groups in other parts of Wales take up the good work shown by their counterparts in Dyfed. A. ab G.

CELTIC TENT AT NATIONAL ESTEDDPOD

The Welsh committees of three inter-Celtic organisations, Pan-Celtic, the Celtic League, and the Celtic Tent at this year's Welsh National Eisteddfod held at Cardigan in August.

Besides the exhibition and sale of books and magazines from each of the Celtic countries publicity was also given to such events as the Killarney Pan Celtic Week, the Celtic Languages Conference at Rath Cairn, and the Celtic Congress which will take place at Sterling, Scotland in August 1977.

An exhibition on 'Pollution in Brittany' was staged by Jakez Gaucher of Gwen Rana, and Dr. Norman Burns of An Comunn Gallda has provided material for a frame dealing with the situation of Gaelic in Scotland. Copies of CARN sold exceedingly well, the supply running out well before the end of the week.

The Celtic Tent provided a popular meeting place for visitors from all the Celtic countries and much useful information and many names and addresses were exchanged.

The tent was organised and supervised by Zonia Bowen, Chairman of the Welsh Committee of Pan-Celtic, and it is hoped to repeat the venture at next year's National Eisteddfod at Wrexham.

THE WELSH OFFICE AND THE WELSH LANGUAGE

- A Basic Lack of Commitment.

Following the refusal of 13 consecutive requests by Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg for a meeting to be held between society officials and the Secretary of State for Wales, Mr. John Morris, to discuss the Government's responsibility concerning the Welsh language, a meeting was held, at last, in July. However, we were denied the honour of meeting the Secretary of State himself, and had to suffice with meeting high-ranking Welsh Office Officials, and thus the importance and value of the meeting was somewhat lessened. Despite this we entered the meeting hoping that some good would come of it. Unfortunately none did.

Our primary aim was to discover firstly what commitment, if any, did the British Government have to the Welsh language, and secondly, to what extent were they willing to go to ensure that the language survived. It was no great surprise to learn that the Government is in no way committed to the language, but only rather disturbing to learn of the lengths to which the Government's ministers and officials are willing to go to deny this very fact. For example, we were told of Mr. Morris's great concern for the language and of his greater concern for human safety - this being his reason for maintaining that the English version appear above the Welsh on bilingual roadsigns throughout Wales. We, of course, are in no position to doubt Mr. Morris's personal feelings, but it certainly appears very strange that a man who cares so much for safety endorsed the erection of signs bearing only numbers following the removal of all earlier signs by Cymdeithas yr Iaith. Of course, the Government have the results of detailed safety tests which, according to them, prove conclusively the danger of placing the Welsh versions above the English, but surprisingly they have no research whatsoever concerning roadsigns bearing only numbers.

Much time was spent discussing housing policy in rural Wales and the discussion was a perfect example of

the Welsh Office's attitude towards the language. When talking about commitment to the language both Wynford James and Fred Ffransis alluded to the Government's many responsibilities. We maintained that it was they, in fact, that were responsible for local housing policies, but one of the officials went to great lengths to explain that it was the responsibility of each district council to formulate and implement its own housing policy. This was in complete contradiction to what we had heard from many district councils. For instance, the Chairman of Dwyfor District Council's Housing Committee maintained that the council was being forced by the Welsh Office to implement a housing policy which was biased towards large scale development that was out of keeping with local needs, which had an obviously detrimental effect on small Welsh-speaking communities.

Our fears were eventually confirmed when we heard that money allocated for housing was allocated in two separate blocks. The first for the construction of new houses and the second for the purchase and renovation of old houses. Due to the fact that the sole aim of any British Government is to increase the national housing stock all councils, regardless of their individual needs, are given large sums of money for construction purposes and nominal amounts for purchase and renovation. Thus a rural district council such as Geredigion is forced to concentrate any housing developments in "growth centres" which leave rural, Welsh-speaking villages to decay while the houses there are sold to foreigners as holiday homes, as has already happened to the village of Rhyl in Merion- ydd.

No government which had any sort of commitment to the language would allow such a state of affairs to exist. It is quite obvious to everyone else who is concerned about the future of the language that the money spent by the Government on Welsh education will go to waste unless the language survives as the natural language of communities where it exists as a social phenomenon at the moment. The Welsh Office however is quite willing to sit back and ensure that local councils are refused the right to act as they see best and thus contribute towards the death of the language - a state of affairs that will not be tolerated much longer.

Another topic discussed at the meeting was, of course, broadcasting. It is in some time now since the government accepted in principle the recommendations of the Crawford Committee concerning the setting up of an independent Welsh language television channel on the empty fourth channel, but as yet the only statement made by them concerning the matter was a statement released by Roy Jenkins in February 1976 delaying the implementation of the committee's recommendations until 1977. The only thing that the Welsh Office could tell us was that the Government's position hadn't changed. As a result, we wrote immediately to the then Home Secretary, Mr. Roy Jenkins, asking for a meeting to discuss broadcasting. His private secretary replied inviting us to London on the 3rd of September. Once again, it was not possible for us to meet the minister but we did meet the Head of the Home Office's Broadcasting Department and the Home Office's representative of the Crawford Committee as well as some spectators of the Welsh Office. They explained that the plans were under constant reconsideration and that a statement would be included in the Government's White Paper on Public Expenditure to be published before the end of Parliament's next sitting, (i.e. before Christmas). The Government's reason for the delay was the economic crisis! Mr. Morris when commenting on

Mr. Jenkin's statement in February said: 'I know that both Welsh and English speakers will be disappointed by this news but I believe that it will be understood that for the moment we must give overall priority to our programmes for industrial regeneration, housing and other essential social needs. I would ask for patience a little longer.'

However, we find that at the same time the government was spending 19 million on securing a television service for British Forces in Germany and £22 million on foreign broadcasting. In the face of such blatant inconsistency it was felt that Cymdeithas yr Iaith had no choice but to inform the government that unless we received a satisfactory statement from them by October 14th (the eve of our annual general meeting) we would initiate yet another broadcasting campaign that could include the occupation of, and the causing of limited damage to, the property of the relevant authorities. Our standpoint has received considerably publicity in the press and media and we have received the support of many individuals, organisations, and both county and District Councils throughout Wales. We would hope that such public support will impress sufficiently on the government the need for immediate action - if this is not forthcoming the action will come from us. The government has made innumerable excuses for many years now for not doing more to ensure the future of the Welsh language - Cymdeithas yr Iaith will not tolerate further delays. Rhodri Williams.

EIRE

TRÁ NÓ TUILE

B'fhéidir gur orm féin atá sé ach feictheard dom ar bhealach éigin go bhfuil an rabharta mór suime a bhí á chur i gceist ar Ceilteach ag trí le tamall anuas. Téann an aos óg agus leath-óg chuig cuimreacha Stivell agus feictear céirín Briotanacha/Breathnachacha agus rí i ngnéir de na siopas céirínf agus tó Ceilteach ag teacht go hÉirinn níos luibhe agus níos troine ná bhí ariamh agus fós móthafín an mhártha agus an easa dul chun cinn. Tá an sean dream céanna ag treabhadh leo ar a ndéachall agus dheimhian rian an mháide sa ngnéir féin atá siad ag déanamh cheapáid uaireanta. B'fhéidir gur rud é seo a dhéanamh le bheith in Éirinn faoi láthair. Gan bairéag ar bith drochuair í sa tír seo. Ní ion chonclait ar dhoig ar Thaiscirt gur féidir í a bhaint amach ná í a thionnnt isteach níos faide fí. Déirteá go bhfuil droch-mhíneach ar chaithe dhréam a raithe agus ar bith iontu le caithe a chur ar an gcóras. Tá na comhachtas ma éiceanóil seo a dtabhairt isteach gan amid é dhreanmá a mbeif ag díll le ma mbairet uafais. Is coitlé go bhfuil chaithe dhúine ceannasle go maith an tuar leathúil gur in oileas fós a rachas an ghéarchéim eacnamaíochta. Coinníodh an pobal ar bís ar dtús le tuar uafais statale sa mhéad agus ina dhíidh leis an sócra. Coinníodh filicéit Mheryll Bees ar an rialtas faoi chás na spidíochta ar phrosnaigh ag imeacht tamall eile muid. Mír an dá linn beidh a réiteach féin ar chúraí curtha i gceist ag an gCoscairash agus ag an gCeallaíoch. Cas part eile a Lian agus dáinseoidh muid dreach eile ar bhéitar na h-simífé. Áit ar bith a mbreathnaíonn feidm an scéal céanna. Féach ar na nuachtáin agus ar RTÉ. Cé bhfuil na nuairis-ceoirí neamhépéacha? Tá anáil ghéar síalaithe na h-óiche

arís ar an sponaid agus ar an iúicéidh léar, acoitthe Rud nach bhfuil le fáil in áit ar bith - dubháin mhíneidíl ní airim teoirí ar an bhféach. Theagthaigh glac leis an mbachóilg in fú éiciú. Shí muid cúb na sé de bhíantais a shoin go raibh an reachóid ar teacht sturailte an uair seo.

D'fhéadann an líoga íomláin a lua-saírre na mhán, curasí oideachais, úilíochta agus a lethóidh. Táid uilig ar an ead-ead céanna. Táid níos messe ádúite. In áit an déchataí an searbhá. Shí muid scáilbh nach gceolaíof adúnais ag rá arís go de nár cheard do bhean phoista a bhéith ag obair. Shí muid go geiríochte an curácleam ma agus na boird bháiníochta dreach ma ar chúrasí oideachais.

Ní aoraid chineálú do ghaíónh lénta ar bith in Éirinn faoi láthair. Cén chaoi a bhféadadh ráth a bhéith ar an geomhóitír idir-Chéilteach? Nór mhór don Chonrach Ceilteach breithúna ma a dhéanamh ar chúrasí. An bhfuil feidhm ar bith le eagrais dá chinéil ag am mar seo nó má tá cén feidhm féin? Nór mhíste comparáid chruina dhéanamh idir Éirinn agus na fórtas Ceilteacha eile. Tá an bollagú agus an ghéarchéim eacnamaíochta ag golleadh ortha ar fad. An bhfuil aon ghéithe eile ionchomparáide ag rolaú leo? An bhfuil eagraíochtaí ar bith go bhféadfaid bheith ag pif leo? Feidhm shéangant a chomh-ordáithe atá leis an gCónradh Ceilteach go bhféadfaid. Nuair a thuiteann an tóin sa na h-eagraíochtaí náisiúnta is deacraí d'ís nórán a dhéanamh.

Mar sin féin is é go d'freach an saghas eagraíochta a d'fhéadfaid d'eadcarr gur, neamhépéach a chur i láthair. B'fhéidir gur ar an mbealach seo ía líonfa a d'fhéadfaid sé dul i mbun go féadta. Ar an droch-uair ba dhóir éicéirí cónaisa a dhéanamh agus bealaigh sídá a aimsíú leis an obair a chur chun cinn. Gráinne Ní Mháille.

Summary:- This article asserts that the present time is a very lean period for those trying to alter the status quo in Ireland. The intractable situation in the North seems to have cast a shadow of despair and cynicism over the progressives and the radicals who are now meek as lambs, even in the face of the emergency powers about to be introduced. The writer asks if it is not time for the Celtic League (Irish Branch anyway) to redefine its role in view of the changed situation.

CÚRSÁI TEANGAN ARÍS

Féach ar a leghad ar bith ceist an lingua franca idir-Chéilteach ag Comhdháil na gTeangacha i Rath Cairn. Go dtéimh ba léirís arís eile é ó dhá deira go bhfuil na lena leithéid. Cuirteadh trí cinn de mhúitíof chug cinn - go nglactaí leis an gCornais, an Esperanto, nó go roghnóid na P-Cheilteach teanga P-Cheilteach agus go roghnóid na Q-Cheilteach teanga Q-Cheilteach. Nór thagthas ar réiteach na ar chomhréiteach ar bith. Fágfaí é sa deireadh faoi chaithe dhúine is dóig na bhéas aista an dus a chur ortha féin dús a chur leis an obair. Bheinn féin i bhfad na Breathnach mar lingua franca. Ó thóidh aindíle é is sé níos easaí ag furbóir na gCéilteach trill ar an mBreathnach. Bíonn imeachtaí rialta ar aidi sa mhéadúna a thabhairteá deis do bhéilím theoirí í a dhéanamh. Imeachtaí sin má mháiream teanga chéilteach ar bith sé a bháireas eile! Mar údé d'fhéadfaid an Cónradh Ceilteach rudaí a bhéiré. D'fhéadfaid sé dáta a leagan agus a chur i bhfeidm. Bíonn gach tóma lap. Bhéidh an sompla tugtha agus cuid thabhairteach den obair a bhéad ansin. An méidh baill míháista faoi shócra

mar seo nó an mbhearr leo a bheith de shíor i dtuill-samaf an Bhéarla?

Basil MacCon Rígh.

Summary: The Inter-Celtic lingua franca came up for discussion at the Celtic Languages Conference at Rath Cairn. Three proposals were put forward - (i) Cornish as the weakest language; (ii) Esperanto; (iii) one Celtic language to be chosen and one Q-Celtic language. The above adds a further suggestion. That Welsh as the strongest and most viable language in a country easily accessible to other Celts and with many cultural activities available, be chosen.

EDUCATION THROUGH IRISH (Part 2)

In 1958 a group of parents from the south of Dublin came together and established Scoil Lorcáin, a primary all-Irish school, at first in temporary accommodation and later in a recently replanned building in Eaton Square, between Don Laire and Blackrock. They in effect ran the school themselves and today in a fine new building designed by one of themselves they have a roll of nearly 500 pupils. Although a national school the parents must contribute heavily towards the debt.

Scoil Bhríde faced a campaign to close it run by the anti-Irish Michael Tierney, who had become President of University College, Dublin. Here too the parents rallied and with the assistance of the Department of Finance, under Dr. Ryan, moved the schools to the site of Pearse's schools in Banelagh in 1965.

Scoil Neasáin in Raheny followed in 1969, and then began the saga of the Ballymun Irish School. In 1970 the Tumants' Association passed a motion to the effect that they wished an all-Irish school to be established in the parish. There was the building of the old National School available and in good condition and the clergy were approached with proof that a demand for such a school existed and a request to act as manager and to provide the old school. Then commences a horrifying story of obstruction, insults, evasion and irrelevancies already chronicled in "The Ballymun Experience". Basically there was the refusal of on the part of the middle-class authorities, both lay and clerical, to accept that any fellow Dubliners of working-class background would seriously wish to have anything to do with Irish. This is quite clear from their attitude and slips. A 'stream' - an unsatisfactory compromise which was accepted by the parents under protest - was set up in the English schools but survived only a short time. The campaign continued and with the departure of one of the priests suddenly in 1973 the parents got their school. Today Scoil an tSeachtar Laoch is a thriving concern on the other side of the road from the English schools.

There was a remarkable development during the campaign, when the Department of Education, which had and has steadfastly maintained that it does not itself establish national schools, set up Scoil Muibhí under the aegis of Scoil Cúitrona (the all-Irish secondary girls school) some two miles down the road in Glasnevin as an attempted compromise. This school also flourishes to-day so we got two schools for the price of one struggle. Since then Scoil Naíbhí in Dundrum, Scoil Ollibhí in Rathcoole, and another in Blanchardstown (all places in the suburbs of Dublin or on its outskirts) have been established.

On the secondary front Coláiste Mhuire is still doing fine in Parnell Square, Scoil Cúitrona has moved from Eccles Street to Moubhí Road. In the last seven years two new secondary schools were established in the southern suburbs of Dublin by the Christian Brothers and the Sisters

of Mercy at the request of parents to take the output of the local all-Irish national schools. Recently they have moved onto the one site in Sillorgan where they are called Comhchoiliste Eoin agus Iosaíán.

I have mentioned (in Part 1) how few Irish schools there are in the rest of the country outside Dublin. In Belfast the parents of the Shaw's Road Gaeltacht have established their own primary school since 1971 and are now talking about secondary education - and all this without a penny of money from the State! Similarly to Dublin parents run primary and secondary schools in Cork, there is an Irish stream in Galway and that about finishes the list for the whole country (excluding the Gaeltacht).

What is so important about education through Irish, why should parents spend time and money to provide a variation of what can be had for free and at no trouble? The Department of Education itself wrote at one time "If Irish is to be anything more than a mere school subject sooner or later it must be used as a medium of instruction for other subjects". One sends one children to school for a number of reasons but one of the main reasons is that they learn to develop themselves mentally and be able to express themselves adequately with fluency in speech and writing. How can they do so in a language unless they can be at home in that language: unless they have become used to handling it in actual use? If we are to have writers, thinkers, scientists and philosophers in Irish in the years ahead we shall only have them if we have education through Irish in the Gaeltacht and the rest of the country. Even if one is concerned only with the English language in Ireland the living existence of Irish, which depends on the quality of thought in it and therefore on the existence of those poets, writers and scientists, is necessary for the existence of any separate stream in English in Ireland. But, it may be said, with education through Irish do you not harm the child's knowledge of English? This question has been examined by scientists from Trinity College, Dublin. They studied children attending Irish, French and German language schools in Dublin. They found these bilingual children ahead of a control group of monolingual children on a number of counts (see the report of this study published in CARM No. 8).

A study on an experimental teaching program in which English speaking Canadian children were educated through mainly French was published in Psychology Today in Sept. 1973. The conclusions of the authors (Lambert & Tucker) are worth giving in some length. They found that (a) the children in the experimental classes perform as well as the controls do on all measures of receptive and expressive features in English, which they learned formally on a part-time basis beginning only at grade two. Their work knowledge, discrimination and language usage as well as their reading ability in English, their listening comprehension and their knowledge of concepts in English are all at the same level as those of the English controls. All signs point to favourable progress in English expressive skills. (b) By grades four and five, the children in the experimental classes have attained a stage of functional bilingualism that permits them to read, write, comprehend and speak French with fluency and naturalness. (c) In computational and problem type mathematics and in science, the children attain a level of performance similar to or slightly higher than that of pupils following the conventional English-Canadian program. Thus, from early grades on, it is obvious that the children absorb and learn new concepts and procedures through the second language with no apparent difficulty. (d) There are no signs of negative effects on cognitive development. Instead, by grade five the children generally perform better on a comprehensive English-based

measure of verbal intelligence than do the controls. In terms of creativity, the experimental children perform as well as, or better than the controls. It is also worth mentioning that the children reject the idea of transferring to a conventional English program. In contrast the English speaking controls, who have comparatively little French training, feel they have had too much French. I think most of us concerned with all-Irish schools would generally agree with these findings.

Now, six years ago there were 4 primary and 2 secondary Irish schools in the Dublin area. Today there are 10 primary and 4 secondary schools. This growth has not been achieved without difficulties. I will conclude this article by describing some of these difficulties.

The ordinary National School in Ireland is one of the responsibilities of church parishes: in the case of catholic parishes this means there is a community of many thousands (perhaps up to 8,000) associated with it to raise capital, interest and running contributions. The entire community contributes, whether they have children currently attending or not. In Irish schools, none of which is a parish project, the effective community are the parents who have children actually attending the school, together with a small crowd of supporters who are prepared to make sacrifices to assist other schools. In spite of Government promises the Irish language school gets no better treatment than other schools. We have heard complaints from church authorities about the current cost of buying a site for a school - a cost towards which the State does not contribute - how much heavier this is for a small group of parents (generally less than 30 families initially) trying to raise £20,000-£30,000 will be realised. Trying to raise this money and to pay the interest on any loans borrowed for construction requires a non-stop fund raising campaign and ever worse a substantial annual contribution which in some schools is now £30 a year. Even in Ballymun where the State provided a profit, parents pay 25p a week towards costs. This makes a mockery of Easter Week and constitutional pledges about free and equal primary education and ensures that poorer parents will find education through Irish beyond their means. (Mariboro Street is the only Irish school where there is no charge.)

When the school is eventually established there is the question of textbooks and teachers. So far as primary schools are concerned we understand that the textbooks position is to improve over the next few years, but the situation in secondary schools is dire and appalling. The remarks of the Minister for Education in this regard can only be termed a load of rubbish as I know. The teacher situation will in a few years be equally bad for both primary and secondary schools as teacher training is now entirely in English and as secondary schools teaching through Irish (apart from the ones listed in this article) have also disappeared. What is to happen here?

Even more fundamental is that the Department of Education refuses to take cognizance of education through Irish in its planning. It has frequently amalgamated schools across linguistic boundaries in the West and North-West and the present Secretary when approached by Na Teaghlach Gaeiligh (The Irish-Speaking Families Association) in the early sixties refused to consider any scheme whereby Irish education in the Dublin area would be encouraged and planned for. The Irish schools even when they exist have no statutory protection guaranteeing their nature. Rule 24 of the National Schools' Rules is the only rule in my knowledge referring to the matter at all and it merely says such schools may exist. This means that an unsound principal or management committee could

destroy the nature of the school and that concerned parents have no statutory protection against them.

This recent growth in the number of schools in the Dublin area is however, a source of hope to many of us that the growth will continue. The establishment some years ago of Comhchoiliste Náisiúnta na Seicléanna Gaeilge (The National Joint Committee of Irish Language Schools) to speak on behalf of these schools has been a great step forward but until it succeeds in getting reasonable arrangements for the schools from the Department of Education the road ahead is fraught with difficulties. My prayer is that these difficulties will diminish.

Mícheál Ó Bréartaín.

TORTURE REPORT INDICTS BRITAIN.

The report of the European Commission of Human Rights has found the British Government guilty of using torture in the interrogation of internees in the North of Ireland in 1971. The techniques of sensory deprivation are described in the Commission's report, published in early September, as "showing a clear resemblance to those methods of systematic torture which have been known over the ages". Applied together, the techniques were designed to put severe mental and physical stress, causing severe suffering, on a person, in order to obtain information from him. The five techniques, which according to the report the British Government defended as "justified" were; standing against a wall with legs spread apart for long periods; hooding; subject to continuous hissing noise; deprivation of sleep; and deprivation of adequate diet. The Commission found that the application of these techniques constituted a breach of Article 3 of the European Convention of Human Rights in the form, not only of inhuman and degrading treatment, but also of torture within the meaning of that provision. The report comes almost five years after the initial complaint of the Irish Government about the treatment of people detained in the North following the introduction of internment in August 1971. The Irish Government had also charged that internment was introduced in breach of Article 14 of the Human Rights Convention which forbids discrimination on the grounds of 'political opinion'. Surprisingly the Commission, although stating in its report that a distinction was drawn between Republicans and Loyalists in introducing internment and that Republicans only were interned in the period in question, failed to support this charge. The British Government comes in for severe criticism however in another section of the report relating to ill-treatment other than that caused by the use of the five in-depth interrogation techniques. The Commission found that at a number of interrogation centres considerable degrees of violence and brutality were used (in contravention of Article 3), and that a 'practice' of ill-treatment existed.

The British had instructed their witnesses at the commission hearings not to reply to questions about interrogation in-depth techniques and it also emerges from the report that 'certain politicians who had been responsible for the policy of internment' had been invited to give evidence but had refused. The evidence of some security forces witnesses is also described in one instance as 'incredible'. A policy of non-co-operation was followed by the British on a number of points on which the commission requested information or the production of records. The Irish Government is now continuing with the presentation of its case against Britain at the European Court of Human Rights. The Court is expected to start hearing the case in the New Year and has the power to impose sanctions on member states. The decision of the Irish Government to

pursue the case to the European Court has given rise to a writer of arrogant and hypocritical statements from the British and Northern authorities. Far from admitting culpability the British Government launched a strong verbal attack on the Irish Government for continuing with the case - no doubt a poor attempt to conceal their embarrassment at the findings listed above. The fact that the findings on torture comes from a highly respected international body appears to have carried little weight with them, and the bulging British attitude of self-righteousness prevails. There has been no question of bringing any of those who administered the torture or those who sanctioned it to justice, despite the well justified demands of those people who suffered so that their tormenters be brought to court. What the Greeks can do the British apparently cannot! It was confirmed also, following allegations by Amnesty International, that British military personnel are still being trained to use the five techniques condemned by the Commission. The Ministry of Defence in London is attempting to defend this training since it was designed to prepare servicemen 'prone to being captured by unscrupulous enemies'. An admission that having used these themselves, they are at least 'unscrupulous'. Amnesty International has criticised the maintenance of 'this special cadre of potential torturers' and said that while such training may increase the resistance of a volunteer to torture, it also increases the expertise of the trainers in the application of torture and the existence of such a body is in itself a threat to basic human rights.

MANX EVENING

A very entertaining and enjoyable evening of Manx poetry, song and dance was held in Dublin in early August. Organised by the Irish Branch of the Celtic League the evening was held in the North Star Hotel, and a full house enjoyed every minute of the night. Mona Douglas, writer, poet, folklorist, journalist, and a lifelong worker for Manx culture read her poetry in Manx and English, to an enthusiastic reception. The traditional music of the island was performed by Colin and Crystal Jerry of the Celtic Tradition; their children, Patrick, Bridget and Kate, joined by Ann Kissack executed with great fleetness of foot some of the folk dances of Manx. Anno it should be mentioned, also sang beautifully for us. The Irish side of the evening was not neglected. Poets Pearse Hutchinson, and Tomás Mac Sionáin read some of their excellent Irish poetry (and provided translations) and Irish traditional music was well rendered by the young and up and coming group From Discs. A welcome and unexpected guest who also read her own poetry was Gaidhlig poet Caitriona Nic gUmraig. Caitlín Maude, poet and singer, compered the proceedings with a delicate touch. A marvellous night's entertainment was had by all and intercultural awareness and understanding were undoubtedly well served.

EMERGENCY LEGISLATION

At the beginning of September the Dáil and Senate of the Republic declared that "arising out of the armed conflict now taking part in Northern Ireland, a national emergency exists affecting the vital interests of the State". Simultaneously the state of emergency declared in 1939, and never revoked, formally ceased to exist. This was followed by the introduction of the Emergency Powers Bill and the Criminal Law Bill in both houses. These bills provide for the detention without charge of a person for seven days and give powers to the Army of search and arrest without the presence of any police. In addition

the sentences for a number of offences were drastically increased - that for membership of an illegal organisation has been increased from two to seven years for example. Grave reservations were expressed by a number of bodies including the Irish Council for Civil Liberties about the provisions of these bills. In particular the seven days detention procedure was objected to in the absence of any guarantee for access to a detained person by their legal advisor or doctor and the extension of powers of search and arrest to the Army. Threatened press censorship was averted after public outcry.

KERNOW

PUSKES HA POWYOW BYGHAN

Pub gwias keltek yu kelmys, dres oll dewhelans, orth bewnans an mor; bewnans tus an mor ha'n bewnans us try-gys y honen yu y dhownder. Pobel Kernow re ha ow tremena ha dastremens an mor nans yu osow ankevys, ha tus an mor-rep ow tyndyl aga bewnans a-dhyworth trevasow rydh her. Wosa an heru dhe omdenna pell y'n mor, agan pyscaljoryn-ny re galas eghen aral a bysk a dylly an labur a'y gachya. Hemma yu an brydeh. Y'n dhegvedhen-ma brylly re deth ha bos dhe vey ha moy les, ha, tam ha lam, yma ow pos drehevys pyskwyth tythyak, kyn fe y'n dalleth moyha ran anedia gwerthys tramor (dhe Vreten Vyghan) rag bos gwythys.

Bytegens y'n ur-ma, del hevel, nys us geys de byscaljoryn an bys-oll lemen an brylly anfusek! A-dhyworth Alban, Russy, Breten, Pow Fryak, Tyr an Pol-y-w, ha wath Cuba! Yma ow tus an gorholyn'teuber-gwakter! Ny wrona-yu usel gwytha an puskes adly-thys a'y wosa, mes gweth, tewel dhe ves a wrona tonny a bysk atla marow. Efan yu unwyth arta bos darbarow 'dasor ughel' le heweres a hyr dermya. Ynweth yth yu pobel Kernow neb a vyth geys hep pegone pan vo defolys an puskesek ha gyllys gobolhyn an estren.

FISH AND SMALL COUNTRIES

Summary: All the Celtic countries are reliant on the sea. After the pilchard shoals withdrew, mackerel have replaced them. Now everyone, Russians, Scots and even Cubans have sent 'vacuum-cleaner' ships. It is Cornwall's people who will be left without livelihood when the shoals (and the foreigners) have cleared off.

GENERAL CORNISH SITUATION

At present, taking in the whole of Kernow, well over 10% of the Cornish workforce is unemployed. Obviously in the individual towns the percentage is much higher and yet not one Westminster M.P. or "County" Council Official has made so much as a murmur towards the London government or given any confidence to the Cornish people that they have more than desperation and destitution in the "short or long term" to look forward to. At present our Westminster and local government representatives are not even showing their usual insincere devotion in such a critical situation which perhaps points to a deliberate policy of "not making much of the situation". In Kernow the present state of affairs is critical in that it brings members into the nationalist ranks in greater numbers and from these the one or two potentially active and dedicated workers will be found, which in Mebyon Kernow's case would tip the balance away from the influence and power of the

present members of the 'status quo' (Cornish or English), and with this equalising force, on the tried and tested fact that one unpaid-dedicated member of an organisation has merit equal to a greater number who are paid for services rendered, they can get their aims across to a larger number of people. Mebyon Kernow with its "Covethas An Gof" (Angove Group) has shown what can be done when the few members who join and show signs of wishing to be active members are encouraged to take on the responsibility of some of the secretarial work of the movement. The other organisation within the Cornish nationalist movement, the Cornish Nationalist Party, may be moving along the same lines as it is noticeable that both M.K. and C.N.P. are attracting more young people now than they did previously.

Gorsedd

On September 4th, of this year, the 48th revived Cornish Gorsedd was held at Hayl in the West of Kernow. To quote the pamphlet sold to the public on such occasions, the Gorsedd exists, "To maintain the National Celtic Spirit of Cornwall and to give expression to such spirit; to encourage the study of Cornish History and the Cornish Language etc. During the ceremony some people were surprised to see a man who had publicly called the Cornish language - "mumbo-jumbo", being made a Bard. As we are all entitled to an opinion, (and there is no point in being ruffled by an individual projecting a reasoned argument against cultural revival) but the person in question used his access to the media (local radio) to disparage the Cornish Language. When so many patriots go unrecognised we wonder what the Cornish Gorsedd actually stands for.

Tea Percent Nationalist

Mr. David Penhalligon, the Westminster M.P. and a Liberal, recently said on a local radio interview that he is 10% Cornish nationalist. Mr. Penhalligon won his Truro seat in Westminster by a small majority from a Tory. Dr. James Whetter of the Cornish Nationalist Party is a prospective parliamentary candidate in the same constituency.

Tribute

Recently the Cornish national movement lost a member and one of its most energetic workers. Mr. Bert Boyd who preceded myself as branch secretary died at the beginning of August after a short illness. The following is a tribute to Bert Boyd, by a member of the Cornish branch of the League, who knew him well:

I went to Mr. Boyd's house many times in and around 1970. He was a tall strong man with white hair who had been in the Royal Welsh Fusiliers during the First World War. He would sometimes speak of his frontline experiences - always of his regiment with warmth. Originating from Scotland where, he would say, his ancestors had been on both sides at Culloden, he had spent his working life in and around London, retiring to Cornwall where he had thrown himself, selflessly aided by his sister, into the Celtic cause. He had moved away from Mebyon Kernow to become a founder-member of the Cornish National Party (N.B. see note below), but had moved back to the more moderate M.K. as the C.N.P. flourished. Later he had become a devoted Secretary of the Celtic League, Kernow Branch. When I first published "OMMA", I distributed 200 copies, largely in Cornwall, with every envelope addressed either by himself or by his sister. He was always well organised wherever he went - and al-

ways mindful to pay his way - the kind of stalwart whose great inherent strength gave strength to the cause he served, as, I guess, it had once done in the regiment where he had been in M. C. O. —

R. C. Boyd (Bert Boyd) was well-known to me and I am indeed happy to pay tribute to him. Others I hope, will write more factually about him; I speak of him from personal acquaintance. John Leganna.

[N.B. The National Party formed 1969 not new C.N.P. Mr. Boyd edited "Forward", a bulletin of his local M.K. Group. See CARN 10.]

Brittany Ferries

Dr. James Whetter of the C. N. P. has proposed an idea that has interested the chief executive of Falmouth Docks, and it is that the "Ferries" Company look into the possibilities of using Falmouth as a port of call on the new service between Roscoff and Rosniere. Dr. Whetter suggested a stop-off at a Cornish port would encourage trade and tourism and would be a sensible break in a 13-hour journey. The Docks official has stated that there would be no problem in accepting a ship the size of those suggested or in handling passengers and that he would welcome discussions with the ferry operators.

There has been a noticeable increase in the numbers of tourists from the continent this year, perhaps because of new ferry services added to the Plymouth-Roscoff route. Certainly from the point of view of the Cornish Branch of the League anything to encourage trade, especially between the Celtic countries is welcome and would be supported. Regarding tourism: although people from the continent (speaking generally) tend to be more liberal in their attitude towards Celtic nationalism, added to increasing numbers of English tourists spending holidays nearer home would neutralise and even hinder the prospect of viable trading links between the Celtic countries. That is until we have effective control over tourism. J. T. Williams.

Language School

A Summer School of Cornish is held each year usually at the end of August - beginning of September. This year it was from the 21st August to 1st September. "Scol Haf Kernewek" concentrates on spoken Cornish. The programme includes talks, discussions and expeditions in which the language is encouraged as the medium of communication. The school is run by voluntary effort. Further details of the Summer School and of recordings for lessons by correspondence from: Miss J. E. Petchey, 82, Cornish Crescent, Truro.

Covethas An Gof: An Forth is the policy discussion magazine of the Angove Group and Secretariat of Mebyon Kernow. There are still a few copies left of the first issue. From: Trewelata, Trewelata, Trewigle Hill, Redruth.

"Cornish" Publisher

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MANNIN

SHARMANE ER NY PHREACHEIL LIORISH YN ARRY-MAGH C.A. CANNAN EC KEHILL NOO RUNIAS AYNYS SKEERY MAROONEY, YN 14th MEE TOSHAIGHT FOUYR 1975.

PADJER: Lhig da goan my veal as smooinghyn my chree ve dy kinlagh boosal ayns Dty hilley, O Hiam my niart as my Ir-chionee.

TEKS: 1. Kings, 21. 5.

EIRAGHT MY AYRAGHYN.

Hoshiaght ooilley, lhig dou gra cre cha feer woolagh as ta mee dy akin shu ooilley as dy chor faitit diu gys yn chivvish shoh, as dy ghra harrish yn ollaghey ta'n laggyr er choyrt dy hannagh gys y Keeill Noo Runias, ayns Skeery Marooney.

Ta'n teka ta mee er reh son my charmane er ny ghoall veih'n chid lior jeh ny Reeraghyn, yn chid cab-dil, as feed as yn tras rooney, as ta shoh ny goan-Eir-agh my ayraghyn.

Ta ny foeklyn shoh er ny gheddyn ayns yn akeest my-chione Ahab as Naboth. Va Ahab ny ree Israel as va Naboth cummal ayns Jezreel, ard-valley jeh Samaria. As loyrt Ahab rish Naboth, as dooyrt eh-Cur dou dy gharey-feeey er ny oyr dy vel eh er gerrey da my hie, as reryms dhyt garey-feeey elley, share ny eh, er non-ney my she dy reh eh, verryms dhyt ny sheegh eh ayns argid.

As dooyrt Naboth rish Ahab-Ny lhig eh Jee, dy lhig-gins lhiat Eiraghyn my Ayraghyn.

Va eiraght e ayraghyn solaghey dy mooar jeh, liorish Naboth, as cha row eh arrytlagh dy ve scarrit voish, chamoo jinagh eh creck eh son argid. Ooilley ounor gys Naboth er ny oyr dy hass eh noi Ahab, ga dy ren eh coas e vea kyndagh rish.

Ayns yn ellan shoh, beggan dy vicsartyn er dy henney, va dooinney Manninagh, nyn mard ashoonagh, jeh coashtya vooar ny mast ain - as va grah vooar echey er yn ellan shoh - as scrius eh - myr shen, t'eh er a-insh dooin - "dy reayll cre-erbee er mayn dooin jeh nyn eiraght".

As gyn dooyt, ta eu, nyn oityn, cheeraghyn Celtiagh, mooaragh jeh'n sheen eiraght eu-hene dy reayll myrped-din. Ta'n phalmeeyr er ghra.

As dy firrinagh, fodmayd gra: - Ta ain myrpeddin eiraght oostle.

As dy firrinagh, fodmayd gra: - Ta ain myrpeddin eiraght oostle.

Dooyrt Yeseey yn cheayrt rish e rasesden - Trog-jee seose nyn sooillyn as jeeagh-jee er ny magherny - son t'ad hane hannagh gys y fouyrt. Hug mish shtu dy vuirn cooid nagh ren shu laboragh; ta deisey elley er laboragh as ta shin er gholl stiagh er yn laboragh oc. As ta shin,

myr ny hostylyn, er gholl stiagh er laboragh nyn ayraghyn. T'ad er laboragh as ta shin er gholl stiagh er yn laboragh oc.

Lhig dooin yn faastyr shoh, smooinghyn er paart jeh ny redyn shen, ayns yn ellan shoh, ta er ve chymuil dooin, ta shin innagh dy reayll: as foddee shu hoylaghey ad rish ny redyn ayns ny cheeraghyn eu-hene.

As loayrt jeh tree: -
As hoshiaght - nyn Reiltys ---
Son thooase bleia, ta shin er ny yanoo ny slattysyn ain-hene er ny oyr dy vel nyn Kiannooirtys er ve ain. As ta'n Kiannooirtys shoh jeant seose jeh yn Kiannooirt as daa hamyr - yn shamyr s'inshley, emmysait yn Klare as Feed, as yn shamyr s'yrjey, emmysait yn Cooncell, as ta jees shoh marish yn Kiannooirt yanoo seose yn Tynvaal, as she Tynvaal ta yanoo ny slattysyn, oc cha nel bree erbee oc, derrey vees coardail recoll er ny choyrt daue, ta shen dy ghra, derrey t'ad er ve lowit liorish Reiltys Hostyn.

Lurg shen, t'ad er ny ockley magh ec qualy Tynvaal as ayns fenlah siane poble yn ellan veth Cronk Tynvaal, ta shen Cronk y Keeill Kan ayns Skeery Carmane; as t'ad er ny ockley magh ny seest ayns Galick as ayns Baarle, as ta shoh er ny yanoo daig blein.

Foddee ta paart jeh ayns shoh as Reiltys eu-hene; my te myr shen, blisagh shu, myr shin-hene shirrey dy reayll eh choud as foddee shu.

Ayns ny nah yanoyd --- Nyn gredjue Chreestagh: -
Ta Noo Paul er ghra --- Llorish grayse Yee, ta mee ny ta mee: as fodmayd gra myrpeddin --- Llorish grayse Yee, ta shin ny ta shin; son te trooid Sushal Chreest ta'n grayse Yee er jeet dooin, as shen, liorish nyn ayraghyn, as ayns shoh ta'n ras Scriptyr firrinagh: -

Ta deisey elley er laboragh, as ta shu er gholl stiagh er yn laboragh oc: son trooid nyn ayraghyn liorish grayse Yee ta shin er ve choyrt lhein magh ase dorraghys ve-huaghey ayns solishey gloyruil jeh fys Yeseey Chreest. Lhig dooin er y ta shen cur boosie da jee son nyn gredjue Chreestagh as cummal eh shickyr.

As er jerrey: - Nyn glare.
Ayns yanoo ny Hostylyn ta shin lhaih, tra haik ny Spyrtyd Noo er ny Hostylyn, ren ad toshaght dy loayrt rish cheanghyn noa, as dooyrt ny poble, yn derrey yeh rish yn jeh elley: - Ta shin er chlashtyn dy chooilley ghooinney loayrt ayns cheaghey ny mayrey ain-hene. As ta ain ooilley ta bentyn da ny cheeraghyn Celtiagh, cheaghey ny mayrey ain-hene myrpeddin. Lhig dooin ve booi-nal er e son, as freayll eh, cha mie as fodmayd as choud as fodmayd, son fegoolish cheaghey, ta cheer geddyn baase.

Lhig dou cur lliam yn charmane shoh gys jerrey liorish cur sa-raa beggan dy foeklyn ren mee lhaih, laa ny ghra er dy henney, ayns pabyr naight - Rollage Manninagh, raad ta'n acruddyer gra -- Lhig dooin aa-cooinaghyn

"COODJAGH SHASSOO; SCARRIT TUITYTM" as ta ny Gaeilge ooilley yn un phobble."

As myr shen, ta mee gra --
Slaynt as oash dy vea gys yn cheeraghyn Celtiagh.

As dy jean Jee shu y vannaghey nish as ayns ny laghyn ta ry heet. In Chiarn dy row meriu ooilley, nish as er son dy bragh.

[The Reverend Cannon's sermon during the 1975 A. G. M. of An Conradh Ceilteach, stresses the importance of our heritage, the thousand years of attack on that heritage and

the key significance of our own languages towards our natural fulfillment.]

RADIOACTIVE IRISH SEA.

Many Manx people have become apprehensive about the dumping of radioactive waste in the Irish Sea from the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority's station at Windscale on the Cumbrian coast. It is no comfort that Windscale can be seen from Mann with the naked eye on a clear day. The main cause of alarm is that plutonium waste is being dumped in the sea. Recently, some American scientists have expressed surprise at the large amount of this deadly element which the English government has allowed to find its way into the Irish Sea. Plutonium is highly toxic and radioactive: it is suspected of being very efficient at inducing various forms of cancer (recently, UKAEA officials virtually admitted that a plutonium worker at Windscale had died because of this). English government scientists claim that dumped radioactive waste stays locked in the sea-bed: disident scientists say the waste can move around and could be washed ashore in a violent storm. If the latter is true, all the Celtic countries (and England) have good reason to be apprehensive.

Tynwald and Manx public opinion have recently asked for hard figures from the English on how much radioactive pollution is taking place. These figures have not been forthcoming - possibly because the English authorities are not too sure of them. Brian Mac Stoill.

MANX ACADEMICS' BELATED SUPPORT FOR MANN.

In August, a Manx paper printed a letter signed by eleven ex-patriate Manx academics and artists. The letter attacked the Manx government for fostering dubious financial activities on the island and for general anti-democratic actions. Above all, the letter attacked the Tynwald's decision to deny the Manx people the right to make individual petition to the European Commission for Human Rights. This letter drew a spirited response from Louis Crellin, the highly respected veteran nationalist. Mr. Crellin pointed out the failure of the Manx intelligencia to identify themselves with the national cause: "we have here a typical case of the refusal of the highbrows to stoop to any involvement with the toshroos and middlebrows to whose tender mercies the direction of the resistance movement has been abandoned".

Mr. Crellin looks forward to more committed support from Manx academics in the future. Brian Mac Stoill.

CELTIC LEAGUE

CELTIC LEAGUE A. G. M. 1975.

The Annual General Meeting of the Celtic League was held in Áras Chonradh na Gaeilge, Dublin, on August 27-29th. Thirty three members including delegates from its six national and two international branches, took part in its working sessions.

On Friday evening, a public meeting was addressed by Padraig Ó Snodaigh speaking on the subject of "Fear and Shame", two attitudes which often hinder the work of language restoration.

The Saturday sessions were devoted to branch reports

and the discussion of resolutions. On Sunday, the meeting heard the secretary general's report, as well as proposals relating to CARN, before discussing recommendations made in the Celtic Languages Conference report with a view to implementing them.

One of the conclusions to be drawn from a survey of the past year is that the Celtic League is progressing but due to the fact that all its officers can devote only spare time to it, much of the work remains undone or is delayed. Relative to July 1975 membership had increased by 20% although in some branches a sizeable percentage of the previous members failed to renew - for reasons not stated. Sales of CARN by individual members and in shops had also increased appreciably during the year; our distribution had improved particularly thanks to the help of university students (e.g. in Scotland) and to an arrangement with the Canadian Celtic Congress. The Manx branch was to be commended for taking a proportionally large number of copies. Of all the national branches, the Irish had been the most active in correspondence, organisation of "events" (music and poetry, demonstrations of intercultural solidarity, selling and finding new outlets for the quarterly). The New York branch reported a satisfactory level of activity but its future must depend on its fulfilment of an obligation incumbent on all branches, namely to contribute its adequate share to the central fund.

Financially, the Celtic League finds itself in a sound position in mid-year. The treasurer's recommendation, to keep separate accounts for CARN, was adopted, in order to ensure that its sale price and subscription rates cover its cost, but there is no question of its becoming autonomous. It was proposed to increase the space given to the Letters section so as to encourage greater participation by members and to publish editorial comments so as to promote the search for a consensus in case of widely divergent opinions.

The meeting decided to publish a booklet of information about the language periodicals, organisations, courses available. The Celtic League will also investigate the possibility of organising training courses in film making and newspaper editing with a view to overcome the conspiracy of silence maintained as a rule by the mass media towards our national struggles.

The 1977 A. G. M. is to be held in Cornwall in the first week-end in September subject to confirmation before April 15th.

The following resolutions were adopted:
1) Article 1, 3 of the Constitution of the Celtic League will be amended to read: "recognising that the Celtic peoples will be free only in a society which will give to all the means to participate actively in the national affairs, i. e. to control production, exchanges and services and the exploitation of national resources for the benefit of all".

2) The accounts for CARN will be kept separately.
3) The Celtic League welcomes the advocacy by the Scottish National Party of an alliance between Scotland and Nordic countries but reaffirms the importance of establishing a formal association between Scotland and other Celtic nations on achieving freedom.

4) The Celtic League submits that Welsh language policies should not be restricted to the preservation of the language in certain areas but should aim at a revival over the whole country.

5) The Celtic League supports the struggle of Tomás Ó Monacháin to ensure that courts in the Irish-speaking areas be held through Irish, that all functionaries of the

courts be fluent in Irish and that the State be made to uphold the rights of the language and of its speakers.

6) The Celtic League wishes to draw attention to the fact that the tourist-oriented industries and organisations in Kerow have created a very false impression in the media that the Cornish economy has to rely heavily on tourist revenue; calls on interested Cornish associations to seek the co-operation of the media in giving a more complete picture of Cornish economic affairs; rejects the desirability of tourism as the dominant industry in Cornwall and calls for an analysis of the requirements for a more healthy Cornish economy.

7) The Celtic League expresses its support for Mee Vannin in their campaign to uphold the right of individual Manx people to appeal to the European Court of Human Rights; claims a similar right, at present denied them through French State recalcitrance, for the Bretons and others within that State.

8) Since, as far as can be judged at present, the achievement of political independence in Alba will not further the Scottish language in any way, the Celtic League accepts that fostering an awareness of the essential Celtic element in Scottish identity be now made the main area of work of its Scottish Branch, and that it should endeavour to secure political commitment for policies necessary to further the language.

9) This A. G. M. views with apprehension the settling of non-Celtic speakers into the remaining Celtic-speaking areas; expresses its dismay in particular with developments of this nature in Dunbragh (Cymru) and An Spidéal (Éire); wishes to voice its support for the local communities and the language organisations which oppose such developments; demands that the States concerned ensure the linguistic integrity of the Celtic-speaking areas and prevent their erosion by these developments.

10) This A. G. M. views with amazement the proliferation of English-only road-signs in the Irish Republic; is disturbed by the fact that it happens at a time when bilingual signs are being erected in Wales and the Isle of Man and are being recommended by local authorities in Brittany and Cornwall; urges Irish local authorities to uphold the law by ensuring that Irish signs are erected in the Gaelic and bilingual signs throughout the rest of the country; calls also on the Department for Local Government to ensure that the law in this respect is implemented.

11) This A. G. M. is appalled by England's continued illusions of grandeur as manifested by the BBC's 30 - Language External Broadcasting Service, points out that while this Service broadcasts no less than 700 hours each week, Gaelic-speaking Scots are afforded derisory radio-time and the Cornish people are completely ignored; urges fair-minded English people to join with the Celtic League in calling for an end to this extravagance and for a redirection of some of the savings towards an adequate broadcasting service for the second-class citizens of Cornwall, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

COMHDHÁIL RATH CAIRN

One hundred delegates representing the main language movements in each of the Celtic countries took part in the Celtic Languages Conference, which was organized by Comradh na Gaeilge in Rathcairn, Co. na Mí, in August. Sixty of the delegates came from outside of Ireland and there were individual participants from France,

Germany, Friesland and Italy. Organisations represented included the Celtic League, Comradh na Gaeilge, Comh-luadar, Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, Pwyllgor Per Geltaidd Cymru, Clwb Triban, Skol an Emisav, Ar Falz, Yeth Uc y Wern and Yn Chesaght Ghaillioigh.

Most of the work of the Conference was undertaken in commissions which examined the position and problems of the Celtic Languages under eight headings.

Each commission drafted a report which was presented to a plenary session of the respective commission. These reports will be studied by the Executive Committees of the main language organisations. It is expected that further discussions to be held between the leaderships of the movements will lead to greater co-operation, to more effective dissemination of information, and to concerted action in support of common objectives.

The themes of the commissions were: The Political and Economic Environment; Language Rights; Education; The Media; Literature, Publishing and the Arts; Language Community Development; Inter-Celtic Co-operation; and Methods of Work and Struggle. The report from the commission on Inter-Celtic Co-operation will appear in the next issue of CARN along with excerpts from the other reports.

Plenary sessions of the Conference were addressed by the NI Chionnath, Arfon Gwilym, Tim Saunders, Dr. Jac L. Williams, Tomnod Burns, Lian Bairéad, Brian Mac Stóyll and Anna-Mari Trellin. Seán Mac Mathúna (Rúnaí, Comradh na Gaeilge) welcomed delegates to Rathcairn, and Pádraig Ó Conchúir (International Chairman of the Celtic League) gave the closing address. Pádraig Ó Snodaigh (Uachtarán, Comradh na Gaeilge) presided over the conference and Formod Burns (Director, An Comunn Gaidhealach) and Wynford James (Chairman, Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg) acted as vice-presidents.



"At the Celtic League A. G. M., Dublin 1976"

GENERAL

GALICIA: THE SEVENTH SPIRAL

By Ian Gordan Ban.

An Ireland in Spain? Before scoffing and dismissing an inexpensive vacation in a green temperate zone, (1) yet uncrowded by tourists beating familiar paths, don't ignore the friendly welcome of Éire's Spanish parent, Celtic Galicia:

An area of 2,919,200 inhabitants, (2) within 29,157 sq. km., (3) Spanish Galicia borders the Atlantic on the north and west of its coasts, Portugal on the south and Asturias on the east of its interior. Her violet covered valleys and pine dotted hills divide Galicia into four regional provinces: La Coruña, Lugo, Orense, and Pontevedra, combined from seven districts in 1822. (4)

In the 1800's, gallegos revolted against Napoleonic imperialism, but in the 1850's they launched the Imperial Armada which foundered off the Irish coast. In earlier times, from the sixth century B.C. until the third century A.D., Galicia hosted the Celtic tribes of Gaul, (5) isolated by later invading Iberians from North Africa, (6) and remained purely Celtic until after the Roman Conquest (2nd c. B.C. - 3rd c. A.D.) (7). Thereafter Galicia suffered from Germanic (The Suebi's) rule for over a hundred years, not to mention the depredations of Visigoths and Vandals, Vikings and Normans; (8) nevertheless, she survived, however Romanized, outside Moorish borders of Spanish domination and racial mixture. (9)

Noted by such classical commentators as Strabo, Pliny, and Julius Brutus, these Celtic tribes of Galicia included the Albionens, the same tribe that gave Britain its name, Albion; the Artabros; the Poenannos; and the Cilenos - all based near Lugo; the Lemavos of Monforte de Lemos; the Presamarcos of Vigo; the Scourros of Braga; the Nemetatos of Nemetobriga; and the Galecos, and so on. (10)

Their Druidic religion intact, these tribes worshipped many of the same gods as their Celtic brothers in Gaul and the Western Islands. (11) Borna, or Borvo, a cognate of Belenos, celebrated in Ireland by the May-day feast of Beltane, and equated with Apollo, as a giver of sickness or health; Conventina, also revered in Britain as a goddess of sacred springs; Lugus, known as the Irish Lugh, god of the Tuatha De Danann and father of Cu Chulainn, hero of the Gaels. (12)

From the above tribal gods and their Celtic celebrants, Galician place-names owe much of their origin: Lugo derives from Lugus; Betanzos from Brigantium; (13) La Coruña from Corun; (14) Galicia from Gallaecia, a derivative of Galesos; and all the names with brig or albanum as a prefix or suffix yet recall Galicia's Celtic language. (15)

Today *el idioma gallego*, despite its Latin form, retains such linguistically Celtic features as the conservation of initial f sounds, nasal phonemes, and vocalic vacillation. (16) Yet it is primarily spoken in the rural areas, not in the urban centers. (17) where *el castellano*, its offspring, prevails as Spain's official idiom. Nevertheless, the gallego, in observing the surviving vestiges of Brythonic and Goidelic speech among their better-known sister nations of Western Europe, take some consolation that current Celtic dialects are vastly varied from their Indo-European prototype. (18)

Just as some Celtic words have been conserved in *el idioma gallego*, such as *tonna*, (Irish *tonn*, Welsh *tonn*) *skinn*; *gubina*, *point* (Irish *gubha*), (19) certain Celtic architectural landmarks have been preserved also: for example, hill forts, which often served in Celtic times as towns and temples, (20) called *castros* or *castrens*, similar to the smaller Irish *raths*, (21) remain standing in Galicia, having given rise to provincial towns and cities like Lugo and La Coruña. Their round forms, like the Celtic round houses archaeologically discovered on the Isle of Man, have proven models for village cottages. (22) Another aspect of the *castro* influence has been closely knit dwellers, or *aldeas*, towns in the country, for community living in groups of *chalea*-like homes. (23)

In the shadows of megalithic dolmens, meshirs, and *castros* of Galicia, (24) one can recall Stonehenge and Carnac, and the circular Gallic *fortalezas*, which in Galicia lie at the door step of such sacred stones. (25) Accordingly, it was from this ("castréns cultura") that Bregon, chief of the Celtic Brigantinos, strove to settle Ireland, like Milesius before him, and to leave his monument, "the Tower of Hercules", still standing in La Coruña as a reminder of his remote passage. (26) As patriarch, Bregon is named in *el Himno Gallego*, sung in his honor today.

Yielding *La Tene* sculpture, the *castros*' treasures include boar and warrior statuettes (like those of Entramuz, Gaul), and ornament of triakales, concentric circles, and spirals. Among these riches, torques and fibulas figure prominently, as in Éire. (27)

But the true wealth of Galicia lies not in its jewellery, (which formed its trading basis with Ireland) (28), nor in its *castros*, but rather exists internally and eternally in the heart of the poorest peasant - his Celtic spirit, *el alma gallega*. Only in Galician folk music and its attendant literature and dance does one confront the manifestation of this spirit, embodied as "racial, national, or psychological character". Enter the *gaita gallega*, "the Spanish bagpipe".

The single-drone *gaita*, with accompanying drums and tambourines, expresses an assertive vivacity with a fervent intensity unequalled in its pantheon, as in the melody, *la alborada*, a hymn to the rising sun. This melody salutes the optimism of resurgent Nature, reborn by solar light, but also solemnizes the process by a contrasting slower tempo. (30) By this contrast one associates an introspective melancholy, genuinely sentimental and profound, as again lyrically represented in the poetry of subjectively inspired Rosalía de Castro, a poetry of vague, nostalgic longing. (31) Another melody, *el alia*, penetratingly emotional, like Scottish ballads, repeats this poetic tone, but the *quifera*, the most famous for folk dances, presents a varied temperament of gaiety for the *gaita*, exultant in its final battle cry of the Celtic warrior. (32)

Thus not only Ireland, but all of Celtia may be found in Galicia, as shown by the typography, etymology, place-names, language, architecture, sculpture, jewelry, poetry, music, and character of the people. However abstractive, Galicia, "the seventh spiral", welcomes her Celtic brothers. Should they do less?

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WOOD ENERGY FOR THE CELTIC NATIONS?

Why wood?

In the last few years solar energy has become accepted as an important energy source to the extent that several nations, e.g. USA, Canada, Japan, New Zealand now officially forecast that by 2000 it could supply anything from 5% to 25%, and more, of energy demand. But the further we go from the Equator, the worse the cost and credibility problem: winter, by definition, is an absence of direct solar energy.

Ireland has already had a wide-ranging introductory review of solar energy possibilities, by Eamon Lalor for An Comhairle Eolaíochta (1) in 1975. This showed how great the total amount of solar energy was on a year-round basis, with many hundreds of times the present national energy use falling on the total surface area, and averaging at about 1000 kWh per sq. metre per year. However, his report showed, equally, how great was the gap between summer and winter levels - on a horizontal surface (which shows much worse performance than one tilted towards the sun) by a difference of 5:1 or worse.

This problem is the same in Canada: a horizontal surface may receive 10 kWh/sq. metre/day in summer, but in winter it can be down around 1 kWh. This has served to re-orient Canadian interest in renewable energy towards wood, which still supplies about 1.5% of national energy, exactly the same amount as is provided by nuclear power, on which \$1.3 billion has been spent to date in R. & D. funding alone! Trees are natural solar collectors, with built-in storage; they are self-renewing and maintaining, and they have many other 'non-energy' virtues. These include their ecological role: tree communities (forests) are the most stable ecosystems, supporting the greatest number of other animals and plants, and young forests have the highest biological productivity of all land ecosystems. They stabilize soil, provide windbreaks, and have a beauty that is an omission from the cut-over 'high latitude deserts' of many European nations.

Although the Celtic territories fit this category this does not mean that wood energy should be forgotten. Trees can grow rapidly, especially where temperatures do not go much below 8°C (47°F), the point at which most photosynthesis stops. Some species can reach good heights and stem thickness in 12 years or less, so the wood option does exist for Celtic people, should they decide to kick the English-French habit of destroying woodland.

In Canada, of course, there is no wood availability problem at all. Just one example of the superabundance in the Province of PEI, Canada's most densely populated and intensively farmed Province, which has 600,000 acres (about 225,000 hectares) of woodland covering 43% of its area. By comparison Ireland with about 75% of its land, and Scotland with about 12% are way behind, but there are great reforestation opportunities. These include the peat bogs as they are cut out, and Scotland's famous grouse moors, which were the product of that-thankfully - vanishing species - English county gentry.

How Much energy from Wood?

It is little known that wood energy values are high. Dry wood can easily go to 8 kWh per kilogram, and many burner systems for extracting that energy, which is about 50%-70% that of coal, have been developed in Canada for disposing of wood waste at timber mills (2). With the energy crisis, and a rapid growing interest in renewable energy, attention has now shifted to consciously planning, planting, and managing woodland to fire electric generation plants, and other plants such as electricity-and-heat stations, which provide district heat in addition to electricity.

The potential energy yield via wood is very variable, depending on biological and environment factors - such as tree, land and climate types - and also on human management. With good management, in favoured wet, warm places the yield can be higher than 60 dry tons of wood per hectare per year. This has a heat yield of about 235,000 kWh, equivalent to about 145 barrels of oil. Species such as alder and aspen can go as high as this in certain climate and soil areas; more normal wood yields range from a low of 2 tons/ha/year in sub-tundra regions, to an average for places such as W. Ireland and Scotland of around 8-20 tons/ha/year, depending on climate, soil, and human management. A reasonable target for 'energy plantation' development in the Celtic lands would be 10 tons/ha/year, which could be achieved with alder, aspen and pine trees grown on a yield-maximising basis. In the case of these tree species, the peak yield with alder-aspen would come at about 10 years, and at about 14-16 years for pine-firs (3).

An electric plant of 150 MW output would then require an energy plantation of about 36,000 hectares. This is about one-sixth the woodland acreage of PEI, and has helped speed the consideration of large scale wood-electric plantations as a solution to PEI's high electrical costs, due to its present - 100% dependence on oil for electricity generation - which in turn makes PEI very similar to Ireland, Scotland, and other European nations. Although 36,000 hectares may sound a very large chunk of land it is in fact contained in a circle of about 10.5 kilometres radius, and today there are many timber mills operating with timber that is trucked more than 70 miles, and in the case of Europe, shipped. On a maximum-yield energy plantation the probable amount of energy needed to cut, collect, transport and chip the wood for the power plant would be in the region of a third to a half gallon of oil per ton - or 14-20 kWh per ton. For a 150 MW

plant (working at 60% capacity, or 216 days per year) this would mean that the plant would need about 250,000 gallons of oil per year, but the electricity it supplied would save 48,000,000 gallons (1.2M barrels) in comparison to an oil-fired plant (4).

Electricity, of course, is not the only energy source that wood energy can be converted to. Firstly it is much more desirable to recoup 'waste' heat, by linking power plants to district heating, process heating, large-scale horticulture and mariculture and other processes that require, and can use large volumes of 'waste' heat. To a very limited extent, both in N. America and Europe, there is some development in the direction of improving power plant energy efficiency by using 'waste' heat. But because so many plants are near big cities, or close to docks to ease fuel transport costs, and make disposal of large volumes of waste material 'acceptable' the cost of 'retrofitting' district heating, or heat-using agriculture processes is extreme. With wood plants by necessity located in energy plantations, the intentional linkage of heat-using agriculture systems would be at least easily-feasible. And because wood burning in modern, efficient burners is very efficient and clean - many systems of burner operation being designed to make wood waste disposal clean to meet upgraded environment protection laws - there is less problem with locating housing nearby.

Liquid fuels from wood

And, and very interesting, energy material that can be derived from wood and ethanol and methanol. In Canada, there is now one pilot plant for converting waste wood to methanol, via pyrolysis and chilling (5). The plant has a maximum output of 150 tons per day, and is self-fuelling, after initial firing. Both ethanol and methanol are fairly high-energy materials, having about one-half the weight-for-weight energy content of gasoline; in addition they are pure and clean fuels compared to gasoline, which contains many undesirable, complex aromatic chemicals, as well as price-shaving additives such as tetraethyl lead. As a result of their purity the alcohols burn very well in virtually-unmodified car engines, giving about one-quarter as much pollution per mile travelled as gasoline. There are several problems with using 100% alcohol fuels, notably the fact they absorb water, and can freeze easier than gasoline (which is a problem in Canada's arctic winter). But in alcohol-gasoline mixtures of about 15:85 the alcohol, with octane rating of about 106, synergistically raises the octane rating of low-grade (92 octane) gasoline to about 110. This completely removes the need for adding lead tetraethyl, one of the most noxious chemicals that is at present sprayed around with abandon in our 'sophisticated' societies.

Most research attention concerning wood-alcohol conversion is at present oriented to pyrolysis, which mostly gives methanol. However there are several processes for making ethanol in bulk from wood, notably through using low-strength sulphuric acid (acid hydrolysis). These processes, which relate closely to everyday brewing and baking processes, can yield - in addition to fuels - many useful chemicals. And in the future there is considerable hope that alcohol via enzyme hydrolysis can be achieved; this would be much closer to the 'biotechnology' ideal of using organic systems, which operate at low temperature, to produce our fuels.

Present production yields of about 1.5 - 2 gallons/cubic foot of wood treated (around 75 gallons per ton, depending on tree species) mean that Canada, as an extreme example, could completely switch to wood-liquid fuel as a gasoline

substitute, on the basis of converting all the wastes from its present timber-using industries. For the Celtic nations, with an initial need, firstly, to reforest this is a longer-term possibility. However, the energy yield of wood should not be taken as synonymous with open-hearth fires. It opens up another large-potential renewable energy system for the time ahead, and it may only be 20 years, when there will be precious little oil and natural gas left, whatever the 'breakthroughs' in Continental Shelf exploitation. The costs of this, the last gasp of a 'mining' approach to energy, has now reached truly astronomical levels, with single exploratory wells costing \$6M or more each, the same cost as a wood burner plant of 20MW, that can essentially operate forever.

References:

- (1) Solar Energy for Ireland. E. Lalor. An Chomhairle Eolaíochta 1975.
 - (2) Combustion Technology for Disposal of Waste Wood. Environment Canada 1975.
 - (3) Energy Plantations. R. Evans. Environment Canada 1974.
 - (4) As (3)
 - (5) A Look at the Economic Feasibility of Wood-Liquid Fuel. J. E. Marshall, G. Patrick, H. Chan. Environment Canada 1975.
- For more information on PEI's approach to developing a sustainable energy future: PEI Institute of Man and Resources; P.O. Box 2006, Charlottetown, PEI. A. Mac Kilgop.

SOCIAL MESSAGE

We print below a few letters which express opposition to or reservation towards the addition proposed by James Derovet in CARN Nr 12 (p. 2) to the C.L. Constitution. This addition was adopted, with an amendment which made it more specific, by the A.G.M. (see Resolutions, p. 2).

I should like to explain the reasons, as I see them, for the adoption of this resolution - itself amending and elucidating a point already included in the constitution. I would also remind that from the beginning our constitution expressly stated the aim of the Celtic League to be "to contribute to the achievement of (not only political but also) economic, social and cultural freedom for the Celtic nations".

Articles in CARN consistently show that the efforts of the Celtic (language or music) organisations are thwarted by emigration: economics impinging directly on culture. We all recognise the effects of an overdependence on tourism on the mentality of people in the areas where it is the main 'source of income': economics impinging on the social. Give a free rein to private enterprise, and there is no reason why whole stretches of the Irish or Welsh-speaking areas, for instance, should not be bought by those, irrespective of language, who have the money. It was Prof. J. L. Williams, who is not known to be a Communist, who said at the Celtic Languages Conference in Rath Chairn, that the lands of the Celtic Countries should be nationalised to ensure that they remain in the possession of their present or native inhabitants! In the Irish Times (20/3/76), the non-establishment economist R. Crotty strongly argued in favour of a return to "the concept, indigenous to Irish society and to every pastoral society in the world, that land is a social asset to be exploited for the benefit of all." Unrestricted private ownership had resulted in replacing people by cattle. "Get a copy before crying 'Communism'". He says that Ireland is facing economic collapse. If it

happens, it will be thanks to a system which has seen whatever Gaeltachais subsisted in the country after gaining political freedom weakened to the point of near-extinction. To-day Ireland is the least developed of all European countries (there is however enough wealth there if it were more fairly divided, for instance if 5% of the inhabitants did not own 71% of the assets - can anyone genuinely concerned with the communal interest be satisfied with so much inequality?) - but worse the Irish Republic has accumulated an enormous debt by borrowing from foreign banks (that cannot be reconciled with real freedom - nor can the fact that by far the largest part of the Irish industry is owned by foreigners). The system is such that it enabled in recent years the vast wealth of minerals discovered in Ireland to pass into the hands of multinational companies. It happened under a native government, elected by parliamentary methods. The vast majority of the people in the State seem to acquiesce in it - but one could ask how are election results related to the amounts of money available for electoral campaigns, and how objectively are the people informed by the "media" regarding the way the national resources are exploited? Such a system, I.G.W., once introduced (at the beginning of the establishment of a new State, e.g.) goes on strengthening its hold, and bringing to power the type of people who do not care in the least about "minority" languages. We know from Language Attitudes Surveys that the majority of the people would like Irish or Breton to live, but those in control do not budge from their position: they just sit tight! Take the other self-governing country, Mannia, where ownership of the land is also passing to alien elements, there is nothing to stop it under the present system. The same can be witnessed everywhere in Celtland.

If "nationalism" means preserving the patterns of disarticulation, practices, outlooks, inherited from past generations, then it should certainly be rejected as far as our countries are concerned. There are few things to admire in our recent centuries of history. Seeing where they have left us, it is well to think of new departures.

I should like to assure L.J. and Y.B. that, as far as I am concerned, there is no intention to tie the C.L. (which is an international Celtic organisation) to any other "internationalism". We should at every moment remain free to decide what is, in our own judgement, best for the survival and development of our Celtic communities. I do not believe in imposing any system on our peoples, the good of which they have not in their great majority been persuaded of. I believe in an experimental, not a dogmatic, approach to the solution of our problems. J.D. referred to socialism when he recommended his amendment, he qualified it in a way which shows that he is not a doctrinaire, but that he is deeply concerned with social justice. Who objects to that? In a letter dated 12/9/75 he wrote: "We must try to unite the majority of the 'conscious' Bretons and of the Breton people in general, but this unity must be created on a social basis that is acceptable to the 'conscious workers' (conscious I take to mean 'concerned with the common good')." It is true that a great part of the population, of the farmers in particular, are scared of leftist ideas - many of them are honest, fair-minded people who are afraid of losing their land or other possessions. We should not alienate these people. But there are others towards whom we should not be complacent, e.g. those who approve of terrible differences in wages but who are ready, if we were winning, to take part in the new (leftist) structure in order to salvage their privileges and grab power for themselves".

Our concern is surely for the welfare of our peoples

as a whole, and this cannot mean a minority deciding what is good for the majority. One thing I personally don't see clearly is how the "society" mentioned in the resolution is to be brought about except by political education. The "means" mentioned will not be available by the pleasure of a minority of "enlightened despots", they will have to be obtained through pressure of popular demand. Such a demand hardly exists at present: an Irish daily, The Independent, recently reported an employers' association as saying that there was no demand from the workers for participation in Irish factories' management. At present the means to participate in national affairs amounts to the right for the voters to put a tick before a name every four or five years, after which they have no say in government decisions, which means no effective control. The question arises however, whether the majority of the people want to be really involved in public decisions, whether they are ever to be prepared, without much pressure from a party, to go to the meetings required; whether the decisions taken will be arrived at after considering objectively - stated pros and cons, or whether they will be determined by the strength of personality and ... tendencies of the protagonists. While genuine popular control might be practicable at local level, how can one ensure that at national level it does not in fact, as happens already in large trade unions, eventually evolve into a dictatorship, not of the proletariat, but of a new class of managers? Another thing about which doubt is permitted, as hinted by I.G.W.: control by all when all are not equally bothered about the common interest can very well result in the more enterprising and capable people being not only discouraged but frustrated by the easy-going, the demagogues, the cynics ... I think there is an obligation on us, if we advocate an egalitarian society, to indicate clearly how it can be compatible with the level of individual freedom to which most people in the Celtic countries remain attached (whether or not it is detrimental to the common weal) and with the minimum of efficiency necessary if their standard of living is not to drop to a level where they will reject the "new regime", self-government and all! But perhaps, the whole world, Western Europe included, is moving into an era where social requirements will, per force, take precedence over individual rights - think of the ever-larger looming problems of energy, pollution, overpopulation, etc. We shall not be allowed luxuries if others all round submit, for the sake of survival, to great restraints.

The constitution amendment is chiefly the expression of an aspiration to a type of society which can protect itself against manipulations by external forces, or by sectional interests. It may be well to ponder however that our national movements have already slim chances of winning against the powers-that-be, and it is not at all established that the forces of the left, outside our countries, are willing to help us to achieve our essential aims. We should therefore not antagonise unnecessarily a large percentage of our own countrymen. We saw in CARN 14 how the Revolt of the Red Bonnets in Brittany failed for the one reason that it involved only the lower classes. 45 years later, another revolt, involving the Breton nobility but aiming also at restoring Breton freedom, occurred without the participation of the lower classes; it too failed. In all it is a question of knowing what can be achieved with the forces available. As Prof. Williams also said in Rath Chairs, we have no time left for miscalculations and false prescriptions. We need the participation or support of most of our peoples.

The risk in a controversy of this kind is that it goes no deeper than statements of attitudes acquired from one's

social background or personally by watching international events, but without any attempt to recognize how the ideologies which dominate the world scene have affected our peoples' fate. That is however what CARN and the CL should be concerned with. The discussion should bear closely on our problems. If future contributions do not do that there should be no space for them in our limited 24 pages.

A.H.

LETTERS

"I disagree fundamentally with the addition proposed by J.D. (CARN 12, p.2) as an amendment to the Celtic League constitution: I consider it utopian and tendentious.

The strength of the Celtic League lies surely in not being tied to any doctrinaire ideology. A commitment which would not satisfy the spectrum of its members would destroy it. We need to bring people together, not to build a short-lived elite which could not follow the evolution of shifty ideologies without reneging.

Is it intended to enrol us in an Internationale which would not dare to reveal its name? or to create something similar for the six Celtic countries of their own but without any impact in view of the different dependence of each of the, at social level?" (fr. from French) L.J.

"On the capitalist-socialist economics question, I must side with J.S., with some qualifications: despite ugly abuses by Capitalism, it does not seem to presuppose a homogeneous society ... If any system is somehow workable and fair, without losing sight of the promotion of Celtic culture, whether seen as superstructure or not, and the so-called common man has his opportunity to go into some business for himself, then I have no objection as to the economic level - but let us not penalize the superior, by whatever definition, to the extent that they are wasted for the benefit of the inferior. Here in the U.S. we have many lazy "bums" quite willing to enjoy their dote in preference to working - and it is for them that I pay a good share of my taxes, we could call it here the "welfare mess". Rome ... had the same problem (towards the end). I agree with you that the economic question is pertinent, but for our Celtic National Movement, it should be stressed that it is significant to the extent that it relates to the furtherance of Celtic culture".

I.G.W.

(trans. from Breton) "We have not in my opinion to put any label on the Celtic League, Marxist, socialist or whatever. I am not attracted by the Soviet or the Chinese paradise. I believe communism to be an anti-human regime".

Y.B.

"Unfortunately we have to state that Mr. Green, (CARN Nr. 10) did not deal with our arguments. This is shown clearly by his last sentence: 'If you can think of anything about the individual outside capitalism or socialism, let me know.' His way of arguing (Ausführungen) proves that ... he is unable to deal with (sich auseinandersetzen), not to mention accept, processes of thought which are alien to him. He is the victim of one of the one-sided ideologies which we referred to. This is proved by the following examples:

- a) the antithesis "Capitalism-communism"; "bourgeois-socialist";
- b) particular expressions such as "educating class con-

sciousness"; "bourgeois ideology"; "exploited masses"; c) his whole attitude and way of arguing; the connection between Solzhenitsin and Hitler and ... had a falling of human nature - the latter is a metaphysical concept (= superstructure);

With the expression "harm to the common interest", Mr. Green scornfully dismisses the fact that communism has already exacted unpteen millions of deaths; that so many people had to be oppressed and put behind barbed wire, shows that communism ... in no way creates a paradise. The real conflict is not between good and bad ideologies but between "ideologizing" and a balancing of outlooks.

Salvation is thus not to be obtained by ideologically exacerbating the interpretation of one's existence (Dasein) as in capitalism, nor in exacerbating an egalitarian interpretation of co-existence (Mitsein) as in socialism or communism, nor in a racial-nationalist interpretation "let things be as they are" (Sosein) as in nationalism. Politics in the interest of the people can be conducted only by those who take the three aspects into account. All the rest leads to stiff-neckedness and oppression of people (see practical examples), [transl. from German].

H. Krohn on behalf of the Wolfgang Philip Gesellschaft.

The Editor, 'CARN'.

A Syrsker,

Two correspondents, A.J. Raude and C.A. Caine, have each in his own way interdicted any attention to Socialist countries when Socialism in Keltia is discussed (CARN No. 14). Since they do not give any reason for ignoring my references to Socialist countries in the previous CARN (No. 13), I feel no hesitation in taking up part of my theme again so that Celtic countries do not continue to suffer the dis-service of having their potentiality for Socialism discussed without constructive reference to the Socialist third of the World.

C.A. Caine speaks of "The Communist Bosses, or the capitalist Bosses". This is a form of the now-fading concentric theory of the studies and was an attempt to prevent close attention to the Socialist countries by suggesting that their characteristics could be seen in capitalist countries because of an imagined movement towards a common condition. Contradicting the "Boss" idea in socialist work is my experience of visiting, on two widely separated occasions, a cooperative farm and a cooperative fishery in the German Democratic Republic, where I am half-way through four years of work there. The visits were arranged for me by one of my students by means of a number of telephone conversations. The Chairman of each enterprise was at pains to make it clear that he was elected with power to act with a committee between annual sovereign general meetings of the members (who are the working population of a cooperative). If C.A. Caine was making a laudatory reference to political leaders as bosses, he should take into account the democratic structures of the socialist countries and the humble origins of the people at the top. Working life is organised within collectives and policy, in its appropriate parts, cannot be effective without the collective; I am involved thus in my own work. If anyone says I am talking about Utopia or paradise (ways of not attending), the answer is that it must be Utopia for those under capitalist bosses but it is in fact only a different way of organisation, preferable in its use and down. On a cooperative, the earnings are democratically regulated, in a stable way, out of the financial

proceeds. A farmer (everyone is thus called on a farm), earns about £2,500 a year; a working fisherman, who has a harder life than the shore workers, gets nearer £4,000. Deductions are for all citizens a fifth of income but do not apply to annual premiums.

A. J. Raude refers to Marxism as "a dogmatic religion". Two points - 1) We all know that religion is dogmatic, 2) Marxism is a scientific critique (I am quite prepared to take this further, but at this moment space forbids).

Then again, he says Marxism is "a sophistic scholastica" with an immoral dialectic. This is an excellent self-characterisation but, unless you are one of those people who do not notice the more obscurely published opinions of the bourgeois media or unless you are a visitor not content with a fleeting visit, it has nothing to tell us about the facts of steady industrial expansion, price stability, full employment, extensive and extending structures of social care, far-reaching educational and cultural development in the countries based on Marxist considerations.

Further, as if to make triply sure we are inhibited from the disgrace of having a look at Marxism, he says Marxists are foreign adepts searching for the foreign nonsense of the class war enemy within our liberation movements. Karl Marx acknowledged in *Das Kapital* the anticipation of his thinking by William Thompson of County Cork (1775-1833). James Connolly was posthumously praised by Lenin and shares in death the same quicklime of burial with the others of 1916.

Apparently A. J. Raude wants us to believe that Socialism, to which he offers support, has nothing to do with

solving the situation which arises at the point of wage-labour where capitalist ownership compels the surrender of part of the values created by labour and by past and present labour only. That is to say, the class war is there before anyone thinks about it. The point of asking us to ignore the class-war enemy is that bourgeois exploitation, whilst profits go on being quietly extracted.

This is what the idea, "Country now, socialism when free," amounts to - or more bluntly it means, "Bind the worker faster now by the ideology of abdication so that he can't raise the idea of socialism when the national bourgeoisie is independent".

I put forward the slogan, "Country is workers, free both now". This would bring the worker movement (the majority) to the front and correctly make all of us intelligentsia trim our sails by it. Surely this is the real interest of Keltia. I have the conceit that I am right, but, if it is mere conceit please show me by concrete evaluation that it is so.

Lowena dhys,
Royston Green.

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